Funerary Practices under Globalizing Influences on the Frontier of Roman Pannonia:
The Performance and Expression of Communal and Individual Social Identities as
Evidenced in the Cremation Burial Assemblages of the Bécsi Road Cemetery of the
Canabae of Aquincum and the Southern Cemetery of the Civilian City of Carnuntum

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines aspects of the cremation burial assemblages of graves from the published material of Bécsi Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum and the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum in the Roman region of Pannonia as evidence of practices that reflect multiple and intersecting identities of the deceased. In doing so, this project shows that the archaeological evidence of burials provides an ideal medium through which to examine the development, negotiation and maintenance of social identities in a Roman provincial society. Through a systematic examination of aspects of the assemblage, such as the features of the burial and artifacts, practices and other markers of identity based on ethnicity, status, gender and age are revealed. This project takes into account multiple, intersecting identities in its examination of the burial evidence at a general communal level and at an individual burial level, since identities cannot exist in isolation as other identities always inform them. This project also considers that practices reflecting identities also change over time. Since mourners cremated the deceased in cemeteries over a long period of time, from the late first century AD to the mid third century AD in the Bécsi Road cemetery and from the middle of the second century AD to the mid third century in the southern cemetery, this project noted that trends of practice evolved over time. This project compares the two cemeteries by way of reconstructing practices of the funerary ceremony and examining the artifacts used in them so as to determine how the distinct funerary practices developed in response to globalizing processes.

Theories concerning globalization form the interpretive basis of this project. Globalization theories are attractive because they take into account concurrent homogenizing processes that foster similarity on a wide scale and heterogenizing processes that promote difference. Both broad processes can be observed as occurring at these two locales as they share

similarities in funerary practice, but at the same time distinct customs were practiced at a communal level. Through the examination of aspects of the funerary ritual and its relation to multiple, intersecting identities as influenced by on-going globalizing processes, this project situates itself in the discourse concerning social change in Roman provincial society. In the past, Roman scholars largely viewed such social change as a one-way process which measured the degree to which "natives" became "Roman." Chapter 1 explores such viewpoints and concludes that globalizing theories more effectively take into account the complexity of social change in Roman provincial society. In addition, the chapter discusses the performative and social aspects of identity formation, negotiation and maintenance, with some focus on the importance of consideration for multiple identities and how they are affected by on-going globalizing processes. Chapter 2 explores identity as it directly relates to the funerary evidence. Burials provide a unique medium through which to examine multiple, intersecting identities since cemeteries contain numerous people of various demographics. As communal and symbolically charged events, funerals are significant for identity formation. Chapter 3 presents an historical outline of both settlements to provide a historical context for the cemeteries. Chapter 4 discusses Roman era funerary practices as evidenced first through the literary sources and then through archaeological sources. Such an overview lays the groundwork for the interpretation of the burials as evidence of funerary ceremony. In chapter 5, this project systematically examines aspects of the burials of both sites, both how they were formed and where possible what these aspects may have meant to the participants. Chapters 6 to 13 each deal with a different artifact category. The chapters discuss they ways in which various artifacts may have been used in the funerary ritual, its significance to the ceremonies performed in each cemetery and how these might reflect the identities of the participants.

This project finds that a systematic and through examination of various aspects of the funerary ceremony through the burial evidence of a cemetery does bring to light significant practices that occurred and provides insight into the identities of those who participated in the funerary ceremonies. Common, localized trends from each cemetery are noted and illustrate that participants contributed to a sense of collectivity in the settlements through such communal rituals. Such practices, however, were affected by global processes and informed by several possible influences. Practices and ways of marking identities of the deceased were often quite varied and sometimes quite personal. Some of these trends used for marking aspects of the deceased would not have been noted without such an in-depth analysis. With consideration to the multiple identities that are found in the funerary record and the globalizing processes that may have affected them one is provided with a rich, in-depth look at the complexities of these provincial societies as evidenced from the funerary record.

Preface

This dissertation is an original work by Tristan Ellenberger. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

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I am very thankful for the many friends and colleagues who helped and stood by me through my long dissertation process, as without their support the completion of this project would not have been possible. There are many people who have had a positive impact on my life during this process and I wish to acknowledge them and express my thanks. I will begin with the many professors who have helped me along the way.

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List of Abbreviations

The format of the abbreviations of all the names of ancient authors and their works follows the format found in the "Abbreviations List" of the 4th Edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

BNP	*Brill's New Pauly*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
LUPA	*Ubi Erat Lupa: Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern*
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*

Introduction

The intensive and widespread development of the Roman Empire between the mid first century BC and the end of the first century AD profoundly changed provincial societies, contributing to the integration of societies and individuals over a vast geographical region into an empire in which common ideas, values and norms were expressed and understood by many. The globalizing processes that enabled such development were multilateral as everyone with varying degrees of intensity negotiated their systems of values, practices and perceptions in relation to the societal development, thereby contributing to systematic change. This intensive development may have slowed down on a broad-geographical or empire-wide scale by the early second century, but as new areas such as those along the Danube River in Pannonia were incorporated into the empire, the same sort of societal changes took place on at smaller regional scale. Natives of these regions had to negotiate with what it meant to be part of Roman Empire. They along with settlers, merchants, soldiers and bureaucrats, came together in various settlements, such as those around the legionary forts at Aquincum and Carnuntum. It was in these new social settings that we see how individual groups began to function as a collective community within the Roman Empire. Such intense social change may have abated in the settlements after the beginning of the second century when these locales had established themselves over the period of a generation or two, but the on-going globalizing processes continued to generate societal development in settlements as the inhabitants mediated their place within them. This negotiation took place in everyday activities, symbolically charged ritual activities and major happenings such as conflicts, the influx of immigrants and wealth, as well as the elevation of a settlement's legal status.

For quite some time now scholars have attempted to investigate and articulate how it was possible that people and societies integrated into an empire-wide system that lasted so long, from approximately the late first century BC to the end of the fourth century AD. Popular acculturation models based on the degree to which people became "Roman" or remained "native," however, are too simplistic in that they do not take into account the complexity of colonial rule and other identities based on gender, age, status at play. Studies based in media such as art, literature or architecture, while very important to understanding Roman provincial societies, either focus on particular, usually elite, demographics, or only discuss 'people' in a general and abstract way. Burials on the other hand are an excellent medium to examine when studying provincial societies since presumably each burial is a representation of the deceased individual interred in the grave. Not only are burials one of the few media through which individuals can be accessed, but cemeteries can also reflect a broad societal demographic of the community. Because burials are the preserved product of ritually charged practice, conceivably archaeologists are able to examine how individuals maintained, negotiated and developed personal and collective identities through these practices. Although burials, as manifestations of funerary activity, only represent a practice that individuals purportedly do not perform regularly, because the ritual is so symbolically charged, it has the potential to represent idealized values in society.

The study of the published material documenting the archeological excavations of the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum provides an excellent opportunity to examine the burial evidence as a manifestation of practice that potentially reflects the identities of the deceased, the mourners and the Roman provincial society within which they lived. Scholars have conducted extensive historical and archaeological work on the settlements, so that aspects of the burials can

inform the developments that occurred there over time. Researchers who have studied the cemeteries in Pannonia have been interested in reconstructing the practices of the funerary rituals and have looked at how physical records such as the tombstones that feature epigraphic and iconographic material may reflect the identities of the deceased. This project hopes to build on this work by examining the burials as being a manifestation of practice that reflects multiple intersecting identities. Furthermore, based on this evidence, this project seeks to conceptualize and articulate how burial practice may have contributed to the negotiation and development of provincial societies.

This study argues that the funerary evidence of a cemetery provides an effective medium to examine how people developed, negotiated and maintained social identities in a Roman provincial society. The published material derived from the archaeological excavation of the Bécsi Road cemetery of Aquincum (Topál 2003a; 1993) and the southern civilian cemetery of Carnuntum (Ertel *et al*. 1999), is the focus of this project. The settlements of Aquincum and Carnuntum both reside in the region of Pannonia. Cremation was a dominant rite from the founding of each settlement in the late first century AD to the first half of the third century.[1] These cremation burials are central to the study and a thorough and systematic examination of the burial assemblages will be valuable in understanding how social identities, based on the intersection of status, ethnicity, gender and age, are developed, maintained and negotiated. Ideally, burial assemblages provide access to a demographic cross-section of a community. The detection of patterns in funerary practice and methods for marking social identity provides information about how participants maintained not only a communal sense of identity, but also commemorated and gave meaning to qualities of the deceased. Identities do not exist in isolation,

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[1] All dates are "AD" unless otherwise specified.

as other identities always inform them, so using an approach that considers the intersection of multiple identities has the advantage of being able to explore the complexities of identities at a communal and individual level.

Since both cemeteries were occupied over a span of time, some changes in funerary trends can be isolated by dividing the burials into temporal periods according to their dates of origin and tracking tendencies between these periods. Merely isolating patterns of behaviour is not enough for this project; further context is needed in order to understand the meaning behind the findings and what they might say about the societies that produced them. The findings and interpretations of archaeologists who dealt with funerary material, including those who published works on the cemeteries studied in this project, provide a frame of reference through which to provide meaning for, and support to, the results of this study. Ancient sources and the contemporary interpretations of them also offer further context. This is not to say that the results of this project reflect all funerary trends of the cemetery or give singular meaning to all the project's findings, but the organization of the material, sorting through it and interpretation of it, does contribute toward an understanding of the funerary rituals and the identities that are formed negotiated and disseminated through these practices. These identities, while symbolically charged and idealized as they would be within the context of a funerary ritual, can nevertheless provide important insights into the communities that buried their dead in these cemeteries.

A comparison between the results of both archaeological sites reveals clear similarities and differences in practice, helping to illustrate that each society developed in response to on-going and dynamic homogenizing and heterogenizing processes. As the settlements of Aquincum and Carnuntum were established and developed in the vicinity of legionary installations, the Roman army and bureaucracy, merchants and migrants, both local and from afar brought with

them what Hingley (2005) terms as "globalizing influences" that significantly affected the experiences of individuals in these settlements. At work simultaneously were both homogenizing processes, which integrated individuals into a similar cultural framework, and heterogenizing processes which fostered difference. Such ongoing dynamic influences continued to affect not only practices in people's daily life, but also ritually and symbolically charged events including those in the funerary sphere. Such practices affect the always-ongoing negotiation of social identities, including major ones based on ethnicity, status, gender and age. This project finds general patterns in the performance of funerary rituals and the ways in which mourners marked qualities of the deceased, and in some cases is able to trace the changes in these patterns over time. Having compared the findings from both settlements, the project discusses the homogenizing practices affecting the larger region and heterogenizing ones representing smaller regional and local trends particular in relation to the larger discourse on the social development of Roman Provincial societies.

Key to understanding the Roman Empire and its impact on history are the processes of integration which saw individuals and communities partake in developing, adapting and negotiating a system of ideas, values and norms that structured their behaviour and thought (Millett 1995: 2) in such a way that people within communities and between them could meaningfully interact with one another. The processes through which peoples of the Roman provinces became politically, militarily, economically, and culturally integrated into the Roman Empire has long been a focus of study. Scholars have used many different viewpoints to explore these processes. Since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars have interpreted such integration through the lens of homogenizing processes, the most prominent being "romanization."

Scholars have approached the issue of integration in the romanization paradigm as a binary process, in which the "native" is evaluated in relation to the "Roman." This Roman-native binary has a center/periphery component in which the center, Rome, is the driving force of all change and the provinces in the periphery are re-active but not active in their transition. This restrictive approach has limited our understanding of the complex processes of identity formation in Roman provinces. While the understanding of this dichotomy as strictly Roman-provincial is characteristic of earlier studies of this field, much recent scholarship has focused on ways in which this can be studied as a more dynamic process. One very fruitful approach has been to understand these transitions in terms of globalization.

Approaches grounded in the themes and methodologies of globalization are particularly valuable when it comes to enriching our understandings of Roman provincial identity formations.[2] Looking at ancient societies through a globalizing lens reveals the variety of identities and identity formation processes that were at play in the integration of the provinces, which, when applied, clearly undermines the notion of a center/periphery dichotomy. This is because a globalizing perspective does not necessarily privilege a dominant identity or geographical region; it does, however, take into account influences that developed in provincial localities (Featherstone 1993: 170). As this study will argue, the essential characteristic of globalization is that it assumes multilateral processes in situations of social, cultural, political and economic change (Pitts 2008: 501).

Scholars have explained the development of Roman provincial societies through an increasingly complex interpretive lens and by means of different material objects. These new

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[2] Although researchers studying the modern phenomenon of globalization have access to a greater variety of evidence and can study them in a more in-depth manner, the perspectives that they use can be applied to the ancient world and the effects which they describe can be interpreted through the material and literary record, albeit at a more general level.

ways of thinking about dynamic social identities in an increasingly globalized world can be

fruitfully applied to relatively neglected sources, notably of archaeological contexts related to

neglected social groups. For quite some time, archaeologists have explored the integral role

material plays in activities, even the mundane daily ones, where identities are enacted, formed

and negotiated (Pitts 2007: 709) and the symbolic meanings that material culture convey (Millett

1995: 2). Contextual analyses of archaeological material can provide fresh ways of

understanding the social impact of globalizing processes brought on by Roman imperialism. A

central concern of globalization is understanding how social identities based on age, gender,

ethnicity, and social status were changed, created and negotiated. The challenge to understanding

these identities in the Roman context is finding evidence that can be interpreted in relevant

terms.

In this study cremation grave assemblages of Roman burials in a specific region of

Pannonia provide the data for an analysis of various aspects of these identities. A funerary

context is ideal since the grave and its assemblage is directly associated with the interred

deceased and, ideally, encapsulated through its covering, thereby protecting the contents. This

study will consider the published cremation graves from the Bécsi Road cemetery of the *canabae*

of Aquincum dating from the late first century until the mid third century, as well as burials from

the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum dating from the mid second

century to the mid third century. These are suitable, as the sites provide a well-documented, large

sample of 414 and 220 burials respectively. Burials were not, however, explicitly designed to

provide a direct window on peoples and societies, but being the products of communal,

symbolically charged rituals shared by people from many different facets of society, they do

offer one of the most explicit expressions of individual identity available to us; hence the study of burials provides a good starting point for the analysis of the complexities of ancient identities.

Burials represent a wider array of the various identities of Roman provincial society than most other archaeological contexts available to us. For example, in comparison to domestic buildings, groups of burials often contain items and the remnants of ritual activity directly associated with specific individuals, which were deposited at once in a synchronic and self-contained context. Most of the time specific individuals cannot be associated with domestic dwellings and the stratigraphy of buildings occupied and re-occupied over a long period of time can be complex. Archaeologists can find it difficult to order building phases, artifacts and stratigraphic layers in relation to each other. Past studies have shown that burial fields, if analyzed comprehensively, can provide information regarding the social identities, values, and beliefs of the deceased that mourners and possibly the deceased themselves wished to convey, both through the grave goods and the burial rituals that are reflected in the final tomb.[3] It is important, however, to treat the tomb as a component of a process rather than as a self-contained unit looked at in isolation. This has been a particular concern of this study.

Interpretations of the ceremony drawn from literary sources and those provided by archaeologists based on their own excavations and experiments provide a framework from which to draw conclusions as to the meaning behind aspects of the burial. Characteristics of the burial-pit and how the cremated remains were treated, as well as the type of artifacts and evidence of their treatment, can shed light on significant activities that occurred in the funerary ceremony. While items offered to the deceased during the funerary ceremony and in the burial rites, including personal items, can commemorate aspects of the deceased, we must keep in mind that

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[3] This paper was heavily influenced by the analyses in the following works: Cool 2004; Meskell 1999; Bietti Sestieri 1992; Morris 1992; Pader 1982.

even though artifacts on their own can provide evidence of identities of the deceased, more can be gleaned from them when examined in tandem with other aspects of the burial. Such a contextual approach may also provide evidence of the motive behind why a ritual was performed in a certain way, or why certain items were included.

The published burials of the cities of Carnuntum and Aquincum form a suitable database for this dissertation. Both centers developed roughly simultaneously close to a legionary base, they are in close proximity along the Danube and the Amber Road and they became the capitals of their respective provinces. The choice for this research is dictated purely by the availability of publications. Many other burial fields were found around various urban centers, but their finds have been insufficiently published.

The first chapter sets up the interpretive framework of this project. This work was conceived at a time when many scholars had already questioned the romanization discourse and had started to steer away from it, looking for alternative ways to approach and interpret processes that led to the development of Roman provincial societies. This project is no different and it builds on the theoretical framework rooted in this, now more standard, approach to provincial societal development. This study includes a section in chapter one that discusses and critiques major aspects of the romanization debate, with focus on some of the principal contributors, the influences on their viewpoints, their theories and impact. Particularly interesting are the identities that authors emphasize, the processes that affect their development and the archaeological contexts they use in their studies. Ultimately, this section concludes that no matter how romanization is theorized, it is flawed as it implies a one-way process that privileges a singular cultural identity.

Needed are interpretations that take into account multiple personal identities, including communal identities such as culture and ethnicity that may matter more in daily life than a "Roman" or "native" identity. A brief history of the study of identity is also given, so that aspects of the concept can be explored and critiqued. Since identity has been conceived and used so broadly, specific viewpoints will be privileged in this study. That will include those that are best suited for interpreting the symbolically charged and communal aspects of the funerary ritual and how such ceremonies contributed to the development, negotiation and maintenance of communal and personal identities. An important aspect of this project is to isolate how multiple identities were marked in the grave ritual, and where possible to explore how such identities are manifested in relation to each other and why they might be commemorated. Of course, how such identities are marked in the funerary ceremony changes over time, and we should expect it to vary between communities and individuals due to heterogenizing factors. Globalization theories focusing on societal change can provide an interpretive lens to address processes that led to difference, as well as those that contribute to homogenizing trends. Such a viewpoint conceptually has the advantage in that it does not privilege a "Roman" or "native" identity. Instead, it addresses these homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies and recognizes the dynamic and multifaceted nature of identity. While these perspectives are useful, ideas coming from the Roman "cultural revolution" discourse, which are largely compatible with the globalizing theories, add much needed nuance to this analytical lens which is much more specific to the Roman world. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill argues that a cultural revolution occurred when the Roman Empire was going through a period of consolidation starting in the mid first century BC which caused a rapid cultural change in the ensuing social upheaval. In discussions concerning the Roman cultural revolution a particular center is not privileged in disseminating a

homogeneous culture which others adopt, but instead, communities and individuals negotiate identities in relation to the globalizing processes at work (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13). A similar revolution must have taken place as frontier settlements, like those at Aquincum and Carnuntum, soon after the founding of the legionary forts and accompanying settlements in the late first and early second century. After this initial intensive change, globalizing processes still affected the on-going development of identities in these settlements, albeit at a much slower rate.

While the first chapter discusses identity in an abstract manner, these ideas are discussed in direct relation to the funerary evidence in the second chapter. Funerary evidence is an ideal archaeological context for studying identities in the Roman world as it can represent components of a society's social structure. This section emphasizes, however, that such identities can also become heavily idealized, to the point where someone could become depicted in death in a way that did not reflect their lived life. Key past studies are examined to highlight how archaeologists have dealt with isolating patterns of identity in the past. Finally, each of the four major axes of identity, rank, age, gender and ethnicity, are discussed in relation to how they might be manifested in the archaeological record, and some of the issues that arise with analyzing each of these variables are addressed.

Chapter three provides a historical review of each of the native peoples that lived around the areas of the settlement before their founding and the settlements themselves. It also chronicles the archaeological investigations of each cemetery and others around the settlements. An outline of the developments that occurred within the areas of the settlements both prior to and after the arrival of the Romans is included. The chapter covers the major events and processes affecting each settlement between the first century BC and the late third century AD, when cremation ceased to be a significant funerary rite at both sites. This allows for the cemeteries to

be studied within a historical context. Events that affected the settlements did not necessarily directly impact the funerary sphere in a detectable way; however, historical context can help to illuminate some of the processes observed in the cemetery. A section that provides historical contextual information for each cemetery is also provided. Not only do historical events and processes influence the funerary evidence, but modern processes and archaeological exploration also affect how the evidence came down to us. Discussions in this section also pertain to the excavations many of which were conducted under less-than-ideal conditions, meaning that the evidence must be critically evaluated.

Following the historical review on each site, chapter four concerns the funerary ceremonies themselves, both from a literary point of view and archaeologically. The burial itself represents only one small and not always a critically important part of, a cremation funeral. It is important to understand the other aspects of the funeral in order to view the burial in context. From the archaeological evidence only aspects of the cremation ceremony, the burial ritual and sometimes subsequent activity around the burial after its deposition are present. The first part of chapter four outlines the possible sequence of events involved in a "Roman funeral," since direct testimony of a funeral from Pannonia does not exist. This is far from ideal, but it does provide an analogy of what may have taken place. Following this, the next section concerns the archaeologically detectable aspects of a cremation funeral and scholars' interpretations of the evidence. Some complications arise because of the ranges of differing views that are presented concerning how aspects of the burial might relate to the funerary ceremony, and such conflicts make it difficult to reach firm conclusions. It is still possible, however, to hypothesize on what some of the rituals and burial practices may have meant to the mourners, and the meaning these rites may have contributed to the communal and personal identities of the deceased.

Aspects of the funerary ritual as represented in the burial assemblage provide valuable insight into the mortuary practices of participants and since identity is manifested through practice, it can shed light on aspects of the participating mourners. In chapter five, this project examines some of the principal features of the grave-pits and the treatment of the cremated remains from Aquincum and Carnuntum in an attempt to isolate trends in these cemeteries. It may not be possible to attain a clear explanation concerning the burial and the method of disposing the cremated remains; however, this project did find significant trends and even related them to possible meaningful identities. At the end of the chapter is a summary of the major trends, the possible meaning behind them and comparison of the findings from both cemeteries which highlight potential homogenizing and heterogenizing processes that are at work in both locations.

Chapter six concerns the artifacts and the part that they played in the funerary ceremony. The introduction discusses the artifact typologies characteristic of cremation burials and how archaeologists have interpreted them as evidence of practice in the funerary ceremony. It outlines the chronological scheme in which the project organized the burials. After this section, each following chapter concerns a different category of artifact. With the exclusion of only a couple of types, this project examines most of the artifact types found in the cemeteries in order to help provide insight into how the funerary ceremony was conducted, and what sorts of objects were important to the community. These chapters concern two principal categories of artifacts; the first deals with those used for the funerary rituals and as offerings to the deceased, like ceramic goods, glass vessels and coins, while the second examines those used as offerings that can be presumed to be personal possessions associated with the deceased, like dress accessories, toiletries and jewelry. The project first examines ceramic goods which mourners used during the

funerary ceremony as offerings to the deceased. Chapter six in part discusses vessels used for the holding of liquids, including serving vessels, and drinking vessels. Following this, chapter seven is concerned with vessels used for the consumption of solids, including jars, bowls and plates. Chapter eight deals with other ceramic goods, like incense bowls and lamps. Chapter nine pertains to glassware, which is a material that is not often found in burials in the time frame of the project, so glass implements warranted their own category, even though glass implements are found in a variety of forms whose ceramic counterparts are discussed in other chapters. Finally, chapter ten discusses coins.

In each section, the project quantifies the burials containing these objects according to the date phase to which they belong. The project constructed four overlapping date phases so that if a general change exists in how the artifact was used or in the frequency with which it appeared in graves, it can be recognized within this construction. All the graves containing these major categories of artifact are quantified in various ways in each of the four periods. After the quantification section, the chapter discusses the interpretation of the results. If the use of artifacts reflects any of the axes of identity, this section discusses this relation. After the analysis section for both cemeteries, the chapter presents a comparison of the results giving further significance to the findings. As is expected, many similarities exist between both cemeteries in how artifacts were used and the potential meaning given to them, but because both locals are subject to distinct globalizing processes, clear and significant differences do exist.

Such a format is used for the "personal" items as well, but since there are often not many of these included in burials the quantification of their frequency is often not as important as the meaning, they might hold in regards to the deceased individual. Often such items offer insight into the personal identities of the deceased as they may have been directly associated with them

during their life. Each of the following chapters concern a category of items that at the very least are loosely related. In chapter eleven the first category addressed is tools, such as knives and textile working implements. Chapter twelve covers caskets, keys and mirrors, which despite seeming to be a loosely connected group of artifacts, are presumed to be associated with females. Chapter thirteen discusses bodily accoutrements, such as fibulae, belts, jewelry and hair pins. Even though personal items are not as commonly found as implements used in the funerary ceremony, each chapter outlines their function and meaning in detail and where necessary, other artifacts of the burial are discussed in relation to them, thus, providing valuable context to broaden any interpretation. Although these artifacts on their own may not carry great significance, their association with other gifts may provide more insight into the identities of the deceased.

The conclusion discusses the findings according to the major themes discussed in the first two chapters of the paper. The first section summarizes, compares, and interprets the findings according to what they may have meant to the development, negotiation and maintenance of communal identities and how these might relate to globalizing processes. The following section reviews the relevant results in relation to the major axes of identities, such as rank, gender and age. Overlap between these identity categories and the artifacts representing them is, of course, expected and is addressed as one of the main goals of this paper. Since personal identities are not always marked, this section addresses the reasons why such identities may be disseminated in the burial's assemblage.

1 Chapter 1: Conceptual Framework

1.1 Conceptual Framework: Introduction

The analysis of cemeteries for information concerning romanization has a long tradition in Roman provincial funerary studies.[4] Certain aspects of the cemeteries, such as the use of stone monuments with inscriptions to mark burials[5] and the placement of burials on the sides of roads radiating from settlements is considered "Roman"[6] as are some of the funerary rites, such as cremation[7] and vessels used in the ceremony, such as flagons[8] and phials.[9] Even when the binary conceptualization of Roman versus native, inherent in romanization, is not explicitly the focus of inquiry in the funerary sphere, scholars examining burials in Pannonia tend to focus on isolating ethnic components of burials.[10] This emphasis on the ethnic aspect of burials at the expense of other important collective and individual activities stems in part from the influence the romanization paradigm has had on scholarship. The purpose of this dissertation is to problematize understandings of romanization, looking beyond traditional lines of investigation. My methodology will engage with theoretical frameworks concerning romanization, identity and globalization.

The first perspective, romanization, is the foil against which I formed my dissertation's interpretive model. Although it cannot be denied that studies based on theories of romanization

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[4] For example, in general: Pearce 2000: 4; in Pannonia: Jovanović 2000; 1984: 146–150; Mócsy 1974: 147–152; in Britain: Fulford 2002: 56; Jones 1991: 118; Pearce 1997: 174, 179; Struck 2000: 88; 1995: 142–144; in Gaul: Tuffreau-Libre 2000: 54; Wightman 1985: 188; Woolf 1998: 78, 192–193; In Cis-Alpine Gaul: Tizzoni 1985: 43; in Germanic Cemeteries: Waugh, K. E. 199.

[5] Helm 1975: 187; Jones 1993: 249; Mattingly 2011: 232–234; 2007: 304–306; Mócsy 1974: 150–152; Murail and Girard 2000: 106; Wightman 1985: 174–177, 188; Woolf 1998: 7.

[6] Helm 1975: 186; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 112; Pearce 2000: 7; Wacher 1979: 104–105; Ward 1971:137; Wightman 1985: 90–91.

[7] Morris 1992: 48–49; Potter 2002: 18.

[8] See: Crummy 2007: 429; Biddulph 2005: 42; Pitts 2005: 155.

[9] See: Alcock 1980: 62; Pearce 2000: 3; Philpott 1991: 117–118, 218.

[10] See: Topál 2000a; 1997; Jovanović 2000; Istenič 2002.

in many cases generated useful interpretations of Roman society, the concept itself has a very narrow meaning and is analytically constraining. As the term implies, scholars studying identity according to romanization inherently understand it to be a one-way process that differs only in the degree to which peoples became "Roman." Although scholars have tried to broaden understandings of romanization, their approaches cannot escape the inherent implications of the term.

To escape this unilinear understanding of cultural change in the Roman provinces this study adopts recent theoretical frameworks dealing with the complexities of identity and globalization. These are useful because they open the way to interpretations that do a greater justice to current understanding of the complexities of individual and group identities. They not only help us understand the processes of culture and identity change but also help us to gain a more sophisticated understanding of these processes in the Roman world and consequently make interpretations generated in Roman provincial archaeology more relevant to contemporary debates regarding these fundamental concepts.

Romanization was a model developed specifically to tackle issues in Roman provincial archaeology. It is important that theoretical frameworks from the social sciences as a whole be incorporated for use in Roman provincial archaeology. The Roman Empire brought together an unprecedented number of cultures into a relatively stable union making the empire one of the earliest examples of truly globalizing tendencies which are now a major concern for the social sciences. This makes the Roman Empire relevant to current research of globalization in the social sciences and conversely makes the body of theory developed to understand globalization relevant to the study of the Roman Empire. A central concern of globalization is its impact on

group and individual identities and thus the body of theory concerning identity is equally

relevant to this study.

Significant research has been done in sociological studies concerning the variety of

dynamic identities that individuals can form and reform in changing situations. Scholars have

increasingly emphasized the complexity of individual identities and numerous archaeologists

have called for studies that take into account that complexity.[11] Funerary evidence is well suited

to studies concerning individual identities and the collective identities that they make up when

analyzed together. Processes representing their formation and negotiation over time can be traced

through trends in the funerary sphere. What this thesis seeks is a theoretical framework which

addresses the local and regional processes which characterized the transitions of individual and

collective identities in the Roman provinces. Modern theories on globalization recognize that

homogenizing processes, which seem to diminish differences between societies, take place

simultaneously as heterogenizing processes, which promote difference at a local level. Under the

influence of these recent theoretical developments the old unilinear notion of romanization has

lost favour.

The "Roman cultural revolution", notably developed by scholars such as Andrew

Wallace-Hadrill (1989; 1997; 2008) and Greg Woolf (2001), is a notion developed within the

discipline of Roman archaeology that complements many of the characteristics of globalization

discussed above. As a concept developed within Roman archaeology, it provides a useful

heuristic model through which theories of identity and globalization can be effectively applied to

the Roman era. Scholars using such an approach argue that during the mid first century BC and

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[11] Arnold 2007: 111; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005: 9; Gilchrist 2004: 148; Jones 1993: 249–250; Meskell 1999: 21; 2002: 283; Meskell and Preucel 2004: 123; Pearce 1997: 179; Sørensen 2000: 120.

the first century AD, Romans from central Italy were trying to negotiate a "Roman" identity in the face of new, predominantly Greek, influences. At the same time, peoples in the empire were also negotiating and coming to grips with what it meant to be under Roman hegemony. In this respect, the empire was acting as a middle ground where there was a multi-sided exchange over a large area (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13). While this is an important step forward the underlying notion that there was a cultural imbalance between Roman and provincial remains strong and therefore, we need to take a closer look at the genesis and history of the concept of romanization before we can move into a discussion of more recent theoretical frameworks.

1.2   Romanization

The concept of romanization has long shaped how we perceive social and cultural change in the Roman provinces, especially in Anglophone scholarship to which this project largely reacts and imbeds itself. While few now subscribe to the traditional notions of unidirectional processes of romanization, it remains necessary to explore these approaches, since many scholars who seek to interpret social change that took place in the areas incorporated in the empire are still reacting against this paradigm. The key to the concept of romanization is the premise of unilateral and unilinear cultural change, a process that sees a less complex society acculturated into a superior culture. This cannot be separated from the time in which this concept arose under the influence of scholars such as Mommsen and Haverfield, who approached these issues in a context of modern colonial discourses. The result was a self-reinforcing circular argument in which modern justifications of colonial rule were used to analyze the situation in the Roman Empire, which in turn historically justify colonial practices (Hingley 2005: 26–27; Freeman 1997a, 11–12).

Philosophies underlying the concept of romanization are firmly rooted in the nineteenth century when ideologies of nationalism were in full bloom (Hingley 2005: 33, 51; Woolf 1997: 340). It was a period when societies and ethnicities were treated as essentially unchanging, each with its own set of specific traits and characteristics which formed the basis for separate nations. Change, when it came, was deemed to be the result of external influences, making it logical to suggest that one culturally distinct nation could influence another unilaterally. When dealing with the past, the concept of a closed nation with an essentialized identity was projected onto artifact assemblages. Similar items distributed according to geographical patterns were deemed to represent separate and distinct cultures (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 8; Hingley 2005: 51; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2; Insoll 2007: 7; Jones 1997: 15–24; Lucy 2005: 87–88; Woolf 1997: 340). It is along these lines that scholars conceptualized the co-existence of a well-defined Roman culture with distinct local cultures. This essentially nationalist and colonial concept of romanization was still common in studies until quite recently (Woolf 1997: 340), even though the ideological basis is rooted in discourses that we no longer seen as valid.

Theodor Mommsen was the first scholar to systematically theorize notions of "romanizing processes" that formed the foundation of later concepts of romanization.[12] We can see the contemporary processes and discourses alluded to above that were clearly in Mommsen's work (Freeman 1997b: 30–36). Mommsen and other early proponents of provincial Romanizing processes were themselves actively engaged in the imperialistic colonial discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was considered a major task of the colonial powers of the day to "civilise" the indigenous peoples under their domain. Like western European civilization, the past Roman civilization was viewed as superior, and one which subject peoples

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[12] He did this in the fifth book of his great work *Römische Geschichte* (1854–1885), which pertains to the Roman provinces in the Imperial period (*Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian*).

inevitably wished to emulate. Romanization was largely seen as a one-way and passive process in which the provincial elite and town dwellers sought a Roman way of life.[13] Thus, although scholars recognized that romanization did not affect all segments of society and all provinces equally, they still saw it as a homogenizing process (Mattingly 2004: 5).

In tandem with these colonialist and imperialist ideologies, the rise of nationalism had a profound impact on the concept of romanization. Many intellectuals of the day started to believe that nations were relatively closed and naturally distinct cultural entities that had taken shape over time. People's identities became defined according to the nation to which they belonged and the boundaries between different peoples became reified. As mentioned above, archaeologists began to define various cultural groups based on selected media of material culture that seemed to be similar. For the historic period, these groups tended to be identified with named ethnic groups mentioned by the literary sources, such as the Celts and Germans (Hingley 2005: 33, 51; Hodos 2010: 7; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 8).

Mommsen himself was in the vanguard in the movement to unify Germany and for some time he was even a member of the Prussian parliament (Broughton 1968: xxiv; Haverfield 1904: 82). In this way he embodied the close connection between contemporary ideals and what was deemed to be the Roman paradigm, justifying those ideals (Freeman 1997b: 30–32). For Mommsen, the height of Roman civilization was not when it was at its greatest extent, but when the Roman state unified the area that is now modern Italy in the third century BC. Even if Mommsen did not see the Roman Empire as the apex of Roman civilization the way most of his

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[13] For example, see Mommsen 1968: 4–5 and Haverfield 1912: 10–14.

contemporaries did,[14] he did feel that the provinces were able to enjoy unprecedented peace and prosperity because they acculturated to a Roman manner of life, reaping the benefits of their existence under Roman domain (Mommsen 1968: 4–5). This perspective helped promote a positive image of both the ancient Roman as well as contemporary European imperialism (Freeman 1997b: 30–32).

From both the nationalistic and the imperialist points of view, it is easy to see why German scholars of the time perceived a straightforward dichotomous relationship between a closed, distinct, and intrinsically superior "Roman" culture and a pristine native culture whose territories Rome annexed and then acculturated. They tended to focus on similarities in the material culture found throughout the Roman Empire, arguing that it supported the hypothesis that "Roman" culture had acculturated local societies and created the sort of homogeneous "nation" they desired for themselves, as well (Freeman 1997b: 43).

It is thus no coincidence that Mommsen gave detailed attention to the archaeology of the Roman provinces. This was in part connected to his work as the founder and the lead editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The project was the first attempt to compile a comprehensive collection of all known Latin inscriptions. Through the epigraphic record, he highlighted common forms of governance and similar features of citizenship (Broughton 1968: xvi, xx–xxi; Freeman 1997b: 31; Haverfield 1904: 85–86). He used these common features as "romanizing" criteria, in order to demonstrate that they were a characteristic of provincial societies that had accepted and embraced features of the *Pax Romana* (Hingley 2005: 32; Freeman 1997b: 31). Mommsen believed that Romans did not force their civilization on

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[14] Mommsen says that "The Roman state of this epoch [the empire] resembles a mighty tree, the main stem of which in the course of its decay, is surrounded by vigorous offshoots pushing their way upwards [the provinces] (1968: 3–4).

provincial populations; but, rather, that they patiently fostered a peaceful environment through which other peoples were brought into their civilizing processes, adopting Roman laws and customs (Mommsen 1968: 4–5).[15] Mommsen's work was thus pioneering in several aspects. Although Mommsen's use of material sources was innovative, he did tend to focus on inscriptions, which privileged them over other artifacts (Freeman 1997b: 32, 35).

While his work was and is regarded as transformative, many of his conclusions have been called into question, including some which are seminal to assumptions still shared today by many scholars of the Roman provincial past. This is notably the case with the focus on the similarity between the material culture between the provinces. These commonly held categories of material culture became defined largely as "Roman." Until recently, there was a tendency to focus on this "Roman" material culture without clearly defining what was meant by "Roman." Scholars assumed that provincial societies adopted a homogenous and coherent culture, which was packaged and distributed from Rome. These Roman goods, the presumed way of life that came with them, and the attendant peace and prosperity of Roman hegemony were understood as beneficial to provincial societies. This way of thinking about the effects of Roman imperialism on provincial societies formed the foundation for how people conceptualized "romanization": a process through which provincial societies became "Roman." Since many scholars did not interrogate ideas about what constituted "Roman" and they concentrated on the commonalities between provincial cultures, they understood processes of romanization as relatively unidirectional and inevitable (Freeman 1997b: 31–32; Hingley 2005: 44).

Mommsen's arguments significantly influenced Francis Haverfield (1860–1919), a leading Roman historian in Britain. Around the same time in the late nineteenth century that

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[15] According to Mommsen (1968: 4), the Latin-Greek civilizing process was carried out through the "constitution of the urban community."

Mommsen was working, Haverfield and others in Britain recognized that acculturation models of Roman provincial society based only on literary sources were inadequate. Haverfield believed that Mommsen's greatest contribution to the field was the identification of an empire-wide Roman cultural homogeneity by using a combination of epigraphic and ancient literary sources (Freeman 1997b: 43; Haverfield 1904: 85–86). Haverfield went a step further, however, incorporating a much broader range of archaeological data and postulated that this showed a similar homogeneity in Roman Britain (Freeman 1997b: 43; Haverfield 1912: 19–20, 22; 1904: 86–87). He put forth the result of this research in his most famous work, *The Romanization of Britain*, first published in 1906. Haverfield's approach was hampered by the lack of large corpora of archeological data, although he benefited from the work of national and regional antiquarians and their societies. As their work tended to focus on urban areas, forts and villas, and areas that were already considered "Roman," this tended to corroborate Haverfield's acculturation model which he called "romanization." As the material record was fragmentary, Haverfield drew connections between different pieces of isolated evidence, and created a synthesis that was not necessarily accurate in order to create a coherent picture of Roman Britain (Freeman 1997b: 39–41). This was in the form of language, material culture, "art," town life, local government, religion, and land tenure (Forcey 1997: 16).

Like Mommsen, Haverfield was enmeshed in the imperialist and nationalist discourses of his day. British intellectuals eagerly drew comparisons between the Roman and British Empires. The contemporary British experience with empire certainly impacted views of the Roman Empire and conversely, interpretations of the Roman Empire affected understandings and actions within the British Empire. Haverfield received his schooling and later taught at Oxford, where many civil servants who went on to serve in the colonies were educated. Since a good classical

education was the basis of a civil servant's education, they took with them to the colonies contemporary interpretations of the Roman Empire (Mattingly 2011: 10; Freeman 1997a, 11).

Although Haverfield was influential his understanding of romanization was not universally accepted. Some British scholars were also formulating "nativist" perspectives, which reflected local, more specifically "Celtic," national sentiment (Forcey 1997: 16). Instead of emphasizing the Roman impact on local culture, these scholars began to focus on aspects of autochthonous culture preserved during Rome's occupation. Paul Vinogradoff, a medievalist who tried to trace the origins of the manorial system in Britain (*The Growth of the Manor*, 1905), claimed that romanization was culturally superficial and that the underlying Celtic social system had remained unaltered (1911: 37). Although Haverfield rejected ideas such as these in the *Romanization of Britain* (Haverfiled 1912: 19; 36–37), the nativist approach persisted (Forcey 1997: 11). Nonetheless, many prominent scholars in the early and mid twentieth century continued to draw on romanization as theorized by Mommsen and Haverfield. They insisted on a coherent "Roman culture" adopted by provincial societies, which they argued, allowed them to map the progress of romanization, even where it was gradual (Hingley 2005: 35–36).

Although Collingwood attempted, as early the 1920s, to promote a different brand of romanization which gave a greater emphasis on the native character in Roman Britain,[16] his approach was not influential until the 1960s (Hingley 2005: 35–36).[17] Numerous scholars took

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[16] For example, see Collingwood's statement of purpose in *Roman Britain*: "The Britons, then, became Romans; Romans in civilization, in speech, in patriotism and sentiment. At the same time, they did not cease to be Britons; their participation in the cosmopolitan life of the empire was not of such a kind as to swamp or obliterate their original character and peculiarities. The business of this book is to show how this happened, to show in what ways the Britons became Romans and in what ways they remained Britons" (1934: 12).

[17] In this thesis the theoretical background is mostly drawn from the Anglo-Saxon tradition in Classical Archaeology and to a lesser extent the Dutch tradition, which was heavily influenced by theories of New Archaeology from Britain in the late 1970s onwards (Hessing 2001: 140).

on a nativist perspective, not only in British scholarship, but also in other areas of the former Roman Empire, such as North Africa and Italy (Hingley 2005: 36, 40–41).

This focus on native cultures and societies did not affect the core notion of romanization, but maintained the dichotomous relationship between monolithic identities, the "Roman" and "native" until recently in the twenty-first century. In effect this only reinforced the romanization framework (Hingley 2015: 38; 2005: 41; Pitts and Versluys 2015: 6, 21; Mattingly 2011: 209–210; Pitts 2007: 693, 695; Jones 1997: 129–130). Scholars pitted Romanizing perspectives against nativist interpretations and entrenched the archaeological claim that it was important to discover the extent to which local societies had been Romanized (Forcey 1997: 16). Even when scholars tried to reconcile the dichotomous relationship that pitted "nativist" views against "romanist" perspectives, they simply played into the discourse that Roman social change should be looked at from only these two distinct variables, which left other identities subservient to these if they were observed at all (Hingley 2005: 39; Woolf 1997: 340). This emphasis on monolithic group identities did not leave room for a more subtle analysis of individual identities of people who in practice negotiated a variety of cultures in their lifetime.

Scholars who viewed their research in a Roman versus native lens tended to debate the degree to which a society was Native or Roman with views ranging from the society being virtually native with a thin veneer of romanness to societies being virtually completely romanised. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Martin Millett tried to reconcile the polarized views of romanization and Nativism, which was especially prevalent in British scholarship. Millett proposed that local elites had agency in the romanization process, as they were able to emulate Roman practices *à la carte* in order to compete in a new social climate (Hingely 2005: 42; Freeman 1993: 441, 443). Millett's elite-focused model proposed that Roman culture reached

the masses through a trickle-down effect, via the elite-mediated hybrid culture (Millett 1990: 38). This model emphasizes the elite's central role in cultural change and assumes that Roman culture was something that the elite, with the people in their wake, desired (Mattingly 2004: 6; Webster 2001: 213).

While Millett's approach gave agency to the elites and down-played direct Roman intervention, it still had many critics (Hingley 2005 41–42; 1993: 24). They argue that Millett relied on the same very visible, elite material culture as had been researched since the Victorian age and he perpetuated the long-standing notion of two reified, distinct cultures, the Roman and the native (Woolf 1997: 340). A consequence of Martin Millett's work (Millett 1990) was that the scholarly debate on the subject intensified (Hingley 2005: 42). New forums for the romanization debate started to emerge in the late 1980s and early 1990s, including the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC), and the subsequent publishing of its conference proceedings. TRAC's creation was due in a large part to the fact that several scholars in Roman Archaeology considered the field theoretically undeveloped compared to other archaeological sub-disciplines (Laurence 2012: 19, 20–21; Scott 2006: 113–114; 1993a: 1–2). Roman archaeology had largely been unaffected up to this time by ideas and methods from New Archaeology and the post-processual movement, which had had a great impact on anthropological archaeology since the 1960s and late 1970s, respectively (Dyson 1993: 195–197' Hodder 1993: XIII–XIV; Scott 1993b: 15–17; 1990: 955–956; Bradley 1990; 393–394). Although TRAC was devised to develop, promote and showcase theory within our discipline, it took a while for the research that was being conducted in Roman archaeology to reach the level of sophistication that existed elsewhere (Laurence 2012: 21–22). The development of these new forums created the intellectual space for Roman Provincial

archaeologists, in this case scholars specifically in the English-speaking sphere, to venture outside of the realm of classical archaeology for theories and models that would enrich their interpretations and inspire them to look at areas of the material record that had been previously neglected.

Up to this point, scholars had largely failed to theorize exactly what they meant when they used the term "romanization," since the meaning of the term appeared self-evident. Drawing on work disseminated in TRAC and comparable forums, Roman archaeologists were more effectively able to trace their biases in their research. This in turn allowed them to formulate new more sophisticated models to explain romanization, a process which, they still maintained, was the main driving force of social change in Roman provincial societies (Keay 2001: 122–123).

Nic Terrenato, for example, drew upon Claude Lévi-Strauss' concept of *bricolage* as a means to conceptualize and explore the diversity of responses that local communities and other "spheres" within those communities might have had to Roman influence in Italy (Terrenato 1998: 24). He noted that no community was left unchanged by their incorporation into the Roman Empire and argued that they evolved into a complex "patchwork" of new and old elements with new meanings and functions (Terrenato 1998: 25). Others came up with their own perspectives on romanization which had the effect of broadening the debate, but also led to the term "romanization" encompassing so many different ideas that it came to mean very little (Pitts 2007: 693; Forcey 1997: 15).

In the same period a small handful of scholars began to question the validity of the concept of "romanization." Freeman, for example, closely examined the history of the concept of romanization and its inherent biases (1997a, 1997b, 1993), while Barrett questioned the long unchallenged idea of just what it meant for something to be considered "Roman" (1997). One of

the most influential re-conceptualizations of the interaction between Roman and local cultures was Jane Webster's use of creolization theory to explain the social change that took place in Roman provincial society. Creolization was originally a linguistic concept that was applied to new hybrid languages created from French and African languages in a colonial setting (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 11). Colonial archaeologists adopted the term to describe the processes of "multicultural adjustment" through which African-Caribbean and African American societies were created in the colonial period (Webster 2001: 217). These scholars emphasize that though a colonized society may have adopted many forms of the colonizer's material culture, this should not imply the colonized's emulation of the values and beliefs of colonizer. In fact, resistance and subversion on the part of the colonized was often acted out in small ways through not only the selection of certain materials, but also through the way they were applied. This is a non-martial form of resistance, which is important in demonstrating attitudes of contempt and agency against the colonizers. Out of this process a hybrid culture is formed which appears ambiguous in character compared to the native's pre-conquest culture and the colonizer's culture (Webster 2001: 218–219).

Webster's ideas remain significant in Roman provincial archaeology as they continue to be used and commented on. This perspective is particularly useful because it takes into account all levels of society, giving agency to all participants involved (Mattingly 2004: 7). This is especially important in Roman archaeology since theories concerning romanization tended to favour a top-down approach to the adoption of Roman material goods and customs. Creolization can be seen as more of a bottom-up approach that highlights the participation of often lower-class, subaltern, and colonized peoples (Mattingly 2011: 40; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 11). My own research has benefited significantly from this shift of emphasis. As will be discussed in the next

chapter, burials can offer an insight into the experiences and identities of groups of people coming from different backgrounds who might otherwise go un-studied in the archaeological record.

This is not to say that the notion of creolization is unproblematic. Although most scholars appreciate the perspective that creolization has added to our understanding of the cultural changes brought by Roman imperialism, as it highlights concepts such as resistance and hybridity that have been under-theorized in Roman provincial archaeology, the theory has its faults. Creolization tends to emphasize the resistance of a colonized society towards the colonizer, a process that Webster argues can be seen in material culture. Scholars point out, however, that resistance is not the only reason, and may not even be a significant reason, why communities appropriate the material culture of the colonizer in a variety of ways. In fact, resistance can be difficult to trace in the archaeological record (Mattingly 2011: 41). In addition, creolization implies that two distinct cultures or societies are involved: the colonizer's and the colonized (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 12). Furthermore, the creolization processes that took place in Africa and the Caribbean, both linguistically and culturally, were products of a very specific circumstance where sharp contrasts existed between the colonized and the colonizers (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 11).

Creolization does provide useful insights into the range of responses of local communities to the often-traumatic process of inclusion into the Roman Empire. There certainly were dramatic shifts in power affecting the local inhabitants, the local elites and agents of Roman imperialism, which can be explored from this perspective. However, in artifact assemblages from urban centers, especially those along the frontier, such as those of Aquincum and Carnuntum, evidence of "resistance" might be hard to find. Such settlements often contained a

demographically complex population consisting of local and regional peoples, immigrants, and former and current military personal and well as more transient groups, such as merchants and the like. While creolization theory does allow for the inclusion of the lower classes in the analysis of cultural change brought on by Roman imperialism and accords agency to these lower class cultures in the emergence of new provincial cultures, its focus on resistance and the dichotomous interaction between a colonizer and colonized keeps it too close to the traditional romanization paradigm and does not adequately account for the complexities of identity emerging from in the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum.

In that sense I find Wallace-Hadrill, who advocates a "multi-lingual" approach that recognizes the maintenance of distinct cultural identities in a colonial setting, in much the same way that languages can be maintained as distinct in a multi-lingual society, provides an important shift in accent to creolization theory. The actors understand that each identity and the accoutrements that go along with each are separate, just as one who is a polyglot knows when she/he is speaking or comprehending a different language and is able to "code switch" between identities depending on the context (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13–14, 63–64). Since this idea complements creolization, as both processes can take place in the same area, it had significantly broadened the complexity of the discourse within the romanization debate.

The move away from a dichotomous understanding of Roman provincial interaction has gained pace in recent years. David Mattingly, for example, is inspired by the idea of discrepant experiences as conceived by Edward Saïd. He chose to look at the varied responses of assorted communities in Roman-British society, focusing on groups such as the army, women, people of the city and country, etc., that transcended geographically defined communities, although he looked at these too (Mattingly 2011: 29; 2006: 18). Other scholars have advocated the idea of

globalization as a model and theory that could better account for the complex changes that took place in Roman provincial societies (Pitts 2008: 494; Rothe 2006: 442; Hingley 2003: 118; 2005: 2). These scholars were able to draw upon an array of recent research that takes into account the contemporary complexities of social change. Finding similar complexities in the ancient world and analogous processes taking place makes Roman Provincial archaeology relevant to today's world (Hingley 2005; Pitts 2008: 494).

While the powerful notion of romanization still echoes in many of the debates today, a substantial body of literature exits that moves beyond the notion of a dichotomous relationship between Roman and provincial societies. It is from these more recent studies that this thesis draws its inspiration and in part, its theoretical framework. Complementing this part of the theoretical framework are principles drawn from recent sociological work on identity and globalization theory and relevant anthropological studies.

1.3   The Complexities of Identity

Modern theories concerning globalization offer a more sophisticated account of the complexities of social change. It is essential, however, that it is rooted in a nuanced understanding of recent notions of "identity." Identity, both individual and collective, is by no means a straightforward concept. Within current sociology concepts of identity are hotly disputed. Some of these discussions have made their way into Classics and Classical Archaeology, and there are several studies in the field which stand out for their sophisticated analysis of relevant social categories and the major problem of analyzing the available evidence in ways that generate meaningful information related to these categories.

Identity has become an important variable to study in Roman Archaeology. Archaeological research along these lines is important since there is a dearth of relevant literary sources, and what literary sources we do have favor the elite more than archaeological sources do (Pitts 2007: 700). Through archaeological sources we are able to focus on such as gender and age which helps shift the focus from Roman/native structured research in favor of a more multifaceted understand of the issues involved (Pitts 2007: 693). In addition, we can study the manner in which identities are manifested in the archaeological record as a means of exploring social variability over time within the social structure of a community (Pitts 2007: 702). Finally, since identities are enacted, formed and negotiated in daily routines, of which material culture is a part, the study of identity can also provide us a perspective towards comprehending and explaining change in social practice (Pitts 2007: 709).

But what do we mean by identity? The term is commonly used but difficult to clearly define. The term is derived from mathematics, where it is defined in two ways. The absolute definition of identity states that the nature of a thing is the product of internal self-similarity, and not derived from any external relation. The relative definition implies that the nature of a thing is derived from the difference between it and those things that are not it (Malešević 2002: 196). When identity was incorporated into the discourse of the social sciences, it maintained this duality. A person's identity is defined by both its similarity to others in the group or category and its difference to those in another group or category. For example, women share the same gender, with some similar meaningful actions and experiences, which give some sort of internal consistency, while at the same time the category becomes significant because the category is defined against and differs from what it means to be a man. What works in math, though, does not work in the realm of humans where identities are situational and dynamic (Malešević 2002:

197). Any attempt to apply a hard definition of identity to humans results in an essentialized or reified concept which is incompatible with that situational and dynamic characteristic of identity. In that sense a soft meaning of identity is preferable, but it is less useful for providing statistically reliable and testable hypotheses, since identity is ever-changing and situational within an individual (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 10–11). Hard data on the other hand can be used for statistical analysis and therefore a joint use of conceptualizations of identity that take into account their dynamic nature and more concrete conceptions which can be used for quantitative analysis provide an ideal approach for a study like this.

The concept of identity in the social sciences only emerged in the United States during the late 1950s and 1960s. Before this it was rare to find a reference to it in dictionaries or encyclopedias of the field (Malešević 2002: 214; Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 2; Gleason 1983: 910). In connection with the emergence and development of the new concept of "national character," sociologists essentialized what it meant to be an "American" in relation to the characteristics of other nations and movements, especially communism with its transnational claims (Gleason 1983: 923–924; Malešević 2002: 210–211).[18] Just like Roman archaeologists, sociologists also focused on exploring and defining broad identities.

With the emergence of the civil rights movements in the late 1960s and the 1970s when people of varied ethnic and gender groups gained more political and social freedoms and choices, master concepts such as that of "national consciousness," began to fall apart. Social scientists developed the concept of "Identity" as an all-inclusive master concept to both define and "explain" the immense amount of social change that was occurring. The concept found

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[18] The idea of "national character" was inclusive enough and gave the United States and other nations the ability to show a united front against opposing ideologies, such as the Marxist-inspired idea of "social consciousness." The concept of social consciousness crosscut that of the "national consciousness," as it was intended to appeal to the proletariat or the economically downcast, regardless of their nationality (Malešević 2002: 210–211).

widespread use because it was relatively ambiguous and could be applied in a flexible manner to various processes, structures, events and actions, to the point that every social problem can be easily labeled as an issue of identity. "Identity politics" began to emerge when members of prominent and politicized groups debated and negotiated just what it meant to be included in a particular category (Malešević 2002: 211–212).

More recently scholars have come to see identities as being more fractured than they had previously thought. Members of movements found it was more difficult than expected to come to an agreement regarding what it meant to be part of a distinct identity through which all people within that group could be meaningfully united for political action (Meskell 1999: 54–55). External forces, notably the government, also had a vested interest in defining groups and movements, but the rigidity of definitions excludes individuals, the lack of consensus between government bodies over definitions creates confusion and that it is an external power, the government, that defines what it means to be part of a group who have much less power is problematic (Robertson 2013 4–5; Nagel 2000: 83). Reflecting on both these processes scholars became aware by the early 1990s that identities were too fluid, complex, multiple and dynamic to easily allow for group definitions (Malešević 2002: 213). As discussed above, more recently, Roman archaeologists have come to similar conclusions in their own work.

The fact that the identity is an ambiguous term that involves often rapid and complex processes makes it difficult to study (Malešević 2002: 212). However, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have usefully identified five prominent ways in which the concept of identity is currently used in the social sciences (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 6–8). Categories #2 and #4 inform the aspects of identity this project incorporates into its own conceptual framework. In category #2, identity is viewed as collective phenomena of group sameness, which can be

understood both objectively (as a sameness "in itself") or subjectively (as experienced, felt or perceived). At times, this sameness can be manifested in solidarity, in shared dispositions or consciousness, or in collective action. This sense of identity is found especially in literature involving social movements. For this dissertation, this sense of sameness can be fostered through symbolically charged common and communal rituals such as funerals. Such shared collective acts serve as a venue for maintaining and negotiating shared dispositions. While this perspective of identity is useful in conceptualizing how a sense of sameness is maintained concerning established identities, category #4 provides a perspective of identity that takes into account the development of this sense. In this conception, identity can also be viewed as the product of social or political action, which emphasizes the interactive, processual development of a shared feeling of groupness and solidarity which enables collective action. In this conceptualization, identity is a "contingent product" of social or political action and the foundation for further action. Along these lines, the communal and interactive nature of a funerary ritual can contribute to developing a shared feeling of groupness

Based on these viewpoints, Brubaker and Cooper have suggested some useful approaches to studying social identities. These include "commonality, connectedness and groupness" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 19–21) and "identification and categorization" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 14–17). "Commonality" denotes the sharing of some common attribute and "connectedness" indicates the relational ties that link individuals. "Groupness" signifies the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded solidary group, which neither the concepts of "commonality" nor "connectedness" can do on their own. The feelings of belonging depend on the degrees and forms of commonality and connectedness. The point behind the suggestions of such categories is so that scholars have perspectives that are sensitive to the multiple forms and

degrees of commonality and connectedness, and to the wide variety of ways in which individuals attribute meaning and significance to them (Brubaker and Cooper 200: 19–21).

The concepts of "commonality, connectedness and groupness" can be a helpful lens when looking at the effects that ritual activity, such as funerary ceremonies, have in the creation, negotiation and reification of collective social identities. As mentioned above (#2 and #4) collective identities are the product of social action, such as rituals, during which commonality is emphasized through participation and observation of symbolically charged activities representing common values. Rituals of each ceremony bring participants and observers together connecting them and instilling in them a sense of groupness as part of a collective or community. Symbolic behaviour and materials can also evoke collective identities based on age, gender, ethnicity and status which transect communal senses of groupness. Thus, funerary rituals are just one of many formalized activities in a society which help to instill a sense of groupness. That said, funerary rituals carry much weight in the production, negotiation and maintenance of identity because they are often formalized and symbolically charged. For this reason, patterns in the symbolic practices as manifested in the funerary record may offer us the most compelling evidence on how commonality was expressed and how the symbolic practices contributed to a sense of groupness (Morris 1987: 39; Pader 1984: 54).

How a person is identified by others and how they identify themselves in a given context is also an important issue in this study. Research that focuses on "identification and categorization" is helpful in bringing to light the agents that do the identifying, without presupposing that this will necessarily result in an internalization of sameness amongst those being categorized. With regards to self-identification, it is accepted that there is a there is a dialectical interplay between it and the categorization of oneself by others. This perspective

enables scholars to look at the processes at work with "identification" and the meaning behind any particular categorization (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 14–17).

These perspectives are useful in the study of the funerary sphere and complement concepts of "commonality, connectedness and groupness." While we cannot say for sure who or what institutions influenced the identities projected through the funerary record, i.e., who "identifier(s)" of the deceased was/were, this thesis speculates in a very general sense as to who these identifiers may be. In particular we will look at the degree to which the identities projected onto the bodies aligned with identities the deceased individual accorded to himself. What we will see is that the identifiers of the funerary context were influenced by various processes in society and in turn, during the funerary ceremony, through their actions, affected the feelings of groupness of those involved.

In short, a conceptualization which brings together notions of "commonality, connectedness and groupness," and "identification and categorization" is a useful lens through which to look at the formation, negotiation and reification of collective identities in the funerary sphere and most importantly what they might have meant to those who participated. This is not enough, however, for this project. This conceptualization is useful for analyzing one major identity at a time. In order to make sense of the interaction of multiple identities in burial assemblages this thesis must look to additional fields of identity studies. Conceptualizations of identity must take into account that categories of identities cannot exist in isolation. In the funerary sphere, one cannot look at an identity based on ethnicity, for example, without taking into account identities, for example, based on the major axes of identity; age, gender and rank, since these factors play apart in the way gender is expressed. [19] Archaeologists who focus on the

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[19] Previously archaeologists tended to study the four major dimensions of individual and social experience, class, age, gender and ethnicity, (Laslett 1995: 4), largely in isolation, with an emphasis on status and ethnicity.

study of identity have taken them up such conceptualizations, developed them for the purposes of interpreting material culture and applied them with much success.

My own research draws heavily on the work of Judith Butler, particularly her groundbreaking *Gender Trouble*. Her approach to identity is attractive because she accepts identity as being dynamic and multifaceted, two features which Roman provincial archaeologists have only recently begun to explore.[20] Butler argues that the identity of "woman" is transected by many other identities including race, class, ethnicity and age. She emphasizes that it was not possible to isolate one identity from the political and cultural influence, in which it arose. "Woman" then is not the totality of a person's identity, but only a category. In order to complete an identity, there must be other identities or experiences that intersect and overlap with "woman" thereby completing the concept of that individual. Thus, all women are different, yet a common term is used to describe part of their perceived existence (Butler 1999: 20–21). As Butler emphasizes, it is possible to describe an individual with a seemingly endless array of predicates that would surely end with a frustrating "etc." (Butler 1999: 182).

Butler and other contemporary gender scholars had a considerable impact on the way in which archaeologists studied identity. The call to change the way archaeologists study identity has been done by gender archaeologists, such as Lynn Meskell and Roberta Gilchrist. They recognized that identities were fluid and that individual foundational identities could not be explained without incorporating the conceptions that accompanied other identities (Gilchrist 2004: 152; Meskell 1999: 105).

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[20]   *Gender Trouble* was written in reaction to feminists who attempt to look for a universal essence of women, but in doing so were unable to account for distinctive experiences (Meskell 1999: 54–55). Not surprisingly, feminists have a difficult time finding a universal essence that encompasses all women (Bulter 1999: 6–7).

While their sophisticated approach to gender archaeology allows archaeologists such as Meskell, Joyce and Gilchrist to make great strides in studying multiple identities in terms of gender, the debate surrounding romanization in roman provincial archaeology has remained largely restricted to the dichotomous relationship between "Roman" and "Native" (Hingley 2005: 38; Barrett 1997: 60; Woolf 1997: 340). Even within this dichotomy, it has largely been the elite male identities that have received the most attention since elites are often the most visible in the literary sources. Furthermore, they have built most of the visible monuments and their material culture is the most attractive for archaeologists to study as it tends to demonstrate a "Roman" identity which supports preconceived views. In fact, scholars have largely assumed that "Roman culture is an elite culture" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 12). As a result, elite material culture is the most thoroughly studied, which in turn makes it the most convenient to study. From the perspective of identity studies, Roman provincial archaeologists still often abide by some of the same structures which form the basis of the concept of romanization that have remained largely unquestioned since the inception of their development. This is true for Roman archaeologists who have tried to expand the definition of romanization so that they can increase the sophistication of their interpretation of the material record, as well as those who have abandoned the concept altogether and have explored other viewpoints. Even when archaeologists have tried to add some complexity to their analysis, they have mainly focused on comparisons between regional identities, or cultural identities. This is not surprising given that one of the aspects of the Roman Empire that is most fascinating to us is that such a large geographical area with so many different cultures was united relatively peacefully under one polity for so long. Unfortunately, this has left other meaningful social categories understudied, including identities

based on the four major axes of identity, ethnicity, gender, age and status and other social personae, such as those centred around occupation and religion (Pitts 2007: 693).

Recent studies have sought to remedy this. Roman identity is no longer seen as being absolute; it is a discourse in which an individual participates (Revell 2009: 2; Woolf 1998: 7–16). It is acknowledged that the discourse differed widely because the Roman Empire was so large and local cultures were so varied. In addition, within local societies, various social groups, such as those based on gender, age, occupation, status, etc. had a varied response to becoming Roman (Mattingly 2011: 29; Revell 2009: 5; Woolf 1997: 341). Although, in theory, responses to becoming Roman may have differed greatly, it is thought that common aspects of social structures as mediated through and acted out habitually in the material world helped to center the identity and made it possible for people to live in a local society without it conflicting with what it meant to be Roman (Revell 2009: 2–3). The idea that Roman identity is a discourse in which people participate, acknowledges the fact that identity is multiple, fluid and situational (Revell 2009: 7).

Thus, "Roman" identity has become a relatively sophisticated concept that correlates with the complex and dynamic conceptions of identity in the social sciences and more specifically in gender studies. Nonetheless, it has its limitations as a focus of analysis due to a lack of research of other identities alongside or in relationship to it. "Roman" identity may have been a major, underlying factor that contributed to the unity of the empire, but it probably was not the most important identity in the lives of individuals, in their daily routines. They had many other identities, which they ascribed to themselves and others (Woolf 1997: 341). The effects of Roman imperialism did, in fact, have a great impact on local cultures, but the construction of a Roman identity, was only one of many with which local inhabitants identified.

To capture the variety of identities with which local inhabitants responded to Roman imperialism some scholars have turned to the idea of discrepant experiences. David Mattingly borrowed the concept of discrepant experiences from Edward Saïd in acknowledgment that there were varied experiences to Roman imperial colonization. Mattingly understands that there are varied perceptions of history, culture and relationships between colonizer and colonized, from which parallel narratives can be produced (2011: 29). In the absence of literature from many of the Roman provinces, which would convey the perspective of the colonized, Mattingly (2006) proposes to try to identify "discrepant experiences" in the material culture of Roman Britain (Pitts 2008: 494; Mattingly 2006: 17). He concentrates on three broad identity groups: the military community, urban dwellers and rural societies. Mattingly believes that these three groups did not share a unified common culture, but that there were significant differences between them, and further variables within them as well (Mattingly 2006: 18). Mattingly demonstrated convincingly that distinct identities developed within the province of Britain as a result of varied experiences with Roman imperialism. Although Mattingly was successful in finding varied identities in the material record, his study is hampered by the unevenness of the source material he had at his disposal (Kurzmann 2007). Perhaps, it would be fruitful to look at discrepant experiences in a local well-published setting and then build up to a regional level in order to get the most out of this perspective.

With this brief discussion we have highlighted some of the issues that have arisen concerning the concept of identity not only within our own discipline, but also within the social sciences. It is clear that Roman archaeologists cannot uncritically adopt a concept such as identity that is so heavily laden with meaning, any more than we can use the concept of romanization without questioning it. Not only do Roman archaeologists not explore the issues

behind using a term like identity, but often they apply the term as a thin, superficial veneer over the underlying romanization discourse, maintaining a focus on cultural or regional identities at an elite level at the expense of other meaningful social categories (Pitts 2007: 693–694).

Theories from sociology, gender and feminist studies and Roman provincial archaeology all need to be taken into account in order to draw up a perspective through which we can take into account the complexities of identities in the funerary record. Sociologists have grappled with the complexities of identity, acknowledging that identity is dynamic and contextual, and yet applying it in a hard sense in order to get concrete results in their studies. This study will take into account this same notion in the context of the funerary ritual, which is a formal, symbolically charged event.

A focus on how the funerary ritual contributes to notions of commonality, connectedness and groupness helps us to gain insight into how collective identities are produced, maintained and negotiated. As this study will demonstrate, collective identities as they appear to us in funerary assemblages mark not only the deceased, but also represent identity categories important in the sphere of the living.[21] A first step is to search for commonalities in the material culture, especially related to funerary rituals in order to isolate meaningful patterns. Presumably these commonalities between burials represent similarities in attitudes towards the deceased as expressed by those taking part in the funerary ceremony. Such commonalities also reflect the connectiveness of those participants who come together and repeat ritual patterns over time and space in the cemetery. In that sense funerary rituals are an important part of the range of the symbolic activities which contribute to a sense of groupness.

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[21] See discussion in Chapter 2, pages 67–69.

This conceptualization of how collective identities are created, negotiated and reinforced in the funerary sphere is useful, but we need theories that take into account multiple identities and how they interact with each other, in order to get a fuller picture of the types of collective identities found in the burial assemblage. Here, Judith Butler's approach to identity has been seminal to my perspective on the issue. With Butler's understanding of identity/identities this becomes a concept which is useful to this dissertation because she is concerned with multiple and overlapping identities based on the fragmentation of master concepts. Butler is concerned with the fragmentation of collective identities brought about by the civil rights movement; at first glance this might seem totally irrelevant, but the idea of Roman cultural revolution actually suggests identity transformations and fragmentations of a very similar nature in the Roman world.

In particular, Butler's theoretical framework has allowed us to move beyond the way in which identity has been applied in Roman provincial archaeology in particular in relation to the romanization debate. We can now move past the dichotomous relationship between "Roman" and "Native", as well as identities based on status and ethnicity, on which scholars have tended to focus. This does not mean that we can simply ignore the effects of Roman imperialism on collective identities, but through theories such as Mattingly's "discrepant experiences," Roman archaeologists have come to realize that people respond to the impact of Roman imperialism in different ways, which can affect how various identities are produced, negotiated and expressed. Undoubtedly, identifying as a Roman was important to many people, but that does not mean it was the only way for people to identify themselves and arguably it was often not the most important identity in the everyday lives of people in the provinces. Therefore, we must not be surprised if other identities were more important in the burial record than the Roman.

1.4 Globalization

As mentioned in the previous section, identity is a useful variable in the archaeological study of the effects of Roman imperialism on the inhabitants of provincial societies. In order to focus more effectively on the dynamic processes through which identities were constructed, negotiated and maintained, globalization can be used as a useful model (Pitts 2007: 700). In its simplest sense, it implies an increased connectivity over a wide area, due to geographical boundaries becoming less significant. This basic process can be observed on a smaller scale in and around the Roman world. Many scholars who study the processes which drive globalization place a heavy emphasis on the intense change of identities that accompanies globalizing processes. A major strength of globalization theory is its ability to reveal both homogenizing processes, which contribute to a universalization of identity, as well as heterogenzing processes which lead to the creation of new, diverse identities. This seeming paradox is the result of the fact that globalization theory does not inherently imply the dominance of one culture, like concepts such as Americanization and Westernization. Thus, globalization helps us to overcome the homogenizing perspective of romanization and the study of the "Roman" identity itself and instead focus on other identities and those ongoing processes which affected them. We have already stressed that people and the communities to which they belonged reacted to Roman imperialism in many different, discrepant ways (Mattingly 2006, 17). It is important to recognize that the impact that Roman imperialism had on provincial societies was not just the effect that "Rome" or Italy had on the provinces, but more importantly, the regional reaction to influences from different areas of the world, which were now more connected.

As a concept globalization has a variety of meanings depending upon whether it is being discussed from an economic or sociological point of view and whether it is being defined from a narrow or wide-ranging perspective. For the purposes of this dissertation, globalization is taken to be the process involving an increase in interaction between agents or ideas over a wider space when the constraints of geography become less significant (Waters 2001: 5; Rajaee 2000: 30; Featherstone 1996: 60). Such a general definition of globalization can be easily applied to the ancient world, where such processes, particularly in the Roman era, can be observed. In this sense globalization replaces romanization as a theoretical focus in this study.

Globalization as a concept emerged in the early 1960s, reflecting a recognition of the significance of the world's increasing interconnectedness (Kilminster 1997: 257). Globalization was concerned with peoples' experiences in a world where there was an increase in social integration across the nation-states. This really started to accelerate in the 1980s and 1990s (Kilminster 1997: 272), when globalization gradually replaced other ways of thinking about global interconnectedness, such as "Americanization" and "Westernization", which, like romanization, imply a one-way projection of culture (Featherstone 1993: 170). As we have argued above, these are too simplistic and do not capture the complex interactions that take place in processes of unification and fragmentation, standardization and diversification (Scott 1997: 7). The responses to globalizing processes are seen as pluralistic and modern scholars are no longer seeing the world as coming to some sort of universal consensus.

A globalizing perspective emphasizes universalisms, as well as fracturing (Priscilla 2000: 10). The phenomenon can be viewed as an amalgamating force in that there is harmonization concerning such functional areas such as consumer products, financial services, bureaucratization and urbanization (Rajaee 2000: 7; Featherstone 1993: 170). In such a milieu,

social relations develop to a global extent, and local economies become dependent upon one another over a greater geographical area (Rajaee 2000: 24, 44). As the globalizing processes cause social integration over a much wider space, peoples negotiate differences, and find common ground in which and through which to communicate in ways that all involved can understand, as well as develop the ability to handle an assortment of symbolic material in order to understand peoples of different societies (Hingley 2005: 118; Poppi 1997: 292–293; Featherstone 1996: 55). This is especially the case in more cosmopolitan cities where people of differing backgrounds have to interact and effectively communicate more often (Featherstone 2000: 61–62). Since globalizing processes serve to familiarize individuals with greater cultural diversity, in a foreign or cosmopolitan environment a variety of identities can be formed and reformed depending upon each individual situation (Featherstone 1996: 55; 1993: 169).

Globalization, just like romanization, was at one time conceived of as a process that would eventually lead to world-wide cultural and economic homogeneity, but this is no longer seen to be true. Societies can negotiate and define themselves by reinforcing their local identities in reaction to increasing contact with new societies (Pitts 2008: 494; Clarke 2003: 191; Featherstone 1993: 176). This leads to the creation of new symbolic modes of affiliation and belonging and additionally to the redefining and reshaping of the meanings of established signs in an attempt to rediscover localism and difference (Featherstone 1996: 55). In the redefining of identities an erosion of old boundaries occurs while new boundaries are created to draw distinction between self and other (Korobov 2006: 46). A fragmentation of identities is also taking place since people have more diverse experiences and are able to label themselves with more identities than ever before. At the same time, this fragmentation of identities is juxtaposed against universalizing tendencies that are taking place, so that people can communicate with each

other and emphasize understandable differences with each other, which integrates different and diverse locales. As greater numbers of people flow between more diverse locales and situations because of increased migration and travel, and are connected to far flung places, individuals have to learn how to integrate into new situations (Hedetoft 2003: 32–33; Poppi 1997: 299).

It is important to realize that homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies are reflexive, in that you cannot have one without the other. The interconnectedness of localities actually generates senses of locality and difference. The construction of local identities and traditions are developed along global lines in that people experiencing different locales are able to acknowledge these differences. As peoples experience other locales, they become more aware of, emphasize and generate difference, essentializing unique characteristics of locales. This can lead to strategic essentialism, which is the promotion of these unique differences, from within the group, itself, but also by outside actors (Robertson 1995: 40). Since this dissertation does not follow the idea that a simple one directional or even polar directional cultural exchange took place in the Roman world, this concept, often referred to as glocalization (based on a combination of "local" and globalization") offers an effective explanatory framework to describe the complex interaction of globalizing and localizing processes that occurred in the ancient world.

In studies dealing with globalization, local feelings of identity and their construction are often examined in relation to globalizing processes that take place at a broader level, for example at a national or international level (Lovell 1998: 1). [22] In 1996, Arjun Appadurai published his seminal chapter on locality, which offers a theoretical perspective, designed to investigate the

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[22] This is not to imply that the "global" and "local" are opposed to each other since they are intimately linked (Hardt and Negri 2000: 44), but they are two major points on a scale of global change that can provide an analytical lens for examination.

production of local identity in a contemporary and globalizing world. This theory has great

explanatory power and shows promise in its applicability to the ancient Roman world. Appadurai

sees locality as a "phenomenological quality" that cannot be taken for granted. Localizing

practices must constantly be able to produce and reproduce "reliably local subjects," who

"belong to a situated community of kin, neighbors, friends and enemies" (Appadurai 1996: 178–

179; Valo 2008). Rituals are important as localizing practices, because they involve the

socialization of time and space, re-enforcing the social organization, and they structure a feeling

of belonging to a community (Appadurai 1996: 180; 184; Valo 2008). Appadurai's sentiment

regarding the importance of ritual in the fostering of a sense of collective identity echoes many

of the same points concerning the development, negotiation and maintenance of collective

identities that Brubaker and Cooper outline. For archaeologists it is important to note that these

activities "yield particular sorts of *material effects*" (Appadurai 1996: 182 *emphasis added*).

While Appadurai does not restrict these effects to particular spheres of material culture, his

approach does have a lot to offer to this study which is rooted in the material effects of funerary

rituals.

Based on Appadurai's theoretical perspective, we can expect individuals to intentionally,

and repeatedly, produce material correlates of their local identity. Appadurai understands a sense

of locality as the existing and reforming through the social forms of communities, whether

situated or virtual, for which he uses the term "neighborhoods" (Appadurai 1996: 178–179). Put

another way, Appadurai's neighborhoods are the aspects of social life[23] within which locality

becomes manifest (Valo 2008).[24] Appadurai emphasizes that neighborhoods as social forms are

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[23] Varro refers to neighborhoods as "micro-structures of everyday life." These can be the daily interactions and social relationships, the structures of feeling, myths and rituals, representations, etc. (Valo 2008).

[24] The use of the concept of "locality" or "neighborhood," as Appadurai defines it, is not unproblematic. For example, it is hard to define the boundaries of a particular locality or neighborhood or how large it can be. In

always derived from other neighborhoods, i.e., they are formed and re-formed contextually, and they are never constructed from a void (Appadurai 1996: 182–183). [25] Because neighborhoods are always formed and re-formed contextually, they are always subject to global processes (Hardt and Negri 2000: 44–45; Appardurai 1996: 185). When under threat local boundaries may be ritually strengthened and maintained (Appadurai 1996: 197). As mentioned above, locality is inherently fragile and must be contiguously re-produced, built anew and carefully preserved (Appadurai 1996: 179: Valo 2008).

In line with Appadurai we should expect manifestations of locality in the funerary sites of at Aquincum and Carnuntum which are studied in this thesis. For quite some time archaeologists have realized that colonial sites develop distinctly according to dissimilar contextual circumstances (Sweetman 2011: 4; Woolf 2011: 151; 155). When people immigrated into the town, whether that be from a former local center, the surrounding countryside, from the region, or from places within the wider empire, the urban space acted as a domain within which the immigrants could negotiate a local, civic identity based on the experiences that those peoples, institutions (like the military) and other globalizing processes brought into play (Bowden 2011: 101). Having left their former community and the traditions that with it, settlers may have become more open to fostering new identities, especially within an urban environment (Bowden 2001: 101; Cleary 1992: 36). Urban centers acted as nodes of communication, making them a fertile area for new ideas and dynamic civic identities. As a result, there was a multiplicity of localities (neighborhoods) within the settlements that reflected other communal identities (Sweetman 2011: 3). Thus, large-scale social formations, such as the nation-state or empire, are

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addition, from whose perspective is the existence of a particular neighborhood dependent? An insider or someone from the outside (Valo 2008)?

[25] This raises the historical question of original neighbourhood formation and ethnogenesis, which will be dealt with in chapter 2.

powerful forces shaping environments in which localizing activities attain meaning. They can also help to determine the form that these localizing activities will take (Appadurai 1996: 187).

Although there was a varied response in colonial sites, there were a number of common features that many colonies shared because of normative aspects of Roman imperialism as well as some of the globalizing processes that this brought about. Some of the common features that many colonies shared included a street grid, the forum as a centralized meeting area, the placement of the settlement on major networks of communication and other features, which conceptually link these familiar spaces to others in the wider Roman world (Woolf 2000: 123; 1997: 343; Zanker 2000: 27; Hingley 1997: 89). These connections were both literal, because they were placed on major communication routes, and ideological because they created spaces through which the administrative elite could maintain control and promote themselves and their versions of "*romanness*"[26] (Woolf 2000: 130–131; Zanker 2000: 28–29; Hanson 1997: 75–76; Hingley 1997: 90). These centers were ideally able to produce good subjects, who contributed to the well being of the state and its rulers.[27] They also have an important place in maintaining control and integrating people who migrated to or passed through them.

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[26] An example of this adherence to "Roman" types is the dissemination of faithful copies in statuary and on coins of Imperial portraits in the provinces. Because of the quantity of such types over such a large geographic area, it is almost certain that the image was created in Rome and approved of by authorities there before casts were made to be disseminated to the provinces (Fittscen 2015: 55–56; Zanker 2010: 74, 80). Although most portraits adhered to the type there was a diversity in adaptations. Craftsmen of local workshops often altered the type either to appeal to their interpretation because they adhered to local traditions (Zanker 2010: 80; Fittschen 2015: 63–64), or because of the level of effort invested in the quality of the piece by the artist (Fittscen 2015: 63 emphasizes economic considerations; Zanker 2010: 80 mentions artistic limitations). Not only was imperial portraiture produced faithfully all over the empire, but people also tried to emulate stylistic aspects of the imperial portraiture in their own portraits (Fittscen 2015: 67).

[27] Hingley mentions that there was likely resistance to the forms of control brought on by Roman dominion, which might be detectable in the archaeological record by focusing on how material culture was put to use (1997: 88). Woolf echoes these sentiments (2000: 131).

We must take care not to exaggerate the degree of central imperial control.[28] It is important to note that in the processes discussed above, the empire is not the sole actor and that the resulting neighborhoods take on forms that are not always determined by the empire. These neighborhoods may be at odds with the empire and maybe even be subversive to it (Appadurai 1996: 191).[29]

Although globalization, when seen in this light, may seem persuasive in the study of Roman provincial cultures, it is not without problems. One criticism which can be leveled is that the whole notion of globalization, when applied to the Roman world, is anachronistic. From an economic standpoint, for example, one can argue that concepts of globalization cannot be applied until the late eighteenth century when a single world market started to develop, which was characterized by the convergence of international commodity prices. In this form of connectivity, the availability of a commodity in one area of the world directly impacts the price of that same commodity in another part of the world (Pitts 2008; 494; O'Rourke and Williamson 2002: 45–46). It is generally agreed that the Romans did not have such a fully integrated market system, although inter-connected markets did exist and forces from these markets did influence

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[28] In the context of modern nationalism, neighborhoods exist mainly to produce and foster good citizens, who can be teachers, politicians, soldiers and others that are needed to maintain institutions and ideologies of the nation state (Appadurai 1996: 190). The act of defining such things as the capitals, monuments, cities, etc., as well as the construction of locals of memory such as cemeteries, museum, monumental spaces, etc. and the installing of institutional apparatus such as post offices, schools, police stations etc., all help to nationalize space and they permeate the experiences of everyday life that in turn contribute to the production of locality (Appadurai 1996: 189).
[29] In this light Christian communities can be seen as subverting neighborhoods in many localities in the Roman Empire before AD 313 (before the Edict of Milan which pronounced Christianity as a tolerated religion and gave it legal status). Christians were stereotyped as social deviants who were perceived as taking part in "illicit, anti-social, immoral activity" (de Vos 2000: 876). This is in part because they did not take part in many activities that others in their broader communities took part in, such as the worship of local and Roman deities, including the Imperial cult. Many Christians probably could not take part in these and many communal activities, since they might be seen as idolatrous, which went against their beliefs (de Vos 2000: 870–871). Their separation from many aspects of communal life led many to distrust them, leading them to be associated with all sorts of malevolent practices, such as magic, cannibalism and disloyalty to the gods, the broader community and the empire. Consequently, they were mistrusted, and people blamed them for misfortunes in the community, since they did not support the protecting gods (de Vos 2000: 877).

prices (Temin 2013: 4; Pitts 2008: 495; Hopkins 2002: 228–230). Numerous scholars argue that supra-regional aspects of the economy were primarily state driven rather than market driven (Pitts 2008: 495; Gerrard, 2002: 19–20; Allen and Fulford 1996: 269; Gabler 1986: 95–96). Although certain technologies and institutions such as the well-engineered and planned Roman roads and the imperial postal system did exist in the Roman world, it saw nowhere near the rapid development of technology that drives modern day connectedness. So, although some general globalizing processes can be found and described when looking at the Roman world, globalization theory cannot be adopted uncritically.

Another important point to keep in mind is that the concept of globalization, and the theorizing that goes with it, is itself a globalizing process. In other words, the very theory that we are developing and using is actualized in real experience (Scott 1997: 16). Therefore, to use a globalizing perspective as concept based on contemporary experience is to use a concept that was unfamiliar to the peoples to which it is applied. This concept seems to put those using a globalizing perspective at a disadvantage, but we must remember that terms such as "romanization" and the constant shifting of means behind the concept, which some may think of as being more accurately applied to the Roman world, were also products of their time and did not manifest in the ancient world as well as theorized (Rothe 2006: 443).

The application of globalization theories to the Roman world then is an expression of the current *Zeitgeist.* This does not diminish the fact that as the Roman Empire developed, globalizing processes were generating interconnectedness as was discussed above. These processes were occurring at a faster rate and in a wider geographical expanse than had occurred before, and it appears that in many areas that were associated with the empire there was an ongoing development of connectivity from at least the time of the beginning of the Iron Age.

Among the numerous scholars who have promoted the use of globalizing perspectives to explore connectedness in the Roman world, Richard Hingley is probably the one who applied globalizing perspective to the Roman world most thoroughly. In his book, *Globalizing Roman Culture*, not only does Hingley see globalization as a suitable alternative to romanization, but he is also interested in how our awareness of our own global connectively has helped generate new interpretations about Roman social developments (Hingley 2005: 1). Hingley is particularly fascinated by the apparent paradox of globalization in that it generates unity as well as diversity. An example is the apparent, relative cultural unity among the elite of the empire and yet the varied response of local populations to wide ranging influences. Others have taken up and applied a globalizing perspective and have identified expansive changes in the Roman world.

Martin Pitts uses a globalizing perspective to conceptualize cultural, economic, political and environmental changes in Roman Britain in terms of the effects of "time-space compression" fostered by intensifying networks of connectivity (2008: 494).[30] In a study that focuses on the dissemination and use of Gallo-Belgic pottery and other imported Gallic wares, Pitts demonstrates that a globalizing perspective better illustrates the multilateral and multi-directional globalizing influences than the more unilinear concept of romanization. Pitts argues that these influences have their effect on such fields of interaction as feasting and burials (2008: 501). This is in contrast to a romanizing point of view which in the past has concentrated on themes of acceptance and resistance to Roman culture (2008: 497).

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[30] "Time-space compression" can refer to the spatial integration of areas over a wider area which facilitated the spread of ideas and goods over a shorter amount of time. Because of this, events taking place in one place could have a direct impact on another location further away in a short time. Harvey (1996: 260–265) discusses the ramifications of this phenomenon during the mid nineteenth century, when parts of Europe were so financially and economically integrated that when political crises erupted, they happened in a number of different places simultaneously.

Melissa Ratliff in her study of bronze production and trade in first century BC and the first century AD in the Roman Empire argues a "glocal" perspective best explains the results of her research (2011: 34). Ratliff demonstrates that trade in bronze was empire-wide and changes in production and trade methods also affected all areas of the empire. At the same time, she shows that specific networks of trade and production tended to be local and regional rather than empire-wide (2011: 37). Ratliff thus demonstrates that local production and trade networks were affected in terms of production techniques and trade practices by empire-wide developments. The successful application of globalizing theories to aspects of the Roman world on the part of Hingley, Pitts and Ratliff demonstrates that an analytical lens based on such theories is helpful in providing new, informative perspectives on previously studied material.

As stated above globalization as a model for understanding social, cultural and economic change in the Roman world is not universally accepted. David Mattingly (2006: 17), for example, argued that that the concept of globalization was no better an approach than that of romanization, in particular because it tends to be used, like romanization, to emphasize conformity and accommodation rather than diversity and resistance in the empire. More recently, however, he appears to acknowledge that globalization is intimately linked with imperialism which favours the lessening of importance concerning geographical distance and boundaries, a basis for globalizing processes which leads to a greater sense of connectiveness over a wide area. In this light, processes of Roman imperialism and their subsequent globalizing effects certainly had evoked negative local responses (Mattingly 2011: 18–19). Aggressive Roman imperialism and concurrent globalizing processes can drastically affect local populations.

While the economy features heavily in globalization theories, this should not blind us to the role of globalization in the social and political fields. And it is in these areas that we find

ancient authors focusing on what we might call globalizing processes in their time. For example,

Thucydides comments on the role of imports in the broadening of the Athenians' horizon.

Athens at this time was well connected to other parts of the Mediterranean world and these ties

were manifest in the goods that were available in the Athenian market (Thuc. 2.38.2). Some

centuries later, Polybius states that at his time no historian had attempted a general history of the

world, but such a history was warranted given that "Fortune" had made the affairs of the world

converge into one direction (*Hist*. 1.4), namely Rome as universal world power (1.1). Augustus

echoed this sentiment when he stated in his *Res Gestae* that he, himself, subjected the world to

Roman rule (Introduction), giving various examples.[31] This idea of universal Roman power was

echoed by numerous authors both in literature and art and the notion of Rome as being a world

encompassing power was one of the most common claims of imperial rule (Mattingly 2011: 15;

Whittaker 1997: 36; Gruen 1984: 274–275).

Globalization can provide a useful framework for interpreting homogenizing and

heterogenizing processes taking place in the Roman world. It enables us to take into account

multilinear processes which influenced the creation, negotiation and maintenance of sense of

locality, while at the same time considering the integration of communities socially,

economically and politically into the wider empire. Applying globalization theory to the Roman

world does carry with it the danger of anachronistic interpretation of the evidence, so that some

counter balancing model would still be a useful addition. With this in mind we turn to the idea of

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[31] He supported this statement later in his work when he mentioned various instances where the Romans pushed beyond the boundaries of their immediate domain; such instances included expeditions into Ethiopia and Arabia (*RG* 26), the extension of the boarders of the empire, for example into Pannonia to the Danube river (30), their methods of affecting the affairs in powerful neighboring states such as the Parthian Empire through the implementation of kings (33), and the receiving of embassies from far away, exotic lands such as India and Iberia (31).

a Roman cultural revolution, as set out by Greg Woolf (2001) and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (2008; 1997; 1989). [32]

Woolf and Wallace-Hadrill have argued that the Roman Empire underwent a veritable cultural revolution at the time of the demise of the republic and the emergence of the early imperial system of government. With this notion of a Roman cultural revolution, they discuss the wide and rapid cultural change which characterized the evolution of the Roman Empire from the mid first century BC to the end of first century AD, which they consider to be a cultural revolution.[33] Like globalization, their concept of the cultural revolution does not suppose a unilinear cultural exchange between a dominant center and a periphery. Instead, the authors speculate that actors all over the empire were negotiating what it meant to be integrated into such a large polity. Theories then, concerning globalization and the Roman cultural revolution overlap in their conception, but globalization provides a well-theorized general framework through which such change at a local level can be interpreted, while the cultural revolution model offers a nuanced approach, specifically tailored to the role of the center, specifically tailored to the Roman World.

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[32] In this paper I will use primarily Wallace-Hadrill's work, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008), and Woolf's article, "The Roman Cultural Revolution in Gaul" (2001). The concept of the Roman cultural revolution, which Wallace-Hadrill developed most fully, began with the publication of the collection of conference essays in *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, edited by Habinek and Schiesarao (1997). The editors were reacting against Ronald Syme's model of "revolution" in Rome's transition from a republic to empire, which he saw as a primarily driven by violent political changes from 60 BC to AD 14 (Habinek and Schiesaro 1997: xv). They wished to emphasize the cultural aspects of the immense social change that took place in the transition between the republic and the empire (xvi). Wallace-Hadrill himself used the term first in his book review of Zanker's work, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. In his analysis of the book, he praises Zanker's approach, which intimately links politics and the visual experience, which are traditionally kept separate. Through this, Zanker traces the reconciliation of the political, social, moral and religious disorder which took place in the late Republic and the imposition of order gradually in the Imperial age through images (Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 163). Wallace-Hadrill explores this idea of a cultural revolution in the volume of Habinek and Schiesaro (1997: 3–22), where he focuses on exploring the "relocation and refashioning" of the political, moral, social and cultural authority, all of which he saw as linked, in the Augustan period (7). In 2008's work he expands upon this theme as well as others, some of which will be discussed in section "Roman Cultural Revolution."

[33] Although this is the time period on which Wallace-Hadrill focused his attention, the groundwork for many aspects of this revolution developed in the second century BC.

The idea of a cultural revolution rose in response to the "romanization" debate. The main contrast that they draw is in the attribution of agency, contrasting their empire-wide approach to the previous more colonialist assertions. In the traditional view, under Augustus a coherent Roman imperial culture was fashioned in Rome and then exported to the provinces, where local elites were able to adopt those aspects of the new imperial culture that most suited them, which resulted in an array of local variants.[34] As we have seen, this implies interaction between two "poles," a limiting perspective that cannot adequately address the complexity of the interactions, since culture cannot be adequately defined and cultures cannot act (Woolf 2001: 174).

The concept of the Roman cultural revolution recognizes, on the other hand, that cultural changes in Rome that began in the mid first century BC could also be observed contemporaneously in many other parts of the empire, during this period of rapid expansion and consolidation (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13; Woolf 2001: 174). This indicates that many parties had agency in this revolution across the empire, which took place during and after the greatest period of imperial expansion. With so many areas brought under Roman control, immense social, political and economic changes were brought about, especially in those areas that were further removed from the Mediterranean. Characteristic for these changes were, for example, urbanization, an intensification of trade with other areas and migration. This revolution was brought about, in part, by the larger-than-life figures who lived during this time, such as Pompey, Julius Caesar and Augustus. Public display and self-representation played a key role in defining the personal hegemonies not just of these exceptionally powerful individuals, but of members of the elite in general, both in Rome and in the provinces (Woolf 2001: 174–175).

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[34] Carl Galinsky postulates that a standardized visual language of the empire emerged from Rome and spread throughout the empire (1996: 385); Paul Zanker discusses the adoption, and adaption of the Roman visual language to local cultures (1990: 311–312); Martin Millett believed that provincial elites took up aspects of Roman Culture that they found useful (1990: 38).

We must remember that these processes were affecting the city of Rome and those that lived in it, as much as they were affecting the provinces. Intellectuals, such as Varro, Vitruvius and Cicero, had to negotiate what it meant to be Roman in this milieu, especially in relation to what it meat to be "Greek," since what was perceived to be Greek culture was having a great impact on Roman society and in particular elite society (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 146). Not only did they help negotiate and define what it meant to be Roman in reaction to these influences, but they and others at the time helped to re-form and disseminate major new "institutions," ranging from *Latin* philosophical literature to such mainstays of Roman culture such as the bathhouse and gymnasium. Although all of these institutions have a complex cultural heritage, they eventually became associated with what it meant to be "Roman" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 28).

The perspective of a cultural revolution, a revolution which took place in Rome, Italy and the provinces under Roman dominion, coheres nicely with the perspective taken here concerning globalization. This is because it highlights the fact that it was not only in the provinces but also in Rome itself that elites, intellectuals, craftsmen, etc. were negotiating what it meant to be Roman through a rediscovery/invention of traditions and the mediating of "foreign" influences that pervaded Rome during the centuries of its growing influence. Rome can be seen as a local participant in a larger globalizing world, in which other locales were simultaneously going through immense change and negotiating their place in a world to which Rome had brought greater connectivity.

At the same time that prominent figures such as Varro, Vitruvius and Cicero were negotiating and even defining what it meant to be a Roman, people in other areas of the empire were also negotiating and defining their identities. Between the late second century and the late first century BC the Roman Empire had rapidly expanded leading to great change for the

inhabitants of the newly conquered peoples. Many communities had to deal with a loss of population, enslavement and settlement of foreigners, etc., which had a dramatic impact on society (Mattingly 2011: 22; Derks 2009: 242; Woolf 2001: 173). During this period of great social upheaval, aptly characterized as a Roman revolution, identities were in a greater state of flux than at more stable times. People of the provinces needed to negotiate a bewildering array of new influences coming from other areas of the empire. Not everyone was affected equally. Those individuals who had greater access to the connections or influences of the empire were generally affected more. This included people in the military and/or local elites, who lived in military installations and/or cities. As globalizing influences increased in intensity and as social structure changed with the introduction of new institutions and the empire's governing apparatus redefined old boundaries for the purpose of governance, identities, both individual and collective changed as well (Woolf 2001: 174).

Something similar to the "cultural revolution" that took place between the mid first century BC and first century AD certainly took place in the areas of Carnuntum and Aquincum as they were settled and developed in the late first and early second century AD. After the intensity of development subsided, globalizing influences certainly continued to affect the settlements, including in aspects of the funerary sphere especially in periods of dramatic change, for example, during the Marcomannic wars and in the first half of the third century which was a time of general prosperity. Thus, while the Roman cultural revolution is a concept that applies to a very specific period in Roman history, the general effects that it had continued albeit at a slower pace most of the time. The impact that globalizing processes had on the Roman Empire and the accompanying institutions, material goods and customs developed in various regions and were appropriated by diverse peoples in different ways even after the "revolution" had subsided.

1.5   Conclusion

Through the lens of globalizing theory, we should be able to see aspects of the complex ways that Roman imperialism established itself and the effect that the increased connectivity it brought about had on the collective identities of the inhabitants of both Aquincum and Carnuntum. We have seen that globalization rather counter-intuitively, encouraged homogenizing and heterogenizing processes simultaneously. Homogenizing processes at the local, regional and empire-wide scale enabled individuals and societies to integrate effectively into the empire socially, economically and culturally. In the past such homogenizing processes, which brought about shared ideologies and practices along with the material culture representing them, were labelled romanization; "Roman" influence was disseminated out of Rome to provincial societies, that went through the process of becoming Roman. We now acknowledge, though, that this is a much too simple model and that one based on the idea that there were multi-lateral exchanges between societies is a more accurate way of framing the continuous change taking place in the empire. It is widely argued that the change, while continuous, was not the same in all periods. Thus, the rapid and impactful change brought about in the empire in the mid first century BC and the first century AD is deemed a genuine cultural revolution, one in which societies and actors from all over the empire were obliged to negotiate their integration in the empire, creating, debating and maintaining that we might call "Roman" culture. Rome certainly had a part to play in this process of internationalizing cultures but was by no means the only actor with agency. Ongoing globalizing processes and actors at work in them continued even after the "revolution" had finished.

At the same time that the multi-lateral homogenizing practices took place, heterogenizing processes were also at play. Regions, societies and individuals all responded to the cultural

revolution in discrepant ways. New regional, local and individual identities emerged, negotiated and maintained against the backdrop of the homogenizing processes. At a local level, the mixture of homogenizing and heterogenizing processes, called glocalization, in part leads to the creation of a sense of locality. Not only were empire-wide, regional and local identities important, but other collective identities, such as those based on gender, ethnicity, age and status also went through a dramatic change during the revolution. In varying degrees of intensity these changes continued throughout the empire and throughout the periods discussed in this dissertation.

This mixture of globalizing and local tendencies which we refer to as localized must be taken into account when discussing identity formation, negotiation and maintenance in a given region of the Roman Empire. One would expect that identities based on ethnicity, rank, age and gender were more important in peoples' everyday lives than a "Roman identity," which scholars have privileged in past studies. Burials and the rituals associated with them offer an ideal medium through which to examine whether this was actually the case. They constitute symbolically charged collective events in which identities are produced, negotiated and reinforced. In the next chapter we will discuss in detail the ways in which the funerary ceremonies play a role in such processes as well as how the four principal axes of identity, including ethnicity, rank, age and gender may be substantiated in burials.

2 Chapter 2: Collective Identities Through the Burial Evidence

2.1 Introduction

The theoretical frameworks reviewed in the previous chapter offers a strong basis for the analysis of burials of Becsí Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum and the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum. The project aims to establish what individual and collective identities, if any, these reveal. Knowing what we want to study, however, is not enough of course. We must now determine how we can study identities in a frontier region (Aquincum and Carnuntum are both on the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire), where glocalization can make the issue especially complex – one can think of the influence of soldiers posted there from other areas of the empire – and where the available sources can be especially meager. Fortunately, there are several media which can be used to tackle this issue. Traditionally scholars have sought to study shared aspects of iconography and art, epigraphical evidence,[35] artifact assemblages, etc. to define the varied identities of the multi-cultural local population. Burial practices have also been taken into account, but not as effectively as they could have been. This is in part due to a narrow analytical focus in which a cultural identity, such as native ethnicity or a Roman identity, is seen as being the most important to study. A further practical issue is the lack of well published burial data. Recent intensive archaeological studies and more thoroughly published data now allow us to address some of these issues more effectively and in more theoretically grounded fashion.

As mentioned previously, several archaeologists, including some specializing in Roman provincial archaeology, have begun to study burials as deposits of ritual activity and burial

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[35] Pearce 2001: 4; Jones 1990: 812.

assemblages as evidence of those ritual activities. Their research provides us with important case studies and gives us a sense of the potential and limitation of the type of research, as well as providing effective methodologies with which to conduct such a study. Building on the work done in these case studies just mentioned, the aim in this chapter is to look further at the discussion of identity in the previous chapter which established those collective identities can be developed, negotiated and maintained through common communal practices that can instill a sense of groupness in participants. Identities formed through such practices do not exist in isolation, but are informed by numerous other identities, including those based on ethnicity, rank/status, gender, and age. This chapter will explore how archaeologists have studied these major facets of identity in the past, in particular through the study of burial complexes.

2.2 General Comments on the Study of Burials

Scholars studying the Roman Empire have used grave monuments and markers in order to study processes of Romanization in the provinces. Funerary structures and stelae have a long history of appealing to scholars because of their ornamentation and inscriptions (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110; Pearce 2011: 141). Roman-style burial monuments, usually with Latin inscriptions, have therefore long been used to highlight aspects of Romanization (Pearce 2000: 4).[36] In this sense such monuments tended to be studied from an art historical and epigraphic perspective.

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[36] Helm 1975: 187; Mattingly 2011: 232–234; 2007: 304–306; Mócsy 1974: 150–152; Wightman 1985: 174–177, 188; Woolf 1998: 7.

This emphasis on art and inscriptions has often led to the study of monuments such as sarcophagi out of the context of the cemetery, and only in relation to one another or other media which might show aspects of Romanization. Further compounding this issue is that such monuments are often found without valuable contextual information (Pearce 2011: 139–141). For example, grave stelae are usually not found with the burial to which they belong, having been displaced long ago (Pearce 1998: 102), while grave monuments have been plundered of any grave goods they may have contained because they are so visible and attractive to robbers (Ertel 1999: 15), or the grave monuments themselves have been destroyed (Jones 1990: 820; Pearce 2011: 136; 140–141).[37] They also may have been excavated at an earlier date, when perhaps context was not considered as important and such information was poorly recorded by modern standards (Pearce 2011: 140).

Certainly, inscriptional information and the monument itself can provide very specific evidence regarding identities that mourners felt were important to commemorate. Inscriptions on grave memorials and monuments have a mnemonic role in conveying aspects of the deceased's identities, as well as of those who commemorated them (Carroll 2011: 65–67; Graham 2011: 91–92; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110; Pearce 2011: 134; Williams 2003: 231; Woolf 1996: 32). They also provide a focal point for commemoration by the mourners (Graham 2011: 92; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110; Hope 2003: 121). A grave monument, therefore, has a permanent and more visible role in conveying information concerning the individual than the buried assemblage of a simple grave. However, this only gives information on certain segments

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[37] Grave monuments could have been despoiled for their materials, lost in urban development, through agricultural activity or other post-depositional processes (Pearce 2011: 140–141).

of the population, those who had the means and the desire to put up a permanent funerary monument (Pearce 1998: 102; Woolf 1996: 38).

Thus, while grave monuments and the inscriptions found on them are valuable in the study of identity in the Roman provinces, an analysis of the non-monumental grave assemblages, as found in extensive cemeteries, provide us with more information regarding a larger portion of society (Pearce 2000: 4; Jones 1990: 812; 1977: 20). While funerary inscriptions (or ornamentation, or style) can convey the identities that were deemed important for the commemoration of the deceased, the grave assemblage can provide additional meaning to those identities represented in a way that does not have to correspond to what the grave inscriptions say or depict (Williams 2003: 240). In the burial ritual mourners link identities to the deceased by providing appropriate rites and goods for the deceased in the afterlife. Unfortunately, due to realities of the archaeological record, in most cases the monuments and the assemblage have been de-contextualized and historically have been studied separately (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 110, 123; Pearce 2011: 136; 140; Jones 1993: 247).

Fortunately, recent field projects have done much to rectify this problem and have published the material in a rigorous fashion. This is notably the case with the projects at Aquincum and Carnuntum. The sample from the Becsí Road Cemetery of Aquincum encompasses 161 burials dated between the late first century and the mid third century AD. The sample from the southern Cemetery of Carnuntum includes 46 burials[38] dated between the mid second century and the mid third century. All graves in these samples are dated with some degree of precision and information in the publications concerning the treatment and the

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[38] An additional 37 burials that are not precisely dated will be used in some of the analyses due to the small sample size of datable burials from this cemetery.

condition of the grave-pit, grave assemblage and the human remains are provided. That is not to say that the data set is exemplary, as some graves are damaged, incompletely excavated or were unearthed in less-than ideal conditions, but the availability of this information allow us to return to the study of burials as a highly informative material medium through which to study the manifestation of individual social identities and their development in a society over time and space (Sørensen 2000: 120).

This is not to say that this is a straightforward process. One must take into account the various forces at play in determining which identities were emphasized. These forces included anything from the self-perception of the deceased individual to social norms and ritual facets. Thus, it is only in an ideal world that burials and associated artifacts give us perfect access to groups of individuals that live together in one area. There are always elements missing in the archaeological record, but as this study will show there is much that can be learned from a thorough study of well-published funerary sites such as those at Aquincum and Carnuntum, which we shall be examining here.

It is important to realize that burials are not fixed assemblages but rather the end point of several processes. These include the obvious site formation processes, which archaeologists must always take into account, but perhaps more important is the recognition that the burial site itself is only part of the ritual which was so instrumental in constructing identities of the individuals involved, both the living and deceased (Joyce 2001: 12; Pearce 1997: 175; 1998: 100; Morris 1992: 13; 1987: 211). Besides providing information on the social personae of the deceased through the grave assemblage, burials represent the surviving material remains of a funerary ceremony. As rituals, funerary ceremonies help to construct, negotiate and maintain social structure, including identities, which should be considered categories of social structure. Social

structure is taken as an "ideal," and a dynamic model of norms that are taken for granted and that concern the roles and rules which underlie a given society (Morris 1992: 3; 1987: 37). Identities, representing socially defined categories of difference, correlate with the structuring principals in society (Pader 1982: 16). Like identity, social structure is constructed and maintained by the normative actions that constitute it (Joyce 2001: 18). Conceptualizations of social structure may differ somewhat from person to person, but in a given community there should be a considerable overlap of ideas concerning the norms that structure the society (Morris 1992: 4). Social structure is dynamic and can change over time through the variations in normative behaviour of individuals (Morris 1992: 6).

Social structures cannot exist without communicating the norms and ideals which inform them. This communication can take many forms among which communal ritual behaviour was very important. Such ritual behaviour is a forum through which social categories and the meaning behind them are created, reified and negotiated, in a much more symbolically charged and structured way than they might otherwise be in daily life. It is in this context that identity, a term, as we have seen, which is difficult to define clearly, can be used fruitfully. For it is a characteristic of ritual that it essentializes identities for both the participants and the audience. It is therefore possible that the term identity, in the hard sense of the term, can be used here. Rituals, such as funerary ceremonies, do serve the function of essentializing identities for both the audience members because they take on certain idealized responsibilities and roles based on their place in society, and the deceased because they may be marked with idealized identities during the rites. In funerary rites, for example, the meanings that are given to certain actors, including the deceased through the performance of actions or roles in the ceremony may be idealized and may not reflect the actual experience of the actors in daily life (Morris 1987: 39;

Pader 1984: 54). However, these idealized, extraordinary, ritually charged performances do reinforce social difference, which can resonate in daily life (Derks 1998: 22). In general, ritually charged performances enhance and reinforce identity negotiation, since such ceremonies are occasionally repeated, and thus have the authority of tradition and inevitability (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1–2).

Communal ritual behaviour, then, fosters the establishment, development and negotiation of social identities, with participants taking on various idealized roles. In the case of funerary rituals this means that the identities of deceased persons themselves may also be constructed through the ritual and those material markers that accompany it (Pearce 1997: 179; Morris 1987: 37). Since material culture plays a role in structuring actions in ritual and is symbolically charged with meaning through these actions, burials can be treated as the material remnants of social structure. Although funerary rites are far from the only communal rituals carried out by ancient societies, burials are one of the few media in which ritual practices are preserved in "structured" form (Joyce 2001: 22), since they are, in the case of many Roman burials, encapsulated in the ground or in structures and ideally left undisturbed. It is important then to look for evidence from the archaeological record of the funerary ritual (Morris 1987: 211). This emphasis on ritual is especially important because social personae, or the set of social identities that are manifested in burials, are not necessarily truly representative of what existed during their lifetime, or even at the time of death. When looking at social identity in the archaeological record the archaeologist must keep in mind that there are many factors that might structure the form a burial takes and the identities it might convey. The rules of social structure are just one factor. Emotive factors, the relationship of the individual to the community and competing ideologies between groups and individuals who participated, or who did not participate in the ceremony, contribute to the

continued negotiation and formation of identity even after an individual has passed away (Joyce 2001: 12; Bietti Sestieri 1992: 10; Morris 1987: 31–33). The funerary ritual may present the persona of the deceased very differently from the way that they were perceived to be during their lifetime (Pearce 2000: 3; Struck 2000: 85; Jones 1993: 248; Morris 1987: 37; Hodder 1980: 168). As long as we take the impact of ritual into account, burials continue to provide important information on social and cultural identities and are often the only evidence available (Fitzpatrick-Mathews 2007: 150; White 2007: 116; Bietti Sestieri 1992: 9; Jones 1990: 812;).

This important role of ritual presents modern archaeologists with a significant challenge because, in examining the burial assemblage, we will not necessarily get a good idea as to what events took place in a funeral. It should be remembered that the archaeologically detectable aspects of the funerary rites may not be the most important parts of the funerary ceremony (Joyce 2001: 12; Pearce 1997: 175; Morris 1992: 13; 1987: 211). For example, the "Roman" funerals as described in the literary sources could have taken place over days in a number of locales and involved various rites and individuals which would have left no trace in the archaeological record. Furthermore, most accounts of funerary ceremonies are written by elites in and around Rome and at different periods of time, so their applicability to a provincial setting is limited (Pearce 2000: 1; Struck 1995: 140; Jones 1993: 248–248).

As stated above, Aquincum and Carnuntum offer good information regarding identities for the Pannonian border region, notably, the burial sites of the Becsí Road cemetery of Aquincum and the southern cemetery of Carnuntum. The burials from Aquincum were excavated at different times between 1936 and 1995 and published by Judit Tópal (2003a, 1993), while the burials from Carnuntum were unearthed in a series of excavations undertaken between 1984 and 1989 and published by Christine Ertel, Verena Gassner, Sonja Jilek and Herma Stiglitz (1999).

One of the major advantages of these burials is that they form well contained and self-defined

units. Many of the excavated burials were left undisturbed and the excavators do not record that

they were subjected to later subsequent re-burial or other ritual processes of that kind. That does

not mean that archaeologists found them in an ideal pristine condition. As with any

archaeological site a range of post-depositional processes affected the condition of the burials as

they have come down to us (Pearce 2011: 140–141). For example, even if a burial is left

undisturbed in this region, organic grave goods are rarely found to have survived. In the case of

Aquincum, some burials of a later period cut across those from an earlier time. This situation can

occur with the removal of the previous grave markers, the loss of memory of specific older

graves, mismanagement of the cemetery, a lack of space, or a change of social groups using the

cemetery space (Hope 2003: 121; Williams 2003: 232; Murail and Girard 2000: 106–107; Jilek

1999: 22; Jones 1991: 116). It may also be the case that such spaces in which burials over-lie

each other or are placed very close together within a small area, and contained remains of

various demographics, might represent family plots (Burleigh 1993: 48). Often when burials are

crosscut, the contents from the older grave may be mixed in with the fill of the newer grave,

which results in a situation where the proper context of items cannot be established, or at the

very least the partial destruction of the earlier grave leads to a loss of information. But the most

damage to grave goods is usually caused by the deep plow of modern agriculture, since the plow

affects objects below the surface, and may disturb the contents of the graves and in the worst

case may completely destroy them, disperse any grave material, or expose the contents to looters

(Jilek 1999: 20). Other types of land redevelopment are also a threat to burials.

In addition to the post-depositional processes which affect the preservation of graves, the

excavation, processing and publication of large cemeteries pose major logistical problems for

archaeologists. In countries that are signatories to the European Convention on the Protection of

the Archaeological Heritage of January 16, 1992, archaeologists are required to be consulted

during development projects and to scientifically study any site found (European Union,

Secretary-General of the Council of Europe: Article 5. i and ii. b). This makes major demands of

their time and available budgets, which often have a major impact on the quality of

documentation. Herma Stiglitz (1999: 9–10) mentions that such factors made it difficult for

archaeologists to carry out the excavations in the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of

Carnuntum to ideal standards. For example, before the excavations began, a bulldozer took the

surface soil off the top of the cemetery that the archeologists were trying to salvage. In doing so

the machinery disturbed or destroyed some graves that were closer to the surface. In addition,

they were only able to explore the strip of land on which a road was to be built, which meant that

burials outside the excavation were not studied and those burials that went under the

embankment of the cleared strip were often only partially excavated (Stiglitz 1999: 9–10).

A large cemetery with numerous reasonably preserved burials is also challenging to

publish. Processing the finds is time consuming given the large number of burials, each with

numerous grave goods, as well as skeletal remains that all require attention from specialists.

Once all these finds are processed it is often hard to publish them fully due to a lack of space in

the publication, limits set by the publisher or financial constraints. As a result of these factors, it

is common that only select burials or assemblages from the burials within the burials are

published (Cool 2007: 54).

All of this means that although in ideal conditions the graves of many individuals,

representing a broad spectrum of society, might be found in a cemetery, the reality is that this

does not often happen, since some groups may be under-represented or not present at all in an

available sample. Urban cemeteries, for instance, are typically only excavated in sections, which makes it difficult to establish whether the excavated portion of the cemetery provides a representative sample of the demographic make-up of the settlement (Jones 1991: 116; 1990: 820–821). For example, infants and children may be treated differently in a cemetery. They may be buried in ways that are difficult to trace archaeologically or they be interred in a specific part of the cemetery, or they may not have been buried in the cemetery at all (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 313).

Information concerning identities of people on both ends of the social scale may be missing in the funerary record of urban cemeteries, since the burials of both the upper and lower classes of society may not have contained grave assemblages at the time of excavation. High-profile, upper-class burials were often robbed in antiquity since they are the most visible and the most likely to contain valuable grave gifts (Ertel 1999: 15). In subsequent history they are also the most susceptible to being dismantled for re-use of the building material or being destroyed during the development (Pearce 2011: 136; 140–141; Jones 1990: 820). Thus, the highly visible burial assemblages of many upper-class individuals may be rather poorly represented in a given cemetery.

People of the lower strata of society might also be difficult to identify in the burial record, since they may have been inhumed with no grave goods, or at least none that have survived. Many people of the urban lower classes may have been inhumed during the first and second century AD when cremation was the dominant rite. Cremation was a more expensive form of burial because one had to burn a significant amount of fuel, which people could not afford if they or those close to them did not have the means or were not part of a *collegia* (Morris 1992: 44). Consequently, in Rome for example, there were mass graves in which people of the

lower strata were inhumed (Fitzpatrick 2000: 25; Morris 1992: 42; Toynbee 1971: 49). There are many inhumation graves in the cemeteries of Carnuntum and Aquincum in which the body was placed in a simple pit without surviving grave goods, making it very difficult to assign these graves to a particular period or to a stratum of society. We cannot assume that these were invariably poor people since there are numerous reasons besides poverty as to why individuals might have been inhumed during this time without permanent grave goods (Jilek 1999: 32).[39] We must therefore take care not to assume that a complete, or even near complete representation of the social spectrum is expressed in the burial record of Aquincum, Carnuntum, or any other large urban center.

These caveats notwithstanding, burials are still an excellent medium through which to study multiple identities in the Roman Empire. As pointed out above, ritual, and in particular funerary ritual plays an important role in structuring identities in societies. The funerary ritual played an important role in determining where, how and with which grave gifts a deceased would be buried, from which we may derive information concerning identities that the ritual bestowed upon them during death. Thus, through burials, ideally, we have access to an array of demographics that are not otherwise found in the archaeological record in such close association with each other (Pader 1984: 53–54; Morris 1987: 36).

While traditionally the identity of the deceased has tended to be based on direct information provided by a grave monument or marker this does not mean that there was no attention to the grave assemblage. This was due to the fact that the level of preservation of grave

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[39] In several provincial societies, including those in the areas of Carnuntum and Aquincum, inhumation was a traditional burial rite before cremation became popular in the second century AD. Later, in the second century and into the third century, inhumation began once again to become popular and replaced cremation as the dominant burial rite (Morris 1992: 33). In these later inhumations, the grave assemblages were poorer (Morris 1992: 64), which makes them difficult to date, if they are mixed in the same cemetery with earlier graves.

goods is often superior to that of materials found in other archaeological sites, since the artifacts were deliberately buried, making them attractive for study and display (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 9; Tuffreau-Libre 2000: 53). In other archaeological contexts, archaeologists commonly deal with rubbish, since usually anything that that was deposited was either already broken or exposed to strong post depositional processes (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 9). Due to the superior level of preservation of grave goods, burials have also been for centuries a target for illegal activity (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 9).

Since burial assemblages provide a closed context that can be well dated provided the right materials such as coins are present, their primary role has been in constructing chronologies. Their value for studying identities has only come to the fore more recently. Grave assemblages are a medium through which a degree of "Romanization" can be assessed for a variety of individuals, who represent various key demographics, such as those belonging to a certain culture or status over a long period of time (Peace 2000: 4). Even if a scholar wishes to conduct a broad analysis of a cemetery, and examine how several identities are manifested, such studies are often quite time consuming. Whether examining cultural identity or another variable, the work of compiling a thorough database and conducting a formal analysis of the burial assemblages from a cemetery which might enable patterns of identity to emerge takes a lot of time, especially if you are dealing with hundreds of burials. This, in addition to all the other factors listed earlier, are reasons why this sort of formal analysis has not frequently been carried out in a Roman provincial context (Cool 2007: 57).

In regard to Roman archaeology, archaeologists generally prefer to study the more visible monuments in the burial record. This is reflected in David Mattingly's work *An imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC-AD 409*. When Mattingly is discussing burial

evidence from a military context[40] or an urban context,[41] he almost always refers to sources derived from a monument.[42] However, when he is mentioning burial evidence from a rural context, where the population was not as affected by Roman/globalizing influences,[43] and where burial monuments did not exist, he refers to the burial assemblage.[44] This attitude of preferring monuments over the assemblage does not necessarily reflect Mattingly's own attitude. As mentioned before, Mattingly is relying on several case studies and reports that were published from a variety of places in Britain over a long period of time. These studies involve diverse media and demonstrate varied biases. Mattingly pieces these disparate findings together into what is presented as a coherent patchwork. The bias towards monumental architecture can be taken as a symptom of British archaeology at the time and not necessarily a fault of Mattingly's alone.[45]

Roman archaeologists have conducted few studies that consider the concept of multiple identities being present within the burial assemblages of a cemetery. Fitzpatrick-Mathews' study of the cemetery of the Romano-British town of Baldock highlights some of the frustrations that can come along with trying to isolate patterns that reflect multiple identities in the mortuary record. Of his extensive sample of 1800 graves from a time span that covered almost the entire period of the Roman occupation of Britain (Fitzpatrick-Mathews 2007: 154–157), Fitzpatrick-

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[40] The tombstones of soldiers (pgs. 185–188); the information which tombstones provide (pgs. 194, 202, 204); the iconography of the military community (pgs. 206–209); urban dwellers who were related to the extended military community (pgs. 318–319).

[41] The tombstones of urban dwellers (pgs. 304–306).

[42] He focuses on the grave markers of the cemetery of Brougham, a military community, though not exclusively (pg. 224) and discusses the population makeup of settlement cemeteries (pgs. 323–324).

[43] He discusses "funerary rituals and commemoration" with regards to the rural community (pgs. 476–479), which dedicated few tombstones (pg. 459) and late antique British settlements (pgs. 345–347), for which there are no tombstones (pg. 325).

[44] In the discussion of the Iron Age grave rites (pgs. 60–62).

[45] Mattingly even mentions that until recently there were few well-published, large-scale excavations of Romano-British cemeteries (2004: 343).

Mathews was unable to find in assemblages any patterns of variability that reflect identities based on age, gender or other structuring principles (Fitzpatrick-Mathews 2007: 162).[46]

Hilary Cool provides a clear outline of her methodology regarding her analysis of the Roman cemetery of Brougham in England. With 293 graves Cool worked with a much smaller sample than Fitzpatrick-Mathews. These were dated between 200/220 AD and just after 300/310 (Cool 2004: 18).[47]   Cool's publication was meant to report the finds of the rescue excavations, which were conducted in 1964, but had never been processed. Because Cool was dealing with assemblages that were not excavated under ideal conditions or recorded according to modern standards, there were certain constraints to what could be done with the material (Cool 2004: 12–14). However, Cool did have at her disposal resources that allowed her to test variables, such as the types of wood that were used during the cremation.

Although several cemeteries have been excavated in the area of the Roman province of Pannonia, they were either not excavated according to modern standards, such as is the case with the western cemetery at Poetovio (Istenič 2002: 166), or they have not been published, as in the case of five hundred burials at Intercisa (Topál 1997: 538) and the recently excavated graves in the eastern cemetery of the Aquincum Civil Town (2004-2010). Nevertheless, work with a focus on identity has been done on some of these burials.

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[46] Fitzpatrick-Matthews does discuss some of the variables he looked for when attempting to find patterns based on identities of gender, for example gendered artifacts, the location of the burials, the position of the body in the ground or the range and number of gifts provided. He does not show his findings or explain how he went about looking at those variables. He does a good job, though, in explaining why he looked at some of the potential markers of gender, such as the location of female burials, since at the cemetery at Stane Street used during the first century AD, female burials tended to be buried on the periphery of the cemetery more than males (2007: 159–160).

[47] Cool recognizes two phases: Phase 1 runs from 200/220 to 240 and Phase 2 runs from 270 to 300/310 (Cool 2004: 18).

Scholars working in the modern region making up ancient Pannonia have examined identity through the assemblage evidence of the burial, but it has mostly dealt with cultural identities or the status of individuals. Judith Topál, for example has looked specifically at the graves of the southern cemetery of Matrica and the graves along the modern Bécsi Road in Aquincum. Topál's analysis has mainly focused on three main types of cremation pit-graves that occur in both cemeteries and date from the first century AD into the third century. Type C1, as it is known, is a pit in which the sides are ritually burned and then are coated in plaster, while type C2 is ritually fired but not plastered and type C3 is the humblest grave with no ritual firing of the sides or plaster coating. In all three types of burials burnt remains of the individual and the pyre are scattered over the bottom of the pit. She assigns Type C1 cremation pit-burials to the Celtic population, known as the Eravisci, who moved into the region in the late La Tène period (Topál 1997: 538–539). Since Type C2 graves predominate in areas eastwards, towards the middle Danube in the eastern part of Pannonia, Moesia Superior, Dalmatia and Dacia, she believes that the burial is indicative of the Illyrian-Pannonian population, who were dominant in the area before the Celts settled in the area (Topál 2000a: 199; 1997: 538). She assigned type C3 burials to smaller Pannonian incursions from western Pannonia which took place at the turn of the first century BC (Topál 2000a: 201; 1997: 538). For Topál, the ethnic component was the most significant identity to be found in the burial record. Although she did use some other aspects of material culture to further comment on the ethnic composition of the cemetery, her argument was based on the types of cremation burials she constructed, and she only examined the first three types in her classification system.

Topál had at her disposal more reliable excavation reports from both Matrica and Aquincum than did Janka Istenič, who researched the western cemeteries of Poetovio, an area

which is now modern day Ptuj in Slovenia. The information from which she was trying to identify the cultural influence behind the burials of the cemetery was extremely poor by modern standards, since most of the graves were excavated at the end of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, most of the documentation that related to these excavations has now been lost. Despite these limitations, Istenič was able to make some well-founded observations regarding the origins of the occupants of the cemetery (Istenič 2002, 166). Based on the observable burial rites, some of the tomb stones and the proximity of the burials to the legionary base she concluded that many of the individuals buried in the first century AD and the first half of the second century were northern Italians who had been either stationed at the base or had served the base and the area around it in some way. In cases where women were able to be found they appear to be of local origin, as is indicated through the presence of fibulae of a local style in the burials and native names on tombstones (Istenič 2002, 168–169). So, while scholars have looked at identity and how it is manifested through the grave assemblage of cemeteries in Pannonia, there is much that can be done by expanding beyond ascribing ethnicity to the deceased, looking at other communal identities and those based on gender, age and even status.

Much of the research that has been conducted concerning multiple identities and how they are conveyed through the burial assemblage has been done outside of the field of Roman archaeology, mostly in areas where written sources that discuss the deceased are not available and where the discipline of Anthropology has been more prevalent. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s archaeologists who working from an anthropological perspective have postulated that there is a substantial degree of inter-relatedness between the overall funerary practices of a community or group in its social structures and principals of organization (e.g., Saxe 1971: 4;

Ucko 1969: 270). Scholars across various disciplines within anthropology[48] and even a handful from the field of Roman archaeology (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2007: 150; Hill 2001: 116) have made calls for the study of the complexity of multiple identities through the burial record. Unfortunately, the number of calls for this sort of work has not resulted in many actual studies.

One study that has been particularly successful has been Lynn Meskell's research on the mortuary material from Deir el-Medina, Egypt (1999). Meskell successfully demonstrates the ways through which complex social identities such as those based on age, sex and status were projected through the material cultures in the cemeteries at Deir el-Medina. Her perspective, which considers the multiplicity of identities, is influenced by gender and feminist scholars such as Joyce, Grosz and Butler. For Meskell, who is a gender theorist, the multiplicity of identities that are manifested in an individual have been understudied in gender archaeology (Meskell 1999: 105).

Meskell considers evidence such as the bodily remains as well as the quality and quantity of the grave goods for the purposes of finding patterns and commonalities among the burials that might be indicative of a certain age, status or gender. Furthermore, she uses literary sources and forms of material culture from Deir el-Medina and the rest of Egypt to interpret the reasons why the identities that were manifested took the form that they did in the burial. Meskell is widely praised for her success with the interpretation of these patterns in terms of social norms that indicate the manifestation of explicit identities (Lyons 2006: 616; Babić 2005: 77; Gilchrist 2004: 152; Toivari-Viitala 2002: 387).

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[48] Arnold 2007: 111; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9; Gilchrist 2004: 148; Meskell 2002: 283; 1999: 21; Meskell and Preucel 2004: 123; Sørensen 2000: 120.

An excellent example of the results that Meskell is able to achieve is with regards to the marked differentiation of identities that she was able to isolate and elaborate on from the eastern and western cemeteries of Deir el Medina. She found that the primary social divide among the deceased was wealth, since it was this factor that determined which cemetery one was buried in. Upon examination of each cemetery other identities such as marital status and gender became prominent variables on which social differentiation was based (Meskell 1999: 174–175). In the eastern cemetery, which did not have the wealthy graves like those of the western cemetery, there were few indicators that differentiated males from females in the burial assemblages. The only difference that was preserved between the burials of the two sexes was that females tended to be buried in anthropomorphic inscribed coffins and males were in unmarked box caskets. Besides this gendered dichotomy in the use of caskets, there were no marked disparities of wealth between burials. All individuals were individually buried in this cemetery. The eastern cemetery seems to have been one where women on the lower rung of the socio-economic scale (due to their lack of attachment to a male relative) were buried, as were in addition men of the same status (Meskell 1999: 166–168).

The evidence from the eastern cemetery is set in contrast to the burials of the western cemetery where there was a clearer differentiation between males and females. Females were never buried alone and always had significantly fewer burial goods associated with them when compared to the male, or males, with whom they were buried. In addition, there was also a typological difference between the male and female burial goods, which further strengthened the gendered differentiation (Meskell 1999: 155–157). The tombs in the western cemetery reflect a greater degree of wealth as they were constructed as small stone monuments and contained a greater amount of luxurious grave goods. Thus, many of those buried in the western cemetery

were of a higher status or could at least afford the material goods and/or have the social prestige needed to bury their dead in the cemetery. A greater disparity between the amount spent on the monuments and assemblages demonstrate that there was competition in comparison to the eastern cemetery, where there was little wealth disparity (Meskell 1999: 141; 161).

Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri provides another example of the study of social structure and identity through her analysis of the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa in Italy.[49] This cemetery is of special interest since it dates to the period in which scholars believe that the ethnic groups, who later made up the historic peoples of central Italy as recorded by Roman authors, were starting to coalesce (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 3). Bietti Sestieri found that identities based on gender and age-class were the basis for status and role differences seen in the cemetery. She isolated those ways in which mourners marked these identities over time through the grave assemblage and the spatial placement of the grave in the cemetery. She also found that the cemeteries were organized according to kinship groups, which were clustered mostly around a male ancestor (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 206-208). In order to contextualize the social change which took place in the cemetery over time she briefly analyzed and compared what was taking place in other cemeteries from the region and noted strong regional influences on the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 212-220).

Similar to the successful studies mentioned above, the analysis of this paper will concentrate on the four major axes of identities, gender, status, ethnicity and age, since in most cultures core aspects of differentiation are based on of these four variables. Mattingly has identified other factors that influenced individual and group identities in the Roman world, such

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[49] Roughly from the nineth century into the seventh century BC.

as wealth (lives above or below subsistence, where wealth was derived, etc.), location (urban, rural, military/civil area, transient), employment (possession of a trade, membership in a college, military, etc.), religion (exclusive cults, mystery cults, etc.), whether there was linkage by service or profession to imperial government language and literacy (Mattingly 2011: 217). Although it is more difficult to find evidence for them in the burial record, these are also considered where appropriate. Identities that are based on the four major axes of social differentiation have been heavily theorized, so that a sophisticated outline of the methodology, as well as a critique of these methods and perspectives can be presented. The following sections discuss the meaning behind each major axis, age, gender, status and ethnicity and how each of those is found in the burial record. Also discussed are the issues that arise while conducting an analysis of each axis since such considerations have to be accounted for before any conclusions can be established.

2.3   Rank and Status

As mentioned in the previous section rank and the similar concept of status are considered one of the major axes of identity through which social differentiation takes place. Along with ethnicity, it is one of the most intensively studied identity categories in Roman archaeology. However, scholars have tended to focus on people of elite status, or those who wish to assert their new status (e.g., freedmen), in large part because the archaeological and literary evidence attached to them are more prominent (Graham 2006: 57), but also because scholars have seen them as significant drivers of Romanization (Mattingly 2011: 38; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 12; Millett 1990: 38). Consequently, because of a lack of focus and evidence, lower ranks in society have not received as much attention. Regardless of which ranks may be represented in

the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum, it is important to know what is meant by rank and status in the mortuary record, and how these ideas might be applied to a Roman provincial context.

When we are discussing status, we are talking about a form of vertically ordered social ranking, which for the purposes of this study, is an institutionalized inequality which includes any hierarchies of rank which are embedded in complex social structures (Berreman 1981: 9). This idea of rank focuses on hierarchies that extend beyond characteristics of age and sex, as well as personal characteristics and intrafamilial roles (Meskell 1999: 140; Berreman 1981: 9; Wason 1994: 19). In a stratified society, such as that which existed in Aquincum and Carnuntum, members of society are ranked relative to one another according to shared characteristics. In such a society people are differentiated by class, status and access to power, which tend to be highly correlated with each other (Berreman 1981: 10). Status strata are based on "culturally specific criteria of differential honor, prestige and privilege which members of a particular social category share" (Berreman 1981: 13). The source and the sustaining force of high class and status groups is power, which Berreman mentions as being exercised through the institutional structure of the state in complex societies. This description of rank and its various facets is useful in that it recognizes that membership in a social status or class includes factors of the other as a consequence of membership (Berreman 1981: 13).

Although thinking about rank in such a way is useful, complex aspects of rank cannot necessarily be easily found in the cemeteries we are examining. In complex societies such as those in Roman provincial cities, one's rank and the power which comes along with it can be situational given that there are various distinct groups within such a stratified society, which may have their own internal rankings such as *collegia*, religious cults and priesthoods, etc. (Bodel

2008: 192–193). The circumstances surrounding the death of an individual might also determine the status one has in death, for example if they died a hero or prematurely (Struck 2000: 85; Wason 1994: 69). As well, rank or status from the burial assemblage alone might be hard to detect since the amount of grave goods and the quality of them may not represent the status of an individual. Instead, the amount of goods with which an individual is buried may represent the size of the deceased's social network, or even that of the patron of the burial (Struck 2000: 85; 1995: 143; Millett 1993: 275–277).[50] In addition, luxury items may not indicate rank, but instead merely wealth and the status that accompanies it (Struck 2000: 86). Identities conveyed by grave monuments and inscriptions can help, since they commemorate the individual with specific identities for the public, but these are not usually found in the context of the burial they mark (Pearce 1998: 102). However, inscriptions do give us the opportunity to see what types of categories mattered to the society, but again, there is no one-to-one correlation between both media, the assemblage and the marker, and so they must be taken as two separate spheres of information (Williams 2003: 231).

While archaeologists have recognized these problems in identifying rank through the burial assemblage, they developed several strategies to distill information concerning the rank or status of the deceased. They have found that amount of wealth invested alone into the burial does not necessarily indicate the rank or status of the deceased and it is only one factor of many that need to be taken into account when examining this facet of identity in the burial record. Inevitably, a contextual approach is required, taking into account a number of factors (Struck 2000: 85), such as investment of resources into the burial, nature of the burial assemblages, the

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[50] This is assuming that secondary grave goods represent gifts given to the deceased by mourners as proposed by Millett (1993: 276).

position of the burial in the cemetery. Through ethnographic and archaeological studies, scholars have found that it is the amount of energy expended in the funerary ritual that most often signals rank in a mortuary context. A greater expenditure of effort to accommodate the burial of someone of high rank in society, for example, can be reflected in the size of the monument, which might take more resources, time and laborers to construct. There may also be a greater disruption of community life since the death may affect a larger number of people in the community, and more wealth of greater quality and quantity may be deposited in the grave (Struck 2000: 85; Tainter 1977: 332). Although the expenditure of energy on funerary rites is the single most attested factor in signaling rank and usually the most prominent, it is not essential (Wason 1994: 76–77). Rank can be manifested in other subtler ways, such as the position of the body in the burial (Struck 2000: 86) or that of the grave relative to others in the cemetery (Pearce 2011: 137–139; Struck 2000: 87; Wason 1994: 93). While taking these other factors into account, the utility of the goods in the grave can also indicate rank, since people of higher rank might have items that are from further afield, made with exotic materials, or generally items that would not be used in daily life. Also, some goods might be ceremonial and indicative of rank or have some sort of history of cultural associations (Wason 1994: 93).

Just as with the other major axes of identity, there is no guarantee that because someone was of a high rank within the social structure of a given society or had lots of wealth in life that these features would be manifested in the burial record. Through ethnographic studies it has been noted that the wealth and energy that were spent on a funeral may have been spent on other aspects of the mortuary ritual that were directed towards the world of the living and are not reflected in the material of the burial, and which therefore may not be noted in the archaeological record (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 63–64; Wason 1993: 69). If rank and wealth were displayed in the

burial, it may have been done subtly. Religious or other cultural factors may have influenced a society not to value the depositing of wealth with the deceased. From an archaeological view, therefore, the burials from a given society can appear very egalitarian, because rank and wealth are not directly reflected in the funerary rituals as seen through the archaeological material (Wason 1993: 68).

It is preferable to consider an individual's rank, as portrayed through a grave assemblage, as that person's "terminal status," since a distinction should be made between a person's life and their death. An individual might achieve a status in death dissimilar to the status they held during life. Undoubtedly, the ways by which an individual's rank is marked in death will be a reflection of and combination of the circumstances surrounding the death, the positions achieved by the individual during life and the activities of the mourners. It is quite possible that if a person of a particular rank died during a time of crisis, certain conventions that mourners would normally have followed that were indicative of that person's rank in life would not have been implemented. It also may have been that at the time of death, a person either achieved an elevated status in the community because of a deed they performed and was thus marked in a way that they might not have otherwise been, or may have been disgraced, in which case the status that they had achieved throughout their life may not have been marked (Wason 1993: 69). In addition, it is important to note other ideological considerations of the mourners, such as that the community or members of the community might use the occasion of an individual's death to promote themselves in a lavish way (Pearce 2017: 5; Graham 2011: 91; Wason 1993: 91). Since we cannot know the status(es) in life of an individual from an assemblage, we must consider the status of the individual in the burial as their "terminal rank".

Just as with the other identities mentioned, status should not be examined without looking at other identities that are based on of the four major axes of social differentiation. The form by which rank is featured the mortuary record might be affected by the age category of the individual, or it may be marked differently because of their gender or because of ethnic factors (Wason 1993: 94). In a more complex and pluralistic society made up of a variety of religious groups, major institutions, and people of various backgrounds, rank will probably be manifested in a greater variety of ways than in a society which is less complex (Wason 1993: 68).

The decision to cremate or inhume the remains also has implications for the status of the individual since the act of cremation was more expensive. Cremation was obviously affordable for many people in the western part of the Roman Empire from the late first century BC into the third century AD, since it was the dominant funerary rite. The incineration of a body, however, does take a lot of fuel, so it was certainly cheaper to inhume a body. Because of the support of *collegia*, patrons and other substantial institutions, many people could be cremated who could not have afforded the fuel on their own (Morris 1992: 44), but the poor or those who were disconnected from society were likely inhumed either separately or in mass graves that were maintained specifically for these people (Fitzpatrick 2000: 25; Morris 1992: 42; Toynbee 1971: 49).[51] Unfortunately, it is difficult to tell how what proportion of the population had access to cremation rites in an urban population (Graham 2006: 57), or even if it was always the desired form of treatment. Evidence unearthed in the past twenty years has shown that inhumation was

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[51] There are many inhumation graves with no grave goods in them at all, which could reflect the low-class status of the individual, but it could also be indicative of an ideologically based group that did not believe in a high level of expenditure for a grave, perhaps because they had different views of the underworld (Jilek 1999: 29). Unfortunately, because of a lack of goods in some inhumation graves, it is often difficult to tell when they were interred. In this case status might not be detectable and this point is merely something to take into account when considering graves with few or no grave goods. It is therefore reasonable to assume that one's social status or ideology could certainly affect the disposal of a body in the same way.

actually more widely practiced in the western empire during the first to the third century than

scholars had previously thought. During this time cremation was thought to have been the

dominant rite (Pearce 2017: 4). With regards to cremation rites as an indicator of rank, it is

important to note that in the funerary context one's connections and affiliations could affect how

the body was treated in death (Bodel 2008: 192–193).

Group affiliation, which may be manifested through kinship groups, *collegia* or other

institutions, may also influence the way one's rank is manifested through the grave assemblage.

In a society where hereditary positions are important, organization in the cemetery can occur

based on these familial groups (Wason 1993: 90). In Roman society, especially within Rome

itself, *collegia* might have their own exclusive burial plots, as for example in a *columbarium*

where members and people close to members were buried (Bodel 2008: 192; Patterson 1992:

21). The burial structures of high-ranking Roman aristocrats where members of their household

such as their slaves, freedmen/women, or even clients may have been interred were possibly

sought-after space for burial, since it was seen as prestigious to be associated with such a patron

(Bodel 2008: 213; Morris 1992: 44; Patterson 1992: 21). A number of wealthy elites are even

recorded as benefactors of *collegia*. In this way they could help a collective group and in return,

the *collegium* might honour them with an annual feast or honour them in death (Patterson 1992:

22). This is an example of how status and visibility is given to members of a group (in life or in

death) as a collective as opposed to as individuals (Wason 1993: 90). Still, from what scholars

can discern from records from Italian towns concerning the costs of funerals put on by *collegia*,

most of the members of *collegia* probably belonged to the upper echelon of the urban class

(approximately the upper third, Patterson 1993: 22). *Collegia* and other institutions in many

cases complemented and did not replace the nuclear family in the commemoration of the deceased (Patterson 1992: 23).

When determining status through grave assemblages there are a number of other variables that need to be taken into account besides expenditure. One of these is visibility, which was often used to demonstrate social status in the Roman world. Grave monuments may have been immediately visible because they were placed along major roads that led outside of the city, where they were more noticeable to those traveling past (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 327; Powell 2011: 135, 137). As previously mentioned, however, institutions such as *collegia* might also have utilized prime spots where their members were buried, giving visibility to the group and familial groups that may have included slaves, servants, freedmen, their families and their dependents (Bodel 2008: 192–193). There are certainly grave structures and enclosures in the cemeteries of Carnuntum and Aquincum, but without markers it is difficult to determine what sort of group is being represented in them, even when there is variation within the context of the material remnants of the funerary rites.

While in certain contexts and scenarios the quantity and quality of the grave goods may be correlated with the status of the deceased this does not always have to be the case. At Aquincum and Carnuntum the grave gifts were quite utilitarian, capable of being used in daily life and were affordable for most urban dwellers. When it comes to utilitarian objects such as flagons, knives, lamps and worn bronze coins, their deposition in the burial probably did not signify much of a financial burden to the heirs or the mourners who deposited them in their stead, especially if they were already used (Tuffreau 2000: 54). It is the more extraordinary grave goods that will indicate status, such as items made of precious materials, those made with more elaborate techniques, or those that were imported. These were goods that individuals would not

normally want to dispose of and that might indicate status when occurring in combination with other factors such as the location of the burial or the amount of energy expended on the burial (Wason 1994: 93). In some cemeteries you can also tell a lot about the deceased's status from the osteological remains and even wood used in the pyre. Unfortunately, this sort of information is not available for these cemeteries.

2.4 Age

Age as a category of identity has recently gained an importance, in particular in combination with gender analysis (Gowland 2006: 143; Gilchrist 2004: 142–143). In general, past studies have not considered the fluid nature of age and the material manifestations in the burial record that might mark certain phases of age throughout the course of an individual's life cycle (Gowland 2006: 143). Recent studies have taken into account such an approach and have found, for example, that age in female burials can be differentiated through the assemblage. There are numerous cases in the western Roman world, for example, in which girls and unmarried young women have rich dowry-like grave goods, including such "gendered" gifts as jewelry, in contrast to females in other age brackets (Pearce 2017: 4; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 72–73).

There are three "types" of age, including the physiological/biological age, which refers to the physical aging of the body; the chronological age, which is the amount of time that has passed since the time of birth; and the social age, which are the socially constructed norms that surround the appropriate roles, attitudes and behaviour of an age group. These three types or

components of age do not necessarily have to correspond with each other; however, each has to be considered in any analysis of age in the burial record (Gowland 2006: 143).

Ethnographical and historical studies show that age-related social transitions in societies do tend to correspond to universal physiological parameters (such as learning to walk or puberty), so that there is a degree of cross-cultural uniformity with regards to particular social age traditions, although there is not absolute universality. Usually biological age, which is gathered from the anthropological information derived from the skeleton, is uncritically translated into a chronological age and then described further by a social age, such as juvenile, sub-adult, etc. Such social categories, which are a development of the modern, Western tradition, are loaded with cultural significance. These divisions can severely misrepresent a population, since features that represent the symbolic meaning of the grave assemblage that might indicate an age grouping or the period of the life cycle to which the individual belonged were put in place with different parameters in mind. If scholars apply their own categories uncritically, they miss opportunities to isolate age phases and how they were marked symbolically. Scholars must also keep in mind there might be variances in how age phases are marked symbolically even between people of the same age grouping, depending on other factors such as gender, ethnicity and status (Gowland 2006: 145).

It should also be considered that age, as it is symbolically marked in the burial, can be affected by other ideological factors, just as is the case with other aspects of identities. As people move into a different part of the life cycle and then pass away, the people who will be the principal caretakers of the burial may also change. A simple example is that the parents or guardian of a young girl will likely be the ones responsible for preparing the burial, while once the girl is married it becomes the husband's responsibility, which might affect the way the

deceased is mourned, as well as the form the accompanying burial assemblage will take

(Gowland 2006: 152).

In order to determine if there are symbolic patterns that reflect age groupings in the burial

assemblage, we must rely on the human remains as aged by anthropologists. This can be

problematic since there is no standard method for determining the age of skeletal remains. It has

been shown that the age distribution derived for a given cemetery depended as much on the

aging methods that were employed as it did on the actual archaeological sample. Cremated

skeletal remains are also problematic, since there may often be a scarcity of bones, depending on

how many of the bones were taken from the funeral pyre to the burial spot and how much of the

remains were destroyed or disfigured by the fire (McKinley 2006: 84–85).

Even though there are issues with getting an accurate age from cremated remains and

then interpreting the assemblage based on those remains, this project uses the age for the remains

given by the publications. Because of this any observations noticed based on patterns found in

the assemblage must not be taken uncritically and merely form a basis on which other

hypotheses can be tested before firmer conclusions can be drawn.[52] Although this situation is not

ideal, without the use of aged human remains, there would be nothing significant to inform how

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[52] Etelka Juhász and István Kiszely worked on the remains of graveyards VI and VII from the Bécsi Road Cemetery of Aquincum (1993: 283–319). Many of the burials in these graveyards are cremations (Graveyard VI- 104 cremation and 77 inhumations; Graveyard VII- 8 Cremations and 13 inhumations), from which osteologists find it more difficult determine the age and the sex of the remains, especially since only a portion of the cremated remains were included in the burial. They were able to assign an age within a certain range to 166 of the 202 excavated human remains (1993: 283). Márton, however, does not believe that the identifications of the cremated remains are accurate, since Juhász and Kiszely did not have prior experience working with cremated remains (Personal Correspondence, March 20, 2016). Barbara Schweder and Eike-Meinrad Winkler as well as their team did a thorough analysis of the skeletal analysis of the Carnuntum material (Schweder and Winkler 2004). Numerous tests were done on the inhumed remains which are often more complete, and correspondingly fewer on the cremated ones (see 2004: 11–12). However, the authors still explain their methodology thoroughly and look at valuable aspects of the cremation ritual from the remains, such as what bones are preserved in the burial, so that they can isolate any patterns in the types of bones mourners chose to include in the grave. They were also interested in determining what temperatures the bodies were burned at (2004: 12). Few cremated graves of the sample were able to be sexed and aged because of the nature of the evidence.

age categories were marked. When there are noticeable patterns in the burials based on the aged skeleton, this information can be used to interpret similar assemblages, whose remains cannot be aged, though not uncritically; only as a possibility that can be explored through other samples.

2.5 Gender

In many fields of archaeology, the topic of gender has been studied and theorized more rigorously in the burial record than in Roman archaeology, where identities of culture and rank tend to predominate (Pitts 2007: 695; Jones 1993: 247). As a consequence, much of our theory and methodology regarding gender identities is derived from outside of Roman archaeology and it is important to discuss the major theoretical issues involved before we can reflect on gender in the mortuary record in Roman sites.

Sex as determined by the osteological record is usually the starting point for determining how the body was gendered. In Western society it is usually assumed that there is a correlation between the sex of the body (which is a biological or a natural fact) and the way the body has been gendered, or the cultural significance given to the sexed body. This approach assumes that there is a dichotomous relationship between the genders, men and women, which is based on the sex of the individual. This leaves no room for other genders to be assigned to the male or female skeleton (Sofaer 2006: 156; Meskell 1999: 73). This is problematic given that in archeological practice the biological markers of sex and the material markers of gender need not coincide (Sofaer 2006: 155; Meskell 1999: 70–71).

Nonetheless, the sexed body is often used as the basic reference point for the determination of gender-specific assemblages (Sofaer 2006: 155).[53] Not surprisingly, this leads to a situation where not all parts of such assemblages can be "gendered" successfully. It is not uncommon to see artifacts and burial customs typically associated with one gender appearing in burial of the other gender. For example, in many areas of the Roman Empire, mirrors are often associated with females, but several archaeologists have found them with male remains (Pearce 1998: 107; Foster 1993: 210; Millett 1993: 266). Archaeologists have tended to resolve this issue by considering some artifacts or other factors concerning the assemblages as being not gendered (Sofaer 2006: 159).

A more fruitful approach is to problematize the equation of sex with gender. Pearce, for example, suggests that the funerary ceremony of a cremation rite transforms identities based on gender and age with the dead gradually being less identified with them. On the pyre the deceased is still visibly differentiated by their gender and age on the pyre, but by the deposition of the remains in the grave a homogenisation of the dead occurred, which in many cases was symbolized through the gender-neutral grave goods. This uniformity may represent the increasing distance of the deceased from the world of the living and their increasing association with ancestors (2017: 17; 1998: 106–107). This is certainly a possible interpretation in burials of Roman Britain, many of which are not differentiated according to gender by the assemblage (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2007: 160; Pearce 1997: 174; Philpott 1991: 233)

In Roman mortuary archaeology, it is an acceptable practice to use the sexed remains in order to gain information about gendered artifacts (Allison 2015: 105; Foster 1993: 207). There

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[53] Assemblage is used in its broadest possible sense here, including patterns of artifacts, positioning, treatment of the body, etc.

is a significant amount of statistical correlation between items which might be considered "gendered," such as personal ornaments for females and knives and belt fixtures for males, and the sexed skeleton (Cool 2010: 31; Philpott 1991: 132). However, artifacts that are usually considered indicator of a gender can be associated with an unexpected gender. For example, jewelry, which is traditionally associated with females in imperial Roman society, might be found with a male of a certain class or position in a provincial setting (Allison 2015: 105; Waugh 1993: 300). Goods placed with the deceased did not necessarily belong to them, but could be gifts of the mourners, who wanted them to have certain, meaningful items, which may explain some instances why an individual may end up with an object not typically associated with their gender (Waugh 1993: 300).

The use of artifacts alone to try to identify the gender of human remains from the Roman mortuary record is then clearly problematic but is made more so given that in many cemeteries, the gender of many of the bodies may not be marked with such "gendered artifacts". In Romano-British cemeteries, for example, there is often very little in terms of such artifacts that distinguish between male and female burials (Fitzpatrick 2007: 160; Pearce 1997: 174; Philpott 1991: 233). Although the difference at least in some cemeteries may have been more prevalent on the pyre, the burnt artifacts do not necessarily make it into the burial itself (Pearce 1998: 106–107). It may take an in-depth and thorough functional analysis in order to isolate artifacts and patterns which might not be so obvious at first glance. Once patterns can be found that establish normative practice for the way gender is marked in certain conditions over time, then it may be possible to identify unsexed remains based on the accompanying artifacts with more certainty.

There are of course problems with the sexing of the skeletal remains. Just as with determining the age of remains the problem lies in that there is no standardization in osteology

for the assignment of sex and there tends to be a bias towards one sex or the other (Gowland

2006: 147). In addition, it can often be difficult to assign sex since sexual dimorphism can range

widely in skeletons between individuals from the same population as well as between

populations (Sofaer 2006: 157). To add to the difficulty of sexing skeletons, sexing cremated

remains is certainly possible, but often difficult because the skull and pelvic bones, which are the

most reliable for determining sex of an individual (Sofaer 2006: 155), have been dehydrated and

oxidized through the incineration, or may be decayed through post-depositional processes to a

point where they are hard to read. There may also be a scarcity of bones because not all bones

that might survive a cremation necessarily make it into the burial (McKinley 2004: 284–285;

Schweder and Winkler 2004: 48). As mentioned, archaeologists have frequently used the

material assemblage to determine the sex/gender of an individual, in cases where the skeleton

was too decayed, the skeleton was too ambiguous, or there was no access to osteological

methods of identification.[54] This project uses both approaches to find patterns of behaviour based

on gender. Few firm conclusions can be reached based on the findings because of the

problematic nature of the evidence discussed above, but the validity of any findings can be tested

in other samples in the future.

2.6 Ethnicity

Out of the four major axes of social differentiation, ethnicity, as a collective identity, is

probably the most complicated to discuss and in some cases the most difficult to find in the

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[54] This method is certainly not preferred since osteological methods are considered more secure for identifying the
sex of a body (Sofaer 2006: 155). However, there are many factors that inhibit the assigning of a sex to a skeleton.
For example, it is not possible to osteologically sex the skeleton of a child until they have gone through puberty.
Usually, societies use material culture to differentiate between boys and girls at a young age (Gowland 2006 147).

archaeological record. Ethnicity is a relatively modern term whose definition emphasizes feelings of collective membership (Strobel 2009: 119–120; Roymans 2004: 2). Consequently, scholars tend to focus their study on the mechanisms which help to engender these feelings of collective identity (Knapp 2014: 35; Lucy 2005: 96–97; Jones 1997: 90).

Somewhat problematic for using ethnicity as a concept in the ancient world is the fact that although it is thought that people have always grouped themselves in such groups bounded by perceived shared values, histories, symbols, etc., ethnicity is a relatively new concept that has become a popular lens through which to analyze peoples. This is a trend occurring especially since the emergence of indigenous movements, the breakup of the Soviet Union and secessionist movements in other areas of the world, during and after decolonization (Jones 1997: 8). Ethnicity in the modern world is linked with nationalism and the importance of blood ties and ancestry, concepts which were probably not as important in the ancient world (Lucy 2005: 99). Ethnicity as a concept has replaced other terms that have been used to describe groupings of peoples such as "race", "tribe", "nation" and culture. One by one these terms have been critiqued and have found to have little analytical value (Jones 1997: 8).

Traditionally archaeologists have used the term "culture" to describe what we now call ethnicity. They ascribed a broad collective identity, like Celtic, German, Illyrian, etc., to archaeological assemblages based on the occurrence of certain distinctive material markers. These scholars interpreted the occurrence of such markers in an assemblage as an indication of the presence of the culture. To them, the artifacts represented a conscious or unconscious manifestation of an internalized system of values and practices of the group, which characterized their particular way of life (Jones 1997: 120). Archaeologists privileged certain material markers in defining the geographical distribution of these cultures. However, modern ethnographic

analogies demonstrate that distinctive material markers do not necessarily indicate an internalized sense of groupness amongst individuals using such markers. Collective identity is also manifested situationally so an ethnicity cannot necessarily be essentialized in a particular artifact (Insoll 2007: 7; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2; Lucy 2005: 87–88; Jones 1997: 15–17). As mentioned in the first chapter, many Roman scholars have used similar methods to define distinct "Roman" and "Native" identities in the archaeological record, as well as gauge how "Romanized" a group has become. Given that distinct material evidence may not reflect a cultural or ethnic group, and we cannot know how people felt and acted based on their collective identities, it is difficult to detect ethnicity or other communal identities in the archaeological record (Lucy 2005: 87; Jones 1997: 85).

For the purpose of this paper, ethnicity is broadly described as a subjective, dynamic and situational form of collective social grouping, the members of which share social and mental codes, a shared sense of the past and traditions (Strobel 2009: 119–120; Roymans 2004: 2), which help engender feelings of similarity and belonging (Knapp 2014: 35; Jones 1997: 90).[55] These commonalities also help to define the borders of an ethnic group, which are maintained so as to appear exclusive even though in practice they are often observably fluid. Common social and mental codes are transmitted through the very social structures that they help construct and become objectified in the socialized individual through "ongoing daily practice and historical experience" (Jones 1997: 13). An ethnic collective becomes an ascribed, distinct and self-

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[55] Jones' work, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, is referred to extensively in this section since it is still considered an important work not only in the study of ethnicity in the ancient world, but also in her criticism scholars focus on the subject itself in their analyses (Mattingly 2011: 209–210). Dever (2007: 52–53) refers to Jones' work disparagingly as "faddish". In his opinion Jones too easily equates the archaeological study of ethnicity with racism. It is certainly true that Jones outlines past issues regarding racism and the study of ethnicity, but this is by no means the full extent of Jones' critique on the archaeology of ethnicity. Dever is perhaps especially sensitive to such critiques since he works on archaeology in Israel where ethnic identities are an especially fraught issue.

conscious group when it is defined against other ethnic groups. Negotiation takes place between the self-image of the group, based on perceived shared social and mental codes and the images and expectations that other group(s) have constructed and disseminated about themselves or about other groups (Strobel 2009: 119–120; Jenkins 2008: 56–57; 2003: 60–62; 1994: 204–206; Lucy 2005: 95–96; Roymans 2004: 2). Power dynamics are often involved in identity negotiation. Stereotypes disseminated by a dominant group can be used as a way to maintain a power imbalance, one which is made stronger by the fact that both parties can internalize that negative stereotype (Jenkins 2008: 75–76; Karner 2007: 2–3, 48–49; 1994: 204–207*)*.

Some of the group's collective traits become symbolically institutionalized over time, which helps to define the group to both its members and to others in contact with the group. Although an ascribed group might continue through time in name, the symbols, a perceived shared past and practices which help define the group may change over time as the expression of ethnic identity changes (Jones 1997: 122). This is complicated by the fact that ethnic groups generally are not isolated; multiple distinct groups can co-exist in the same area without significant processes of acculturation taking place (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 63; Roymans 2004: 2; Jones 1997: 73; Barth 1969: 9–10). In such a situation ethnic identification can be quite fluid, meaning that an individual can pass from one categorical identity to another in order to advance economic, personal or political interests (Jones 1997: 74; Barth 1969: 21). Such a practice, in which a person must navigate different communal groups, whose characteristics they have internalized, is called "code-switching". Wallace-Hadrill adopted this linguistic concept and adapted it to fit his interpretation of pervasive cultural exchange in the Roman Empire (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13–14, 63–64).

Ethnographic examples show that while ethnicity is situated and fluid, during times of crisis between two or more ethnicities, whether it is because of competition for resources or some other reason, existing practices such as beliefs, kinship, ritual and cultural values become reified (Wimmer 2013: 83–84). In times of stress, therefore, groups will objectify their practices and symbols, which may have been previously taken for granted, giving themselves a self-conscious coherence and distinctiveness in relation to the other group (Karner 2007: 106–107; Jones 1997: 122; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 245). This is true between groups who have been living in close proximity for a long period of time, but also in colonial situations, where a novel "other" exists. Colonial situations can often have a dramatic effect on the construction of ethnic identity, since they provide a new context in which the group can be defined and also new practices and materials can be negotiated, resisted and accommodated (Derks 2009: 240). As mentioned in the first chapter the imposition of the Roman imperial structure on a given locality and the influx of new influences could be quite traumatic for a society. Even though little evidence exists that the Romans used violence against the Eravisci and the Boii, who lived in the areas in which Aquincum and Carnuntum were established, as is demonstrated in chapter three, dynamic change did take place.

Scholars must also not only be aware of known regional groupings of ethnicities, like the Eravisci and the Boii, but must acknowledge that there may be registers of "ethnicity" or collective groupings that manifest themselves in a variety of contexts based on various scales of social organization (Wimmer 2013: 23-24). Regarding the Roman Empire, and those ethnicities that it dealt with, it must be remembered that there was a form of regional identification that existed on a different register than that of the *civitas* or the city. The granting of Roman citizenship also serves to promote a sense of collective identity with others in the empire at the

very least on a legal level, but it is difficult to differentiate between citizen and non-citizen burials in the grave assemblage without direct epigraphical evidence which may indicate the citizenship status of the deceased. In this case, although a supra-regional identity, such as that of being Roman was important, locality still seemed to be the more important basis for identity in daily life (Derks 1999: 270). Ethnicity, then, is a complex, dynamic and fluid collective identity, which can be one of a number of communal identities with which individuals identify or by which they are identified.

From what we can discern from the literary and archaeological sources, as well as analogies, an empire, such as the Roman Empire, can have a significant impact on the processes that affect ethnic group formation and maintenance among those peoples brought under its jurisdiction, as well as on those ethnic groups beyond its borders. Ethnogenesis, or the forming of an ethnic group, may be a response to an expanding empire and a new communal consciousness might take form among peoples who may have otherwise been more loosely organized (Whittaker 2009: 192).[56]   This process may be triggered by internal or external stimuli, or both. A group coming into direct contact or conflict with the Roman Empire might end up being destroyed as a distinct group, or they may be divided, reorganized, or be relocated to an area where they might either cause less trouble, or be of greater use to the state (Derks 1999, 242). Once such groups were incorporated into the Roman Empire, they were subject to and to a significant degree defined by the imperial administration (Whittaker 2009: 196–197). Ethnic groups might foster their own essentialized identities and traditions, promoting locality;

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[56] This communal consciousness can take on many forms.

within the empire there was a standardized way of recognizing and institutionalizing populations (Hingley 2005: 118).

Dick Whittaker argues that as the Roman Empire became larger, the imperial administration "harnessed" ethnicities by freezing, destroying and redefining ethnic groups through its military and bureaucracy (Whittaker 2009: 189; Enloe 1980: 210–211). In "harnessing" such collective identities, the Imperial administration very deliberately identified and categorized groups. Such processes which formalized otherwise potentially fluid and complex groups in a particular geographic location made it easier to deal with and administer them (Mattingly 2011: 211; Wells 1999: 116–117). As mentioned in the first chapter (page 37) such identification and categorization of collective identities, such as the Eravisci and the Boii, does not necessarily mean that there will be an internalization of sameness amongst the members in these groups. The mechanisms of the imperial power structures, however, did make such groupings meaningful to the administration since these are the units with which they worked. Consequently, they were also necessarily meaningful for the people in these groups who had to deal with effects of these mechanisms (Mattingly 2011: 216–217).

A concrete example of this, for example, was the *civitas* system, one of the principal instruments of the administration for security and tax administration. Through this system the imperial administration gave legal and even cultural legitimacy to communities (Whittaker 2009: 200). Despite whatever differences had existed regionally prior to the creation of the *civitas*, the effect was to bring together individuals from a variety of backgrounds under one label. Such groupings inevitably instilled a degree of commonality among their members. Scholars have demonstrated that *civitates* developed "essentializing" symbols and myths, in order to reinforce sense of community and common descent. In this way they were able to position themselves in

the new reality brought on by the Roman Empire (Whittaker 2009: 210). Such essentializing practices may very well have helped to develop feelings of groupness amongst inhabitants of the *civitates* of the Eravisici and the Boii.

The problem of determining, describing and defining ethnicity seems to come to a head when looking at community-based groups within the Roman Empire. On the one hand, it seems that even though "traditional" groups were manipulated, divided, destroyed, realigned, reformed or new groups were created in the empire and then became heavily institutionalized and politicized, many of the basic factors involved in describing/defining an ethnic group are recognizable. For example, it appears that feelings of community (or groupness) were fostered in institutionalized groups, because members referred to the groups as part of their identity (Roymans 2004: 195). Rituals also changed. In many cases, especially in urban areas, the imperial cult or the cult of the imperial triad was imported, with the accompanying structures, built in very visible positions. Associated rituals presumably not only reflected other examples of the empire but were also at least in part local in character and thus self-defining (Roymans 2004: 247; Fentress 2000: 12).

Communities seemed to have control over the way in which their local rituals, common views of the past and symbols were manifested within their home region, yet certain imperial conventions were also observed. People tended to affiliate themselves with the institutions or groups to which they were assigned by the imperial bureaucracy, whether that be of *natio*, *civitas*, or municipal status. This is demonstrated on tombstones and other dedicatory inscriptions that list the various identifications of people, including their *natio*, voting tribe, whether or not they have Roman citizenship and their *civitas* or city of origin. These places or institutions of identification are usually only specified if the person being commemorated is outside of his

community. Otherwise, many of these group identities were taken for granted (Derks 2009: 251).[57] In addition, most individuals, particularly those in the army, tended to take on local burial customs, including practices for commemoration and community identification (Derks 2009: 253). In this study, it seems that people from numerous backgrounds conformed to common local funerary practices in the cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum and that of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum. The burial assemblage does not provide much evidence concerning the groups with which people might identify but scholars agree that there were many non-native peoples buried in these cemeteries based on epigraphic sources. Unfortunately, the degree to which the people buried in the cemetery had control of their own choice in their group identification is unknown (Derks 2009: 240).

Having established significant facets of ethnicity, especially as an idea that must be practiced, and related them to some of the specific dynamics of the Roman Empire, the significance of material culture in the creation, negotiation and maintenance of ethnicity and other communal identities can now be discussed. As mentioned in the first chapter, material culture plays a crucial, active role in practices of everyday life, contributing to actions that in turn generally provide for the formation of ethnic identities, in addition to those identities based on of gender, age, status, etc. At the same time that material culture contributes to the creation and maintenance of identities, it is also structured by the very same performances (Jones 1997: 120). The role of material culture in meaningful collective practices has led some archeologists to argue that it is possible to archaeologically identify ethnic groups. In their opinion, material culture can be used to differentiate self-conscious groups from each other, which results in discontinuities in the material culture between groups, which the archaeologists can study in their

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[57] For example, concerning the Batavians see Roymans 2009: 232 and concerning the Dacians see Oltean, 2009: 97, 99).

analysis of different ethnic identities (Jones 1997: 115). This is possible especially in situations where it is known that there is competition between two or more ethnic groups, resulting in a reification of their cultural boundaries (Jones 1997: 124).

While material culture and the way it is used can be a reflection of ethnicity, it is a mistake to postulate a direct correlation between material culture and ethnic boundaries. Ethnographers have noticed that although members of a particular ethnic group perceive themselves and are often perceived by others as having a common culture, there can be much overlap of the material culture between two or more distinct groups living in close proximity. In fact, ethnographers and archaeologists have demonstrated that there are a number of instances, where known ethnic groups share almost the same material culture with their ethnically distinct neighbors. This may be because the group relies on other media of symbolic and historical expression to define itself but has assimilated themselves materially to a relatively homogenized cultural milieu (Knapp 2014: 37; Jones 1997: 115; Hodder 1982: 185–187).

Given that there are so many variables to be considered when attempting to discern ethnicity, there is debate within the archaeological community as to whether or not ethnicity is a variable that can be reliably found in the archaeological record. For Siân Jones, the contextual manifestations of ethnicity are within the realm of archaeological interpretation if there is a "relationship between historically constituted disposition and orientations that inform people's understanding and practices and the recognition and expression of ethnicity" (Jones 1997: 125). She goes on to mention that when searching for ethnic groups in the archaeological record a broad understanding of cultural contexts is necessary. Scholars must therefore take into account a variety of sources and classes of data. Researchers must also be aware of social differentiations within ethnic groups. These maybe based on gender, status, age, etc. In addition, archaeologists

need to look at "the modes of social interaction and the distribution of material and symbolic power between groups of people" (Jones 1997: 125). This is because ethnic consciousness is a consequence of the intersection of commonalities and differences within people's *habitus*. Scholars should also understand the social organization of the past society in order to study ethnicity. Ethnicity is, after all, embedded in the social organization of society, which parallels the idea that the social organization is a construct of repeated acts of interaction and communication that can become institutionalized (Jones 1997: 125).

In view of the above, it is not surprising that there are several archaeologists who prefer that the issue of ethnicity be debated from a social historical perspective, which takes into account literary sources, especially epigraphy. Material evidence alone can say so much about the sense of groupness that people felt, so, therefore, the literary sources need to be considered. Some scholars believe that literary sources are important in the study of ethnicity since the construction of ethnic identities is viewed primarily as discursive. They feel that the written sources are the only evidence we have of such discourses in the ancient world (Yntema 2009: 146; Malkin 2001: 4–6; Hall 1997: 2).

While it certainly is beneficial to be able to use literary and epigraphic sources which mention or illustrate historical processes and their effects on communal identities, there are some pitfalls in relying on such evidence for this study. These sources can offer insights that are useful in interpreting change in the funerary sphere. However, that is only the case if we are certain that the historical processes described are relevant to the funerary sphere under consideration. This is actually rarely the case. In Pannonia the value of the literary sources is very superficial for the Eravisci and Boii, groups who are often mentioned only in passing. As is discussed in chapter three, epigraphic evidence does provide personal names of individuals, their position in society

and what they commemorated. Even with this evidence though, a direct correlation between how people identified themselves and the type of artifacts that are used in the funerary ceremony is problematic (Whittaker 2009: 202; Jones 1997: 115; Hodder 1982: 185–187). Potentially, people identify themselves and are identified with a hierarchy of communal identities (Mattingly 2011: 210). At which level funerary practices operate is not immediately apparent. That said the historical information available provides significant insight into processes affecting the creation, negotiation and maintenance of communal identities in the settlements at Aquincum and Carnuntum, provided they are used with caution.

Since ethnicity is such a recent concept, it may be problematic to apply it to past people despite the fact that it has proven to be a useful analytic category for modern collective phenomena. Siân Jones states that "the kind of group consciousness that is based on the dialectical opposition of different cultural traditions in the process of social interaction" should not be restricted to the context of European colonialism, as these sorts of processes have been observed in cultures of the pre-colonial period (Jones 1997: 102–103). If we accept that group consciousness is formed in response to other cultural traditions, then the concept is applicable to past and current collective groups. Ethnicity, seen in this light, as a complex theorized concept has become broad enough that it can be applied to numerous groupings in many contexts over time. The openness of the term allows for the explication and analysis of general processes in the formation and transformation of collective groups (Jones 1997: 86–87). These processes are so broad, however, that many scholars, including Jones, believe that ethnicity may not be the only, nor the most applicable communal identity to examine in an archeological context (Knapp 2014: 37–38; Mattingly 2011: 209–210; Lucy 2005: 108–109; Jones 1997: 130).

Mattingly (2011: 210), for example, argues that examining discrepant experiences based on communities and regions may be a more fruitful approach than concentrating on ethnicity as a collective identity. Archaeologists can concentrate on certain locales such as settlements, rural areas, military forts, etc. Influences of the empire tend to affect cities more intensely than in other areas, so a brief examination might highlight the manifestation of ethnic identities in less affected rural areas. Individuals may have dissimilar burial practices in the rural areas than those of the urban areas, but that does not mean that they still might not identify with the same ethnicity. Therefore, it must be considered that any differences in burial practice may be indicative of the contrasts between burial practices of town and country, and not necessarily between those of two ethnic groups. Through such an approach the construction, maintenance and negotiation of a diverse set of communal identities can be explored through the variation in use and distribution of material culture (Jones 1997: 130; Mattingly 2011: 210). That being said, what we call ethnicity was still an important aspect of identification in the Roman world as the evidence above shows, but it is only one communal identity amongst a number that we must consider (Mattingly 2011: 210). This study will also consider ethnicity as an appropriate variable of analysis, but as Mattingly points out concentrating on ethnicity alone would be too narrow. This project must also look for other forms of communal identities. These can be more locally based ones, or it may be a matter of regional influences and it is even possible that communal identities in the cemetery itself are identified.

Funerary rituals, like other types of rituals, of course, play a role in the construction, maintenance and negotiation of certain communal identities, since they are symbolically charged events reinforcing ideally performed identities as a communal ritual (Babić 2005: 73; Morris 1987: 39; Pader 1984: 54;). Individuals participating in such ceremonies established, negotiated

and reinforced relational ties in their community. Funerary ritual was then one factor that provided individuals of a community with a feeling of belonging to that collective identity. Since individuals may be buried according to local rites regardless of where they come from or at the very least be buried according to the communal rites of one or more of potentially several possible collective identities to which they might belong, it may be difficult to comment on the ethnicity of the interred individual that they may have identified with during their life without further evidence. In the funerary sphere we can only comment on the individual as they were buried in relation to others in the cemetery. As mentioned, artifacts or the symbols on their own do not necessarily indicate a specific ethnicity or communal identification, as such artifacts can be consumed by and mean something different to others (Jones 1997: 123–124). Rather than focus on the artifacts per se we will study them as ritually defined material as such as a source of knowledge of the ritual activities in which they played a part. In particular we will focus on isolating patterns in assemblage or its usage (See Chapter 4). A clearly significant change in funerary practice, coupled with changes in the assemblage may reveal different communal identifications.

One way to identify meaningful patterns of behaviour is to compare the burials of Aquincum and Carnuntum (and ideally other cemeteries, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis). The degrees to which these varied patterns coincide with varying ethnicities will not necessarily become immediately apparent, but further research should help in identifying patterns of ethnicity in the region. Of course, ethnicity and communal identities are just some social identities to look for in the funerary record. Other identities that are based on age, status, religion, gender, etc. must also be taken into account when examining the archaeological record. This is also of importance to the study of local ethnicities, since it is well-known that ethnicity

frequently manifests itself differently for people of varying age, gender, status, etc. (Lucy 2005: 100; Lucy and Díaz-Andreu 2005: 9; Jones 1997: 85; Mirza and Dungworth 1995: 349–350).

3 Chapter 3: History of the Settlements and Cemeteries

3.1 History of the Settlements: Introduction

The previous chapter outlines the potential of using burials in order to study multiple identities, based on sex, age, rank and ethnicity, and goes over the significant facets of each major category of identity when dealing with them in the burial record. Before moving on to an analysis of the burials, we first need to give a historical introduction to the region in which those burial sites are situated.

From the late first century BC to the early third century AD the Roman settlements of Aquincum and Carnuntum developed into vibrant frontier centers. Both urban areas grew up close to important legionary bases. The fact that both settlements were located on the Amber Road next to major crossing points of the Danube River not only meant that they developed into major trading and industrial centers, but they also became the capitals of their respective provinces, Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Superior, as well as major military bases. Because of these factors they attracted agents of Roman imperialism including soldiers/veterans and imperial administrators, as well as economic migrants like merchants and craftsmen, and of course members of the native population. Not only did comparable globalizing processes under Roman hegemony affect both centers, but they also shared a similar fate under common historical events and processes. The historical development of both settlements was similar in many regards and in numerous ways they developed like other major centers along the Roman frontier in the north-western provinces. Because of their similar developments and their close proximity, they are ideal centers for a comparative study of the effects of glocalization.

Unfortunately, there is no ancient literature which gives a continuous historical narrative of either location. When authors do reference them, they usually only mention them in

connection with other events. In order to construct a "history" of each city, then, scholars have interpreted references from ancient literature, archaeological material and epigraphical sources. This has enabled them to draw a picture of the people who lived in these cities, the effect of military involvement in the settlements and the major topographical features of the cities, as well as historical events and processes, which we know had a profound impact on the centers. Some of these processes, events and developments are directly applicable to the grave analysis, but others are useful in that they allow the reader to see in a broader historical context the settlements to which the cemeteries are attached.

3.1.1 History of Aquincum

The legionary base of Aquincum and the settlement that developed near it are located on the banks of the Danube in the built-up area of modern-day Budapest. This section begins with an account of the Eravisci, a Celtic-speaking people who inhabited the area around the Danube bend in the mid first century AD when the Romans began to station military units in the area (Pl.1-2). As mentioned in chapter 2, it must be remembered that straightforward ascriptions of ethnic identities to local peoples are problematic and the mechanisms behind how peoples around the area of the Danube bend came to refer to themselves as Eravisci and what that meant to them is likely more complex than what is presented in this chapter. Since the Eravisci continued to be a major presence, though, it is important to go over generally what scholars can say about their development, before discussing the specific history of Aquincum. The *canabae* around the base likely started to develop shortly after the legionary fort was established in AD 89 and the civilian settlement, just north of the base, somewhat later. The base and the settlements were probably occupied and still connected to the Roman Empire into the fifth century.

However, this section on the history of Aquincum only covers to the end of the third century when Emperor Diocletian divided up the provinces into new administrative units. This seems to be a good point to end the history, since there are very few cremation graves in the sample of the cemetery that exist after this.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Celtic speaking peoples permanently settled in the area around the Danube bend in the early third century BC, presumably, mixing with the indigenous population. The people of the area north of the Drava River seem to have become mostly Celtic speaking and they adopted material culture and habits associated with the La Tène culture[58] as a result of these migrations. The first reference to the Eravisci is dated to around the end of the first century BC, when they issued their own coins. Even though Roman authors also mention this group, scholars do not know when exactly they established themselves (Barkóczi 1980: 86–87), but they may have settled the area of the Danube bend and established their center on Gellért Hill between 70 and 60 BC (Hable 2003: 50; Póczy 2003: 73).[59] Presumably, pre-existing populations in this area were part of a larger grouping, referred to by modern scholars as the "Boiian state," which emerged in the second century BC and was probably centered on the left bank of the Danube around the modern site of Bratislava (Jerem 2003: 193). According to Poseidonius as cited by Strabo, in the mid first century BC, the Dacians claimed the land the Boii controlled (7.5.2), and under King Burebista the Dacians and their allies conquered the Boii and their allies the Taurisci (Strabo 5.1.6; 7.3.11; 7.5.2). By 44 BC at the time of the death of Burebista, it seems that the Boii had ceased to be a military power in the region (Barkóczi 1980:

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[58] As discussed in chapter one and two, the use of broad cultural groupings like the 'Celts' and 'La Tène' is problematic, but for the sake of convenience, they will be used in this section of the paper. See also note 64 on the problematic association of 'Celtic' with 'La Tène.'

[59] Their name might be associated with the River Arrabo (Rába) in modern western Hungary, a region where they may have originated (Kovács 2014: 10).

87). The Dacian influence in the region also rapidly diminished after Burebista's death. Whether the Eravisci existed as a group in the region earlier is uncertain, but they became a more prominent presence in the region after Dacian control lapsed.

The La Tène *oppidum* on Gellért Hill and the settlement at Tabán, which was located below the hill and next to the Danube bank, developed during the mid first century BC, probably as the administrative, economic and religious center of the Eravisci (Petres 1990: 7; Nováki and Pető 1988: 83; Mócsy 1974: 59). The *oppidum* and the settlement developed where a major branch of the Amber Road crossed the Danube just south of the Danube bend (Németh 1995: 140), because the Tabán area directly below Gellért Hill was the ideal place to cross the Danube River (Jerem 2007: 121; Mócsy 1974: 72). The Eravisci even started to mint their own silver coins possibly around 35 BC, but it is not known for certain (Torbágyi 2020: 607). They were mostly modeled after Roman Republican denarii minted between 90 and 70 BC and they sometimes contained abbreviated personal names (Domisa, Ansa, Dvtevta, etc.) or the name of the group, spelled RAVIZ or IRAVISCI. These coins were likely minted in the general vicinity of the Gellért Hill *oppidum* (Hable 2003: 51; Póczy 1986: 14; Bíró-Sey 1980: 339; Mócsy 1974: 56), but while very few of them were found in and around the settlement area (Torbágyi 2020: 607; Hable 2003: 50), they were found elsewhere in the region of the Eravisci (Hable 2003: 51). Melinda Torbágyi believes that the Eravisci minted such coins to finance Eraviscan troops allied with the Romans in the war planned against the Marcomanni in AD 6, as well as to express tribal self-confidence (2020: 608).[60]

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[60] Torbágyi believes this scenario is a strong possibility because Eraviscan coins were found in Devin near the future site of Carnuntum around the area where the Romans staged their invasion of Marcomanni territory and the area to the east of this surrounding modern Győr. There were also numerous coins found in Slovakia to the north of the Danube (2020: 608).

Most scholars are of the opinion that the Eravisci were a Celtic[61] people (e.g., Kovács 2014: 10; Mráv 2004: 2; Hable 2003: 51; Gabler 1997: 87; Szabó 1991: 518; Petres 1990: 13). According to the onomastic evidence from coins most of their proper names seem to be of Celtic origin, since they are similar to those used in the Leitha area, where the Boii lived, and in Noricum. A few non-Celtic names were used sporadically, such as Bato and place names, like "Aquincum." Taken together, this suggests that the people in the area were Celtic speakers, but the native population, which existed before the settlement of the Celts, adopted the Celtic language although they retained their non-Celtic names (Meid 2008: 188; 2005: 56; Mócsy 1974: 59–60) or it was close contact and integration with the Illyrian, Azali[62] people on the western border that led to the adoption of non-Celtic names (Hable 2003: 51). This view cannot be reconciled with Tacitus, who states that the Osi and, consequently, the closely related Eravisci (Tac. *Germ*. 28), spoke Pannonian (i.e., Illyrian[63]) (Tac. *Germ*.: 43). According to Tacitus the Osi and the Eravisci, at least at one time, shared common customs, even though they lived on opposite sides of a river (presumably the Danube) (Tac. *Germ*. 28). Mócsy speculates that they were the same peoples at one time and suggests that the Danube did not constitute an ethnic dividing line until the first century AD, when the Romans gradually took over the territory on the

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[61] Celtic is a branch of Indo-European. The Eravisci and other Celts in Pannonia spoke continental Celtic. Evidence of continental Celtic mostly consists of proper names and place names (Penney "Celtic Languages" *OCD*). The Celtic language is also intimately linked with the La Tène culture, which together are seen as markers of a people called Celts (Drinkwater "Celts" *OCD*). However, the territory of Celtic speakers is thought to be more widespread than La Tène culture, so they may be closely linked, but not synonymous (Meid 2008: 181).

[62] Based on the use of proper names, scholars have largely assumed that the Azali were an Illyrian or Pannonian speaking people. Recent studies of the onomastic evidence reveal that many of these names are Celtic (Grbić 2013), so accurately ascribing an ethnic label to these people is uncertain in the current state of knowledge.

[63] Illyrian is classified as a "Paleo-Balkanic" language, all of which are now dead languages. It is possible that it was part of its own, separate branch of Indo-European languages, or it could be similar to other extinct Balkan languages like Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian? Surviving Illyrian words mostly come in the form of proper names and place names. It is not fully clear how much the Pannonian languages are related to Illyrian since a relationship to the system of the names cannot be discerned (Haebler "Paleo-Balkanic Languages" *BNP*).

right side of the Danube, while the Osi came under the dominion of the Sarmatians and the

Quadi (Tac., *Germ.* 43; Mócsy 1974: 60).

There is no evidence that the Romans conquered the territory of the Eravisci by direct

force. No ancient sources mention any conflicts, nor are there any destruction layers found in

Late La Tène D sites in the territory that can be linked to the Romans (Kovács 2018: 168). It

seems likely that the Eravisci were allies of the Romans already from the reign of Augustus

during the period of Roman expansion into the region. Such an alliance is indicated by the

granting of citizenship to nobles from the region during the early Principate (Kovács 2014: 55;

Mráv 2004: 2; Nagy 1981: 340–341; Mócsy 1974: 57; 1959: 64).[64] Many Augustan coins were

introduced in the northeast region of the later province and the fact that the Eravisci minted their

own coins according to Roman standards may indicate this alliance (Torbágyi 2020: 608; Kovács

2014: 55; Mráv 2004: 2).

During the reign of Claudius, scholars believe, the Romans began to fortify the areas of

the Amber Road, which ran up to the Danube. The first military camp was founded between AD

45 and 50 in the Viziváros region of modern Budapest just north of the Tabán settlement (Kérdő

2009: 99; 2005: 83; Gabler 1997: 85). A cemetery of cremation burials with tombstones

mentioning members of the *ala Hispanorum* I and evidence found for the fort and the

surrounding *vicus* confirm that an auxiliary unit garrisoned the Viziváros settlement (Kérdő

2005: 83–84; 2003: 81; Kovács 1999: 287; Gabler 1997: 85; Németh 1995: 140). The choice for

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[64] For example: Móscy states that C. I(ulius) Magimarus (CIL 3377) may have received citizenship from Augustus (1959: 64; 1974: 57) and Mráv seems to agree (2004: 2). Based on style of the funerary stele Nagy claims that it must have been the grandfather or great-grandfather of Magimarus that received citizenship under Augustus or Caligula (Nagy 1981: 340). Kovács merely states that leaders in this region were given citizenship and provides relevant citations for both Móscy and Nagy without providing any further details (2014: 55). Iulia Utta (CIL 10552) who was of the Anartii, a Celtic tribe residing in the area just to the west of the future province of Dacia, may have been granted citizenship under Tiberius or Caligula (Nagy 1981: 341; Mócsy 1959: 64). Her grave stele, which Nagy dated to around AD 100, was found in Budapest (Nagy 1981: 341).

the location of the first camp, north of Gellért Hill and the Tabán settlement, was probably due to the fact the area in the Tabán, which was otherwise on an ideal crossing point of the Danube, was not large enough to hold the auxiliary fort and surrounding *vicus* (Kovács 1999: 286; Szirmai 1998: 241).[65] Kovács provides strong evidence that the Viziváros settlement was the capital of the *Civitas Eraviscorum*, the creation of which took place during the organization of Pannonia as a province in the reign of Claudius. Since there was no settlement yet in the area around Aquincum, as the establishment of a fort did not come about until 73, Viziváros is an ideal candidate as a *civitas* center, Péter Kovács argues (1999: 288–292).

While it is certain that the Eravisci existed as a people before the development of the *civitas*, since we have written accounts of them and they produced their own coinage, it is likely that when imperial officials were organizing the provinces, the ethnic identity of the people living in the *civitas* became reified in accordance with the new political boundary. A few of scholars maintain that the *civitas* organization reflected the tribal territories (Jerem 2003: 193; Szabó 1991: 516). The Eravisci did seem to have the largest *civitas* territory in Pannonia (Alföldy 2009: 278), so it is possible that the tribal territory was maintained, given that the Eravisci were allied to the Romans before they were in the area. However, as Mócsy points out, the border of the *civitas* did not necessarily match the boundaries of the tribal territory, both in terms of geographical boundaries and cultural ones (Mócsy 1974: 66). In any case, it seems that the tribal elite maintained their power in the *civitas*, though from the time of Claudius, the commander of the *ala* unit at Viziváros oversaw the tribal area (Kérdő 2009: 99; Kovács 1999: 288).

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[65] Epigraphic evidence from tombstones from the area shows that between 50 and 69AD the *ala hispanorum I* was stationed at the Viziváros fort. At the beginning of the reign of Vespasian the *ala I hispanorum Auriana* garrisoned the fort until the early to late 80s during the reign of Domitian (Németh 1995: 140), and certainly permanently sometime before 107 (Kovács 1999: 287).

The native aristocracy and others, such as soldiers, who were able to put up tombstones seemed to embrace the Eraviscan identity, since they mention it on their monuments (Mráv 2004: 3; Mócsy 1974: 141; 1959: 64). It is of course unknown how the majority of people would have perceived and to what degree they would have internalized this administrative designation.

By the time of the foundation of auxiliary forts at Viziváros and Albertfalva, which was located to the south of Gellért Hill, the *oppidum* was gradually abandoned (Kérdő 2009: 99; Wilkes 2005: 149; Mráv 2004: 3; Kovács 1999: 285; Gabler 1997: 86; Nováki and Pető 1988: 83; Fitz 1980: 145–146; Mócsy 1974: 72–73; Póczy 1969: 5). Scholars have put forth several reasons as to why this happened. The abandonment of the *oppidum* was part of a general trend, which saw inhabitants desert fortified hill-top settlements when the Romans occupied the land around it. Whether it was a policy of the Romans to encourage peoples to abandon their defensible hill-top settlements (Mráv 2004: 1), or whether the inhabitants living on them just did not see the need to occupy a settlement located at an inconvenient place when they could settle in a more economically lucrative area closer to where activity was taking place, is unknown (Mócsy 1974: 72). John Wilkes does not believe that this trend, which he observed along the Danube, was due to the Roman occupation of the region but was part of process of social change which was already underway (2005: 149). In fact, the *oppidum* may even have been mostly abandoned by the time the Romans established their first camp (Mráv 2004: 3). It is likely that the native population gradually moved to the settlement in Tabán at the base of the hill or to other settlements in the surrounding area, such as the *vici* around the auxiliary forts of Viziváros and Albertfalva (Petres 1990: 7; Fitz 1980: 145–146; Mócsy 1974: 72–73; Póczy 1969: 5). While they abandoned Gellért Hill as a settlement, the hill still retained its cultic significance well into

the Roman period (Jerem 2007: 122; Mráv 2004: 3; Petres 1990: 8; Nováki and Pető; 1988: 83; Petö 1986: 77; Póczy 1969: 5; Bónis 1969: 215–216).

During the reign of Vespasian (AD 69–79), it seems apparent that there was a deliberate shift of military units from the interior of the province to the Danube frontier. At this time a formal *limes* system developed along the Danube River, which corresponds to the border of the province as it was defined during the reign of Claudius. Around AD 73 the military constructed an auxiliary fort to house the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* in the area of modern Óbuda. The construction of the fort here coincided with the building of a similar fort at Carnuntum. This indicates a similar frontier policy for those areas in the province which are located at significant fording points on the Danube, where the Amber Road crossed (Gabler 1997: 88; Németh 1995: 140). Later in the first century the military seems to have established another auxiliary fort, which it constructed approximately one kilometer north of the installation established by the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*. The building of the fort probably took place during the Dacian wars under Domitian (86–88AD) or shortly afterwards when there were problems with peoples on the other side of the Danube (Németh 1995: 141; Mócsy 1974: 86).

In AD 89, the *Legio II Adiutrix* constructed the first permanent legionary fort in the area of modern Budapest in between the auxiliary forts in the modern district of Óbuda (Gabler 1997: 90; Németh 1995, 141). The transfer of this legion was likely due to the wars along the middle Danube region against the Iazyges, a Sarmatian people and the Suebi, a Germanic people. These conflicts started to break out in 88 and lasted for nearly five years (Kovács 2014: 80–81; Barkóczi 1980: 93). As the legion moved into the area and the auxiliary unit at the Viziváros fort was deployed elsewhere during the conflicts, this auxiliary fort was finally abandoned, although the *vicus* around the Viziváros fort continued and even took up the land of the abandoned fort.

Kóvacs speculates that even as people settled in the *canabae* around the legionary fort in Óbuda and the civilian settlement developed approximately two kilometers north of this, the Viziváros fort was probably still the *civitas* center (Kóvacs 2014: 94–95; 1999: 289).[66]

The civilian city of Aquincum and the *canabae* of the legionary fort probably started to develop shortly after the legionary fort was established in 89. In fact, through evidence collected from excavations, archaeologists speculate that the orientation of the construction of the *canabae* of the legionary fort was purposefully laid out along the *limes* road, which by the late first century had been established (Madarassy 1999: 643). Archaeological evidence shows that the civilian town started as a road-side settlement along the east-west road leading down to the Danube (Láng and Bíró 2018: 611; Láng 2016: 353; 2015: 544). Sometime between 117 and 138, Hadrian granted municipal status to the civilian town of Aquincum (Kóvacs 2014: 94–95; 1999: 288–289) and the settlement attained its own town council (Láng 2016: 354). At this point the Viziváros settlement was subordinated to the administration of the civilian settlement, and it continued as a settlement likely until the late third century (Kóvacs 2014: 95; 1999: 291). Until the Severan period, the *canabae* were run by their own administration which likely controlled their own *territorium* around the legionary base (Kovács 2001: 50). The establishment of the *territorium*, as well as the layout of the land plots and the *insulae*, probably took place at the same time the construction of the legionary fort occurred (Madarassy 1999: 643). A corporate community of *veterani et cives Romani consistentes*, which was made of up of Roman citizens, managed the affairs of the *canabae* (Mócsy 1974: 140). Inscriptions from this period show that

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[66] The development of the civilian urban area is in line with the founding of other civilian settlements in the region which grew up close to legionary forts. It was quite common that soon after the foundation of the legionary fort a civilian settlement was built approximately one to two kilometers away from the fort. This might have been due to a deliberate policy of provincial governors which was applied during the reigns Trajan and Hadrian (Kovács 2014: 105).

there were administrators, referred to as *magistri*, who had executive powers in the *canabae* (Kovács 2014: 105; 2001: 49; Dise 1991: 70). The people who made up the population of the *canabae* were largely those who helped to maintain the legion, such as merchants, victualers and craftsmen, as well as people related to the military such as relatives of soldiers and veterans (Kovács 2014: 105; Dise 1991: 66).

From the time of its foundation, shortly after the legionary fort was established to the reign of Trajan, the civilian settlement had a village-like character (Láng 2015: 540). Through the course of the second century, the civilian *municipium* had many of the amenities that a scholar might expect to find in a Roman city. Around 106, when the settlement was made the capital of Pannonia Inferior, it developed into an urban center. A street grid was laid out, the first permanent buildings and an aqueduct were constructed (Láng 2016: 354; 2015: 544). At the intersection of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* in the forum was a *capitolium*, a *curia*, bath, marketplace, and a basilica. Covered arcades, under which were shops, flanked the main streets. Archaeologists can make out *insula* blocks, in which there seem to have been houses that were narrow and that had oblong courtyards behind them. The settlement was equipped with an aqueduct, which carried warm water from hot springs located 1.5km north of the city, as well as a drainage system (Póczy 1980: 255–256). During the mid second century, two amphitheaters were built: one, which included a gladiator barracks, just north-west of the north gate, while the other was built close to the *canabae* (Fitz 1980: 170). In the civilian settlement we know from inscriptions that many of the decurions from the period between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were members of the local population who had received Roman citizenship (Kovács 2014: 312; Dise 1991: 66; Mócsy 1974: 141).

The heavy militarization of this crossing of the Danube continued under Trajan (Gabler 1980: 639). Although the Dacian wars (101–102 and 105–106) did not directly affect Pannonia, it does seem that the Sarmatian tribes on either side of the newly created province of Dacia remained hostile. For example, in 107, when Hadrian was the Praetorian Legate for Pannonia Inferior, he had to keep the Sarmatians under control. It was probably the restlessness of the peoples on the opposite side of the Danube in both the north and to the east that encouraged Trajan to split Pannonia into two provinces sometime between AD 103 and 107. At the time, Pannonia Superior, which was administered from Carnuntum, had three legions stationed there, while Pannonia Inferior had one legion based in Aquincum (Kovács 2014; 86; Barkóczi 1980: 93–94). During the reign of Hadrian, the military gradually replaced the earth-and-wood forts with more durable stone installations and put up a series of watch towers along the frontier as well (Barkóczi 1980: 118).

The area around Aquincum seemed to be peaceful for most of this period, except for a few issues affecting Pannonia Inferior in the first half of the second century.[67] The Romans must have had much confidence in the peace along the frontier area because by the mid second century they had built the governor's palace on an island directly in front of the legionary fortress and facing the opposite bank of the Danube. It is possible that this palace served as an imposing reminder of Roman imperium to the Iazyges who lived on the opposite side of the Danube (Kovács 2014: 88; Mócsy 1974: 111). During the second century, the military constructed forts on the left bank at Aquincum, including Transaquincum opposite the legionary fortress and Contra-Aquincum across from Gellért Hill; together these dominated the major

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[67] There were problems on the border of Pannonia Inferior from 117–119, after the death of Trajan while a large number of military units were still engaged in the Parthian conflict, and possibly again in 136, when L. Aelius Caesar was given joint command over both Pannonian provinces for an unknown reason (Mócsy 1974: 111).

crossing-points of the Danube. Foundations of pillars found in the nineteenth century indicate that a bridge was built across the Danube at this time (Németh 1995: 147).

It seems that Hadrian and his administration deliberately tried to promote the urbanization of civilian settlements and it appears that there were many local peoples who received their citizenship during the reigns of both Trajan and Hadrian. Under the reign of Trajan native peoples who mostly resided in the *civitas* territory, but not in Aquincum, received their citizenship (Ulpii), while others who largely lived in Aquincum, were granted citizenship (Aelii) under Hadrian (Mócsy 1974: 145; 1959: 70, 71); there they lived along with veterans of the legion and auxiliary units. It was quite typical for veterans to settle close to the area in which they served once they were discharged. At the same time people from other parts of the empire migrated with the movements of the military units. As is typical for many Pannonian urban centers, quite a few immigrants from northern Italy settled in the civilian city. In addition, during the Dacian Wars and the Parthian wars of Trajan, peoples from the Rhine area settled in Aquincum, since the *Legio X Gemina* was transferred to Aquincum from the Rhine region (Mócsy 1974: 124). These immigrants and the veterans that settled in the area were apparently not members of the *ordo decurionum* and did not take on the burdens of local administration, but they did form various *collegia* and in this way contributed to civic life (Mócsy 1974: 141). In any case, the northern part of Pannonia, including Aquincum, saw an "extraordinary" influx of immigration (Rothe 2014: 508–509). With so many immigrants moving into the settlement, one might expect to see a range of cultural markers in the burial assemblages.

The so-called Marcomannic wars which took place between 166 and 180 had a great effect on Aquincum, the Danube region and the empire as a whole. Scholars believe that pressures from migration in the middle Danube region (Kovács 2009: 208–209), a lack of land,

or a combination of both were factors which gradually led to the outbreak of the wars (Olivia 1962: 263–267). According to the ancient sources, an influx of displaced tribes, notably the Marcomanni and the Quadi, destabilized the situation along the Danube frontier as they were pushed westward. These groups threatened to invade the Roman Empire if they were not admitted peaceably (*HA Marc.* 14.1; Kovács 2014: 115; Mócsy 1974: 185, no. 13). Details of any negotiations between these Germanic tribes and the Roman authorities are no longer available. What is clear in this case is that the Romans had been negotiating with the Germanic peoples in order to prevent a war, especially since Roman military units from the Danube Region were engaged in the Parthian campaigns during the 160s (*HA Marc.* 12.13).

It does not seem that the invasions, starting at the end of 167 or 168 affected Aquincum much, since they were mostly directed at Pannonia Superior. The Iazyges, who were opposite Aquincum, seem to have attacked Dacia and southern Pannonia Inferior, near Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), but our sources are extremely limited and lack detail. By 172 it appears that the Roman forces under Marcus Aurelius had consolidated their control of Pannonia and were not invading areas on the opposite side of the Danube (Mócsy 1974: 187; Olivia 1962: 262). But, during the winter of 173–174, apparently when the Danube was frozen, the Iazgyes invaded Pannonia again (Cass. Dio 72(71).7). Marcus Aurelius made his base at Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), which may indicate that the main action did not necessarily take place around Aquincum. The Romans' first victory took place in 174, while a second led to the defeat of the Iazyges, probably in 175 (Mócsy 1974: 190). When the Iazyges agreed to terms of a peace treaty, they had to evacuate from a wide strip along the Danube, give back one hundred thousand prisoners and provide eight thousand horsemen to the Roman army (Cass. Dio 72(71).16).

According to Cassius Dio (72(71).17), Marcus Aurelius wanted to attack them further because they were still very strong, but he had to deal with the revolt of Avidius Cassius in Syria in 175.

But the peace was not lasting and between 177 and 180, peoples on the left side of the Danube again invaded Pannonia (Kovács 2009: 242, 244). By the middle of 179 the Iazyges had forged an alliance with the Romans in return for lifting some of the restrictions on them (Cass. Dio 72(71).18); the Iazyges still had to stay off the islands of the Danube and were not allowed to keep boats on the river. Later, when the Iazyges had demonstrated they could abide by the strict measures imposed on them, they were given certain concessions, such as free passage through Dacia to maintain their links with the Roxolani, who were of the same Sarmatian background, with the supervision of the Roman governor (Cass. Dio 72(71).19). They apparently also were given trading access to markets in the empire at set times (Cass. Dio 72(71).15; Mócsy 1974: 192–193). According to Cassius Dio this privilege had previously been denied to them because Marcus Aurelius wished to prevent them from reconnoitering Roman positions and purchasing provisions from Roman markets (Cass. Dio 72(71).11).

We do not know how exactly the war affected the people of Aquincum. Paula Zsidi believes that burnt layers from the period do not have to be attributed to the war necessarily because the timber construction of the buildings (with stone foundations) made them prone to fire anyway. In addition, while there were many buildings demolished in the Severan era because of extensive renovations to the settlements, the limited destruction caused by the war did not warrant such a complex overhaul (2002: 132–133).

Still, some scholars have noted evidence of some devastation caused by the conflict. In the western section of the *canabae* itself, a thick layer of ash, located in some areas and dated to the second half of the second century, probably indicates that this area incurred heavy damage

during the war (Madarassy 1999: 644). It also seems that the pottery quarter in the area of the modern gas factory just east of the *municipium* was destroyed sometime in 178, during the last portion of the war (Gabler 2017: 29; Kóvacs 2014: 145; 2009: 243). Burnt layers were also found around the area of the basilica, which indicates that buildings in this central area were burnt down at this time (Gabler 2017: 29).[68] While Aquincum certainly did suffer destruction during this war, the settlements here were touched less than many other settlements along the Danube *limes* (Gabler 2017: 31). Immediately following the Marcomannic wars there does not seem to have been much immediate work done on repairing the towns that were destroyed, including Aquincum.[69] A reassessment of the evidence from Aquincum suggests that less destruction occurred in the settlements than had been previously thought, which is why the major refurbishment of the civil settlement and *canabae* only took place in the Severan period.

Many scholars agree that the "Golden Age" of prosperity that Pannonia encountered in the late second century and early third century was due to a complex array of factors. One of the main reasons for the increased wealth was the raise which Septimius Severus gave to the soldiers in order to improve their living conditions. Soldiers gave the economy a boost with their extra spending power (Zsidi 2002: 132; Fitz 1982: 11). Since the region next to the Danube was heavily militarized, it seems that this region reaped the most benefits from this pay raise, especially since it seems that inflation was kept to a minimum (Fitz 1982: 11). Septimius Severus' visit to the armies in Moesia and Pannonia while on his return from the Parthian war in 202 (Hdn. 3.10.1), and subsequent visits by emperors could be another reason for prosperity in the region (Zsidi 2002: 131). His route probably took him along the Danube *limes*, where

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[68] Zsidi (2002 132–134) disputes that some of this evidence can be linked directly to the war.
[69] Fitz (1982: 11) speculates that this is due to inflation, depleted treasuries and economic problems. Heavy taxes placed on the population after Commodus was murdered during the civil wars did not help resolve the situation.

officials in the various towns wanted to and were expected to repair the infrastructure of the towns for the arrival of Severus, his family and his accompanying army (Fitz 1982: 12). During the visit of Septimius Severus state actors would have provided large investments in reorganization and construction (Zsidi 2002: 147). At this time and in subsequent imperial visits in the Severan period many wealthy private citizens, whose ranks increased at this time, may have competed with each other in the building of new sanctuaries and the restoration of old temples (Zsidi 2002: 147; Fitz 1982: 12).[70] The raising of the city of Aquincum to the rank of *colonia* in 194 and the restructuring of the province in 214 with the addition of Brigetio (Komárom) and the legion stationed there also contributed to this prosperity. With these events, administrative buildings had to be renovated and enlarged, and aspects of the settlements underwent restructuring as the significance of major routes, such as the road to Bregitio, changed (Zsidi 2002: 147).

One of the consequences of the increased prosperity in the frontier region of Pannonia was a drastic increase at this time in the number of inscriptions dedicated (Zsidi 2002: 143; Dise 1991: 107; Mócsy 1974: 230). During this time, it seems that the commissioning of votive, building and honorific inscriptions had become fashionable (Mócsy 1974: 232). The increased social competition that the visit of Septimius Severus in 202 fostered and the increase in disposable income amongst the military class helped to cultivate the rise in the number of inscriptions (Fitz 1982: 13). One of the consequences of the vibrant epigraphic habit is that scholars are able to map out processes of social change with greater accuracy, both concerning

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[70] Although building projects were carried out and dedications to the imperial family were made in the time between 198 to 209 in Pannonia, Kovács does not link many of them to this particular event. He has found that scholars have been eager to link many different sources to this tour, connections which in many cases seem dubious. In most instances he sees no evidence or reason to link dedications and other projects to this event (Kovács 2014: 184-187).

the types of individuals who were setting up the inscriptions and regarding the dating of these written testimonia.

The building boom that took place in Aquincum in the first half of the third century is well documented both in the civilian city and the *canabae* thanks to the epigraphical material and the extensive archaeological work that has taken place. It seems that both centers underwent an urban renewal which saw buildings of stone construction replace many of the older buildings made of timber frames. After Severus had raised Aquincum to the status of *colonia* the population greatly increased. Not only was the city within the wall densely built up (Láng 2016: 354; Zsidi 2002: 135), but during the course of the first half of the third century, the settlement had to expand outside of the walls (Láng 2016: 354; Zsidi 2002: 139; Póczy, 1980: 256). The forum area was enlarged while the buildings in the forum such as the basilica and the temple were enlarged and further monumentalized (Fitz 1982: 18; Póczy 1980: 256). The drainage system and the water supply were improved and were installed into all areas of the city inside the walls, as new sections expanded. Complementing this development was the construction of numerous small bath complexes (Zsidi 2002: 135; Póczy 1980: 256). Numerous cult buildings, such as temples dedicated to Mithras, Venus, Diana and Nemesis, as well as *collegia* headquarters, such as those of the *Collegium Centonariorum* and the *Collegium Iuventutis* were constructed (Póczy 1980: 256). The city became denser, due to a demand for living space. Many houses that were once supported by timber frames and had courtyards were replaced with narrow stone houses which were separated from each other by narrow paths (Láng 2016: 354; Zsidi 2002: 141). During the first half of the third century wall paintings and mosaics became more common as they adorned many public residences, while hypocaust heating systems, once

considered a luxury, became common to most private residences within the city (Póczy 1980: 256).

The *canabae* underwent similar processes of renewal and monumentalization during the Severan era (Zsidi 2002: 135; Fitz 1982: 14; Póczy 1980: 256). The *canabae* needed much treatment during the Severan era because it seems that much of it was knocked down during the Marcomannic wars (Gabler 2017: 29). Most remaining buildings were demolished at this time in order to improve the infrastructure of the settlement. Excavations reveal among other things, that developers gave the *canabae* a new, orderly *insula*-system (Kovács 2001: 65; Madasassy 1999: 644). At this point they took the opportunity to improve the water system and install drainage networks. More roads were also added to deal with the increased influx of traffic at the time. Wooden buildings which once housed various craft industries, shops and *tabernae* were removed away from the gates of the military camp and replaced with stone buildings. Most industry was now located on the outskirts of the *canabae*, which meant that cemeteries were developed farther outside of the city and older ones, such as those between the south gate of the legionary camp and the amphitheater were leveled (Póczy 1980: 256).

In 194, the administration of Septimius Severus dissolved the administration of *canabae* and the settlement came under the civilian governance of the new *colonia* (Kovács 2014: 188; 2001: 43, 65; Mócsy 1974: 219). This action seems to be part of a general policy of the administration of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, in which legal differences between various administrations and people were being consolidated and simplified (Mócsy 1974: 218–219).

The military, as an institution, also appears to have benefited from the same good fortune as the settlement of Aquincum in the late second to early third century. During the Severan era the military renovated the legionary fortress, erecting or reconstructing some of the most

luxurious and imposing buildings of the fort during this period. This refurbishment might have corresponded with Severus' visit to the province in 202, but it certainly relates to the new-found prosperity of Aquincum and the rest of the Pannonian *limes* at the time (Németh 1995: 144).

While the civilian city and the *canabae* underwent refurbishment, there was an influx of new immigrants, particularly from the east, but also to a lesser extent from North Africa and Thrace settling in the city (Rothe 2014: 508–509). Large numbers of people immigrated from the eastern part of the empire, including Syrians, Jews, Greeks and Egyptians. Although for quite some time there had been units from the east stationed in Pannonia, there seem to have been more transferred to Pannonia under Septimius Severus. It appears that the families of the soldiers may also have immigrated to the city, as well as civilians who took advantage of the economic opportunities that a flourishing Pannonian economy brought (Barkóczi 1980: 106–107; Fitz 1982: 28). These immigrants seem to have been successful since some of them eventually became part of the decurial class and they also took part in the administration of the governor. Inscriptions testify to their civic patronage, not only in Aquincum, but elsewhere along the Pannonian *limes* (Fitz 1982: 32). Many Africans and Thracians ended up coming with military units that were stationed in the area during the Marcomannic conflicts and stayed afterwards, many becoming craftsmen (Fitz 1982: 32).

The economy of Aquincum seems to have developed during the first half of the third century. Previously, much of the economy of Aquincum was dependent on imperial expenditure through the army and the government administration. Although many local people and immigrants benefited from the heavy imperial presence in the area and industries were created to support it, it seems that the settlements and the military were still importing specialized goods from Italy, Noricum, Raetia and the Rhine region. During the Severan expansion, more local

industries took root which produced specialized goods for local consumption, with the result that merchants largely imported luxury goods (Fitz 1982: 27). Local craftsmen were able to make such things as statues, mosaics and wall paintings which were in demand by the urban class. The import of *terra sigillata* from the Rhine area still took place, but in lesser quantities than what was seen before in the second century. Another sign of prosperity was the increase in medium and small sized villas and the accompanying holdings, which people built in the valleys and on the slopes of the "Buda hills" in the area around Aquincum. It appears that practices concerning viticulture, gardening, and animal husbandry were becoming more intensive at this time (Jashemski 2017: 137; Dálnoki 2009: 150; Fitz 1982: 22).

Scholars perceive the late second century and the early third century as a formative period of social change in Aquincum and its surroundings. It seems that many of the native urban dwellers did not use local names, at least in public display, to signal their Celtic identity, since there are fewer Celtic names attested from this time and afterwards on inscriptions (Mócsy 1974: 234). Many local peoples took the name Aurelius, since many people in Aquincum were given citizenship during Marcus' reign, while most of the remaining freeborn inhabitants became *Aurelii* when they were given citizenship under the *Constitutio Antoniana* (Barkóczi 1980: 106). Customs indicative of the indigenous population, such as wagon burials and the depiction of wagons on burial markers cease by this time (Mócsy 1974: 234) and tribal dress occurs less in funerary relief (Rothe 2014: 509). Prior to the creation of the *colonia*, the incorporation of indigenous peoples into the military, as well as the handing out of citizenship to the elite class who participated in the local government contributed to processes of integration (Fitz 1982: 26). During this time period there is more evidence that veterans, who stayed in the area after their service, married locally, which helped to integrate the local native and military communities. The

veterans, like many other veterans of the empire, tended to stay in the area in which they retired and often became small and medium landowners, merchants, and even participated in public life. These factors along with the common experience of the wide-spread anxiety which the Marcomannic wars surely brought on, seems to have integrated these communities, which scholars see as being more disparate at an earlier time (Fitz 1982: 29).

From what is known about Aquincum during the course of the third century, it appears that the political instability within the empire, as well as the barbarian incursions, which were becoming more frequent, affected Aquincum more and more. One of the governors of Pannonia Inferior, Ingenuus, even proclaimed himself emperor after he defeated the Sarmatians in 258. Aquincum was badly affected during the Quadi-Sarmatian wars, which took place between 258 and 260. During this war, which impacted many parts of Pannonia, numerous parts of the legionary camp were destroyed and had to be repaired (Németh 1995: 144; Visy 1988: 82). Gallienus, who had defeated Ingenuus in 258, forced the Sarmatians to leave the lower Pannonian *limes* at the conclusion of the war. Major repairs of the fortress seemed to have taken place during the reign of Claudius II when this stretch of the *limes* was quiet (268–270) (Barkóczi 1980: 105; Visy 1988: 82). This situation regarding barbarian incursions became more pronounced when Aurelian abandoned Dacia (271). With the loss of the buffer which the province of Dacia provided to the Sarmatians, migrating peoples began to press on the Sarmatians, who in turn put pressure on the Roman frontier (Barkóczi 1980: 105; Mócsy 1974: 267). Sarmatians likely either wanted *receptio* or wished the Romans to provide military help against the peoples who were pushing against them (Mócsy 1974: 268). There is very little known about barbarian raids in this area after the reign of Aurelian, but a destruction layer in some parts of Aquincum, dated to around 275, might be due to such a barbarian raid (Barkóczi

1980: 105). Presumably in the late third century, during the reign of Diocletian, Sarmatian incursions negatively affected Aquincum since a fort was built opposite the settlement in Sarmatian territory between 289 and 293 after Diocletian visited Aquincum (Barkóczi 1980: 110). This fort was possibly located deeper into their territory than the bridgeheads which had been built before, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Mócsy 1974: 269; *Consularia Constantinopolitana* 303). New bridgeheads and counter-fortifications, as well as attacks into *barbaricum* by Galerius and Diocletian at the time, appear to have been part of an offensive strategy to counter the impact of the population movements on the frontier and Rome's allies (Barkóczi 1980: 110). Despite such measures, by the end of the century, Aqincum was devastated as a result of the instability brought on during the course of the third century (Fitz 1980, 155).

By the end of the third century, Aquincum was beginning to lose some of its administrative importance, especially after 295, when the administration of Diocletian divided the provinces (Zsidi 1999: 585). Since the Marcomannic wars, the emperors had been using Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) as a control and command center in the middle Danube. This became especially apparent in the Sarmatian wars (289–294), when Diocletian spent most of his time in Sirmium. In the re-division of the provinces after 295, Pannonia Inferior was split into two provinces and Aquincum became part of Valeria, the north part of the former province. Most of the imperial administration presumably moved to Sopianae (Pécs), which was located far to the south of Aquincum, away from the Danube and just north of the border of Pannonia Secunda, whose capital was Sirmium (Mócsy 1974: 273). Even with the administrative move, Aquincum's population seems to have remained and people moved into the abandoned government buildings and converted offices into apartments (Póczy 1980: 258). In spite of the fact that Aquincum

became less significant as an administrative center, it was still very important strategically, since it was located at one of the most important crossing points of the Danube.

3.1.2 History of Carnuntum

The legionary base of Carnuntum and the settlement that developed in proximity to it are located on the banks of the Danube in the modern-day towns of Bad-Deutsch Altenburg and Petronell. This section begins with an account of the Boii, a people who inhabited an area around Danube River at points where the Amber Road crossed (Pl. 1-2). While the Boii are a historically attested people, the mechanisms behind their development as a people and what it meant to be a Boian is much more complex than what can be presented in this chapter. The first known Roman base in the area of the settlement was established around AD 40, but since the Boii continued to be a major presence, it is important to go over how they developed as a people, before discussing the specific history of Carnuntum. This section on the history of Carnuntum only covers to the end of the third century when Emperor Diocletian divided up the provinces into new administrative units. Even though there are no cremation graves in the sample dating after the mid third century, the history section here outlines events in the latter half of the third century, so that it mirrors the history of Aquincum, outlined above.

The Roman city of Carnuntum lay in the settlement region of the Boii, a Celtic people who are well attested historically. Bohemia is named for the Boii, and they may well have originated somewhere in that region. The early history of the Boii is confusing since they are named both as a Celtic tribe which entered Italy in the region of Cisalpine Gaul at the end of the fourth century BC, and a Celtic people who lived in the area of Bohemia in the first century BC. It is possible that the Boii, as Celtic migrants entering into Italy, did originate in Bohemia. Some

scholars speculate that after the Romans had driven the Boii out of Cisalpine Gaul in 193/1BC some of them managed to migrate back to the Danube area and lived with the Taurisci as Strabo tells us (Strabo 5.1.6), but many scholars doubt this (Giovanni "Boii" *BNP*; Barkóczi 1980: 86;). Archaeologically, it seems that migrants, likely Celtic speaking, entered the region of southern Slovenia and northern Hungary at the end of the second century. This migration corresponds to the testimony of Strabo, who is relying on Poseidonius, who says that the Boii lived around this area, both to the north and the south of the Danube (Strabo 7.2.2; Barkóczi 1980: 86).

The Boii were well positioned to benefit from the trade on the Amber Road, which ran through their territory, in the area of Roman Carnuntum (Mráv 2004: 2). This part of the Danube, which transected the north-south trade route, provided a good crossing point. By the middle of the first century AD, the Boian elite acquired goods from northern Italy, mediated through Aquileia, such as ornamental vessels and *lucernae* (Fitz 1980: 330). Because of this and the importance of the later Roman settlement of Carnuntum, scholars have expected to find a pre-Roman settlement around the site. So far, archaeologists have found no evidence of such a settlement in the area of Carnuntum (Kandler 2004: 12). The closest major settlement in the late Iron Age was probably on the Braunsberg Plateau to the northeast of the Roman settlement. While by 70BC it had become a prominent *oppidum* in the area, the capital of the Boian state was likely in the area of Bratislava on the opposite side of the Danube (Kovács 2017: 112; Teichner 2013: 50; Jerem 2003: 193; Fitz 1980: 330). Like the Eravisci from the Géllert Hill in modern day Budapest, the Boii also minted their own coins from about 79-60BC probably at their largest *oppidum* in the area of Bratislava. Unlike other Celtic tribes in the area, the Boii were minting gold coins, as well as silver coins, which were modelled on Republican *denarii*.

The coins did not have a wide circulation outside of the Boiian community (Kovár *et al.* 2018: 54–55; Bíró-Sey 1980: 338).

According to Strabo, their territory seems to have been quite large by the mid first century BC, since it extended all to the way eastward to the Parisus river, an otherwise unknown river, which is probably part of the Tisza River (Barkózci 1980: 87; Jones 1961: 253, no. 4). According to Kovács' reading of Strabo, it is likely that the territory of the Boii included all of northern Pannonia extending south from the Danube (Kovács 2015: 174; 2014: 17). It is possible that the Boians had expanded their state at the expense of the Dacians, since the Dacians used a claim to an area of land west of the Tisza River to justify an invasion into Boian territory under Burebista (Strabo 7.5.2; Barkózci 1980: 87). The historical sources mention that the Dacian invasion completely destroyed the Boians and their allies to the south, the Taurisci (Pliny *NH* 3.24; Strabo 5.1.6; 7.3.11; 7.5.2).[71] Archaeological evidence indicates that around the mid first century when this event is said to have happened, two of the three *oppida* in the area of what would become Roman Carnuntum, those on the sites of Bratislava and Braunsberg, were abandoned, while only Devin remained settled. The Dacians did not occupy this area for long, since after Brurebista's death, shortly after that of Iulius Caesar in 44BC, the Dacian state was weakened. It is believed that around this time, what people were left in the area probably settled in the plains in the area around Roman Carnuntum (Kandler 2004: 13).

Velleius Paterculus makes the first surviving mention of Carnuntum, when he says that Tiberius settled his army there for winter quarters before embarking on this expedition against

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[71] Strabo refers to the region as "ἡ Βοίων ἐρημία" or the desert/wilderness of the Boii (VII.1.5). In the past, scholars believed that Strabo referred to this area as a "desert" because of the widespread destruction they thought the Dacians caused. Through archaeological evidence, however, scholars have found that prior to the Roman conquest the area actually had a high population density, which causes them to doubt the ancient author's claims at face value. Since Pliny also refers to the region in a similar fashion, Kovács believe that both these authors are merely using established *topoi* to refer to the area that the Boii inhabit. ἐρημία and *deserta* might refer to a solitude/plain (2015: 174; 2014: 7, 16, 20).

Maroboduus in Bohemia (Vell. Pat. II 109.5–110.1). Scholars have not been able to find

evidence of the camp in the area of Petronell and Bad-Deutsch Altenburg, so it might have been

located elsewhere in the area (Kovács 2017: 112; 2014: 31; Kandler 2004: 16). It seems likely

that the military constructed the first camp, which was located between the two modern

settlements, in approximately AD 40 at the time of the Vannius conflict,[72] when a legion

transferred to the area from the interior of the province. It is to this time that the oldest finds from

the burials along the main road of the camp date (Kandler 2004: 16). Unfortunately, not much is

known about the early legionary fort itself since excavators did not take into account different

stratigraphic layers while conducting the archaeological work (Barkóczi 1980: 230).

Under the Flavian emperors, the *limes* along the Danube took shape. It is likely, based on

the earliest remains, that the *canabae* developed shortly after the legionary fort was established

under the Flavians, while settlement activity in the area that later became the civilian city began

during the reign of Domitian (Kandler 2004: 16). It was probably Flavian-era administrators who

established an auxiliary fort in the area east of the civilian city. While scholars do not know for

sure who built this fort the likely candidate is the *ala I Thungrorum Frontoniana*, which is

attested on building inscriptions from Carnuntum. Based on the large urn pits and the stalls built,

it seems that mounted units always occupied the fort except during the "intermediate period"

during the Marcomannic wars, when it was converted into a supply depot (Kandler 2004: 34).

The imperial administration also established the upper Danube naval force (*Classis Flavia*

Pannonica), which was in part based at Carnuntum (Fitz 1980: 132).

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[72] According to Tacitus, Vannius was a king of the Suebi people and a Roman vassal. In 51, he faced usurpers in his own kingdom, as well as hostile neighboring peoples. While Claudius did not wish to give Vannius armed support, the emperor did allow him to flee to Pannonia. Claudius ordered the governor of Pannonia, Palpellius Hister to station a legion and a group of auxiliary soldiers on the bank of the Danube to ensure the safe passage of Vannius into Roman territory and to prevent the king's adversaries from entering Roman territory and causing trouble (Tac. *Ann*. 12.29–30).

An inscription from the Claudian period testifies that the *Legio XV Apollinaris* was the first legion stationed in Carnuntum. It remained in the area for most of the rest of the first century and into the early second century except for a period in the 60s when the legion took part in conflicts in the eastern empire (Kovács 2014: 68).[73] The *Legio XV Apollinaris* built the stone fortress during the reign of Trajan and also took part in the Second Dacian war. By the end of the reign of Trajan, the *Legio XIV Gemina*, which had been deployed to Carnuntum during the Second Dacian war, returned and permanently garrisoned the legionary fortress at Carnuntum (Soproni 1980: 230).

Carnuntum was located in the *Civitas Boiorum* which was much smaller than the Boian state was in the previous century, before the Dacians destroyed their hegemony. In fact, the Roman administration created the *civitates* of the Boii, Azali, Eravisci, Arabiates and Hercuniates all from areas that the Boii had controlled (Mócsy 1974: 55). While it appears that the Imperial administration created the *civitas Boiorum* based on ethnic borders it is very possible that the boundaries were created rather arbitrarily, and that people both inside its borders and outside might have considered themselves to be Boii before the division of Pannonia into *civitates*. The *civitas* capital became Carnuntum, but an early military supervisor of the *civitas* under Vespasian was L. Volcavius Primus, the commander of the Cohors I Noricorum, which was stationed in Arrabona (Győr) at the time (Fitz 1980: 142).[74]

In the late first and early second century the urban landscape of Carnuntum started to take form. Under Trajan the *canabae*, which developed around the military camp, began to flourish. As with Aquincum, Carnuntum experienced an intense level of immigration from elsewhere in

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[73] Three legions consecutively replaced the *Legio XV Apollinaris* in Carnuntum (62–68 *Legio X Gemina*; 68–69 *Legio VII Gemina*; ca. 69–71 *Legio XXII Primigenia*) (Kovács 2014: 70).
[74] He was the *Praefectus Ripae Danuvii et Civitatium Boiorum et Azaliorum* (Fitz 1980: 142).

the empire (Rothe 2014: 508), so much of the town was probably made up of immigrants up to this point, but during the reign of Trajan, it seems that local people were encouraged to settle in the city as well (Pózcy 1980: 241). The *canabae* completely surrounded the legionary camp, radiating at points where the roads left the camp, creating a star-like pattern at the center of which was the camp (Kandler 2004: 29). To date archaeologists have not done too much work concerning the *canabae*, though most of the legionary camp was excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Fitz 1980: 173).

At this time as well, roughly a few kilometers from the legionary base and its *canabae*, a settlement developed, which was administered by a civilian authority. Unlike the civilian settlement at Aquincum, which was established only during the reign of Trajan, it seems that the area of the civilian settlement at Carnuntum had been developing since the reign of Domitian. It was likely that both people of the native population and immigrants settled in this town. Both the *canabae* and the civilian settlement likely had a cosmopolitan nature as there would have been a mix of natives, military personnel, officials, merchants, and migrants who made up the population of the settlements, but also a large transient population. As mentioned in the first chapter, such an environment fosters globalizing processes (Teichner 2013: 68).

At the time that the civilian settlement was established in Aquincum, the settlement at Carnuntum went through substantial reorganization. Earlier structures in the center of the town, made of mud, where torn down, the terrain leveled, and new stone buildings were erected (Pózcy 1980: 247–248; 259). The whole area was re-oriented at this time, including the legionary base as part of this re-organization (Kandler 2004: 26). In fact, under Trajan, the earth wall was replaced with stone and the internal wooden structures were replaced, as well (Kovács 2014: 92; Kandler 2004: 28).

Probably in conjunction with or shortly after his visit in 124, Hadrian granted municipal status to the civilian town and the settlement underwent significant renovations. At this time the area of the forum, which contained a *capitolium*-style temple, a *curia*, a basilica and other public buildings, was monumentalized (Kandler 2004: 17; Póczy 1980: 248, 259). In addition, the settlement was outfitted with a water supply and drainage system. Outside of the forum area, long houses with a central corridor, which are apparently similar to barracks, were built along the main street. Until the time following the Marcomannic wars, however, most domiciles of the settlement were still made of sun-dried brick, while near the edge of the city in the surrounding area, most houses were pit-dwellings (Póczy 1980: 248; 259). The amphitheater of the *municipium* was built in the middle of the second century (Fitz 1980: 173).

Carnuntum was an important center for military operations during the Marcomannic wars, since it was the provincial capital of Pannonia Superior and held one of the three legionary camps in that province, which faced the territory of the Quadi and Marcomanni. After the first attack of the war in 167, which involved a raid by six thousand Lombards and Obii, embassies of eleven peoples led by the king of the Marcomanni, Ballomarius, met with the governor of Pannonia Superior, Iallius Bassus, presumably in the capital, Carnuntum, in order to plead for peace (Cass. Dio 72(71).3.3; Mócsy 1974: 186). Unfortunately, shortly afterwards the Marcomanni and the Quadi, having defeated a Roman army and killed 20,000 soldiers, overran the *limes* of Pannonia Superior and proceeded down the Amber Road to Aquileia and Opitergium in northern Italy (Amm. Marc. 29. 6. 1; Cass. Dio 72(71). 3. 2; Lucian *Alex.* 48). The arrival of the emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, scared off the invaders, who retreated and sued for peace. After Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus secured the area around Aquileia and

the passes into Italy, they proceeded to Pannonia to drive away the remaining intruders and received embassies before they returned to Italy (*HA Marc.* 14. 2–6; *HA Verus* 9. 8–10).

Following the death of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius was not able to remain in Italy for very long since war along the Danube flared up again, especially in Pannonia. Marcus initially focused his attention on defeating the Marcomanni and their allies, so he made his base at Carnuntum for three years (from 170–172), where he wrote a section of his *Meditations* (Eutr. 7.13.1; *Epit. de Caes*. 16.13; Oros. *Hist*. 7.15.6). Having pacified the Marcomanni and the Quadi, Marcus Aurelius switched his focus to the Iazyges and their allies, moving his base from Carnuntum to Sirmium (Philostr. *VS* 560; Kovács 2009: 233). At first, the Roman army spent time clearing the province of barbarians, before they launched expeditions on to the left bank of the Danube in 172. They first defeated the Quadi. According to the stipulations of the peace agreement, the Quadi promised to release the hostages that they had captured, they were not allowed to attend markets in Roman territory, and they swore that they would not receive any Iazyges and Marcomanni in their territory, nor let them pass through. Some of the Quadi and their allies were allowed to settle in areas of the empire, such as Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, the German provinces and Italy (Cass. Dio 72(71).11). The Romans, under Marcus Aurelius, then focused their attention on the Marcomanni, eventually defeating them. In the peace agreement, the Marcomanni had similar stipulations as the Quadi, such as that they were not able to attend markets. They also had to vacate a ten mile stretch along the Danube (Cass. Dio (72)71.15; Kovács 2009: 231–232). This stage of the war likely ended in the autumn of 172 (Kovács 2009: 232).

By 177 the war, which had never really ended, flared up again and Marcus Aurelius and Commodus had to go to the frontier themselves to deal with the problem (Cass. Dio

72(71).33.1). Unfortunately, we do not know much concerning this portion of the war because the historical sources are very vague. While it is known that the Iazyges did have a part to play in the war, since archaeologists have shown that the auxiliary fort at Intercisa, which looks onto their territory, was burnt down in this conflict, the Marcomanni and Quadi were the main actors in the war. The Iazyges entered into the war on the side of the Romans in the middle of 179 after concessions and assurances were made that Marcus Aurelius would pursue a war against the Marcomanni and the Quadi to the fullest extent because they feared these groups as enemies (Cass. Dio 72(71).18; Kovács 2009: 244). In 179–180, 20,000 Roman soldiers were stationed in the territories of the Quadi and the Marcomanni in order to watch over them, hindering them from pasturing their flocks or tilling their soil (Cass. Dio 72(71).20.1; Kovács 2009: 246).

Marcus Aurelius would have continued the conflict, but he passed away in the spring of 180 (Cass. Dio 72(71).33). It seems that Commodus or his subordinates (Hdn. I.6.8) did continue the war successfully until 182, when the final preparations were made for peace (*Epit. de Caes*. 17.2; Kovàcs 2009: 252). The Marcomanni had to restore the deserters and the captives, and both they and the Quadi had to supply soldiers and arms. The Marcomanni could only assemble once a month in one location in the presence of a Roman centurion and they were forbidden to declare war on the Iazyges, Buri or the Vandals. They also had to supply grain, but this stipulation was later rescinded. With these arrangements made, the Romans abandoned all military outposts that had been set up in the territory of the Marcomanni and the Quadi (Cass. Dio 73(72).2.1–4). According to Herodian, though, who mentions nothing of these arrangements, not only did Commodus' subordinates defeat and make allies with the remaining hostile peoples, but he also paid them off with wealth in order to achieve peace (Hdn. I.6.8–9).

Some destruction likely occurred at Carnuntum during the Marcomannic wars. This is not surprising given that so far there have been 33 locations in the Danube provinces where destruction layers have been found, dated to the late second century and attributed to the Marcomannic wars (Kovács 2014: 145; 2009: 242–243). Scholars are unsure at what phase of the war the destruction took place because in many cases it is difficult date a destruction layer to a very specific time (Kovàcs 2009: 242–243). At some point in the war, it seems that the civilian city was burned (Pòczy 1980: 259) and archaeologists have brought the destruction layers in the auxiliary fort, the legionary camp and the *canabae* in connection with the Marcomannic wars (Kandler 2009: 17, 43).[75]

The so called "Golden Age" of Pannonia took place in Carnuntum, just as in many settlements along the Danube *limes* in the late second century and early third century. The city supported Septimius Severus, who was the governor of Panonnia Superior and residing in Carnuntum when he declared himself emperor in 193. In 194, Septimius Severus raised Carnuntum and Aquincum, the provincial capitals, to the rank of *colonia* (Kovács 2014: 188). Carnuntum seems to have enjoyed some of the same benefits which the wage increase of the soldiers, the migration of civilians and soldiers from the east, and the growth of local manufacturers brought to Aquincum (Fitz 1982: 12).[76] Just as in Aquincum, there was a spike in the number of inscriptions, giving scholars an insight into who was funding the building projects and giving dedications (Dise 1991: 107; Mócsy 1974: 230).

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[75] According to Kandler, this evidence was based on the interpretation of material excavated in earlier archaeological work. New excavations from the legionary fortress and the auxiliary fort show that this "destruction layer" actually seems to fit better with the urban renewal under the Severans, which took place from the end of the second to the early third century (Kandler 2009: 17, 43).

[76] Discussed on pages 127–129 in relation to Aquincum.

From what is known archaeologically during the Severan era, the civilian city went through an almost complete renewal. Unfortunately, only a small area of the civilian city, the portion in the center of the city has been excavated. It seems that the area was leveled after the Marcomannic wars, and a new network of streets reorganized and laid on the ruins of the former stone houses. The streets were capped with large flat stones and channels ran on either side of them. The porticos which ran along the sides of the streets were lined with small shops and workshops. Behind these were enlarged apartment houses, which had storage spaces behind them and were separated by narrow paths (Póczy 1980: 259). The forum area seems to have been further monumentalized just as it was in Aquincum, and the large *thermae* off of the forum area was built at this time (Kandler 2004: 44). It is also possible that the city walls were constructed at this time, though they could have been built in the fourth century (Kandler 2004: 38). The legionary fortress was also renovated (Kandler 2004: 29).

Until relatively recently, we have viewed the second half of the third century as a period of decline for many settlements in Pannonia. With new information, however, researchers are refuting this perspective especially in the area of Pannonia west of Brigetio, which does not seem to have endured major catastrophes brought on by invasions. It is certainly true, however, that after the mid third century the number of inscriptions set up in Carnuntum decline, which happened in the rest of Pannonia at the same time (Kandler 2004: 19–20). After the mid third century, processes of change were taking place in Carnuntum. At this point the army abandoned the auxiliary fort. Excavations show that shortly after the auxiliaries left, civilians took up residence in the fort and conducted economic activities. As well, in the area to the northeast of the auxiliary fort and to the west of the legionary camp, building developments took place (Kandler 2004: 20, 34).

During the third century crisis, Carnuntum was still an important center. For example, the city and the surrounding area seemed to be a center of the usurper Regalianus in 260. Many coins, both of himself and Sulpicia Dryantilla, who was likely his wife, were found in and around Carnuntum, which indicates its importance as a stronghold (Kovács 2014: 249–250; Mócsy 1974: 206). In the late third century, under Diocletian's revision of the provinces, Carnuntum became a part of the new province of Pannonia Prima and lost its status as a provincial capital to Savaria (Szombathely). Carnuntum could still be considered important since it was a major junction of the Amber Road and still maintained a legionary base. In 308 there was a conference at Carnuntum of several current and former emperors from the so-called Tetrarchy (*CIL* III 4413). It was probably at this time, in conjunction with the meeting, that the *thermae* in the civilian settlement were converted into a palace (Kandler 2004: 20).

3.2   History of the Cemeteries

Following the historical overview of the settlement history of both sites in which our two cemeteries are located, we now turn to the cemeteries themselves, their history, and the history of research on these cemeteries. This overview concentrates on the history of the published cemeteries which have been used for this dissertation, those of the Bécsi Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum (Topál 2003a, 1993) and the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum (Ertel *et al*. 1999), but the research concerning other cemeteries of the settlements is also brought up in the outline. These further examples help give insight to ancient developments, which might complement those observed in the cemeteries of this dissertation or provide additional contextual information, which needs to be taken into account in order to construct well-founded interpretations. Additional case studies also bring into focus the type of

research taking place on burial sites of both settlements and the conditions under which archaeologists are studying these cemeteries.

There are many factors that affect the size and the quality of the evidence used in this dissertation. Processes which disturb or destroy the graves heavily influence our ability to interpret them. These post-depositional processes include for instance, the disturbance or destruction of a burial as a result of the inclusion of another burial. The redevelopment of land in antiquity could also have led to the destruction of burials.

Not only did events in antiquity impact the graves in either cemetery, but later depositional processes also affected the burials. In fact, modern developments had a great impact on the preservation of the burials. Infrastructure development projects certainly disturbed the graves of both Aquincum and Carnuntum, but agricultural activities also had a negative effect on the burials of Carnuntum, which is located in a more rural area. Because recent intensive projects exposed the graves, the robbery of the grave contents also becomes a problem. While developers have a legal obligation to apply for permits when working in archaeologically sensitive areas (Zsidi 1998: 227), misconduct or carelessness on the part of the companies still often causes the destruction of archeological evidence. As is discussed below, this appears to have been an issue with some of the work done along the Bécsi Road in Aquincum.

Since most of the work that has taken place in both areas involves rescue operations which take place during development projects, a variety of factors often hamstring the efforts of archaeologists. This in turn affects the amount and quality of data available to researchers. In early excavations, archaeologists often used excavation and recording techniques that, although thorough (Póczy 1998: 220), were not designed to answer modern academic questions. Time constraints, a lack of funds, access to trained laborers and equipment, and limited access to those

burials which were just outside the area of development often affect modern rescue efforts and

the results which archaeologists can achieve. Because much of the archaeological work is

conducted through rescue excavations, these projects are not often carried out in order to answer

academic questions. Fortunately, excavators do take the time to comprehensively document their

findings (Zsidi 1998: 224), though archaeologists may find it difficult to put together

comprehensive publications of sites they have excavated or compile evidence from multiple sites

for an extensive publication. Thus, many publications come in the form of site reports, which

excavators publish in local journals. The lack of comprehensive publications, which require

significant resources and the contribution of specialists, is the main reason why this study is

limited to the Bécsi Road cemetery of (Tópal 2003a; 1993) and the southern cemetery of the

Carnuntum civilian town (Ertel *et al*. 1999) because these are the most extensively published

cemeteries in the region.

3.2.1 History of the Bécsi Road Cemetery in Aquincum

The western cemetery of the legionary fort (Bécsi Road cemetery) straddled the

north/south Road to Brigetio to the west of the *canabae* (Pl. 1-4).[77] The cemetery itself is

approximately 2.5km long and archaeologists estimate that it extends 250–300m to either side of

the road at its widest point (Topál 2003a: 3; 2003b: 162; 2000b: 36; 1993: 3; Németh *et al*. 1986:

152). The modern Bécsi Road, located in the heart of present-day Budapest, runs almost a course

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[77] This main road runs along the Danube River from the south. Approximately one kilometer south of the legionary fortress the road splits into three different directions. One road goes eastward towards the Danube, another goes slightly towards the northeast to the fortress and the last section, the Bécsi Road, gradually bends to the north west. This road runs along the area to the west of the *canabae*. It is joined by a main road running in a north-west direction from the west gate, the *porta decumana*, of the fortress. Eventually the Bécsi road, still running gradually to the northwest joins with the western road emanating from the civilian settlement, before running westward towards Brigetio (Németh *et al*. 1986: 152).

almost identical to the important ancient artery. Because the ancient cemetery is located under

the modern city, the excavation and the exploration of the graves along the Bécsi Road have

taken place in rescue operations (Topál 2003a: 3; Topál 1984: 301), dating as far back as the

1890s (Topál 2003a: 3).[78]

Scholars have isolated seven different medium-sized graveyards within the cemetery (I–

VII). These are separated by a space of 100 meters or more along the road, which runs northwest

from the *canabae* (Pl. 1-5). The areas between the graveyards are apparently free of burials or

settlement activity. Topál reports that these areas contained small and large temple groves where

mourners could conduct rites and ceremonies concerning the cult of the dead (Topál 2000b: 37).

At least three of these seven graveyards were surrounded by stone walls (Topál 2003b: 163;

2000b: 37; Németh *et al*. 1986: 152).[79] András Márton disputes that the plots which Tópal

describes as graveyards reflect actual ancient, enclosed graveyards. He mentions that they are not

enclosed units, because there are in fact unpublished burials located between the so-called

"graveyards" (Personal Correspondence 20 March 2016). For the purposes of this paper, these

plots are still referred to as "graveyards" since this is how the burials were organized in their

publication, while acknowledging that these excavated areas may not represent distinct

graveyards.

The cemetery begins in the south at graveyard I and runs sequentially northwards. In the

very north of the known cemetery area, graveyard VI is located just south of the junction

between the Bécsi road and the road from the *porta decumana* of the legionary fort. Graveyard

VII, the northernmost graveyard, is located to the north of the crossroads. Graveyard I is the

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[78] Scholars excavated some of the graves from graveyards Nr. I and II in the 1890s and 1912 (Topál 2003a: 3).
[79] Topál only indicates two of the graveyards as being surrounded by stone walls in the publications. Graveyards III (Tópal 2003a: 36) and VII (Tópal 1993: 69) seemed to have enclosures, so Topál treated them as separate graveyards.

southernmost graveyard and is located 200–300 meters to the southwest of the amphitheater of the legionary fort and the *canabae*.

The first section along Bécsi road which scholars researched thoroughly was graveyard I. In 1936 Lajos Nagy and János Szilágyi excavated a part which lies just to the southwest of the military amphitheater and forms the most southerly portion of the Bécsi Road cemetery. Nagy and Szilágyi unearthed sixty-three graves and excavated them according to fairly good standards for the time, documenting the burials moderately well (Topál 2003a: 64, 89).[80] In 1992 and 1995, during the construction of two office blocks, Topál undertook new excavations in graveyard I, documenting forty graves. Unfortunately, careless and mostly illegal earth moving operations destroyed an approximately equal number of burials (Topál 2003a: 64). Nagy and Szilágyi correctly dated the ceramics to the late first and second century AD, dates which Topál confirmed in the 1990s during her excavations (Pl. 1-6; 1-7). This makes graveyard I the earliest burial plot of the *canabae* along with graveyard VI. Both were continuously used from the founding of the *canabae* in the late first century until the final decline of the settlement in the late fourth century (Topál 1993: 3).

Graveyard II was one of the earliest explored graveyards. In the 1890s, the construction of industrial buildings in the area of graveyard II led to the destruction of most of the burials. Although archaeologists excavated one hundred and two cremation and inhumation graves, they did not publish the material and many of the grave goods were either mislaid or lost. Only some of the material from some of the wealthier graves survived and was published in Topál's catalogue (Topál 2003a: 55). Archaeologists excavated a handful of inhumation graves during

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[80] Unfortunately, several artifacts, which ended up at the National Museum in order to be studied, were misplaced and consequently not inventoried correctly, ending up in the collection of the Museum, where they can now not be identified based on their description (Topál 2003a: 89).

rescue operations in 1941[81] and 1988, but only the five late antique inhumation graves are published in the catalogue (Topál 2003a: 55, 62). Additional cremation graves were found more recently, but these are only mentioned in general terms in site reports (Hable and Márton 2000: 32, 34).

Topál discovered an enclosed graveyard in 1983 (Pl. 1-8), which she labelled as graveyard III (Topál 2003a: 36). Approximately one hundred yards north of this, in 1985, Topál found fourteen late Roman burials when workers were putting in shafts for the main district heating conduit. In Topál's opinion, these graves form a separate group, which she identified as graveyard IV (Topál 2003a: 29). Because most of the burials in the catalogue from graveyards II to IV are inhumation burials dated between the mid third century and the fourth century they do not figure into this study.

Graveyards V to VII do contain many graves that will feature in this study, the majority of which are cremation burials dated between the late first century and first half of the third century (Pl. 1-9). In 1980, Topál's team recorded 63 burials, but as many as 250 graves were completely destroyed by earth-moving machinery (Topál 2003a: 5).[82] Since she did not see this plot as connected to graveyard VI, she named this plot graveyard V. During excavations in 1979, 1980 and 1985, Topál recovered 181 graves from graveyard VI (Topál 1993: 3; see Pl. 1-10). In the northernmost part of the cemetery, in the late 1970s and 1980s during yet other rescue excavations, Margit Németh and Györgyi Parragi discovered graveyard VII, the northern-most known part of the Bécsi Road cemetery. They found twenty-one graves enclosed by a mortared stone wall (Topál 1993: 69).

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[81] Nagy found three disturbed inhumation graves at this time (Topál 2003a: 62–63).
[82] Workers were clearing ditches to lay down the main district sewer (Topál 2003a: 5)

Topál's publication of these graveyards is substantial and thus provides sufficient information for the study proposed here. I must stress, however, that these tombs only form a small minority of burials found in this area. Finds in the 1990s and later have greatly increased the number of known tombs, but most of these still await adequate publication. Needless to say, they will not be used in this study, but will be useful at a later date to test and add to the hypothesis set forth in this dissertation.

The following discussion focuses on other excavations of cemeteries surrounding Aquincum. The information in this section is not used in this study, but it serves to illustrate other work that has been conducted in the area and samples that could be examined in the future. In the area north of the amphitheater, archaeologists found another cemetery mostly consisting of cremation burials (Zsidi 2004: 220 no. 59). Around the same time, they uncovered one thousand graves in the area west of the legionary camp,[83] as well as to the north of the military city (the so-called Kaszás dűlő-raktárréti)[84] and the southern cemetery of the civilian town (the so-called Benedek Elek Uteai).[85]   These large cemeteries of the city were in use from the late first century or early second century AD until the end of the fourth century (Zsidi 2004: 220).

During the excavation of another part of the Bécsi road cemetery in 2003, on the site of the new Budapest Technical High School, excavators found 214 burials. Of these, 124 were cremation burials, in which the ashes of the deceased were scattered in the bottom of a pit. The others were inhumation burials. Excavators found the remains of an enclosure of an approximately 80cm wide "dry wall" in the western and the northern edges of the cemetery (Facsády 2004: 24). The burials date to between the second century and the end of the fourth

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[83] Topál published the results of her findings in 1993 (3).
[84] Archaeologists excavated four hundred graves (Németh 1991: 99).
[85] The graves were dated from the end of the fourth century. This burial plot was likely used for 100 to 150 years (Németh 1991: 99).

century, and possibly into the early fifth century (Facsády 2004: 25–26). The most interesting

find was a wagon burial (grave no. 162). Although they are characteristic of eastern Pannonia,

this is the first time one had been recorded in a municipal setting (Facsády 2004: 28). The most

recent large-scale archeological activities regarding the cemeteries of Aquincum concern the

eastern cemetery of the civilian settlement. Archaeological work started in 2005 as a rescue

operation in the area of the Gas Factory (Lassányi 2006; 2007; 2008; 2010). The excavations

which were continued until 2007 yielded 1270 graves. Unfortunately, the full results of these

excavations have not been published. In addition to these large, continuously used cemeteries,

archaeologists have found numerous smaller cemeteries in the last thirty years, which typically

were in use for only a short amount of time. An example is a rich cemetery along the main road

between the civilian and the military cities, which was apparently in use between approximately

AD 100 and the last third of the second century (Zsidi 2004: 221).

3.2.2 History of the South Cemetery of the Civilian City of Carnuntum

Much of the burial evidence archaeologists have found in Petronell and Bad Deutsch-

Altenburg has been as a result of chance finds, isolated excavations and rescue operations.

Although these situations are typical of mortuary archaeology, they are by no means ideal.

Unfortunately, many graves lie underneath the modern towns, so that excavations mostly take

place when there is building development (Ertel 1999: 15). Furthermore, up to the twentieth

century the graves were protected by a deep layer of topsoil, up to 1.80m thick, on farmland

around these two towns (Ertel 1999: 13). With the advent of intensified farming and deep

plowing in the 1970s, the once thick stratum of topsoil has increasingly become thinner. Because

of the thinning of the topsoil and the increase in building activity many graves have been

destroyed and left undocumented. In addition, because many graves are exposed through agricultural activities and construction, they are often robbed (Ertel 1999: 15–16).

All the graves found in the southern part of the civilian city constitute one large cemetery, which stretches from the south of the ancient city to the area around the Vienna-Wolfsthal railroad-line, or *Bundesstraße* 9 (National Road 9). The western section of the cemetery reaches the amphitheater II of the civilian city, while the east side extends to the road running from the civilian settlement. In all the southern cemetery is approximately 45 hectares. The highest concentration of graves is located closest to the city (Kandler 2004: 49).

In the late nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century, researchers who studied the cemeteries of the Roman civilian city of Carnuntum around the modern town of Petronell concentrated their efforts on gravestones and structures, as opposed to the burials themselves (Ertel 1999: 12). Josef Dell led the first investigations of the burial system of the civilian city in 1883. This was interrupted for several years when he led the excavation of the cemetery of the *canabae* in 1885, but in 1891, Dell returned to the cemetery of the civilian city. He found the large ruins of a monumental grave temple, which is called the *Rundkapelle* (Round Chapel). In the area around the *Rundkapelle* and the nearby *Pfarr* (Parish) and Casino gardens, he found a so-called *Gräberstraße* (a grave street) and sarcophagi which had been previously robbed and tiled inhumation graves. These discoveries added to the knowledge of the cemetery since the only graves known previously in that area were burnt debris burials. The mixing of grave types indicates that the cemetery had been in use for quite some time (Ertel 1999: 15). Near continuous work on the *Gräberstraße* started in 1895 and by 1900 Max von Groller was involved in the research of this area. As he became familiar with the topography of the *Gräberstraße* he realized the road's importance as part of a regional communication and trade

network. Not only was he interested in the inscriptions of the gravestones, but like Dell he also focused his attention on the burials themselves (Ertel 1999: 12).

Between 1906 and 1914 excavations yielded numerous grave stelae, as well as some urn burials with burnt remains in them. With more finds coming to light in the early 1930s, Hedwig Kenner was the first to contribute to the study of the grave goods, as he first recognized their scholarly value for dating burials (Ertel 1999: 13). Between 1949 and 1951, with the restoration of the *Rundkapelle*, scholars conducted new excavations in this area, as well as the area around the amphitheater II. Again, they found a mix of burial types, including burnt and inhumation graves, which included tile graves, sarcophagi and stone cist graves. Around the amphitheater they also discovered numerous inscriptions and monumental burial accoutrements, which had been used as *spolia* in the construction of amphitheater itself (Kandler 2004: 50; Ertel 1999: 15).

Researchers examining areas of Petronell between 1956 and 1961 continued to explore and build upon earlier work. Because scholars found more burials, they were able to make clear the course of the *Gräberstraße* that ran from the civilian city to the *canabae* and legionary camp. Although scholars recognized that there was a thick sequence of burials along this *Gräberstraße* they only gained a fragmentary view of the cemetery because they carried out a series of test trench excavations. These isolated trenches yielded fragmentary finds and incomplete ground plans of funerary structures, while leaving many burials which were located between the test trenches unmapped. Unfortunately, the archaeologists did not record any stratigraphic information, so that the usefulness of these tombs is limited (Ertel 1999: 14).

In the 1970s, building activity in the community of Petronell accelerated, which led both to an increase in discoveries, and the destruction of graves and burial monuments. Not only was building activity increasing, but at the same time, agricultural activity was also shifting from

herding to cerealiculture and becoming more intensive, with the introduction of deep plowing. These activities not only destroyed graves directly, but they also often left the graves open and exposed for robbers. During this time a new highway was built west of Petronell, which also required archaeological excavations. Although the excavators discovered many burials dating from the late first century to the fourth century, as well as grave structures and monuments, the bulldozer involved in removing the topsoil destroyed or damaged many of these burials and structures because it excavated too deeply (Ertel 1999: 15).

The most comprehensive excavations to take place in the cemeteries of the civilian city were brought about by the construction of the *Bundesstraße* 9 in the 1980s (Pl. 1-3). Herman Stiglitz headed the first series of excavations between 1984 and 1986, while Christa Karka led the project from 1987 to 1989. The modern road was to cut through both the large cemetery, which belonged to the area of the amphitheater II and the grave road of the civilian city, which is thought to have been primarily used for military personnel and their relatives. Although the project involved a quite substantial area, since the cut was 15m wide and 650m long, totaling 17,000 m^2, it is still a relatively small and narrow section of the burial area as a whole (Kandler 2004: 49).

Since this was a rescue excavation, which was conducted in conjunction with commercial development, problems were inevitable. As with many rescue excavations time was an issue, since they were under pressure to keep the project on schedule. The archaeologists and the construction firm agreed to have an excavator take off the first 30 centimeters. The effort and foresight of the driver prevented some of the material deposited closer to the close surface from being damaged. The archaeologists found, however, that deep-plowing and looters both in antiquity and in modern times had already disturbed and in some cases destroyed some of the

graves. The project also had financial and personnel issues. They did not have enough money, so in addition to seasoned excavators they relied on students and amateur volunteers who worked for no pay when they had free time. The excavators were constricted in space, since they could only excavate the narrow area that was bulldozed. Despite these concerns, the project went, but the archaeologies were not able to answer all the questions they set out to tackle (Stiglitz 1999: 9–10).

In contrast to the area outside the civilian city, archaeologists have found very few cremation burials in the area of the *canabae*, which is strange given that the settlement area seems to have been extensive. It is possible that some of the graves are lost, not only because of development in the area, agricultural activities and robbery, but also of the use of the area as a cemetery in the fourth century (Kandler 2004: 52). The lack of cremation burials outside of the *canabae* is unfortunate since findings from them would make an ideal comparison with those from the *canabae* of Aquincum.

4 Chapter 4: Funerary Evidence

4.1 Funerary Ritual Reconstruction: Literary Sources

This chapter sets out an interpretive basis for examining the funerary remains which represent aspects of the funerary ceremony. While burials are valuable in this regard, they are not complete, nor is interpreting them as a remnant of a funerary ritual a straightforward matter. It is, therefore, important to examine what the ancient sources say about funerals at the time to understand what rituals might contribute to the formation of the burial and to take into account how other archaeologist have interpreted the burial remains, before the material from the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum can be examined.

Any formal analysis of the surviving burial assemblage must take into account the fact that what remains to us in the grave only represents part of the funerary ritual and possibly not the most important part (Booth 2017: 174–175; Joyce 2001: 12; Pearce 1997: 175; 1998: 100; Morris 1987: 211; 1992: 13). Therefore, it is prudent to attempt to reconstruct the funerary ritual from the available evidence, both literary and archaeological, in order to contextualize the broader funerary practices which would have taken place. By examining what a "Roman" funeral could look like and how other archaeologists have examined funerary rites through the material record, we gain a better sense about what might be missing from the archaeological record. We will also gain analogies which can help us interpret the burial remains, shedding light on the rituals that took place and even what they might meant to the society which performed them. For the literary perspective, we will use Jocelyn Toynbee's work, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971). She outlines what might have been involved in a "Roman" funeral largely based on literary accounts, but also on some depictions of ceremonies in art. The research of numerous

scholars from Britain and France, who have tried to reconstruct certain aspects of the funerary ceremony from archaeological evidence, will be used to demonstrate the possibilities of using the material record to piece together burial rites.

This endeavour obviously has its pitfalls, since there are no literary accounts in existence from Pannonia, or many other places in the empire for that matter, that discuss funerary rites in their entirety. We only have some archaeological evidence, for example, burials from the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum, that is open to use for an analysis. However, if such an analysis is performed, it does provide several advantages. For example, we might be able to catch a glimpse of the steps of the funerary rites that lead to the assemblage taking the form that it did. In doing so we can interpret whether or not the burial itself, which is represented archaeologically, would have been the most significant part of the funerary process (Fitzpatrick 2000:17). Features that may look insignificant or may perhaps not be noticed at all just by examining the assemblage on its own can be reinterpreted and their significance addressed through a more contextualized approach. We can also use the model to compare various burials within the cemetery in order to address the degree of significant variation that exists in the grave rituals and also to examine how the normative funerary rituals compare between two locales like Aquincum and Carnuntum.

Until the early part of the twenty-first century, it seems that many archaeologists were more interested in examining the grave itself and the objects found in it than addressing other aspects of the funerary ritual (Polfer 2000: 32). Jocelyn Toynbee did try in the 1970s to tackle the processes of a typical Roman funeral in her work mentioned above. She relied primarily on ancient literary sources and relevant scenes in art in order to construct the various stages of Roman funerary rites. Because she constructs the ritual process from a variety of sources, whose

authors were writing for a variety of purposes and at different times, her model cannot be accepted uncritically as representing what a funeral might look like (Pearce 2000: 1). It is a model, stitched together from a variety of works so it cannot be known which of the various elements occurred in any given funeral, the sequence in which they occurred and what emphasis they were given, or what other elements may have been present that she does not account for. A number of events also do not have a precisely definable moment within the ritual process. For example, although the relatives were required to hold purification ceremonies and performed a funerary banquet at the place where body was interred (Toynbee 1971: 49), we cannot say precisely when that took place. Toynbee's model is useful, however, because it does provide some information concerning the burial rites that had taken place in and around Rome between the first century BC and the first century AD (Jones 1993: 249), and this information would not otherwise be available from what was found archaeologically (Hopkins and Letts 1985: 203). Used properly, without attempting to apply this model directly to the archaeological material, it is an analogy that can be employed in the author's attempt to reconstruct the ritual processes through the remains of the burials at Aquincum and Carnuntum.

Toynbee identifies four stages in the funerary ceremony, I) *funus translaticum*, II) the *pompa*, III) the disposal of the body and IV) the statutory religious, traditional and legal regulations that had to be followed after the funeral. The first stage, the *funus translaticum*, includes the rites that preceded the obsequies. After the individual passed away, one of persons at their side closed their eyes. At this time and periodically at intervals before the body was interred close relatives lamented and evoked the deceased by name (*conclamare*). The body was placed on the ground (*deponere*), where it was washed, anointed and dressed. According to much archaeological material, a coin was usually placed in the mouth (or elsewhere on the body or in

the burial) at this time or before the burial. Toynbee believes based on literary evidence that this coin is meant as a fare to the ferryman, Charon.[86] Once the body was prepared and adorned, it was laid out for exposition in the household (Toynbee 1971: 44). Toynbee speculates that an individual of the elite may have been lying-in-state for a period of up to seven days, while others of the poorer classes may have been cremated or buried on the day following their death (Toynbee 1971: 45 n. 129).[87]

During this initial stage, family members or mourners could hire several agents to help take care of many aspects of the funerary rites. In Rome, professional undertakers, such as the *Libitinarii*, organized the funerary arrangements, while their slaves or employees, the *pollinctores*, might take care of the individual tasks, such as the preparation of the funeral pyre (Martial *Epigr*. 10.97.3), and the cleansing and anointing of the body (Plaut. *Poen*. 63).[88] Toynbee credits a *dissignator* as the master of ceremonies, presumably at a wealthy individual's service.[89] *Vespillones* were normally responsible for the removal of the bodies of the poor (Paul.

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[86] According to much of the literature, the placing of a coin was probably one of the first rites performed on the body of the deceased (Stevens 1991: 221). In a satire, Juvenal depicts a man who cannot make it into the underworld because he has no coin (*trientem*) in his mouth to offer (3.171–2). In his dialogue *Charon,* Lucian mentions that everyone must pay him a penny (11) and that everyone comes down to the underworld each with a penny, highlighting that this is the case no matter how rich or powerful the individual was on earth (20). Lucian in *On Mourning* also mentions the custom, which the mourners unquestionably do soon after an individual's death. (10). Propertius also mentions this convention in an elegy concerning Cornelia (4.11.7–8), who is talking to Paullus from the underworld. For Propertius, it seems that the toll (*aera*) given to Charon (*portitor*) ensures that the soul is firmly in the underworld when the pyre is finished burning (*ubi portitor aera recepit, obserat herbosos lurida porta rogos*).
[87] Toynbee uses the example from Servius (*ad* Verg. *Aen*. 6.218) in which says *servabantur cadavera septem diebus*" (the bodies were preserved for seven days). Toynbee cites a passage from Cicero's *Pro Cluentio* (27) to show that funerals could happen the day after someone passed away. In demonstrating how despicable Oppianicus is, Cicero writes that he, desiring to marry a rich woman (Sassia), who is jealous that he has two young sons, sends for, and kills one of them. The son is subsequently cremated and buried the following day. In this case Toynbee's example may not be fully representative, given that Oppianicus is clearly of elite social status, and the son was presumably buried quickly by his father under suspect circumstances.
[88] Ulp. *Dig*. 14.3.5.8. The *pollinctores*, who Ulpian mentions, are sometimes slaves to the *Libitinarii* (*...si libitinarius servum pollinctorem habuerit isque mortuum spoliaverit...*). Both are considered undertakers (Petr. 38.15; 78.6; Sen. *Ben*. 6.38.4).
[89] Mentioned in Seneca's *De Beneficiis* with *libitinarii* (6.38) and in an epistle of Horace (1.7.6).

Fest.[90] 506.16–19).[91] The person who lit the fire of the bier, and possibly constructed it as well

was called an *ustor*, while inscriptions from late antiquity credit *fossores* with digging plots in

the catacombs.[92] A *praeco* (herald) might summon people to a *funus indictivum*, or a funeral

which was publicly announced to all citizens (Toynbee 1971: 45).[93]

According to Toynbee, after the body was prepared and lay in state, the funeral

procession, or *pompa*, followed the corpse to the place where mourners meant to dispose of the

body. In Rome during the historical period these processions likely took place during the day,

under most circumstances, unless the deceased and their mourners were poor or were children, in

which case the procession happened at night (Serv. *Aen*. 6. 224). In this case those too poor to be

able to afford a funeral were thought to have been carried impersonally by slaves or *vespellones*

on a poor man's bier (*sandapila*) (Toynbee 1971: 46). Wealthy families may have had a large

funerary couch placed on a bier, which was carried by mourners, who were close to the deceased

or even by newly liberated slaves (Pers. 3.105–106; Toynbee 1971: 46).[94] In the *pompa* of

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[90] The references to Paulus Diaconus' epitome of Pompeius Festus' *De Verborum Significatione* are from Wallace Lindsay's edition of the work (1918) which is the standard version (North and Glinister "Pompeius Festus, Sextus" *OCD*). The first number refers to the page number of the work and the subsequent number refers to the line number.
[91]According to Seutonius, *vespillones* carried away Domitian's body secretly at night on a common funerary bier for burial on the orders of his nurse, Phyllis (*Dom*. 17.3). The term was also probably a general term for undertaker, at least in other parts of the empire, since Apuleius mentions in the *Florida* (19) that Asclepiades Pharmacion rescued a man from a funerary pyre who had been fully prepared to be cremated because he found that the man was not actually dead. In this case there is no indication that the undertaker (*vespillo*) was conducting these affairs at night. The funerary procession was very large, the body was covered in spices and his mouth was filled with an unguent, and a funerary banquet was already prepared. These factors indicate that the man was not poor.
[92] Toynbee assumes that grave-diggers from a time earlier in the empire would be called *fossores*, as well (Toynbee 1971: 45). This makes sense since *fossor* means "digger," but there does not seem to be evidence for this being a specialized title for a grave-digger in Rome until late antiquity.
[93] Paulus gives the definition of a *funus indictivum* as: *ad quod per Praeconem evocabantur* ("to which they were summoned by a herald") (Paul. Fest. 94.17).
[94] Toynbee speculates that the slaves might be freed in the will when she discusses the funerary scene on the tomb of the Haterii. At the foot of the deceased on the funerary couch are what looks like a stack of tablets, which Toynbee believes is the will, while some of the characters in the scene are wearing pointed caps (a *pilleus*), which in this case might indicate that they have been released from slavery.

prestigious families, mourners would have carried images or masks of their ancestors (Toynbee 1971: 48).

In accordance with the laws of the Twelve Tables all cremations and burials had to take place outside of the city, so that, with very few exceptions, any procession ended up outside of the *pomerium* (Cic. *De Leg*. 2.23.58). Because most cremations and burials took place outside of the city boundaries, cemeteries grew up flanking the roads that radiated from Rome as well as the thoroughfares outside of other urban centers throughout the empire. During the time of the empire there was wide variation in the form of burials that were constructed outside of Rome, from the familial tombs to the large *columbaria* capable of housing thousands of urns, to grave-pits in which destitute people who could not afford a proper burial were placed (Toynbee 1971: 48–49).

Although there were many bi-ritual cemeteries, where cremation and inhumation burials were interred side by side, in the northwestern empire, the cremation rite was often dominant in many of them from the first century AD until the third century AD. In Rome, to facilitate the cremation rites, there would have been quite a few public *ustrina*, or designated cremation areas, upon which the *rogus*, or funerary pyre was constructed. In addition to the body, mourners often put items on the pyre that might have had significance to the deceased individual (Toynbee 1971: 49–50).[95] As mentioned before, at this stage the body was already anointed with oils and aromatics, if the mourners were able to do so. However, prior to lighting the pyre it is likely that more unguents, fruits, incense and other aromatics were used on the body and on the *rogus* (Cool

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[95] During Misenus' funerary rites, his companions had placed arms, myrrh, sacred bread and bowls of oil on the funeral pyre (Verg. *Aen*. 6.217; 225).

2004: 441).[96] This custom probably developed because it made the smell of the burning body more bearable (Campbell 2004: 270). It is possible that additional, larger quantities of oil were used as an accelerant for the burning, in addition to the other kindling that was used (Cool 2004: 439). Before the cremation took place a portion of the body was severed off and taken unburnt to be subsequently buried (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.22.55; Toynbee 1971: 49). The mourners apparently called out the name of the deceased for one last time before the bier was lit and after the corpse was cremated the ashes were drenched with wine (Statius *Silv.* 2.6.90–91; Verg. *Aen.* 6. 212).[97] Some of the mourners, who were presumably close to the deceased, selected the remains from the burnt pyre and placed them in some kind of receptacle, although one of the funerary professionals may have done this instead (Toynbee 1971: 50).[98]

During the burial, mourners often placed secondary grave gifts in the burial. These gifts were not directly on the pyre when it was burning. Presumably the placing of these gifts allowed mourners to give to the deceased something that they thought was significant to them during life or for the afterlife. The poor and some slaves on the other hand, may have been buried, uncreamated, in *puticuli*, or burial-pits with few, if any grave goods. An example of this in Rome

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[96] Unguent bottles and oil containers are found at many burial sites (Cool 2004: 441). In addition to the example from Vergil mention in the previous note, Herodian 4.2.8 mentions that when Septimius Severus was being cremated, "they added every kind of perfume and incense the earth provides, together with all the fruits, herbs, and juices that are gathered for their fragrance..." on the funerary pyre. Pliny the Younger mentions that his friend, Fundanus, bought incense, unguents and scents for his (Fundanus') daughter's funeral (5.16). Apuleius mentions in the *Florida* (19) that the individual who Asclepiades rescued from the funerary pyre had already been anointed, his limbs were covered in spices and his mouth was full of unguent.

[97] This portion of the funerary rites is based on a passage from Statius' *Silvae* in which he mourns the death of the slave Ursus (2.6.90–91). In the funeral of Misenus, the final farewell to the deceased seems to have taken place during the lustration rites, where the mourners were purified from the pollution of the deceased (Conington 1876: 6. 231; Verg. *Aen.* 6.231). Servius says that this scene was not when the farewell took place. Instead, the "*vale*" took place after the burial, and it was then executed annually (Serv. *Aen.* 6.231). In Book 11 of the Aeneid, during the funeral of Pallas, Aeneas appears to say his final farewell (*vale*) after the *pompa* and before the cremation (Conington 1867: 6.231; Ver. *Aen.* 9.97). Servius also believes that Aeneas is also saying his "*vale*" to Pallas (*Aen.* 9. 97).

[98] In the *Aeneid*, after the cremation of Misenus, one of the companions of the Trojans, Corynaeus, is the one who selected the remains from the ruin of the pyre and performed the lustration, or the ritual which purified the mourners from the pollution of the deceased (Verg. 6.227–229).

lies within the area just outside the Porta Esquilina where many were buried in the late Republic before the area became fashionable (Ramsay 2020: 53; Malmberg and Bjur 2011: 363–364; Toynbee 1991: 49; Hopkins and Letts 1985: 207–208; Lanciani 1925: 18).

According to Cicero, there were a number of religious ceremonies that had to take place before the location where a body was to be interred could be considered a burial and, therefore, protected by sanctity laws. Cicero states several times in *De Legibus* (2.22.57; 22.58; 24.60) that burials and cremation sites are treated as different entities. Cicero further claims that according to a presumably long-standing "law of the pontiffs" (*ius pontificale*), a grave was not a grave until earth was thrown on it, which meant that the actual place where a body was cremated did not have a sacred character. Furthermore, the heir had to sacrifice a sow (*De Leg*. 2.22.57). Grave stelae from Gaul featured depiction of workmen's tools to indicate the act of setting up the tomb structure which was legally recognized (Toynbee 1971: 50).

After the mourners had buried the remains of the body, they still had to perform a number of purification ceremonies, such as the *suffitio* rite of purification during which they were sprinkled with water, as well as a ritual walking over flames (Paul. Fest. 3.3–5). In addition, the family performed a solemn festive rite of purification called the *Denicales Feriae*, which took place in the days following the funeral in the household (Paul. Fest. 61.23–24). The family also celebrated the funerary banquet, the *convivium funebre* (Non. 1.25.3–6), or *silicernium*, at the place of the tomb after the body was buried (Var. Sat. Men. 303, cit. in Non. 1.25.6–9). It is thought that the *di manes*, or the spirits of the deceased were present at the meal (Donat. in *Ter. Ad.* 587).[99]

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[99] Donatus explains that it is called the *silicernium* because the spirits, or *di manes*, watched silently (*silentes cernant*) (Donat. in *Ter. Ad.* 587). Paulus says that the *silcernium* is a type of sausage, which a family ate to be

After the day of the funeral mourners performed rituals to help venerate the dead spirit and to

provide ritual cleansing and periods of formal mourning for the family and close friends.

According to Toynbee, the cult of the dead gave the opportunity to people close to the deceased

to remember them, and to ensure that the *manes,* or the spirits of the dead, had "comfort,

refreshment and perennial renewal of life to their immortal spirits" (Toynbee 1971: 61–62). The

cena novendialis was a funerary banquet eaten at the grave, similar to the *silicernium*, but nine

days after the burial (inclusive), during which perhaps wine and/or dust was poured on the

interred remains (Petr. 65.10; Hor. *Epod*. 17.48).[100] The period of mourning ended when the

family made a sacrifice of wethers (castrated male goats) to the *lares* (Cic. *de Leg*. 2.22.55).

Even after the period of formal mourning was over there were other activities that

happened in honour of the deceased's spirit at the cemetery. In February, family and friends

honoured the dead at the *Parentalia*, which started on February 13 and lasted for nine days

(Baudy "Parentalia" *BNP*). The festival was a period when people close to the deceased could

engage in a formal remembrance of them, but the festival also served to affirm a positive

relationship between the living and the spirits, who as it was believed could cause trouble if they

were not propitiated (Ov. *Fast*. 2.547–556). According to Ovid, although expensive offerings

might be offered to the spirits (*manes*), they did not require much. A demonstration of piety is

what mattered (*Fast*. 2.533–536). He mentions for example such offerings as a tile wrapped in a

stretched-out garland, a scattering of fruits, a sprinkling of salt, plain softened bread, and loose

violets (*Fast*. 2.536–539). The final day of the festival was the *Feralia*, which was the last day

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cleansed from lamenting (*erat genus farciminis, quo fletu familia purgabatur* (Paul. Fest. 377.4–5). I.e., A family
will eat this special type of sausage to cleanse themselves in mourning a deceased family member.
[100] While Petronius mentions that wine was poured on the remains (65.10), Horace mentions that a dust was poured
on the tombs of the poor (*Epod*. 17.48).

on which the spirits were propitiated (*Fast.* 2.569–570). Although this ceremony was an official holiday, during which temples were closed (*Fast*. 2.563) and some civic ceremonies took place, it was primarily a domestic holiday which was centred on the family. In addition to the formal *Parentalia*, other celebrations also happened at tombs, such as on the deceased's birthday (*dies natalis*) (Toynbee 1971: 63).

Through the use of literary sources and some depictions from the iconographic record, Toynbee was able to piece together many of the key aspects of a funeral that were typical of those that took place in and around Rome. Although the ancient literary sources tended to concentrate on aspects of wealthy funerals, she was also able to outline the sort of action that might have been taken in the case of someone who could not afford all of the elements she identifies. Her work is useful for the archeologist as a model of what form "typical" Roman funerary ceremonies might take, and we may be able to use this analogy to construct broad interpretations of the grave assemblages under discussion here. There are several points she discusses which concern this project.

In the first place, Toynbee outlined four broad, principal stages, starting with the *funus translaticum*, which included the preparation and the lying-in-state of the body immediately after death (I), the funeral procession, or *pompa* (II), the disposal of the body (III) and the ceremonies that took place after the particular burial (IV). With regards to the rituals within each of the four stages there are a few broad notions that mourners addressed. One such notion was pollution. Death was polluting to the household and several ceremonies such as the *suffitio* took place to purify the household and venerate the dead spirits. The Romans went to great lengths to make sure that the spirits of the deceased made it to the underworld and were propitiated so that they would not pollute the household. One such example of their efforts was the placement of a coin

in the body of the deceased so that the spirit could make it to the underworld, followed by several rites to make sure that the grave was consecrated. Goods were also often given to the deceased for use in the afterlife. Dinners and food offerings at the *silicernium,* the *novendialis*, and the *parentalia* also served to maintain a bond with the deceased and prevent the pollution of the household. One must not forget that for many Romans, even though many of these rites served a religious purpose, these ceremonies also were a way of lamenting and coming to grips with the loss of someone in the community, as well as engaging in performances of self-presentation through the commemoration of the deceased.

Another point to take away from the above construction of the funerary model is that Rome and presumably other large centers in Italy had quite a developed funerary industry. The evidence of specialized occupations such as the *ustores* and the various types of undertakers seem to suggest this. Given the importance a proper funeral was to the deceased and their families and how essential it was that the household did not suffer from the pollution of death; and considering the numerous facets of the ritual practice of funerals along with the large amount of spectacle that could take place during a funeral, it is not surprising that an industry built around death was so prominent in Roman society.

4.2 Funerary Ritual Reconstruction: Archaeological Sources

If the literary sources are able to provide us with some motivations behind the rituals and provide us with a rough template with regards to the stages of a typical funeral in Rome or Italy, the archaeological evidence can offer us an additional perspective that highlights very specific aspects of provincial funerary processes. Pearce has suggested that a funeral can be more

appropriately viewed as a series of "presentations" and "representations;" however, in this way we cannot necessarily know the relative order by which the events occurred (Pearce 1998: 103). In most cases there are only two broad pieces of evidence that can shed light on the funerary process with regards to a cremation burial; the *ustrinum* and associated features (if they survive in the cemetery) which represent the cremation portion of the ritual process and the burial itself which represents the interment (Fitzpatrick 2000: 17). Even until recently scholars who have studied burials tend to concentrate on the burial itself and not the area where bodies were cremated (Polfer 2000: 32). Only in the case of a *bustum* burial are the burial and the pyre area directly associated, since a *bustum* burial involves the cremating of an individual directly above the grave (Festus 32). Generally, when the cremation was complete the pyre presumably collapsed into the grave and then the grave-pit was consecrated as a burial and covered (Jovanović 2000: 206).

The principal issue that arises using the burial assemblage as an index of social personae and as a remnant of a ritual is that much of the evidence of the funerary ceremony in the burial is often missing. Based on observation and some tests that were performed, scholars have found that with regards to most burials of the western Roman Empire, only approximately 40–60% of any bones that may have been preserved from the funeral pyre ended up being deposited (McKinley 2000: 41). Additionally, many of the material goods, or pieces of material goods that were burnt on or near the pyre did not make it into the grave, since usually there are only burnt fragments of pottery or small finds recovered from the burial. This means that only a token amount of the goods associated with the pyre is present in the grave. Perhaps only for a *bustum* burial can we expect that nearly all the material from the original pyre might still survive in situ,

since the cremation took place over the grave-pit and the material merely collapsed into it (McKinley 2001: 41).

Unfortunately, there is not much information concerning public *ustrina* in the archaeological record, which otherwise may have provided an indication as to where the missing pyre material may have gone (Polfer 2001: 30). Of those that have been found archaeologically, there are two main types, permanent and non-permanent. Non-permanent *ustrina* were only used a few times if that. Single use features often consist of a shallow depression filled with the remains of the funeral pyre and are only two to three meters square in area with no clear boundary. Archaeologists have found large areas in cemeteries where single-use cremation sites are concentrated and even overlap (Polfer 2000: 31–32). Permanent *ustrina* on the other hand usually have a quadrangular or circular layout and are made of tile, stone or other durable materials. These features tended to be used in a cemetery over a long period of time and are found in the cemeteries of many large cities (Polfer 2000: 31). Unfortunately, excavations have shown that these permanent public *ustrina* tended to be cleaned after every use, which means that there is often little information provided for archaeologists, and it also means that the *ustrina* may be more difficult to identify (McKinley 2000: 38).

On a few occasions, ditches have been found where pyre material had been deposited (Polfer 2000: 35). Unfortunately, there is not enough of this evidence and the majority of the material that would have been burnt on the *ustrina* is unaccounted for. Some scholars have speculated that maybe family members or people close to the deceased may have taken some of the bones and the pyre debris with them and put it in a shrine, but settlement evidence does not support this supposition (Fitzpatrick 2000: 27).

In the case of *bustum* burials, the grave-pit can act as both the area on which the pyre is burnt and the area in which grave goods are deposited. Because the pyre was burned directly above the grave, and the charcoal fell directly into the grave-pit, it is believed that *bustum* burials found in the archaeological record might provide a more realistic picture of how much funerary material was left after a cremation was complete (McKinley 2000: 39). Graves are often believed to be *bustum* burials if they have burnt edges, dug out insets in the upper corners of the *bustum* to support the lower logs of the pyre and/or they contain more charred remains of the pyre than most cremation burials (McKinley 2000: 41; Jovanović 2000: 205; Topál 1981: 78). One of the best examples of a *bustum* burial in Pannonia which fits this description is grave 40 from Matrica (near Budapest), which although it did not have insets on the side of the grave-pit, did have burnt sides and was full of ashes from the funeral pyre (Topál 1981: 78). As well, apparently, the calcined bones were found in anatomical order, which indicates that the remains were buried in situ after the pyre was finished burning (Márton *et al*. 2015: 24).

While grave 40 is a *bustum* burial, it may actually be a fairly unusual one, as scholars, particularly from France, have argued that many more graves which may seem like grave-pits, in which the calcined remains and the burnt remains of the pyre were scattered, might actually be *bustum* burials. They base their arguments on the results of their own experimental cremations and ethnographic examples. Their findings suggest that the burnt soil found on the top edges of graves were likely not the result of a ritual lustration of the burial-pit as has been suggested in the past. Instead, they believe that the heat from the burning pyre set above a pit caused the soil to burn (Márton *et al*. 2015: 22). After the cremation above the pit, scholars believe that the remains of the cremation process were modified in the pit. Either some of the contents were rearranged, for example being placed in an urn, and the pit was consecrated as a burial (primary

cremation) or some of the debris was moved to another pit, perhaps in a receptacle like an urn

and this second pit was consecrated as a proper burial (secondary cremation) (Márton *et al*. 2015:

24–25; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 172, 177). According to these same scholars, a consecrated

burial might have an urn or some sort of other container that holds the remains of the deceased,

secondary grave goods and some sort of marking on the surface, whether that be a funerary

marking or evidence of the funerary cult (Márton *et al*. 2015: 25; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 178).

Another step in the funerary ritual which scholars might be able to study in the

archaeological record is the building of funeral pyre. This may have been considered a banal

activity, since the ancient sources mention very little about it, but archaeologists who have

examined Roman cemeteries in Britain have found that the choice of wood that was used for the

pyres might reflect the identities of the deceased and the desires of the living. It has been noted

that the type of wood that was selected for pyres might have been chosen based on certain factors

such as the cultural preference of a particular people, the gender of the individual that was being

cremated and the prestige of certain kinds of wood. The costlier woods would give off a more

pleasant scent (Campbell 2004: 270).

Funeral pyres were built in several different manners depending on the traditions of the

group preforming the rite, the materials available and the expertise of the individuals

constructing the pyre. In order for the pyre to be effective it needed to be sizable and stable

enough to be able to hold the body and any grave goods. The construction design and the wood

used had to be of a type that allowed the oxygen to flow well to aid combustion. It was important

to ensure enough fuel to fully cremate the body. Sometimes they were placed directly on the

floor of the *ustrinum* or ground while often in order to facilitate the circulation of air and to make

the fuel burn better, the pyre was constructed above a flue or pyre scoop. Posts sometimes were

added to the four corners of the pyre in order to keep it stable. Experiments have shown that in the final stages of burning the cremated bones and the remains of the soft tissue remained in their anatomically correct position when the pyre had stopped burning. This is due in part to the fact that the pyre tended to collapse in on itself and generally did not spread out as the remains were destroyed (McKinley 2000: 38–39).

After the cremation ceremony, the remains were buried. As mentioned previously, usually only a token amount of bone was selected from the remains of the cremation and in many cases remnants of the pyre goods and the pyre itself were deposited in the burial. The burial itself could take many forms. In the provinces the remains may have been scattered in a grave-pit, put in a ceramic urn or an organic container. The margins of the grave-pit may not have been well defined or may have been bordered and capped with organic, ceramic or stone materials, etc. A tumulus of earth may have been put over it, or the grave may have been a part of a larger group in a grave structure, or part of a plot that was fenced off, etc. Once the ashes were deposited there were often other secondary grave goods that were deposited as well, and it appears that they were separate from the pyre remains (Fitzpatrick 2001: 18–27).

Scholars often only study a token amount of material from the burial, since they do not have information concerning the location of the remaining materials. But the burials can also provide us with information concerning some of the stages of the funerary ritual that occurred prior to the cremation. Two different categories of artifacts, primary and secondary goods, are deposited in cremation burials and both may reflect the part that they played in the funerary ceremony. With regards to cremation burials, primary grave goods are any artifacts from the burial that had been previously placed on or near the pyre, and therefore show signs of burning. Primary grave goods tend to be more fragmentary and less complete. Secondary grave goods are

gifts that mourners placed in the burial at the same time as the remains of the pyre before the grave was sealed (Topál 2003a: 4; 1993: 4). They may be broken but tend to be present in the burial in more nearly complete form than primary grave goods.

Scholars have noticed that there are often differences in the composition of the primary and secondary grave good assemblages (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31; Gassner 1999: 92, 98; Pearce 1998: 105). Some have suggested that these goods had differing roles related to the context in which they were used. Primary grave goods could help to express the relationship between the deceased and the mourners and sometimes contributed by playing a role in the rites concerning transience and purification. Secondary grave gifts facilitated the needs of the deceased in the afterlife, and thus these items reflected the deceased's and/or the mourners' view of the afterlife (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31). Such a concise view of the difference between the use and meaning of primary and secondary grave goods is necessarily reductionist. The meanings behind the practices and the use of materials employed to facilitate them were probably more fluid.

This understanding of the primary and secondary grave goods may overly restrict our understanding of the roles of goods may have played in either of the rituals. Even if secondary grave goods do not show signs of burning, it does not mean that they cannot in some way have been part of the rituals that surrounded the cremation. Secondary grave goods that show little to no evidence of having been on the pyre may still have been displayed on or near the pyre without being affected by the fire (Fitzpatrick 2000: 17; Northover and Montague 1997: 90–91). Often secondary goods may display only one burnt side, which may indicate that they were placed close to the burning pyre. The mourners may have placed items that were going to be put into the grave close to or on the pyre to lustrate them in order to ritually remove them from the land of the living (Cool 2004: 358, 441, 444, Philpott 1991: 237, 239).

Scholars have put forth several suggestions to explain why mourners put grave gifts on the pyre itself and sometimes burnt them with the body and why sometimes they put goods in the grave with some of the cremated human remains. Some of these explanations can be contradictory, but they do offer a range of interpretations that can be applied to give meaning to the results. Some scholars believe that goods were given on a pyre as offerings to the deceased, in order to help the deceased to enter into the underworld and to appease the gods or to provide the deceased with goods for the afterlife. Such goods often might be associated directly with the deceased as they were used by them during life (Millett 1993: 263). In that case, they were likely part of the presentation of the body in state as well. Such items could be objects like coins and lamps, as well as food and liquid offerings. Burning and smashing these objects and offerings on the funeral pyre was probably to release them from the world of the living so that they could be used in the afterlife (Cool 2004: 444; Philpott 1991: 237, 239) or as offerings to the infernal gods (Mráv 2004: 3[101]). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, this is one reason why some items were placed near the pyre, and as a result may show signs of burning, even though they appear to be secondary grave gifts because mourners put them in the grave either whole or near whole. The breaking of grave goods, whether on the pyre or in and around the grave, may have served similar purposes (Philpott 1991: 239). In this way, the offering of primary and secondary grave gifts may be involved in some of the same processes (being on the pyre and later deposited in the grave) and serve similar purposes (to serve the deceased in the afterlife or to facilitate their entry into the afterlife). For this project, such considerations must be kept in mind and at times are used to give meaning to the goods based on what the evidence suggests.

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[101] Mráv mentions in connection with the funerary practice in the territory of the Boii, particularly the aristocracy. He believes that they of put artifacts in the pyre fire or deliberately broke them based on the finds of large amounts of items found broken and burnt in cremation burials (Mráv 2004: 3).

Secondary grave gifts may also have served several functions. Some scholars suggest that food was not only placed in the grave as a secondary grave good in order to nourish the deceased in the afterlife but to also to nourish them in the grave itself as they may have had to spend some time, prior to their journey into the afterlife (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 111; Mráv 2004: 4[102]; Jones 1990: 816; Black 1986: 220). Burials often served as focal points for contact between the living and the dead, so that the secondary grave goods may have functioned to serve the deceased in that interaction, for example when the living came to feast at the burials (Philpott 1991: 238). Some communities apparently believed that spirits of individuals dwelled in the grave for a more or less fixed amount of time, before they were able to proceed to the afterlife. This would help to explain why in many cemeteries, including in Aquincum, younger graves were excavated into older ones, with no care apparently take to preserve the earlier burial. By the time the new grave-pit was dug, the spirit of the old grave was believed to have already departed leaving the old tomb empty (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 323–324; Philpott 1991: 36; Black 1986: 226; Toynbee 1971: 51, 62; Wenham 1968, 36). While it is possible that many of the goods held a gift, mourners may also have placed empty vessels in the grave that were used as part of the funerary ceremony. Such gift may be a token of piety on behalf of the mourners, indicating that they honoured the deceased in at the time of burial (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121; Robinson 1942: 186–197).[103] Unfortunately, it is difficult to prove for most vessels if it held something in the burial or not.

Several scholars also believe that secondary grave goods may have helped to signify whether or not a cremation-pit was religiously/legally sanctified as a burial. As mentioned

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[102] Refers specifically to the probable views held by the Eraviscn noble families regarding the afterlife.

[103] Robinson mentions this in connection with oil and perfume flasks placed in the grave) (1942 186–187. There is no reason to doubt that other empty vessels could have the same meaning.

previously, evidence shows that in a number of cemeteries in the western empire pits may have

been excavated for one-time use as cremation spots. Often mourners or attendants took out only

a token number of bones and other pyre debris for burial in a secondary tomb which they then

sanctified. They left the remaining cremation debris in the pit, which was not considered a burial,

so therefore was not a focal point of remembrance and commemoration (Márton *et al*. 2015: 25;

Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 178–179). It is possible that the placement of grave goods in a

secondary manner helped to sanctify the grave with its token amount of remains.[104] This

perspective certainly gives archaeologists a tool to differentiate between sanctified burials and

cremation pit, but we must take care to not assume that secondary grave goods can only show up

in proper burials and would never be present in pyre debris (see below). Conversely, we cannot

take the absence of secondary grave goods as proof that a feature is not a proper tomb, since

organic goods that do not survive, may have been deposited. Thus, this rule will not necessarily

help identify all properly sanctified burials.

Martin Millett (1993: 266–267, 275–276) believes that the number of grave goods placed

in a burial can also represent the size of the social network of the deceased.[105] In this scenario

individuals or groups attending the burying ceremony place their gifts in the grave. According to

the theory, the more gifts in the burial assemblage, the larger the network in which the deceased

was embedded (Millett 1993: 275–276). As Millett reminds us, we cannot assume that the grave

gifts belonged to the deceased during their life. Because items were not placed with the

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[104] In this understanding, the secondary grave goods placed in the tomb in this manner played much the same role as the ritual throwing of a clod of dirt on the remains as mentioned by Toynbee or the sacrifice of a sow to sanctify the tomb (Cic. *De Leg*. 2.22.57).

[105] Millett uses this theory to explain several phenomena in the burials he examined in the King Harry Lane cemetery. He attributes a decline in grave gifts to the relative decline of social networks as the development of nucleated settlements was disrupting kinship networks. As a consequence, those who were settling in towns were becoming "increasingly social disembedded" (1993: 276).

individual on the pyre, we cannot assume that they were closely associated with the individual (Millett 1993: 266–267). The grave gifts do not necessarily represent the wealth of the individual or even that of the mourners attending, but it does show how connected and possibly how valued the deceased was in the community (Millett 1993: 275) at least in death. In this case, it is largely the quantity of the grave goods that matters and not the quality. It is the token of the gift that is important, not necessarily the value of it. Although Manuela Struck agrees with Millett's hypothesis (2000: 85; 1995: 143), she cautions that further studies are needed to test this theory and that there may be other factors involved (1995: 143).

Based on the literary sources it appears that in Rome the funerary banquet took place after the funeral (see pages 165–166); however, in other areas outside of Rome, such as Britain, there is evidence that ritual banqueting took place before or during the cremation itself. This assertion is backed up by the fact that animal bones, and broken and burnt remains of cups, bowls and plates etc. are found among the pyre remains and the post cremation remnants. In conjunction with this activity, it appears that at least in some areas of the Roman Empire an animal was sacrificed as a dedication to the spirit of the deceased and as part of a funerary dinner for the mourners. In numerous situations after the banqueting, some or all the utensils were broken on the funeral pyre, and many of the pieces subsequently burnt. In addition to the sacrifice, funerary dinner and cremation, other activities such as dancing may have taken place and can be detected archaeologically. In the central chamber of the shaft at the Folly Lane cemetery there were signs of trampling on the floor, which might indicate that processions took place around the body lying-in-state or perhaps dancing occurred around the body before it was cremated (Niblett 2000: 99).

Items that were used to facilitate and embellish the funerary rituals, either during the cremation or during burial ceremonies, can sometimes be mistakenly interpreted as grave gifts as well. Of course, as mentioned before, their deposition could indicate a sign of piety on the part of the mourners who signify that they had performed the appropriate rituals. As mentioned above aromatics, such as perfumes and incense, were important to a funeral to counter repugnant odors, and this could explain the accidental inclusion of as *ungentaria*, *balsamaria* and other small flasks and incense bowls in the tomb. Likewise, containers that held incinerants, which attendants used to help the cremation burn more effectively, may have also ended up in the grave (Cool 2004: 439, 441). Materials such as flagons, which held water for a purification ceremony may be found in burials as well. Such items that did not necessarily act as offerings to the deceased may have ended up in the grave or amongst the cremation debris because the community believed them to be polluted since they had been imbued with the spirit of the deceased, due to their use in the funerary ritual. Therefore, they were unfit to be used in the world of the living (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 322; Webster 1986: 131–132). As mentioned previously, the smashing and burning of goods on the pyre, or around the grave may also have been a rite to release the gifts to the deceased (Cool 2004: 444; Philpott 1991: 237, 239).

The clothes and personal ornaments along with any other adornments or embellishments helped present the individual in an idealized manner, lying-in-state, on the bier in the procession and on the funeral pyre. In Roman Britain, for example, the presence of burnt personal ornaments, such as *fibulae,* suggests that it is possible that many people who were cremated were dressed up after they had died in clothes that they may have worn in life (Cool 2004: 438). Even if the body was wrapped in a simple shroud, the fact that these items were found in the grave, show that they were placed on the pyre. If these personal ornaments were actually worn by the

deceased when they were cremated, it is very likely as part of the attire that they were wearing when the body was laid-in-state. Such ornaments helped to represent various identities based on sex, status and age in an appropriate manner (Fitzpatrick 2000: 27).

In addition, archaeologists find items such as coins and lamps in burials which may help the spirit of the deceased in their journey to the underworld. Coins, which are found in burials of every province of the Roman Empire, supposedly help the deceased to pay their way into the underworld. Although this practice is attested in most areas of the empire in most cemeteries it is found in only a minority of burials (Stevens 1991: 223–224). Although the literary sources suggest that the coin was placed in the mouth, this may not necessarily have been the case (Stevens 1991: 225). Lamps were also commonly found in many burials, like coins. They may have been used to light the deceased's journey to the afterlife (Eckardt 2002: 110; Philpott 1991: 135, 1992; Alcock 1980: 61) or to symbolically light the burial up when the deceased is present (Philpot 1991: 192; Black 1986: 220; Alcock 1980; 60–61). Goods such as these were inexpensive, coins usually being of a low denomination (Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2009: 165; Stevens 1991: 217–218) and lamps were mass-produced (Peña 2007: 27), so their deposition was likely not a burden to mourners. They signify a wish on the part of the mourners that the deceased make it safely and comfortably into the underworld. Such a well-wish may be to protect the living, as they would not want a potentially malevolent spirit roaming around, but they can also be seen as an emotive token on the part of the mourners suffering the loss of a loved one. This idea with be explored further in sections concerning these items, but also in sections concerning personal items, with which coins and lamps are often deposited.

While under normal circumstances coins and lamps were easy to furnish, considering the unguents, the animal sacrifices, the personal ornaments, the wood that was used for the pyre and

the food and the containers that were used for the banquet, it is evident that in many cases much

wealth literally went up in smoke at funerals (Cool 2004: 441; 2007: 56). The quantity of goods

found in a grave, however, is not indicative of wealth. Used items and goods of a lesser quality,

which individuals may not have necessarily considered as being useful in the realm of the living,

were found in the burials. Often the materials that are dedicated are quite worn which indicates

that they were probably well used in a domestic setting before they were deposited. It also seems

that objects that had obvious defects in their manufacturing are also represented in the mortuary

record. This does not mean that any object would do, however. Particularly with regards to

ceramics we see that only certain types are represented in the mortuary record. This indicates that

there was some selection of goods deemed appropriate (Cool 2004: 451). Likewise,

archaeologists have found that there are some materials from the cemetery that are not

representative of what has been found in the settlements. This leads some archaeologists to

believe that cemeteries that were used by large numbers of people may have had shops located

close by to accommodate mourners by selling specialized wares and cheap goods that may not

have otherwise been desired for domestic use (Tuffereau-Libre 2000: 53). Consequently,

archeologists can only guess at whether these items used in the funerary rituals were from the

household of the deceased, from that of the mourners, or whether they reflect a fairly

sophisticated funerary industry.

There are many reasons why people may have chosen to utilize used or damaged goods

in a funerary ceremony. For many individuals, the symbolic gesture of presenting the grave gift

was probably more important than the actual material, and in some cases a damaged container or

one of poor quality may have held another, more valuable good. Just as was the case as in

sacrifice to the gods, where the so-called good meat was withheld from sacrifice and kept for

human consumption, it is possible that in many cases old, worn and damaged pottery was suitable for the spirits of the deceased (Philpott 1991: 239). In such cases the use of newer more prestigious goods was not a factor that was important, and funerals may have presented an opportunity for mourners to rid themselves of old and broken items from their household or from that of the deceased. Some scholars believe that merchants made money selling goods that were used, maybe even dug up from other graves (Symonds, *et al* 2000: 122), or that were otherwise not suitable to be employed in the realm of the living.

There are other factors such as prestige and emotion that also need to be taken into account when considering the reasons why certain items were included in the burial and why they were used in the funerary ceremony. It is not surprising, considering that a funeral might be such a public affair, that display may have been an important part of the sequence of ceremonies for some people (Toynbee 1971: 45). In cases where certain mourners wished to display the prestige of the deceased or the social standing of key contributors to the funeral, they may have demonstrated wealth by destroying otherwise useful items, through breakage, burning on the pyre or burial in the grave. Using items of greater value or more numerous goods may have served this purpose as well and should be detectable in the archaeological record. Because of the nature of the funerary evidence, however, the status of many individuals is notoriously difficult to ascertain, since many markers of status that were deployed in the various funerary rituals may have been of a material that does not survive in the archaeological record (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 324, 330).

The emotional state of the mourners must also be accounted for when considering the material aspects of death (Tarlow 1999: 35; Hopkins and Letts 1985: 203–204, 221–224). In some cases, if mourners were deeply emotionally invested in the deceased, that may have

resulted in a greater number of gifts of value or of grave goods that may have meant something

to the deceased or to the mourners emotionally. Some of these goods may therefore be items that

the mourners associated with the deceased, in which case they may also reflect certain important

identities. The practice of placing on the pyre or in the burial emotionally charged items that

were associated with the deceased individual means that sometimes older items that are not

necessarily contemporary with the laying of the grave may have ended up in the burial,

confusing the dating of the grave. These types of goods are often called "heirlooms" (Symonds

2000: 122).

So far in this section we have limited ourselves to cremation burials, as these make up

most of the burials between the first century and the third century AD. Inhumation, however, was

also an important rite at this time. Scholars have come to realize that many cemeteries of the

western empire were biritual, containing both cremation and inhumation burials (Pearce 2017:

4), but, as mentioned previously, it can be difficult to determine if an individual wished to be

inhumed or if they did not have the resources to put towards a cremation (Graham 2006: 57).

Often inhumation was practiced continuously by indigenous people in tandem with cremation

from the period before their incorporation into the empire until inhumation began to become the

dominant rite during the third century (Booth 2017: 176–178; Ottományi 2016: 2–3; Topál 2007:

144, 148). While inhumation was certainly practiced by indigenous people between the late first

and early second century in the cemeteries of Aquincum as indicated by the so-called "Norico-

Pannonian" fibulae in female burials (Topál 2007: 138) many inhumation burials contain few to

no grave goods to be able to date them. Therefore, it is often difficult to say to what extent

inhumation burials and cremation burials in a given cemetery were contemporaneous, unless

they contain grave goods indicating they are from the third and fourth centuries when this rite was dominant (Fitzpatrick 2000: 25; Toynbee 1971: 49).

The traditions of the deceased and other factors may have played a part in the decision to inhume a body. Immigrants who practiced inhumation in their own communities may have continued to practice this rite when they settled in Aquincum may have practiced this rite. As stated in chapter two, a person's wealth or membership in a *collegium* may also affect whether they were inhumed. Cremation was an expensive method for the disposal of bodies because the amount of fuel needed to burn the body, and possibly even the expertise to build it and maintain the cremation process, was costly (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 331). Consequently, inhumation was the preferred type of burial for the poor.[106] Thus, for some indigenous peoples, other peoples of communities who did not cremate their dead and the poor, inhumation was practiced in the time frame under study.

While this dissertation is mainly concerned with cremation burials, the few inhumation burials dated within the temporal scope of this paper will be included in the study. Despite inhumation involving a different rite, the assemblage does reflect what mourners felt was important to include with their dead, in the same vein as with cremation burials, particularly when dealing with secondary grave goods placed in the grave before it was sealed. The treatment of personal artifacts, especially adornments, in inhumation burials may be able to tell us something about how similar artifacts were treated at stages in a cremation ceremony, such as when the body was lying in-state. The categorization of artifacts from an inhumation burial is different from that of cremation graves. Primary grave goods are any artifacts that were placed

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[106] According to Cicero cremation was an important part of the funerary rites and he mentions it often, however, religiously cremation did not have to take place for a burial to be legally sanctified, nor was it considered necessary to ensure that the deceased would pass into the afterlife (Cic. *De Leg*. 2.21.57).

directly on the body before burial, for example, jewelry, brooches, etc. Secondary grave goods are grave gifts that mourners placed into the burial before the grave was sealed (Topál 2003a: 4; 1993: 4).

It is important to realize that the funerary industry and burial associations probably had a large impact on the way in which rites were performed. Unfortunately, it is difficult to detect how cemeteries in the western provinces were actually operated (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 332). Presumably in large centers such as Aquincum and Carnuntum there was a well-established industry, much as was the case in Rome. Permanent fixtures such as grave markers and structures needed to be produced, requiring specialist labour, just as specialists were needed to supply proper wood and build a functional pyre. in addition, one can expect a whole range of merchants supplying necessary grave goods when these were not supplied by family members, friends and/or the funeral association involved (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 331). In any case, one must assume that a well-established funerary industry influenced the burial rituals in large centers, but it is difficult to gauge the extent of that influence.

4.3   Conclusion

The literary sources and archaeological evidence both provide different, but often complementary information regarding funerary rites. As we have seen, Toynbee was able to divide the funerary rituals into four major phases. Most of our evidence, however, is associated with only two of those phases, namely the cremation and the burial of the remains, as well as the rites (such as banqueting and sacrifices) that are associated with these practices. The archaeological record is such that on the one hand we get very specific details regarding the

cremation ceremony and the burial. At the same time, the fragmentary nature of the archaeological material leaves us in the dark concerning many funerary practices that must have taken place in the ceremony as a whole. Since there are no relevant literary sources for many provincial funerals and views concerning the afterlife, we have to speculate on this based on analogy and thus, can only gain a very general understanding of many aspects of the ceremony.

Still, as mentioned in chapter two, burials as remnants of the funerary ceremony are useful to study social personae. Taking into account the different stages of the funerary ceremony as Toynbee established, provides a good idea of how a funeral in the Roman world could be structured. At the very least, it gives sense of what may be lacking in the archaeological record. Granted a complete picture of the funerary rites cannot be achieved by looking at the burial remains; nonetheless, isolating patterns of difference and similarity in the material record and the way the material was treated can provide an indication of general trends in the funerary ritual within both cemeteries.

Studying social identities on the basis of tombs is, then, anything but straight forward. There is for example, no clear connection between the number of pots, or other ceramic goods that are found at a gravesite and the wealth of the individual or family buried in grave. It may be a factor, instead, of the number of mourners who deposited gifts or of how people felt towards the deceased individual (a possible indication of the individual's social connectedness, for example) (Fitzpatrick 2000: 16). Or it may simply be a factor of what has survived in the archaeological record. Much of the material wealth that was used in the funerary rites either did not survive because it was destroyed, decayed or was re-deposited in an area other than the grave. It must also be remembered that depending on the community, some of the items may not have been destroyed in the funerary ceremony or buried with the deceased. Members of the

funerary industry may have re-used the goods for other funerals or perhaps the mourners even kept many of the items after the completion of the ceremony (Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 177). With these caveats kept in mind, however, the careful analysis of burial sites is still an excellent source of information on the funerary rituals and the social identities manifested through them.

5   Chapter 5-Cremation Grave Formation Reconstruction

5.1   Introduction

Chapter five focuses on investigating the factors that led to the creation of burials during the funerary ritual in the Bécsi Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum and the southern cemetery of the civilian settlement of Carnuntum. This project uses the burial typologies as a starting point from which to examine their key characteristics and how these features came to be. Important in this investigation is to break down these typologies so that significant features that transect different types can be evaluated. The practices that led to the formation of such features may reflect important identities of the deceased or the mourners who buried them.

It is important to closely examine the characteristics of the burials of both cemeteries themselves toward gaining understanding of aspects of the funerary ritual and insight into social identities. This part of the analysis focuses on establishing and assigning cremation burial types. In the past various typologies have been proposed all of them based on modern criteria. Through these typologies archaeologists grant significance to and highlight diagnostic properties observed in the burials. Often these grave types and the characteristics that define them reflect procedural differences in the grave rituals. For example, ledges on a grave may indicate the funeral pyre was built directly on top of the grave-pit, where the remains were also buried, identifying it as a *bustum* burial. Through evidence scholars may theorize about ritual and ascribe social identities to a certain grave type. For example, Topál argues that what she terms the C3 grave type was characteristic of immigrants from the western part of Pannonia. In this way, burial typologies become an analytical lens through which scholars view and conceptualize other features of the burial.

Although burial typologies are important in that they reflect aspects of the grave ritual which archaeologists see as significant, they are analytically constricting, since they privilege only certain aspects of the burial. Scholars formulating and using grave typologies risk over-emphasizing differences in order to generate separate types and consequently giving significance to features that may not have been that important to the people conducting the grave rituals. Consequently, it is not surprising that a group of scholars now challenge these cremation typologies, particularly, those used to classify the burials of Aquincum, based on ethnographic analogies and experimental archaeology.[107] Their new insights have invigorated the field and have inspired scholars to reinterpret their evidence, but their views are not universally accepted. Scholars, like Topál, who have been long active in the region continue to stand by their typologies and not without reason (Topál 2007: 146). Therefore, while it is important to give the new ideas our full attention, the old typologies still reflect significant practices that can reflect the origins of the deceased, so they are still considered.

There are two distinct typologies in place for the two cemeteries under discussion in this study (Topál 2003a: 3; 1993: 3; 1981: 75–80; Jilek 1999: 20–29). This poses significant challenges. While there are points of similarity between both typological systems, generally each applies its own set of variant characteristics to the burials and, so, burials are often categorized differently. Even when a similar category, such as the *bustum*, is applied, the criteria for the inclusion of a grave into that category are different. For example, in Carnuntum evidence of burning on the edges of the grave-pit is sufficient to indicate a *bustum*, while in Aquincum the presence of ledges on the side of a burial-pit is deemed necessary. Before a comparative analysis of the two burial sites and their associated rituals can take place, it is necessary, when possible,

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[107] Márton *et al*. 2015; Blaizot *et al*. 2009; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004; Bel 1996.

to reconcile the two typologies. This task is made difficult because each author describes the burial in part based on the typology to which it belongs, which means that characteristics that define the typology are highlighted while other features may not be mentioned and/or not described in as much detail. Comparing burials of both cemeteries, in other words may be like comparing apples and oranges. While this project has transcended several of the typological restraints in its analysis, in others only the possibilities of bridging the typological system can be discussed.

In this study we will use the grave typologies already established by authors of the publications as a starting point for the analysis of the funerary rituals that led to the grave formation in the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum. This will begin with a careful description of each category followed by a survey of any critiques of their validity. These analyses will include a discussion of the location, time and space of each typological category and a comparison to the literary and archaeological evidence of the funerary ritual presented in the previous chapter. In this way, we will reconstruct the archaeologically detectable aspects of the funerary ritual for each type of grave before preceding to a comparison of funerary ceremonies at both cemeteries.

5.2   Cremation Burials in Pannonia

Cremation has often been thought of as an introduced "Roman" rite in the western provinces, since cremation started to become the dominant rite in many areas at the time of Roman occupation. To an extent, this process is no different for Pannonia, where many Celtic peoples, including the Eravisci and the Boii, practiced inhumation before gradually adopting

cremation (Topál 2000a: 197). However, the picture in Pannonia is a bit more complicated than this, since cremation was practiced by people in the region before the Roman occupation, particularly the Pannonian-Illyrian population (Topál 2000a: 199) and just before and as the Romans were occupying various regions of Pannonia cremation was practiced in other locals of the region (Dzino and Kunić 2012: 97; Jerem 2003: 195; Jovanović 2000: 205). In addition, around military installations and settlements, like those at Aquincum and Carnuntum, soldiers, settlers and transient peoples, as well as natives, buried their dead mostly using cremation rites, while contributing their own influences to the practice. Thus, within cemeteries a variety of rites involving cremation were adopted from various influences, which makes it difficult to label the adoption of cremation by native peoples and immigrants as simply 'Romanizing'. The complexity of the adoption and use of a variety of rites involved with cremation as practiced in the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum is explored in the following section.

5.3   Major Grave types at Aquincum

Judit Topál, who worked extensively on Roman era burials in the region, studied the ethnic component of the grave ritual by focusing on the particular grave types that have been found in the region of the Eravisci people, which included Aquincum, Matrica and Intercisa (Topál 2000a: 198; Topál 1995: 537). Unfortunately, she only focuses on the burial type and on very few of the other facets of the funerary rituals, so we cannot be sure how significant these features are in comparison to other aspects of the funerary ritual. This narrow focus calls into question any conclusions concerning the identities of the deceased. While ascribing ethnic, or at the very least regional labels to grave types may have some merit, it should be remembered that

many immigrants and soldiers from elsewhere in the empire were also burying their dead according to the same rites to which Topál ascribes a specific ethnicity. The burial types she discusses, therefore, may represent more complex processes going on around Roman settlements in the region inhabited by the Eravisci. By attempting to reconstruct as much of the ritual process as possible this study will shed new light on the way that meaningful identities were constructed, maintained and negotiated through the funerary sphere.

Judit Topál divided the cremation burials of Aquincum into eight categories (C1–C8), some of which conceptually overlap. She uses three of the eight types for her analysis of the ethnic identities of the cemetery, namely types C1, C2 and C3, as she believes these represent exclusive groups (Topál 2000a: 199; 1995: 537; 1981: 77). Her assumptions are based on the predominance particularly of types C2 and C3 in particular areas of the middle Danube region to which she ties to specific ethnicities. She first connected her observations concerning the regional distribution of these burials to specific ethnic communities in her work on burials in the southern cemetery of Matrica which is located to the southeast of Aquincum along the Danube River (2000a 199; 1995: 537; 1981: 77). Presumably the other five categories were too few to allow for meaningful analysis.

The C1 type of burial is the predominate type of burial found around the major settlements in the north-east part of Pannonia, which roughly corresponds to the territory of the Eravisci. According to Topál, the grave-pit of this type is usually oval or oblong and the sides and sometimes the bottom were burned red to a thickness of approximately two to three centimeters, on which was a thin charcoal layer. After this initial preparation, a layer of "plaster" consisting of a fine clay was added to the sides. Sometimes the bottom of the pit and the plastered layer was then lustrated with bonfires of straw or twigs. Topál believes that this

preparation of the grave-pit took place about a day before the funeral (Topál 2007: 146).[108]

Scholars believe that the firing and plastering of the grave was done as a sort of ritual lustration

before the remains were deposited (Topál 2007: 146; 2000a: 199; 1995: 537; Jovanović 2000:

206). The lustration combined with the clay plastering served as a sort of coffin instead of

tegulae or wood (Topál 2007: 14; 1981: 76). Once the grave was prepared a token amount of the

calcined bone, pyre remnants and primary grave goods were scattered in it. Since this type of

grave is predominant in the area that the Eravisci were said to have populated, Topál speculated

it was indicative of the indigenous population (Topál 2000a: 199; 1995: 538). Graves confirmed

or assumed to be of the C1 type constitute approximately 62% of the total number of identifiable

cremation graves in the Aquincum catalogue.[109]

C1 forms a sub-group of the regionally more widely practiced C2 type of burial. Graves

of type C2 are simpler than that of C1 in that the grave-pit was merely burnt, and the sides were

not ritually plastered. This purifying ritual is considered more typical of the rite that took place in

the middle Danube region. Graves of this type, like those of C1, are usually rectangular or oval

in shape (e.g., Pl. 2-14, 2-16 and 2-20). Although evidence shows that there is a significant

difference between the purifying ritual that took place at grave type C2 and that of type C1,

Topál mentions that the material deposited with the C2 graves was very similar to that of type C1

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[108] Topál supports this hypothesis through her interpretations of grave 20.V in the Aquincum cemetery. The sides of the large grave-pit were modified through the lustration and plastering ritual Topál describes, but instead of cremated human remains and remnants of the pyre deposited at the bottom of the pit, a body was interred. Topál believes that this unique grave resulted from the mourners changing their minds regarding how they were going to treat the body of the deceased. The grave-pit was prepared for a cremation burial a day or two before the burial, but mourners decided to inhume the body instead of cremating it (2007: 146). Topál bases her views on the observations of Mircea Babeş in his work on burials of the Roman northern necropolis of Romula in Romania (1970: 167–208). Babeş suggests evidence for the practice of purifying burials through lustration (1970: 181).
[109] 101 graves were identified as C1 burials with certainty and four are probable, out of the 170 graves which are assigned to a type (C1 to C8) in the catalogue. Six graves are possibly C1 type graves and were not included as burials identified as C1 burials. A further 16 graves are merely listed as cremation graves either because they were too disturbed or not explored sufficiently enough to assign a typology. These burials will not be used here as they are able to contribute neither to the discussion of typology nor the reconstruction of grave ritual.

graves (Topál 2000a: 199). Immediately to the south of the presumed Eraviscan territory in the area centred on Sirmium, this type was dominant (Topal 2000a, 199). Contrary to the situation near Sirmium, ritually fired graves of the C2 type make up only 3.5% of the total number of identifiable cremation graves of the Aquincum catalogue.[110]

Topál's C2 graves, pit burials with evidence of burnt walls in which the cremated human and pyre remains were strewn along the bottom (e.g., Pl. 2-17), represent the most wide-spread practice in the middle Danube region and in the northern Balkans, to the east of the region of Sirmium, where they account for between 60%–90% of all cremation graves (Jovanović 2000: 205–206).[111] Because of the distribution of these graves, scholars believe that this burial rite is indicative of the Illyrian population, which dominates this region culturally (Topál 2000a: 199; Jovanović 2000: 205). The ritual firing of burials in this manner has long been considered an "Illyrian" custom. This type of direct relating of a funerary practice to a particular ethnicity is problematic in itself (Leleković 2012: 321) and in this case is further problematized by the fact that many scholars, both ancient and modern, thought of the Eravisci as "Celtic." As outlined in chapter 3 the reality was more complex. It seems that many traditions of the Eravisci, including the ritual burning of the graves, were similar with those of their non-Celtic neighbors in the middle Danube region (Topál 2000a: 200). This type of mutual adoption and adaption of customs and manners is only to be expected.

Although burial-pits with burnt sides are associated with the middle Danube region, tracing their origin is somewhat more complex. Such graves are also concentrated in northern Italy, southeastern France and the Rhineland and scholars have tried to determine their origin and

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[110] Five graves were identified as C2 burials with confidence and one is given as probable out of the 170 graves of the sample.
[111] Especially in the area of Pannonia Inferior and Moesia.

how this practice became disseminated (Struck 1991: 85). Many agree that northern Italy was the origin, where such graves were prevalent. The practice may have been spread by members of the Roman military and settlers, many of whom originated from northern Italy (Márton *et al*. 2015: 27; Bel 1996: 208; Stuck 1993: 90). Even those, who attribute such burial practices to romanization, however, see the process of adoption and adaption of such practices as complex and agree that a diversity of processes was at work (Blaizot *et al*. 2007: 319; Jovanović 2000: 205–206; Stuck 1993: 90–91; Fasold 1993: 382). In the middle Danube, such burials trended to be adopted around large Roman era settlements (Jovanović 2000: 205) and it must be remembered that inhumation was the dominant rite amongst the Eravisci (Ottományi 2016: 7; Topál 2007: 138; 2003b: 163). Even Topál who credits the C1 type of burial to the Eraviscan population, says that without an inscribed tombstone it is nearly impossible to distinguish between native individuals and immigrants associated with the camp, since both used this rite (Topál 2000a: 202).[112] Therefore, some sort of outside effect on the burial rites, linked with Roman occupation or influence, is not out of the question. This rite, however, is mostly sporadically attested in much of the western empire (Struck 1993: 85) and it is not clear how much one can attribute a custom to 'the Romans' if it is practiced specifically by north Italians. Such burials can hardly be considered culturally "Roman," but they did become widespread in the middle Danube region. That the practice seems to have reached areas as far away as Dacia (Jovanović 2000: 205; Struck 1993: 89) but the mechanisms for the spread of such a ritual are

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[112] It seems like sometime after 2000 Topál abandons this ethnic attribution to the C1 graves since she does not mention it in subsequent publications. The major publications in which Topál discusses the connection of grave-pits with burnt and plastered sides with an Eraviscan identity all come out between 1981 and 2000. In subsequent articles (2007 and 2003b) she does not mention a connection between this rite and a local identity, but instead highlights the switch from inhumation to cremation (C1) amongst the native population and their use, side by side within, presumably, the same family (2007: 146–148; 2003b: 163). It seems like she changed her mind on such a close association between the C1 type burial and the Eraviscan identity.

not well understood, so caution must be used when ascribing a specific identity to the feature (Leleković 2012: 321).

Cremation type C3, as defined by Topál, was the most divergent of the three types of burial-pits since no ritual firing of the graves took place and the grave assemblage was considered of lesser quality than those of the first two types (Topál 2000a: 199). Topál believes that the limited distribution of this grave type, the poorer quality of items of the grave assemblages and the lack of any archaeologically visible ritual purifying of the grave-pit suggests that this type of grave is indicative of the refugees that migrated from the western part of Pannonia. According to Topál, these migrants traveled to the region of the Danube bend, possibly in the late first to the early second century AD, because their land in the western part of Pannonia had been distributed to veterans (Topál 2000a: 201). This type of grave constitutes 9.4% of identified burials of the Aquincum catalogue[113] which is not surprising since they represent approximately the same proportion of graves from the published material of Matrica (10%) (Topál 2000a: 199).

As discussed above, the lustration and further modification of the sides of burials seems to be a significant burial rite, but some scholars have challenged Topál's rationale for the use of such a treatment and, therefore, her classification system. Based on experiments involving the burning of pyres, ethnological observations, experimental excavation techniques and theorizing on what constitutes an archaeologically visible consecrated burial, they argue that all traces of burning in a tomb can actually be accounted for if the tombs are identified as *busta*, primary cremations where the pyre was burnt above the pit which was then used for the burial. They

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[113] Ten graves were identified as C3 with confidence and six were identified as being probable out of the 170 graves of the sample.

believe that the ritual lustration, like the one that Topál describes, could not have generated

enough heat to burn the soil on the sides of the grave-pit to the extent that the archaeological

evidence shows (Márton *et al*. 2015: 23). This is especially the case with the C1 type of grave

(with plaster), but also the case with the C2 type of cremation burial. The C2 type of grave, with

its burnt edges, fits best into this idea as the heat from the pyre set above the grave-pit could have

been enough to burn the edges (Márton *et al*. 2015: 23; Blaizot *et al*. 2009: 94; Blaizot and

Tranoy 2004: 172; Ortalli 2001: 230; Bel 1996: 208). While it cannot necessarily be proven that

graves of the C3 type were actually *busta*, since by their nature there is no evidence of burning

on the sides of the graves, scholars do point out that a funerary pyre does not necessarily leave

any long-term marks on the surface below which it was placed (Márton *et al*. 2015: 23).

András Márton also challenges the notion that the C1 graves differ from C2 type graves

because they appear to have been plastered. According to Márton, intense heat might change the

soil to such an extent that it looks as if a different type of soil or plaster had been applied to the

sides of the pit. Only a large funeral pyre could have provided the type of heat to cause the soil to

change (Andras Márton, Personal Correspondence, March 20, 2016). Certainly, it required much

more than would be necessary for the cremation of one body, which is usually estimated at only

one cubic meter of fuel (Márton *et al*. 2105: 24). The pyres erected on top of the pits that

correspond to the C1 type must not only have been larger, but also managed in a specific way to

create the type of burning that is observed in C1 burials (Márton *et al*. 2015: 23). For example, it

is possible that the person/people in charge of the cremation fueled the cremation or ventilated it

in a way that led to a much stronger modification of the sides, which result in the features of the

C1 burial-pit. Correct burning techniques in combination with a sufficiently large funeral pyre

would be enough to create the conditions needed to burn a grave-pit in the manner observed in C1 type graves (Andras Márton, Personal Correspondence, March 20, 2016).[114]

An issue with this interpretation is that one would expect the majority of bones and primary grave goods to be present, as in a *bustum* burial. This is not the case with C1 burials. Márton and those sharing his position believe that after the pyre had collapsed in the pit most of the material was removed and only a selection of the debris was re-arranged in the grave-pit. For that reason, they prefer to call this type of burial a primary cremation, rather than a *bustum* burial as it has been traditionally called (Márton *et al*. 24: 2015; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 172).

Cremations that took place at a public *ustrinum* (multi-use cremation site), or above a single-use cremation area in a different location than the tomb, after which the remains were moved to a proper grave, are referred to as secondary cremation burials. In this case some of the debris could be moved to a grave-pit and either strewn over the bottom, or placed in a receptacle, such as an urn. This pit was then consecrated as the grave (Márton *et al*. 25: 2015; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 172). The remainder of the cremation debris was deposited elsewhere, but we have no evidence for it. A problem with the single-use cremation areas is that it may be mistaken for a C1 type tomb. This happens if the single use site was a pit of some sort. After the cremation some of the debris would be moved to the actual burial, but the remainder of the debris could remain in the pit on the cremation site, giving them the appearance of being burials (Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 172; Márton *et al*. 2015: 25). While these pits may also have burnt edges and, thus, seem like a burial, they do not contain secondary grave goods, a container in which some of the

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[114] According to Andras Márton, Topál, who had no experience in the reconstruction of funerary ritual, had to come up with a reason as to why the edges of the graves seemed to have been burnt and plastered, which is why she came up with the idea that they were ritually lustrated. According to Márton ritual lustration cannot leave such traces (Personal Correspondence, March 20, 2016).

remains are placed or a grave marker/cover, all archaeologically detectable criteria, which are necessary to identify an actual consecrated burial (Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 172, 178; Márton *et al*. 2015: 24). Since the walls of many of the pits containing remains are burnt, some scholars now assume that the majority of cremations from Aquincum, and a large number of them from Carnuntum, probably took place over a pit and not on a public *ustrinum* (Márton *et al*. 22–23: 2015). But it remains difficult to say with certainty in all cases whether the feature is a tomb or cremation site. This is particularly the case in Aquincum because very few graves contain a receptacle, such as a ceramic urn or an organic container, or have a grave marker or covering. Evidence for subsequent activity focused on the grave may also be limited, leaving only secondary grave goods as an indicator that graves from the C1, C2 and C3 types of grave, were in fact consecrated as proper burials. Needless to say, Topál does not agree that such lustration was caused by a burning pyre (2007: 146).

Those who argue for this may very well be correct that a pyre was placed above the grave-pit, which caused at least some of the lustration; however, Topál's basic model is still attractive even though the theory to explain the causes of the modification of the walls of the grave-pit is different from what she such suggests. The archaeologically detectable change or addition of plaster to the sides of the grave-pits (C1), the lustration of the earth of the grave-pit (C2), or the lack of either, may indicate a certain group affiliation or a different background on the part of the individual who was buried, or the people who were burying them. We must treat such an ascription with caution, however. Although the fact that the C1 type graves are so disproportionally present around Aquincum compared to other regions of Pannonia is remarkable; whether it indicates a specific an ethnic designation is harder to say. Past studies involving both ethnographic and archeological research concerning several and varied societies

have demonstrated that we should be wary of neat categories as represented through specific

groupings of material culture. This is especially true in a region such as this where it seems that a

variety of influences are at play. Based on an examination of additional types of cremation

graves from the Bécsi Road cemetery of Aquincum and a reconstruction of the funerary ritual

that gave these burials their form, this study will show that the overall picture with regards to

group identities, such as ethnicity, is a more complex matter than presented.

Returning to Topál's typology, her type C4 burial is what she refers to as a *bustum* burial.

This is clearly a much more restrictive term than how scholars like Márton use it. According to

Topál, the *bustum* graves of the middle Danube region are often distinctly identifiable because

the walls of the grave-pit are usually larger and likely stepped (1981: 78).[115] The pyre is built on

an inset, which forms the step running along the top of the pit. The burial itself, where the

remains will eventually fall, is the deeper narrower pit below the inset. This narrow, deeper

burial-pit may also act as a flue, which helps oxygen reach a greater area of the pyre, causing it

to burn more efficiently. Because the cremation takes place directly above the grave-pit, the

earthen walls and the top ledge of the *bustum* burial tends show signs of burning (Márton *et al*.

2015: 23; Topál 1981: 78). *Bustum* burials, as defined by Topál, tend to be full of calcined bones

and pyre remains, since the whole pyre collapses into the pit (1981: 78). This means that Topál's

bustum burials differ markedly from other types of cremations in which only a token amount of

the charcoal and burnt human remains are left from the pyre. Thus defined, *bustum* graves were

not necessarily common in the middle Danube region, although they occur there in greater

numbers than in other parts of the empire, where their presence is negligible.[116] Whether these

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[115] For examples, see 3.I (Pl. 2-3), 61.V (Pl. 2-18), and 29.VI (Pl. 2-22).
[116] Scholars have had trouble distinguishing *bustum* burials from grave-pits where the sides were ritually burnt (Jovanović 2000: 205). For the purposes of this paper graves which have been identified as *bustum* burials usually have stepped sides and have more burnt remains in them than other burials with burnt sides. Experiments and

bustum burials are distinct as a result of different sacral concepts on the part of the mourners, or whether they represent some sort of group identity, is much debated, but because of the region of distribution it seems almost certain that this type of burial should be linked to the indigenous population (Jovanović 2000: 206). If we adhere to Topál's definition there are not many *bustum* burials in the sample, as they make up only 5.3% of the total amount of identifiable burials from the catalogue.[117]

Another prominent category of cremation burial is one in which the remains are interred in a container. In Aquincum there are two principal types of urn burials, the pseudo-urn grave (Topál's term) (C5) and the urn burial proper (C6). Topál defines type C5 burials as a "pseudo-urn" grave because the calcined bones and remains of the pyre were placed in an organic container of some sort, such as a wooden box or a leather or textile bag. Usually, the only indication that cremated remains were put in an organic container is that in a relatively large pit, the remains are found located in one particular spot rather than being strewn over the whole of a pit. Other indicators may include nails or fittings associated with the container and found in or around the localized remains. An excellent example of this is grave 7 of graveyard VI, found in the southern graveyard along Bécsi Road (Pl. 2-19). Here the localized burnt remains in the rectangular pit survived to a height of approximately 30cm, which was likely close to the original height of the box in which the remains and the grave gifts were placed, and the numerous iron and bronze fittings found in association with this feature are compatible with this interpretation (Topál 1993: 8–11). In this case a large and elaborate container was used, but often the remains were stored in a simple wooden box or a leather/cloth bag. In such cases very little

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observations have shown that the *bustum* burials have more burnt debris in them because all of, or close to all of the burnt debris is included in the grave-pit, rather than the smaller token amount (40–60% of burnt bone usually accounted for McKinley 2000: 41) that usually appears in a cremation grave (McKinley 2000 38, 40; Topal 1981).

[117] Topál identified five C4 graves with certainty out of 170 burials. A further four burials may be C4 graves.

archaeological evidence is left behind, other than the distribution of the burial remains. In the catalogues of the Bécsi Road cemetery there are three to four graves in which the ashes were probably placed in a wooden container. In three cases, nails were found in the vicinity of the ashes. In the fourth case, tiny bronze sheets found around the ashes may have decorated a box.[118] Ten other burials yield evidence for organic containers made out of textile or leather.[119] The pseudo-urn burials are not always clear cut as in the case of grave 72 of graveyard VI (from here on, grave 72.VI), where for example some of the bones and pyre remains seem to have been placed in a textile or leather container in the south portion of the burial, while other debris from the pyre was scattered over the rest of the grave. Graves of the C5 type make up approximately 7.6% of the total of the identifiable cremation graves of the catalogue of the Aquincum cemetery.[120]

In contrast to the graves discussed so far, the pattern and distribution of graves of type C5 appears to have some significance and may shed some light on the ritual and possibly familial or even ethnic association of these buried individuals and their community. Pseudo-urn graves 70, 71 and 72 of graveyard VI were all found in close proximity together along with grave 73, a C1 grave, which lay to the northwest of grave 70 and to the west of graves 71 and 72 (Pl. 1-11).[121]

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[118] Nails were found around the ashes in Graves 7 (Pl. 2-19), 36 (Pl. 2-25) and 98 in graveyard VI. Topál believes that the ashes found in burial 32 of graveyard V were originally in a wooden container, but there are only tiny bronze sheets and no nails.

[119] Topál describes the burnt remains of Grave 21 of graveyard VI as either having been placed in a textile or rush container but gives no reason for suspecting this. The burnt remains in Graves 22, 40, 68 (Pl. 2-27), 70 (2-28), 71 (Pl. 2-29), 72 (Pl. 2-30), 79 of graveyard VI and Graves 20 (Pl. 2-5) and 40 (2-8) of graveyard I were likely originally placed in a container or envelope made of leather or textile or even covered by one of these materials. Grave 40 of graveyard V seems to have been covered with a piece of roof tile stamped with LEGIIAD- or the stamp of the *Legio II Adiutrix*, the legion stationed in the castra of Aquincum for much of its history.

[120] Twelve of the graves are identified with certainty, while one is probable out of the 170 burials of the sample.

[121] Grave 72 is probably the oldest of the three graves since scholars dated it to the early third century. A senile Male was buried here. Grave 70 is possibly the next oldest grave since it was dated to the first third of the third century A young child (Infant II 7–12 years old) was found in this grave. Grave 71 was dated to the first half of the third century and contained a mature male skeleton.

The excavators dated all three of the C5 graves within the first half of the third century. The inhabitants were buried in the same area within two generations of each other and this portion of the graveyard does not seem to have been filled by that time. Excavators dated grave 73 to the early second century, which means that it had been placed in an area of the graveyard that did not seem to have been used very much as an area of burial, until after the start of the third century. In addition, archaeologists found grave 68, a grave of the C5 type, approximately ten meters to the southeast of this grouping of three C5 graves. This burial dates to the second third of the third century, which is certainly within the time frame of the cluster of burials just to the north, so, it is likely related to this cluster.[122] Grave 69, found only a meter or two south of grave 70, was too damaged to be able to tell what type of grave it was. Unfortunately, we have an incomplete picture of the area since only a narrow trench was excavated here, and archaeologists were not able to carry out additional excavations much past the ditch walls. Only further archaeological work in the area will enable scholars to determine the history of this area as a burial plot and equip researchers to assess what level of significance should be assigned to the cluster of C5 graves.[123]

In any case evidence does seem to suggest that people of a familial group, possibly originally from somewhere outside of the city, or a group that at least had a preference for burying their dead in a specific manner, owned or had rights to this plot of land. The fact that these individuals were buried in a unique manner in a particular part of the graveyard, however, may indicate that the burial ritual was significant in conveying some sort of group identity,

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[122] This grave contained a senile male. It is also different from the other three graves in the cluster to the north in that the sides are not burnt and plastered, only burnt.

[123] Hugh Borrill has also noted that a cluster of casket burials from the Skeleton Green cemetery may represent a family burial-group. He suggests that this group was of a higher status than others of the community as casket burials are often associated with such groups (1981: 317–318).

whether that be for example, familial, collegial, or "ethnic." The first half of the third century is considered a golden age of prosperity along the Pannonian *limes*. Additionally, it was a time when many foreigners moved into the area. It is also possible that locals with more disposable income may have engaged in slightly different and possibly more elaborate burials in this cosmopolitan and prosperous milieu.

The other type of urn burial is the C6 type gave, in which a token amount of burnt remains were selected from the burnt debris and placed in a ceramic receptacle. Urn burials do not seem to have been popular in any one time period or place in this cemetery except possibly in graveyard V where a grouping possibly exists spatially and temporally,[124] but they appear within the entire span of time in which cremation rites were frequently practiced at the Bècsi Road cemetery; however, grave 7.III was deposited in the second half of the third century, when cremation burials were almost non-existent along the road. Urned burials represent 6.5% of the identifiable graves.[125]

Within this group of burials are a variety of practices observed. In all ten burials identified as urn graves only the cremated bones were placed in the urn. In three cases additional pyre remains were strewn over the grave-pit.[126] Because there are not many urn graves in Aquincum and because the grave-pits of those that do exist are often damaged, it is difficult to detect specific trends among these graves, although it seems that the grave-pits are smaller and

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[124] Grave 48 and 49, a double burial with two urns, maybe in proximity in the graveyard and are both dated to the end of the second century. Unfortunately, Topál does not include a map of the graveyard in the publication, perhaps because the earth moving operation destroyed so many of the more than 250 graves that were believed to have been in the area, making it difficult to construct an accurate diagram. Because of this it is not possible to determine how close other burials, such as 54 and 63, were to each other or if there were other, destroyed graves around them which might contribute to the findings. These two graves were also not able to be accurately dated.

[125] There are ten graves which are clearly identifiable as C6 burials, while grave 84.VI, which is cross listed as a C1 burial, is also likely a C6 burial. There are a further sixteen probable graves, which were not included in the above totals.

[126] Graves 34.I, 7.III and 49.V.

sometimes oval shaped. The pottery that was used as urns seems to have varied; however, most often a type of storage pot with a bulbous body and a smaller but open mouth was used. This should not be surprising as in Pannonia this form was the most widespread type of vessel used as an urn (Márton *et al*. 2015: 26). Of the ten burials identified as urn burials, in seven cases pots were used as urns. In three of these graves, a pot with brush decoration was used (e.g., Pl. 4-3),[127] while in four burials, undecorated pots held the remains (e.g., Pl. 4-1 and 4-2).[128] In three cases, other forms were employed such as a handled mug,[129] the handle of which was deformed during production (Pl. 3-7); a flagon, whose handle and mouth were deliberately cut before deposition;[130] and a deep bowl.[131] Evidence shows that in many cases the type or quality of receptacle that was used to house the remains was not of particular importance. In two cases the receptacles were covered only with mere tile fragments.[132] Originally, the urns of grave 48.V (1 and 2) had pottery lids (8 and 9) as coverings, but for the rest of the urns no obvious evidence of coverings even exists, so in such cases perishable materials may have been used as lids (Márton et al. 2015: 26). Some of the urns were also secondarily burnt.[133] This may indicate that the urns were ritually fired on or near the funeral pyre. As mentioned previously, however, just because an article does not appear to have been burnt prior to being deposited does not mean that it was not placed on or beside the funeral pyre before its deposition (Fitzpatrick 2000, 17; Northover and Montague 1997: 90–91). It is also possible that the mourners or deceased used the "urn" for

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[127] Graves 34.I (1) (Pl. 2-7), 7.III (2) (Pl. 2-9), 48.VI (1) and 84.VI (1).
[128] Both cremation urns of Grave 49.V (1 and 2, Pl.4-2), a double burial (Pl. 2-15), were of the same shape of *aula/olla* and grave 3.V (1, Pl. 4-1) (Pl. 2-13). Both graves 48.V (1) and grave 178.VI (1, Pl. 4-4) contained pots.
[129] Grave 51.VI (2, Pl. 3-7).
[130] Grave 63.V (1).
[131] Grave 54.V (1).
[132] The urn of grave 51.VI was covered with a tile fragment (not given a number), while that of 7.III was covered with an imbrex fragment (1).
[133] One urn (2) of Grave 49.V, a double burial, is mentioned as being as burnt as well as one of the lids (8), as are the vessels acting as urns in graves 54.V (1), 84.VI (1), 178.VI (1).

some other purpose that may have resulted in it being burned prior to its use in the funerary ritual.

The C7 type of cremation burial is a type in which a roof-tile chamber was built around the grave-pit. At Aquincum, Topál identifies two burials that she considers of the C7 type. She considers grave 63.V to be both of the C6 and C7 type, since a cut flagon filled with the cremated remains of an individual were found underneath two *tegula* that were leaning against each other. Graves in which tiles cover the cremated remains are more common in the cemeteries of Carnuntum and, generally, in eastern Pannonia and Noricum (Jikek 1999: 26–27). In the southern cemetery of Matrica, on the other hand, there are few cremation graves with coverings. Grave 13.IV is considered a roof tile grave because beneath a roof tile that was lying face downwards excavators found three pots of paint above another tile, which lay upwards, forming a sort of chamber (Pl. 2-12). To the east was another tile but, there was nothing else surrounding the grave because the earth-moving machinery took the rest of the supposed grave away. Only a few calcined bone splinters were found. This grave is interesting because it was found amongst several inhumation burials, in a cemetery dated to the late Roman and early Christian period (Topál 2003a: 29). *Tegula* sided inhumation graves were relatively numerous in this graveyard.

Topál defines graves of the C8 type as those in which the cremated remains of the pyre are covered with a stone packing. There are ten graves that are either securely identified as cremation graves with stone packing or considered graves that possibly once had stone packing. In some cases, the stone packing consists of flat type stones, such as in the case of grave 106.VI (Pl. 2-31) and grave 120.VI, which are covered in limestone and grave 175.VI (Pl. 2-35) which was originally covered in flat yellowish slabs of marble (the bottom was also covered in the same stone, but smaller pieces), while grave 109.VI (Pl. 2-34) was covered in lumps of limestone.

Grave 28.VI (Pl. 2-21) was covered with *tegulae* and flat lumps of sandstone, whose

construction extended to the west and the south to a width of 40cm, which indicates that the

packing was attached to a sidewalk. Grave 32.VI was also varied in that the burnt remains were

covered with re-used stones[134] and packed with small chunks of limestone, while the grave goods

were dispersed among the stones. All the graves mentioned so far were found in graveyard VI

and were securely dated from between the early second century until into the third century.

Grave 30.III is the most unorthodox of the graves of this type and Topál has it dated to the mid

third century, when the ritual of cremating the dead was in full decline. In this case there was a

circular stone packing composed of yellowish, flat sandstone slabs around the grave-pit. To the

southeast was a flat rectangular limestone, which Topál indicates may have acted as a step. The

use of stone slabs may have been primarily to shelter the remains in the grave-pit, but as in the

case of grave 30.III (2-10) and grave 28.VI (Pl. 2-21), these steps also seemed to have provided a

visible, monumentalized grave for the deceased. Perhaps as in other places along the middle

Danube, such as in Moesia Superior, mounds of stones served as a sort of grave marker

(Jovanović 2000: 206). It is interesting to note that all the securely identifiable human remains in

this type of grave are either female of any age, or children (Infant I-Juvenile 1–15 years old), the

skeletons of whom cannot be sexed. Katalin Ottományi also noticed that women and children

were more likely to be interred in burials with a stone packing than males in Roman cemetery of

the *vicus* at Budaörs (2016: 1). In both sites the feature of stone packing seems to represent a

practice that is based on the particular gender and age of the deceased. What is interesting is the

diversity of that the stone packing can take. This indicates that while some women and children

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[134] Topál mentions that stones were "parts of re-used *mac*(erie) *cincta*." In the catalogue she does not indicate what she means, but in other publications this is the term she uses to describe family funerary gardens (2003b: 167) many of which were located in the cemetery to the northeast of the *canabae* (2007: 142). Topál probably means that the stones once belonging to these plots were re-used.

were interred according to this practice, the way which the stone packing was created and the material used for it seems to have been individualized. This practice might reflect that of people from a certain collective group, but more research is needed to reach any further conclusions.

These categories of burial types that Topál created are certainly a constructive way of examining the burials in broad groups and in many cases, they could reflect distinct groups. Used uncritically, however, these designations may cause problems because they inevitably privilege some aspects of the funerary ritual and obscure other aspects that have not been deemed important in the description of the different burial types. Variables such as the proximity of the various types of graves to each other, their content and other ritual aspects might provide alternative criteria for the formation of grave groupings that reflect group affiliation. It does seem certain that most of these diverse burial types do not represent any sort of identities based on age or gender, since people of all ages and sexes appear in many of the various types of burials. Based on the evidence, the lone exception to this is the small sample of C8 burials, which may reflect a practice applied to some women and children. For now, nothing further can be said concerning why this feature is associated with only a handful of individuals from these demographics.

5.3.1 Aquincum: Grave Types and Funerary Ritual

It is often difficult to tell whether or not some of these modern burial designations represent burial rituals that were distinctive in a meaningful way to the community involved. Did it make any difference, for example, if a cremation took place away from the grave or above the grave-pit itself? We may not be able to answer these questions in every case; however, by

examining other features of the burials that transect the various types this project is able to find new patterns of significance that may shed light on the identities of those buried. The significance of many of the features of types C1, C2 and C3 have already been discussed in depth in the previous section, so in the following discussion, types C4 to C8 will be explored further.

The location of the cremation raised by C4 type burials or *bustum* burials is a key issue. Topál believes that these are the only cremation burials in which the cremation ceremony took place above the burial. All other burials presumably used an *ustrinum* or some other location unrelated to the tomb. Scholars believe that the middle Danube region is one of the principal areas associated with the *bustum* burial (Jovanović 2000: 206). These burials do not form the dominant type in any part of this region, making it difficult to claim that they represent a particular local ethnic association. They are frequently found in the middle Danube region, east of Pannonia Inferior, side-by-side with graves of other types. While it is tempting to postulate that the choice between using a public *ustrinum*, or another cremation space as compared to conducting a *bustum* cremation rite may have been based on certain deliberate criteria, this decision may equally have been based on more practical considerations. Conducting a *bustum* burial may have been potentially advantageous to those who did not want to rent a public space, or who wished to conduct more of the funerary rituals in one spot. On the other hand, in the case of *bustum* burials the actual cremation process that took place above the grave may have fulfilled the function of the lustration rite, by purifying the grave before the pyre collapsed. Another potentially meaningful feature of *bustum* cremations is that most if not all of the cremation remains ended up in the grave-pit. As we have seen, this is in distinct contrast to the other burials in which only a token amount of calcined bones, pyre debris, and burnt grave goods were placed

in the grave.[135] The collection of the cremation debris by mourners may still have occurred with

a *bustum* burial, but a funerary ceremony involving a *bustum* cremation was the best way to

ensure that most if not all of the debris ended up in the grave, which could be significant.

Other grave types, such as the urn grave (C6),[136] may simply represent a preference to

have the burnt remains of the deceased placed in a receptacle. Given that urned burials (C6) are

actually more common in locations in southwestern Pannonia (e.g., Poetovio) and northern Italy

in the first and second century AD than in other regions (Istenič 2002: 166, 168), the use of this

certain type of burial may also reflect a certain regional identity or at least influence.[137] A further

distinction of note is that in urn burials only the cremated bones were selected for deposition in

the urn while all other pyre remnants were left out. This custom is not surprising as it was

practiced with urn burials elsewhere in the empire, particularly northern Italy (Ortalli 2001: 228),

a region that seemed to exert influence on the burial customs of the region. Clearly the remains

of the pyre were less important in C6 burials than most types of cremation. Pyre remains were,

however, spread additionally in the grave-pit in three cases.[138] These exceptions to the rule are

difficult to judge. If the selection of just the bones for burial from the pyre remains after the

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[135] As mentioned previously, as for the rest of the remains, there is little evidence to show where they may have ended up. Some may have been swept off of the *ustrina* (if it were public) into a ditch, where it was buried with subsequent remains. Scholars have also suggested that mourners may also have taken some of the remains with them either to place in their house or to be placed elsewhere.

[136] Although this paragraph discusses C6 graves, C5 burials or pseudo-urn burials can, in this regard, be counted in this category.

[137] The popularity of urned burials may also represent a particular time, the first century AD, which is why they may not have been prevalent in this section of the Bécsi road cemetery, which was not used until the late first century AD. In Carnuntum, for example, urned graves were the prominent type of cremation burial along the *graberstraße* during the first century AD, before being superseded by burials in which the burnt remains were scattered along the bottom of the grave-pit in the second century After this the occurrence of urned burials was infrequent (Jilek 1999: 29). The influence for these graves may have come from northern Italy and the southwestern part of the province, just as in the case of Poetovio. The earliest Roman era cemetery outside of the Viziváros settlement (see page 117) also contained urn burials possibly dated to the second half of the first century AD (Hable 1998: 30–31), which might be in line with this possible trend.
Of course, the urn burials in the Bécsi Road publications date anywhere from the late first century to the second half of the third century.

[138] Graves 34.I, 7.III and 49.V.

cremation process ended was religiously or ritually significant to the world view of the mourners or the deceased as compared to the ritual of selecting a token amount of pyre remains and bones and scattering them at the bottom of a grave-pit, then these latter three graves might represent a mixing of both practices. From the evidence, however, this practice does not necessarily seem to have been institutionalized since all three instances occurred in separate sections of the cemetery and were carried out at three very different times.[139]

The so-called C5 burials or "pseudo-urn" graves (Topál's term) at first glance appear to be very similar to urn burials in that the bone remains were placed in a receptacle, although instead of using a ceramic vessel the mourners or perhaps the deceased chose to use an organic container, whether that be of wood, leather, textile or another material such as reeds. However, in all fourteen instances, there were amounts of both the pyre and bone remains placed together in the receptacle, which within the context of ritual may represent something quite different from just selecting the bone remains as was the case in C6 burials.[140] Because both the bones and the pyre remains were kept together in the grave, pseudo-urn graves have more in common with cremation grave types 1–3 in which remains of deceased and the cremation ceremony are included in the grave-pit. The only difference between these cremation types is whether the ashes were spread or kept in a container. Another peculiarity of the C5 type graves is that, although size of the pit is similar to those of other graves, only a small part of the pit was occupied by the container which could be placed at one end or in the corner of the grave-pit or in an inset that

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[139] Grave 34.I is dated to the last decades of the first century around the time when the cemetery began to develop, while grave 49.V is dated to the late second century and grave 7.III is dated to second half of the third century when cremation as a form of disposal was not used often.

[140] In one instance, in grave 72 of graveyard VI, not only were ashes and bones placed together in a leather or textile container, but some of the ashes were also scattered around the rest of the grave-pit, in a similar matter to that of the three urned burials that were discussed previously.

was dug in the pit to accommodate the container. It is possible that the seemingly unused space may have been occupied by other types of organic goods that no longer survive.[141]

Because only two examples of C7 graves or covered graves were found and they are quite distinct from each other it is difficult to read any significance with regards to identity from this burial type.[142] Because of their uniqueness, it is tempting to surmise that these are examples of a foreign burial custom, perhaps from the western part of the province, where *tegula* burials were more common with regards to cremation graves.[143]

As was the case with type C7, those of C8 do not fit nicely into a category that might easily represent any one identity group. They merely represent a category of burials that hold some sort of stone packing, although a review of the catalogue of the burials involved shows that there is little uniformity. There may be, however, some sub-groups that are represented by a similar form of burial and are in close proximity, such as graves 32.VI and 33.VI,[144] which are only a few meters apart and could be roughly contemporaneous.[145] Grave 32.VI was covered with two parts of re-used stone and was packed with small lumps of limestone (Pl. 2-23 and 2-24), while Grave 33.VI held only small lumps of limestone and a roof tile fragment that lay beside the bones.[146] Both graves contained fittings that had been attached to a wooden box or a

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[141] In the case of burials that held wooden containers, more specifically grave 7.VI, the preference to use an ornate wooden box may be the result of a preference to use a foreign burial practice, in this case one from Italy, which may reveal the deceased female's origins (Topál 2000a: 202–203).

[142] Topál classifies Grave 63.V as both an urn burial and a tile lined cremation burial, since the calcined bones were selected for burial from the remains of the funeral pyre and then placed in a small flagon and there are no other tile covered graves from the catalogues that date within the late first to the first half of the third century (a time to which the majority of cremation graves date).

[143] For example, in Carnuntum, there are many of them (Jikek 1999: 26–27). In southern Cemetery of Matrica, on the other hand, there are few cremation graves with coverings.

[144] Unfortunately, both graves were disturbed, with grave 32.VI being partially disturbed by a robbery, with the robber trench located in the west side, while grave 33.VI was disturbed to a greater extent, although the reason for this destruction is not listed.

[145] Grave 32.VI was dated to the late second or early third century, while grave 33.VI was dated to the third century.

[146] Grave 32.VI contained a small amount of calcined remains that possibly belonged to an adult or mature female, while grave 33.VI contained the calcined bones of a small child (Infant I 1–6 years old).

casket.[147] Because grave 32.VI had been robbed and grave 33.VI had been significantly disturbed it is difficult to compare the two further, but given their close proximity, the fact that both may have had stone packing as a covering and both held wooden containers, and may have been buried within a similar time period, the same burial group may have interred the remains of both bodies.

In another area, graves 106.VI, 109.VI and 120.VI were buried in the same general area of graveyard VI, although they were not necessarily found close to one another.[148] Grave 106,VI was marked by medium sized, flat slabs of limestone (Pl. 2-31), while grave 109.VI was partially covered by large lumps of limestone (Pl. 2-34) and the north half of grave 120.VI was covered with four large slabs of limestone (Pl. 2-32).[149] Evidence shows, however, that grave 106.VI was an urn burial,[150] while the remains of the other two burials were scattered over the bottom of the graves.[151] All three of the graves were similar in that they had a burnt plaster lining, although the bottom of grave 109.VI was burnt and had a narrow offset all around the sides, which points to the possibility that it may have been a *bustum* grave. Both features, the offset and the burnt bottom often indicate such a burial, although the authors did not identify it as such. Given the

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[147] The fittings of the casket of grave 32.VI were bronze, which is no surprise given that wooden caskets with bronze fittings were usually found with women. The box in grave 33.VI contained iron fittings and the sides of both graves were plastered and burnt.

[148] Unfortunately, graves 106.VI, 109.VI and 120.VI are not indicated on the map of graveyard VI. Only the general area is indicated near the top of the map with "104–181" which were excavated in 1986.

[149] As mentioned previously, both grave 106.VI and 120.VI are dated to the early third century, while grave 109.VI was dated to anytime between the second and the third century.

[150] Much of the remains were found in a funerary urn that the earth moving machinery had destroyed. Grave 106.VI was unusual in that the urn contained a few tiny splinters of bone, which could not be sexed or aged, and a skull of an adult female was found in the northern section of the grave-pit. The authors did not mention whether or not they believed it to be connected with the cremated remains.

[151] Grave 120.VI contained the calcined remains of a juvenile individual and grave 109 contained a few pieces of calcined bones of a child (Infant II 7–12 years old).

differences in burial ritual between the three of them, however, the stone packing placed above the graves may only represent a superficial and not necessarily significant point of similarity.[152]

The grave types discussed so far are the less common ones in the cemetery and have not revealed much regarding information of the identity of the deceased. Certain types may indicate the origins of the deceased or at least the influences of the burial's type. For example, the urn grave (C6) was popular in the larger region in the first century AD, and its influence and possible origin was from northern Italy, spreading to urban areas southwestern Pannonia and north along the Amber Road to Carnuntum. Some of the burials with stone packing (C8) may have been of those from the eastern Danube region. This explanation may be too simplistic, as in a settlement like Aquincum, as in other urban areas of the empire, we can expect that people were exposed to numerous influences, practices, and goods, through which they could foster identities different from traditions by which they might have otherwise abided (Bowden 2001: 101; Cleary 1992: 36; see pages 50–51).

In any case, the issue of grave typologies is more complicated than it may appear. In the first place, there seems to be much diversity in practice within these designations, which the typologies, taken at face value, disguise. Grave 106.VI, for example, is both a grave with stone packing (C8), (its primary designation in the publication), but it is also a grave in which the remains were put in an urn (C6). As we saw when we discussed type C8, graves with stone packing come in a variety of forms. There is some variation of practice with urned burials (6), if the scattering of the pyre remains around the urn can be taken as significant. This same practice also takes place with some of the pseudo-urn burials (C5). Although C5 and C6 burials do seem

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[152] As mentioned previously these burials may represent a group of people who came from the east Danube, where in some areas stone was placed above the grave to mark the site of burial (Jovanović 2000: 206).

similar since in both cases the human remains are placed in receptacles, C5 burials also always

contain the remains of the cremation ceremony, while most urn burials do not, a rite which may

be ritually significant. In any case, few conclusions can be reached regarding matters of identity

through the funerary rite by merely examining the grave type alone. One must look at other

factors that transect the various grave types.

5.3.2 Aquincum: The Lustration and Plastering of the Graves

A major shortcoming of this categorization of the burials is that it does not adequately

consider the system of the grave-pit preparation. The ritual systems of preparation that

characterize types C1, C2 and C3, respectively are not, in fact, unique to their respective types,

but can be seen in the other types of graves as well. For example, the ritual plastering and

burning of the tomb in advance of the burial ceremony are not just characteristic of type C1 but

also are characteristic of some of the graves listed under types, C4, C5, C6, C7 and C8. As a

result, the ritual preparation of the tombs, arguably one of the most identifiable aspects of the

burial rituals, is essentially swept under the carpet. Such problems are, of course, inherent in any

typological system of the kind under discussion here.

Once the variable of grave-pit preparation is highlighted, it becomes clear that the rite

involving the strong modification of the walls and sometimes bottom of the burial-pit carried out

at the Bécsi road cemetery is important. Whether Topál is correct in her interpretation that the

burial-pits were lustrated or Márton is right that it was a pyre burning above the pit that caused

the walls to look as though they were burnt and plastered is not necessarily significant here.

What is important is that a ritual took place that caused such a distinct modification to the grave-

pit. It could be safe to assume that such an intense alteration of the pit, regardless of the process, did serve to lustrate and/or prepare the pit for its consecration. Such a modification is characteristic of this region, especially in the case of all C1 graves, the largest of Topál's groupings, representing approximately 62% of the identifiable published graves of the cemetery. But when all graves of types C4 to C8, which also share this same ritual preparation, are included, the total number of graves thus prepared is 83.1% of the identifiable published burials.[153] Clearly this is a significant preparation rite, quite important for the community regardless of how the remains of the deceased were deposited in the pit. By comparison, graves that were burnt but not plastered represent only 4.5% of the total.[154] Graves that were neither plastered nor burnt represent 12.4% of the total.[155]

The question this raises is how this near unity of tomb preparation ritual can be related to the diversity of other aspects of the funerary ritual highlighted by the various categories of tomb

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[153] 147 out of 177 graves in which the treatment of the grave-pit walls can be determined. This number is derived from the total of burials identified, probable graves and ones that are cross listed.

[154] 8 of 177 burials in which the treatment of the grave-pit walls can be determined. Six of these are categorized as type C2. Of the rest, grave 97 of is categorized as a *bustum* grave (C4) and grave and grave 68 is a pseudo-urn grave (C5), both of which are from graveyard VI. Grave 97 is designated as a *bustum* burial, presumably because it is almost full of remains from the funerary ceremony and, even though there is some damage near the top, an offset seems to be visible, which was presumably used to support the pyre. The burnt sides, in this case may have less to do with a preparation ritual and more to do with the heat generated by the burning of the pyre directly above the pit. Grave 68 is a late grave, from the second third of the third century, when the practice of cremation is less popular.

[155] 22 out of 177 graves in which the treatment of the grave-pit walls can be determined. Sixteen of these are designated as certain and probable type C3 graves. Of the graves which do not show signs of being burnt or plastered, five of them are urned graves (C6 Type: grave 51 and 178.VI, grave 48 V and 54.V and grave 7.III) and one of them is of the C8 grave (grave 30.III). Many of these graves are damaged, so it is difficult to say for sure if the grave had evidence of a preparation rite. Grave 48.V and grave 7.III show little evidence of a grave-pit, so no preparation rite must have been performed on these. Both graves were also well-preserved. The south side of grave 178.VI was destroyed, but no lustration or plastering was noticed in the surviving part. The grave spot of grave 54.V was undeterminable because the bones were found in a shattered bowl underneath an underground cable. No defined grave-pit was discovered, but they also could not explore the area sufficiently. Grave 51.VI was heavily destroyed by modern earth moving machinery, but excavators did know that the calcined bones were placed in a handled jar, which was covered by a rooftile, so it is possible other evidence of the grave-pit should have been present, if it existed. Of these graves 30.III and 7.III are both later cremation graves, interred when cremation was not a common rite anymore (Topál dates grave 30 to the mid third century and grave 7 to the second half of the third century). Apparently, the decline of popularity of the cremation rite can be correlated to that of the burning and plastering of the grave, at least in this portion of the cemetery).

classification used for the Bécsi Road Cemetery. Can these differences sometimes serve as characteristic of foreign burials, as some scholars have postulated? If we review the various differences highlighted by previous scholarship, closer considerations of these variations show that relating them to the identities of the deceased is by no means a straightforward undertaking. We can begin with category C4 (*bustum* burials) ten (of eleven) of which are burnt and plastered.[156] Leaving aside the difficulty in identifying *bustum* burials securely, this need not surprise us, since *busta* are in general more common in the middle Danube than in other places in the Roman Empire and they are amongst the earliest graves found in the Aquincum cemetery dating from the very beginning to the end of the first century. As for type C5 graves (pseudo-urn), these too are burnt and plastered in fourteen of the fifteen cases.[157] Turning to C6 type burials (urn burials), it must be said that these appear to be the most idiosyncratic in terms of the funerary rituals involved. Yet even here five out of the eleven show evidence of being burnt and plastered.[158] The graves of type C7 are too few to be statistically significant and are left out of consideration here.[159] As for C8, nine of the ten of the tombs categorized under this diverse heading are burnt and plastered.[160] One inhumation grave, not included in the total, even has

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[156] Three of these graves are categorized in the catalogue as being either C1 or C4 graves. These include grave 12 of graveyard I, and graves 30 and 137 of graveyard VI. For the purposes of these papers, I have counted them as *bustum* burials.

[157] Only grave 68 of graveyard VI, which is dated to the second third of the third century is only burnt.

[158] Grave 34 of graveyard I, Graves 3 and 49 of graveyard V and Grave 48 and 166 of graveyard VI are burnt and plastered.

[159] Grave 63 of graveyard V, which is burnt and plastered, is both a tile grave (C7) and an urn burial (C6). The tile grave 13 of graveyard IV is not burnt or plastered but contains finds that have been dated from the third to the fourth century. As mentioned in note 28, the few cremation graves which exist in the cemetery in the later period of the cemetery are not lustrated or burnt.

[160] Grave 30 from graveyard III was neither plastered nor burnt, although it is a later grave dating to the mid third century.

plastered sides, which shows that rituals leading to the heavy alteration of the sides of the pit-walls could transect other forms of burial.[161]

Most of the graves from types C4 to C8 are plastered and burnt, with the urn cremation graves being the only category that shows any significant deviation from that norm. While there are a number of these graves that show clear evidence of a variation in ritual pointing to influence of foreign burial practice (to which we will return below), this characteristic treatment of the grave-pit constitutes a common variable that transects virtually all burial types, even those that may represent a significant deviation from the norm in burial ritual. The ritual involved in modifying the walls must have been a characteristically local ritual that was practiced in the Danube bend. Given the complexity of the origins of such a ritual and who contributed to its practice (as discussed above), people from several backgrounds must have participated in developing and popularizing the rites involved in the formation of this feature, which likely included settlers and/or soldiers from northern Italy. Since these types of burials appear to be localized around towns in the Eraviscan area, people originating from the rural areas and smaller towns of the region who migrated and integrated into these settlements must have also contributed to defining and practicing this rite. That there were several actors and groups that contributed to developing and maintaining a common, distinctive rite is not surprising. As has already been mentioned in the first chapter, colonial sites can develop distinctly according to contextual circumstances (Sweetman 2011: 4; Woolf 2011: 151; 155) in which local practices

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[161] Grave 20.V, which contained a skeleton of an adult male. Just like other burials with modified sides, the walls of the pit were "plastered" and burnt with a charcoal stripe all around. Topál believes that the pit was prepared a day or two before for a cremation burial and then the wishes of the mourners changed, and the body was inhumed instead (2007: 146). If Márton is correct, and such pits were caused by a cremation ceremony, it is possible that this was the site of a cremation. After the pit was cleaned out and the remains buried in a sanctified burial elsewhere, the pit was re-used for an inhumation burial. It might also be in the realm of possibility that the grave was ritually prepared just like Topál believes and a body was inhumed, as an intended mixing of rites.

and identities develop (Bowden 2011: 101). As Peter Fasold found in northern Raetia, when many different influences converge distinct provincial forms of funerary rituals can develop (1993: 392). Such a local practice was developed and maintained through global influences at a local level. The rite that led to the modification of the tombs prior to use was, of course, only a part of the ritual, but is nonetheless specific and localized enough to allow us to hypothesize that individuals or mourners who took part in the practice were probably making a clear statement of a local, or ethnic or regional affiliation, depending on their background. This is, of course, one of several considerations and variables have to be examined first before further conclusions can be drawn.

5.4   Aquincum: Treatment of the Pyre Remains

The next variable that must be considered is manner of deposition of the remains of the deceased with or without other burnt remains of the funerary pyre. To be clear, the issue of grave goods is a separate one, which will be discussed in detail in chapter six. In most burials a portion of the remains of the calcined bones and the burnt remains of the funerary pyre are scattered over the bottom of a burial-pit. As mentioned previously, this practice was widespread in the middle Danube region. While not all graves are burnt and plastered, most of them, including all the cremation types from C1 to C4, and the remains of all but one of type C8, contain a scattered mixture of human and non-human pyre remains. Evidence shows that 85%[162] of the individuals buried in the cemetery, regardless of whether or not their graves were ritually lustrated and plastered, had the pyre remains treated in this fashion in the disposal process.

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[162] 131 out of 154 confidently identified burials.

The only type of burial that is truly distinctive in this respect is the urned burials of type C6. In these burials, only a token selection of the bones was placed in an urn, which was placed in the tomb. No remains of the pyre were included in the urn. Whether or not the non-human pyre remains were deposited alongside the urn in the tomb is a more complex issue. In three cases this situation is reported by the excavators.[163] But identifying the actual tomb-pit of C6 type graves is very difficult because many of these tombs were only small pits dug into the topsoil. Thus, the lack of additional pyre remains in the other 8 tombs of C6 is difficult to evaluate in ritual terms. The fact that the urns in most urn burials contain no burnt pyre debris may be significant, particularly if this was an important part of a local ritual. Since most graves do contain pyre debris, either spread across the bottom of the pit or placed in an organic container, the lack of this debris in the grave should be considered notable. The majority of grave-pits containing urns are not burnt and/or plastered, although several are. Thus, although the urn burial may represent a foreign burial custom that was adopted from the east of the province, where the lustration of the burial-pits was not common, or further afield, those buried or those who buried the individual still chose to practice in addition some of the local customs of burial.

Also interesting are the pseudo-urn graves of type C5. Here too, a token number of calcined bones appear to have been collected at the cremation site and were then placed in a container of perishable material (cloth, leather, wood, etc.) with a token amount of material from the pyre. The fact that both bones and non-human pyre remains were placed in these receptacles together contrasts them distinctly from most graves of the C6 type. On the other hand, it is

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[163] Grave 49.V the burnt remains of two individuals were put into urns, while some of the remains of the funeral pyre were deposited in the north end of the grave-pit (the grave was also burnt and plastered). The remains of the funeral pyre were placed in the urn and around it in the case of grave 7.III. In grave 34.I many of the human remains were collected in the pyre while the rest of the pyre ashes were deposited around the container in the pit (this grave was also burnt and plastered).

interesting to note that the remains are not indiscriminately distributed in the tomb but are deposited in a receptacle that is placed in the tomb. Examples of the potential significance of these differences of deposition will take place after discussion of the tombs of Carnuntum has been concluded.

Aside from these two major characteristics, i.e., the ritual burning and plastering of the tombs and the manner of deposition of the human and other pyre remains, there are no major aspects of these tombs that transected the typological designation as established by Tópal. As we shall see in the next section the grave typology in nearby Carnuntum is quite different and thus raises further issues when it comes to determining the rituals associated with burial in this region of Pannonia.

5.5   Carnuntum Grave Categories

The scholars who published the Carnuntum material have classified the cremation burials from the cemetery located south of the civilian city of Carnuntum according to a similar set of criteria to those that Topál set out for the burials of the Bécsi Road cemetery, although in broader categories. These designations are based on the significant differences in the funerary rituals which affected the form that the burial took. The scholars have identified two basic types and a series of subtypes. The distinction between the first two major types is whether the burial took place at an *ustrinum* or whether it was a *bustum* grave. Cremations that took place at an *ustrinum* were further subdivided into *Brandschüttungsgräber* (burnt-debris graves) and *Brandgrubengräber* (burnt-pit graves). And these in turn were sub-divided into categories based on the treatment of the grave-pit or the human remains. In contrast the *bustum* graves form a

single basic type without major subtypes, but with a number of minor ones depending on certain details concerning the construction of the tomb.

The so-called *Brandgrubengräber* constitute the largest grouping of cremation graves with approximately 60% of the total.[164] In most cases the cross section of a grave of this form was trough-shaped and its perimeter was oblong or oval shaped from a top-down view. A token amount of cremated human remains, and remnants of the pyre were scattered on the bottom of the pit and often secondary goods were placed in the grave along with the debris (Jilek 1999: 26). This form of burial is similar to that of the C3 type of the Bécsi Road cemetery since in all but one case, no burning is mentioned on the sides of the grave-pit.[165] It is interesting to note that the C3 type grave only represents 9.4% of the total published cremation graves of the Bécsi road cemetery, which stands in stark contrast to the Carnuntum cemetery where they represent the majority of cremation graves. This type of grave appeared in the region in the first century AD and continues to be seen well into the third century (Jilek 1999: 27). The earliest grave discussed in the publication from the south cemetery of the civilian city dates from the second third of the second century, which corresponds to the date when people of the settlement began to use this area to dispose of their dead.[166]

Brandschüttungsgräber are those in which the calcined bones with or without the cremation debris were placed in an organic container, a tile cist or under a stone covering (Jilek

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[164] Fifty-six out of ninety-three graves. Jilek gives a total of sixty *Brandgrubengräber* (1999: 26), but some of these are too damaged to be considered.

[165] Grave 51 is listed as a *Brandgrubengrab* but the catalogue mentions strong traces of burning in the grave. According to the criteria of Jilek, this burial should be listed as a *bustum*. It is possible that the authors were referring to something else in the short description.

[166] The earliest C3 type grave in the published material of the Bécsi Road cemetery dated to the fourth quarter of the first century, the earliest phase of the cemetery.

1999: 27).[167] The feature that unites the graves of this group is that the selected remains of the cremation were placed in some sort of container, rather than scattered in the tomb. Among the *Brandschüttungsgräber*, the remains of four burials are believed to have been placed in an organic receptacle made of textile or leather;[168] three are thought to have been interred in wooden containers;[169] three were placed in tile cists;[170] and three are believed to have been placed under a stone covering.[171] This type of burial represents approximately 14% of the graves in the sample.[172]

As was mentioned in the previous section, a few clues might suggest if in fact remains were placed in an organic container. The remains of grave 53 were almost certainly placed in a wooden box, since the excavators found a cluster of nails in one of the corners of the debris in situ, as well as a handle, which presumably had been a part of a wooden container (Pl. 2-42). In the case of grave 85 there was a very distinct discolouration in the soil that was in the shape of a nearly exact rectangle which circumscribed the debris. Researchers believed this marking indicated traces of a wooden box. In grave 117, which was small and rectangular, they found an edge that was harder than the soil around it. The researchers assumed that this edge was the remnant of a wooden container.

The researchers believe that the burnt remains of four burials were deposited in organic containers, possibly made of leather or textile, because the remains were found in distinct and

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[167]Jilek mentioned that there are thirteen burials but, in the catalogue only seven burials are labelled as *Brandschüttungsgräber*. Part of the reason for this is that tile cist burials and stone covered burials are not labelled as *Brandschüttungsgräber* in the catalogue. The tile cist graves that Jilek discusses graves 26, 74 and 131, and the stone covered graves, 154, 171 and 173 are not only discussed as *Brandgrubengräber* (Jilek 1999: 26–27).

[168] Graves 89, 93, 98 and 116.

[169] Graves 53, 85 and 117.

[170] Graves 26, 74 and 131.

[171] Graves 154, 171 and 173.

[172] 13 of 93 burials.

localized spots in the grave-pits. Unfortunately, this is the only clue that is available to indicate the possible use of organic receptacles since any product has long since decayed. The burnt remains of graves 89 and 93 seemed to have only included human bones, while the debris in grave 98 and 116 did include burnt pyre remains. Both graves 89 (Pl. 2-43) and 98 show evidence of having had a tile covering placed over the burials and grave 89 had a vertically placed *tegula* located on a narrow end, which probably served to shore up this side of the pit.

Three *Brandschüttungsgräber* are considered tile cist graves and three others are thought to have been covered with stones (Jilek 1999: 26). These graves are similar to the *Brandgrubengräber* in that the remains of the cremation were strewn on the bottom of them. The only typological difference was that unlike the *Brandgrubengräber* they were completely lined with tiles that functioned as containers for the remains or covered with stones to protect the remains. Of the tile-cist burials only in grave 26 did the tiles surrounding the sides survive (Pl. 2-37).[173] For the other two burials, only the bottom was lined with tile fragments.[174] In the description of the catalogue, no cremated remains of any sort are mentioned in Grave 26[175] or 74, while human remains were recorded in grave 131. Broken stones were used to cover all three

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[173] On the sides of the rectangular burials, two tiles were placed vertically on each of the long sides and one tile was placed upright on each narrow side (1999: 137).

[174] Frédérique Blaizot discusses such linings at the bottom of pits as a feature of a cremation pit (2009: 108–109). That these are not consecrated burials is possible. No grave gifts were found in grave 74, so the authors of the catalogue only suggest that grave 74 could be a burial as opposed to a cremation site that was not consecrated as a burial (1999: 150). A better case exists for grave 131, which contained grave gifts, but if they were primary grave goods, this could very well be the remnants of a pit cremation site and not a consecrated burial. At least one of the grave gifts, fragments of a sigillata plate (1) is a primary grave good. No traces of burning are mentioned for the coin (6) and knife fragment (7), but that does mean that they were not on the pyre.

[175] Not all of grave 26 was able to be excavated (1999: 137).

stone covered graves.[176] The catalogue mentions that human and pyre remains were found in grave 171[177] and 173, while it says that only pyre remains were found in grave 154.

As had been the case in Aquincum, the practice of placing cremated remains in a ceramic urn was not widespread at the time that this portion of the cemetery was in use. Evidence from other cemeteries in Carnuntum shows, however, that urn burials were more common in the first century AD and became more sporadic in occurrence in the second century AD (Jilek 1999: 29). Most urns only contained human remains, but in four instances there was also some remnants of charcoal which may have come from the funerary pyre and in grave 171 with the human remains were bone fragments of a bovine, sheep and pig.[178] Mixed in with the earth that was situated around the urn of grave 167, excavators found charcoal and other small human remains. This practice of placing some of the cremation remains outside of the container was also noticed in urn burials from Aquincum.[179] In the majority of cases the grave diggers excavated only a small and shallow circular hole to accommodate the urn, and therefore when archaeologists find these graves, the grave-pit outline is not as distinct as it usually is in other cremation burials (Jilek 1999: 28). Urn remains make up 10.8% of the total burials from the sampling.[180]

Most of the vessels that were used as urns in this cemetery were cooking pots, although in other cemeteries of Carnuntum mourners used a variety of non-organic containers. According to the publication, none of these pots showed signs of having been burned at all. This does not

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[176] The remains of grave 173 may also have been placed in an organic container since the remains were concentrated in one part of the grave (1999: 179).
[177] With the human remains were also bone fragments of cattle, sheep and pig (1999: 178).
[178] Graves 78, 141, 156 and 175.
[179] Grave 34.I, grave 7.III and grave 49. V.
[180] 10 of 93 burials.

mean, however, that they were not placed on or near the funeral pyre, but it does indicate that they had probably not been used for cooking. These types of pots usually featured horizontal rims and were relatively large and bulbous (e.g., Pl.4-6 and 4-7). Although they are found as grave goods in other burials, they are most frequently used as urns in a funerary context. This shape of pot is frequently found in the settlement, so this seems to show that they were not necessarily specially made for funerary ritual (Gassner 1999: 42). In grave 141 (8) a ring bowl (*Ringschüssel*), which was a grey *terra sigillata* imitation of the Drag. 24/25 shape, was used as an urn (Pl. 4-22).[181] In grave 139 (1) only a base fragment survives of the vessel that was used as an urn.[182]

The covering for the pots survived in five out of the ten urn burials. In two cases lids with knobs were preserved,[183] while in the other three cases fragments of other vessels were used as coverings. The urn of one was covered with an inverted pitcher[184] that was missing its bottom portion as well as the spout, while the lower section of a flat based pot was used to cover an urn.[185] The base fragment of a pot or a jug also covered one of the urns.[186] Above the same burial excavators found stones they believe were once part of a stone covering.[187]

The *bustum* burial is another major category that Jilek sees as representing a meaningful variation in the funerary ritual, in that the cremation process takes place directly above the grave instead of on a separate *ustrinum*. In the published material of the southern cemetery of the civilian city, this type of rite was practiced from the mid second century to the first half of the

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[181] In grave 141 (8).
[182] In grave 139 (1).
[183] In graves 156 (2) and 167 (4).
[184] In grave 132 (4).
[185] In grave 175 (2).
[186] In grave 179 (19).
[187] Jilek mentions that graves 78, 141 and 179 were found undisturbed and further he mentions that they had lids on them, but in the catalogue only grave 179 was mentioned as having a cover of some sort.

third century AD during the time that this portion of the cemetery was in use and the cremation rite was popular.[188] Graves thought to be *busta* account for approximately 14% of the burials of the sample.[189]

As mentioned in the previous section there is some debate over what exactly constitutes a *bustum* burial, a debate that Jilek addresses. He mentions that there are three types of *bustum* burials found in the northern part of the empire, one of which is found in this cemetery.[190] These burials are often rectangular in shape, are shallow and have burnt, cauterized edges, although the bottoms are not burnt. He mentions that scholars see this type of burial either as "true *busta*," where the cremation takes place directly above the grave, or those that are suspected of having been ritually lustrated (Jilek 1999: 24). On the one hand, this type seems to resemble type C2 of Aquincum, which Topál does not consider *busta* at all. Instead, they are merely grave-pits where the burnt remains of the cremation process were strewn on the bottom and the sides were lustrated with fire. On the other hand, Jilek's opinion is in line with the opinions of scholars such as Márton as discussed above. Both sides agree that the burning of the sides is significant, but one side believes that the feature represents a distinct lustration ceremony, while the other side believes that the burnt sides were caused by the burning of the pyre which overlay the pit during the cremation ceremony. If the burials with the burnt sides are, in fact, *busta* some *Brandgrubengräber*, which Jilek believes is a distinct category of grave, may also have been

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[188] Grave 25 is dated to the second third of the second century, which was the time at which people of the settlement first started to use this portion of the cemetery, while grave 44 is dated to sometime in the first half of the third century, a period in which the popularity of cremation burials was waning.

[189] 13 of 93 burials.

[190] The second type of *bustum* burials Jilek mentions commonly have terraced edges, where it is presumed that the pyre was settled. They also have a deeper burial trench and had a thicker layer of cremated debris. This type is equivalent to the C4 type in Topál's classification. Jilek acknowledges that these characteristics are common features of *busta* found in the eastern part of the province and further eastward down the Danube. The third type of *bustum* burial that Jilek mentions is found in Gaul and Germany and in these graves a thick layer of burnt debris is found lying in a simple pit (Jilek 1999: 26).

busta. The evidence for the burning may not have been visible to excavators or evidence of the burnt edges could have been lost. The evidence of such burning, which tends to occur closer to the top of the burial, may have been lost as this part of the burial tends to be damaged (Márton *et al*. 2015: 23). In the case of the Carnuntum burials, the upper part of many graves was heavily damaged by earth-moving machinery (Stiglitz 1999: 9).

Twelve of the thirteen examples of *bustum* burials from the published Carnuntum material show some evidence of a tile covering.[191] Many have a tile supporting one or two narrow ends of the grave and in all cases, there are traces of a tile covering (Jilek 1999: 24).[192] In two *bustum* graves one narrow end of the grave has a tile vertically placed, seemingly to support the structure of the grave-pit.[193] In seven burials a vertically placed *tegula* was preserved at both narrow ends of the burial (e.g., Pl. 2-38, 2-39 and 2-41).[194] In none of these cases are the tiles burnt and only the long sides that were not embellished with tiles show signs of having been burnt. It was only in grave 68 that there was a tile that was partially burnt and placed on the bottom of the grave (1999: 149). In three cases tiles were not found in parts of the burial other than the covering.

The final category of cremation grave that Jilek outlines is the ossuary, which is a burial in which the burnt remains along with some of the pyre remains are found combined in a stone cist (1999: 28). There are only two burials, graves 24 and 174B of the southern cemetery, that are considered ossuaries, and each is quite distinct when compared to the other. The cist of grave 24 is small, rectangular and is composed of smooth, well worked blocks of sandstone.

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[191] Little of grave 90 was preserved, so it may have had a tile covering at one time.
[192] It must be noted, though, that all of the so-called *busta* burials in this publication are in some way damaged so we do not necessarily have a full picture of most of the graves (Jilek 1999: 26).
[193] Graves 39 and 40.
[194] Graves 39, 40, 43 (Pl. 2-38), 44 (Pl. 2-39), 46, 52 (Pl. 2-41) and 58.

Unfortunately, the earth-moving machinery destroyed the lid and there were no skeletal remains found within. Grave 174B in contrast was a richly endowed cist grave in the middle of a monumentally built grave structure (174A) that also housed another, double cremation burial against the rear wall (174C) (Pl. 2-46). Fortunately, the burial remained sealed until excavated. The remains of a mature male were found at the bottom of the pit, along with a rich inventory of grave gifts. These grave types were found in the cemeteries of Carnuntum and in its hinterland as early as in the first century AD and as is demonstrated by grave 174B. Up until the third century, these ossuaries were sometimes richly ornamented with the surrounding architecture and the grave goods (Jilek 1999: 28).

5.5.1 Carnuntum: Grave Types and Funerary Ritual

It is now worthwhile to attempt to reconstruct the sequence of rituals that went into creating these burials, in a like manner to what was done concerning those graves from Aquincum. Although many similarities exist between the features of the burials from both cities, there are also noticeable differences between them as well. In Carnuntum, for example, there was widespread use of tiles as a grave covering, a lack of any sort of *bustum* burials that contained ledges on the sides and a large amount of burnt debris as was found in Aquincum, as well as the absence of a "plaster" coating on the grave-pit walls, a feature that occurred quite frequently in the cremation burials of the military city of Aquincum. These variations can take on further meaning and significance when they are placed within the context of the funerary ritual. By doing this one may gain insight into whether such differences might be superfluous or perhaps

mark a significant variation that was significant to mourners. Just as was the case with the Aquincum sample several features transcend the grave typologies.

In the majority of burials, whether they be *Brandgrubengräber* in which a token amount of cremated remains was deposited or *busta* in which a token amount of a remains was kept in a pit that was used in the cremation ceremony, the cremated human and pyre remains were scattered across the bottom of the burial.[195] From what can be deduced from the archaeological record, the post-cremation treatment of the remains was all generally the same. After the cremation the mourners or funeral official collected a token amount of the bones, remains of the funeral pyre, as well grave goods that had been burned on the pyre and scattered or spread them along the bottom of a grave-pit. In the case of the primary cremations (*busta*), some of the remains were taken out and the rest were rearranged. Often, but not always, secondary grave goods were then put in the grave. As mentioned in the previous section, scholars do not have a clear idea as to how the rest of the remains from the cremation process were treated. What they do know, however, is that the remains that were found in most of the *Brandgrubengräber* represent only a fraction of the debris that would have been left from the finished cremation ceremony.

While these two types of burials, the (*Brandgrubengräber* and the so-called *bustum* burials) are similar in the way that the cremation debris was treated, they are different in that the sides of the *Brandgrubengräber* had not been burnt.[196] As mentioned previously in the section on the Aquincum grave types, the burning of the walls of the grave-pit was probably significant. While in cemeteries of Aquincum and in many of the cemeteries eastward along the Danube, this

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[195] 56 *Brandgrubengräber* and 13 *busta* out of 93 graves which represent approximately 74% of the burials.
[196] With the possible exception of grave 51, in which the catalogue mentions there were strong traces of burning.

practice was common, in the Carnuntum sample only 14% of burials had this feature. Of course, many more graves may have carried this feature, but it may have been destroyed by earth moving machinery or if these graves are *busta*, then traces of burning are not always found. As was mentioned by Topál in connection with Aquincum, a burnt grave-pit may be a marker of ethnic or community difference that reflects an identity of the deceased, or the mourners who are burying them. In this case the feature may indicate the use of a practice that was commonly carried out in the southeastern part of Pannonia around Sirmium, or from further east along the Danube.

Another feature of the burials that transcends seemingly clear-cut typologies is the construction of a tile covering over the burial-pit. Twenty-four *Brandgrubengräber* show evidence of a tile covering, representing almost 43% of the total of this type of grave.[197] In most cases *tegulae* were propped against each other over the pit and the seam was often capped with an *imbrex*, so that the feature resembled the roof of a building. Sometimes, as in the case of grave 170 a whole tile was simply placed over the grave-pit (Jilek 1999: 26). Tiles were also used to support the sides or walls of the graves, as with graves 38 and grave 88, which both contained tiles that helped to support the narrow sides of the pits and grave 76, at least one side of the wall was supported by tile in this heavily disturbed grave. Other types of burials also included a tile covering or one of stone. As mentioned previously, all graves with lustrated sides (*busta*), except for one, show evidence of having had a tile constructed over them. Grave 184 had a covering that was composed of both stone and tile (Pl. 2-45). Three further burials had stone

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[197] Jilek mentions twenty-five graves show evidence of having tile covers, but of the burials he mentions (1999: 26), grave 37 is an inhumation burial and 179 is an urn burial and, therefore, in a different category than the *Brandgrubengräber*, so they are not counted on this list. Grave 148 is not included in Jilek's list, but it is here since the catalogue is clear that several pieces of tile lay atop the burial serving as a covering. In addition, the burial was bordered on three sides by stones (1999: 172); however, this grave is not counted as an ossuary.

coverings, and two *Brandschüttungsgräber*[198] and one tile cist also had just a tile covering. The bottom of a further three burials, including two tile cist burials and a *bustum*, were lined with fragments of tiles. The presence of tiles or stones as features of burials was quite significant in this cemetery as 45% of burials show signs of having some sort of tile covering or reinforcement.[199]

The purpose of this feature appears to have been to support the grave-pit and/or to protect the contents of the burial. Such a practice is potentially important in a cemetery where the grave-pits were generally dug to a relatively shallow depth and where in many areas the graves were packed close together with little space between them (Jilek 1999: 24). It may be assumed that it was important for some people to ensure that some sort of covering was provided to protect the grave from accidental damage to the pit itself, for cases where another burial-pit was to be excavated close-by. This feature may have been laid in a covering ceremony, during which the pit became a proper, sanctioned burial (Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 178–179). It may also have served as a dwelling for the spirits before they went on to the afterlife or to prevent restless spirits from wandering from the grave (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 322–323; Black 1986: 227). In any case, this practice is far from universal in the cemetery, but is typical for the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia (Jilek 1999: 26). Given that tiles are of Mediterranean origin, it is also seen as a practice of "Roman" origin that was introduced into the region (Márton *et al*. 2015: 27).

In the Aquincum sample, the preference to include only bones in a container is restricted to just the urn burials, while in Carnuntum, this was seen in both the *Brandschüttungsgräber* and

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[198] Graves 89 and 98.
[199] 42 out of 93 burials.

the urn burials. The inclusion of only bones occurred in seven of the thirteen *Brandschüttungsgräber* burials, including four burials containing an organic container,[200] two with a stone covering,[201] and one tile cist grave,[202] as well as six of the ten urn burials.[203] The removal of only the bone remains from the debris of the cremation and followed by their placement in a receptacle appears to be a practice that was important within the ritual context. As was mentioned in the previous section concerning the burials from Aquincum, this practice meant that in many cases a greater quantity of bones was taken from the debris than otherwise would have been possible and additional rituals such as their cleaning may have been performed on the bones, in preparation for their burial. This may perhaps represent a significant ritual departure from the other forms of burials, in which the pyre debris was included in the interment. Such rituals that involved in this practice this might reflect a deeply held beliefs concerning proper treatment of the remains, a tradition of the mourners or the deceased or simply a preference.

The inclusion of pyre and sometimes bone remains around the urn is an interesting addition to the burial. This took place in three instances in the Aquincum sample[204] and in one case in the Carnuntum sample.[205] In these cases, it is possible that such burials represent a combination of the custom of burying just the cremated bones in a container with the custom of spreading the cremated remains in the grave-pit.

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[200] Graves 53, 89, 93 and 117.
[201] Graves 171 and 173.
[202] Grave 131.
[203] Graves 132, 137, 138, 139, 167 and 179.
[204] Graves 34.I, 7.III and 49.V.
[205] Grave 167.

In the Aquincum sample, the preference for including both the cremated human remains and the pyre remains in a container is restricted to organic containers, while in the Carnuntum sample this practice applied to all grave types that included a container. In the Carnuntum sample only four *Brandschüttungsgräber* contained both the cremated bones and pyre remains, including three containing an organic container[206] and one covered by stone,[207] while four urn burials contained both types of remains.[208] In these cases where both the cremated human remains and the pyre remains were placed in a container, it may be presumed in the simplest scenario that instead of the mourner removing the debris from the container and spreading the remains at the bottom of the grave, as occurred in the majority of burials from both cemeteries, perhaps the vessel was merely placed in the grave-pit, in the simplest scenario. It is possible, however, that the burial of the cremation debris in some sort of container was ritually significant and that this practice was a reflection of some deeply held views on the part of the deceased or the mourners.

5.6   Comparison

Overall evidence shows there to be little difference between the types of graves found in Carnuntum, in comparison to those found in Aquincum. Most of the burials in the samples of both percentage cemeteries are grave-pits, in which the cremation debris is scattered on the bottom. In Carnuntum this form of grave represents approximately 74% of the total amount of burials,[209] if we count the so called "*bustum*" graves with the *Brandgrubengräber*. Generally speaking, the ritual process probably followed the same general sequence in both locales, at least

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[206] Graves 85 98 and 116.
[207] Grave 154.
[208] Graves 78, 141, 156 and 175.
[209] 69 of the 93 burials.

from what we can surmise from the archaeological record. Based on the evidence that has been discussed so far, the major difference between the graves of these two locations is found in the treatment of the sides or edges of the burial-pit. In Carnuntum the majority of graves do not have burnt edges, since lustrated sides occur in only approximately 14% of the graves. With regards to the cemetery along the Bécsi Road of the military city of Aquincum, not only are the majority of the graves lustrated, with 88% of the graves showing some evidence of lustration,[210] but 83% of all the cremation burials show some evidence of being lustrated and plastered; a practice that is not noticed in the cemeteries of Carnuntum. This drastic contrast between the heavily modified pit walls in one locale and the lack of it in others is likely evidence that this practice is quite significant to some sort of regional group identity that was centered in the area around Aquincum. The fact that the majority of graves at Carnuntum were not lustrated is also significant in terms of group identity, since further east along the Danube, from the Danube bend to Moesia in most cemeteries 60% to 90% of all graves show signs of lustration (Jovanović 2000: 205–206), furthermore they were of the same, *Brandgrubengräber*, type. This type of burial, which was dominant amongst the people in the middle Danube region and the northern Balkans, demonstrates the degree of inter-connectedness that existed in this area in the Roman and possibly even pre-Roman period. It must be noted that when this type of rite is developing, it is the locally significant differences (ex. the act of lustration) that demonstrate the importance of locally maintained customs and regional group identity.

The creation of a tile or stone covering for a grave-pit is another conspicuous practice that can be found in approximately 45% of the cremation burials at Carnuntum. The dates for the

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[210] 155 burials, which include 147 graves which seem burnt and plastered and eight burials which are merely burnt on the sides, out of a total of 177 burials.

tile covering range from just before the middle of the second century, when the area of the cemetery where they were housed was first used, to the middle of the third century when the practice of cremation rites was already in decline. An interesting point concerning this practice is that it transects various grave typologies; however, the only grave type in which it was dominant was the lustrated pit burials, where twelve out of thirteen of these graves show evidence of some covering.

Covering and/or lining of graves at Carnuntum and the practice of heavily modifying grave-pits at Aquincum may have served similar purposes. The furnishing of the grave in either of these ways may represent a step towards consecration of the burial. Both the tile and the heavily burned sides may also function as a coffin of sorts, both for the practical purposes of protecting the remains and marking the pit, also to house the spirt of the deceased.

Many other grave types that are found in Aquincum are also found in Carnuntum at similarly in low percentages. The practice in which cremation debris is placed in an organic container or an urn is uncommon in both cemeteries and there is similarly a low percentage of burials where only the bones are placed in a container, without the inclusion of the pyre remains. In Carnuntum, these burials represent a slightly less than 24% of the total cremation burials, while in Aquincum they only represent 13.5% of the total of burials.

Evidence almost certainly shows that at least as it pertains to their respective cemeteries the lustration and plastering of the graves in Aquincum was the mark of a local/regional custom and the lack of lustration and the placement of a covering on the grave was of regional significance in Carnuntum. In the case of the Aquincum cemetery, the heavy modification of the sides of the burial seems to have been a regional development in the cemeteries around major towns in the region of the Eravisci. Since excavators cannot distinguish between most cremation

burials between local Eraviscans and non-native inhabitants, it cannot be assumed that such a

practice entails a particular ethnicity. In the case of Carnuntum, the practice of scattering the

cremation debris in a pit and the popularity of a tile covering of the burial also represented a

custom that many different peoples, including the native Boii, seemed to practice in the funerary

rites of the region of eastern Pannonia and western Noricum. It is likely that in both cases, such

practices do not represent a particular ethnicity. In both areas it is likely that such a custom

developed in the region from the practices of numerous actors. How much participation in

common funerary rites represented an internalized sense of sameness among participants in their

respective regions cannot necessarily be known. This is just one practice of many that might

contribute to a sense of groupness among participants in the ceremony.

For those practicing variations on the cremation rite within each cemetery, it should be

remembered that just because there is evidence that these rituals were practiced in other areas it

does not necessarily follow that these rituals carried the same meaning as they held in the area

where they were dominant. For example, burials with lustrated sides (C2 type) from Aquincum

and those of Carnuntum (so-called "*busta*" graves or ritually fired *Brandgrubengräber)* have

similar characteristics; however, rituals that create this feature may not directly reflect the

ethnicity or origin of the deceased, as Topál suggests who views such burials as representing

migrants from south-eastern Pannonia where the rite was more common. Other motivations may

influence the decisions of the mourners and deceased. In relatively cosmopolitan centers,

numerous options for burials were available, so therefore the rite chosen may have been a matter

of cost, preference on the part of the deceased or the traditions or preference of the mourners

may have influenced what rituals were chosen. In addition, the lack of lustration in a handful of

graves from Aquincum does not necessarily mean that the occupants of those graves came from

northwestern Pannonia or Noricum where un-lustrated *Brandgrubengräber* were common but might reflect other beliefs or protocols from the region of Aquincum. Factors regarding the worthiness of the deceased and whose grave was fit for a ritual firing and plastering, as well as factors concerning cost or preference were probably at play. These issues are examined again in the conclusion, when further information, including an analysis of the grave goods, is taken into account.

6 Chapter 6: Grave Goods and Liquid Holding Vessels

6.1 Introduction: Grave Goods

The various types of graves from the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum have been discussed with regards to the ways that each of the grave types may reflect the processes that took place concerning these cremations and burials and what these rituals may have meant to the mourners and the deceased. It is now important to focus on the roles that the grave goods played in the funerary process and what the patterns of use may mean in the contexts of the funerary ritual and the identity of those who were buried. Before a discussion can begin concerning individual types of artifacts and the roles that mourners and attendees played in their use, it is necessary to discuss the two types of grave goods, primary and secondary, and reiterate how such goods were used in the funerary ritual and conceptualized in the catalogues.

6.1.1 Categories of Grave Goods

In the publications concerning cemeteries from Aquincum and Carnuntum, the authors organize the artifacts found in and around the cremation burials into several different categories based on how they believed the artifacts became deposited in the grave. The most significant distinction is that between primary and secondary grave goods.[211] The difference between a primary grave good, one that reaches the grave via the pyre, and a secondary grave good, one that is deposited directly into the grave, is important for this study because the use of an artifact

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[211] This project uses the wording 'grave goods' and 'grave gifts' interchangeably. In the discussion concerning specific artifacts (chapters six to thirteen), this project uses 'primary (grave) good' and 'secondary (grave) gift.'

in one context or another may reflect significant variation in funerary ritual practice (Topál 2003a 4; 1993: 4; see pages 173–177). Secondary goods are often more easily identified, since they are placed relatively intact in the grave-pit, but the fragmentary nature of many primary goods may make them difficult to differentiate from fill-debris. The differentiation between primary and secondary grave goods is also not always an easy one to make.

With regards to cremation burials of the cemetery of Aquincum, Topál defines primary grave goods as artifacts directly associated with the deceased that had been previously placed on or near the pyre, and, therefore, show signs of burning. Primary grave goods tend to be more fragmentary and less complete. Secondary grave goods are gifts which mourners placed in the burial at the same time as the remains of the pyre before the grave was sealed (Topál 2003a: 4; 1993: 4). For most entries in the catalogue, the artifacts are clearly categorized according to how they were used in the funerary rites, but Topál confronts several issues when discussing some of the grave goods. Because the catalogues that Topál authored are a record of the burials of graveyards that were excavated within several different time frames and under the direction of various archaeologists working under varying conditions, Tópal was not able to be consistent in the type and quality of the data that she published. The most extreme example concerns some of the burials from Graveyard I of the Bécsi Road cemetery, which were excavated in 1937. Because the grave goods were not sorted into primary and secondary grave goods at the time and some of the pieces from these burials are now missing, it is no longer possible to determine whether these goods are primary or secondary. Consequently, these burials are omitted in the analyses for which a clear differentiation between primary and secondary grave goods is necessary. Another issue Tópal confronts is the categorization of grave goods for the few datable inhumation burials of the time period under discussion in this study. Here she defines primary

grave goods as any artifacts that were found associated with the body, such as for example, jewelry, brooches, etc. In this case secondary grave goods are those that are not immediately associated with the body but were placed by the mourners in the grave before it was sealed (Topál 1993: 4; 2003a: 4). Such differences between the classification of cremations and the handful of inhumation burials are included where necessary in the analysis of artifact types in this project. While Topál's classification of the artifacts is not perfect, this project relies on her designation for analyses. In some cases, however, where a classification seems questionable, the project corrects the artifact's designation in the analysis.

The situation in the cemetery of Carnuntum is complicated because during the excavation, archaeologists often found it difficult to distinguish between primary goods and residual debris unrelated to the interment of the funerary remains of the specific burial. Residual debris from the area where the burial was dug could end up in the pit. This material in general may indicate feasting that took place at or around the burial before the internment. Burial spots acted as a focal point of commemoration even after the funerary ceremony at different points of the year (see pages 165–167 and 176), so it is likely that cemeteries had debris over their surface (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 129–131; Pearce 1998: 101). When a burial was excavated and then filled after the deposition of the funerary remains, this debris could end up in the burial. Additionally, bioturbation and the shifting of the earth may cause sherds that were not associated with the burial to end up in its vicinity (Márton *et al*. 2015: 30–31). The excavation and the recording of the results were not always conducted according to proper standards, since a lack of funding meant that the leading archaeologists also had to rely on amateurs to excavate the burials (Gassner and Jilek 1999: 78). Amateur excavators with little training were not always able to properly excavate burials and differentiate between primary grave goods and debris, skewing the

results. Hence, the excavators do not formally differentiate between primary and secondary grave goods in the catalogue. In the entry of each burial, the authors only indicate the items found in the grave that they consider grave goods.[212] They discuss these grave gifts according to whether they are wholly or almost wholly preserved, and if fragments show signs of having been burnt (Gassner 1999: 83). While the catalogue description in itself does not give a clear indication of how the artifact was used in the funerary ceremony, the authors do clarify what should be considered a primary or secondary good in their discussions of the material preceding the catalogue (1999: 35–108). They identify primary grave goods as those that had been part of the funerary pyre and consequently had been burnt and broken. Secondary grave goods, in their view, were (almost) entirely intact vessels without traces of pyre damage found in association with the tomb (Gassner 1999: 92).[213] In both cemeteries, pyre damage and notably burning is the key factor in determining the difference between primary and secondary funerary gifts. This is somewhat problematic since the surviving fragments placed on or near the funeral pyre do not always show signs of having been burnt (see page 174). While this possibility must be kept in mind, this project will only consider burnt items and some fragments as primary goods if the authors of the Carnuntum material do not explicitly state otherwise (Gassner 1999: 92).

The authors of the catalogues from both sites are fairly consistent in the ways they categorize the artifacts. However, Topál more clearly categorizes many of the artifacts in the catalogue but does not explain why she designated individual artifacts as primary or secondary. The authors of the Carnuntum material do not differentiate between primary and secondary

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[212] Although they do make this distinction in the discussion on the artifacts.

[213] Certain objects such as incense burners and lamps show traces of burning but this was not necessarily caused by the pyre. In the publication, Gassner discusses in general how incense burners (1999: 94) and lamps (1999: 88, 102) were used in the funerary ceremony which clarifies any issues arising from the ambiguity of the catalogue descriptions.

goods in the catalogue, but in the discussion and analysis preceding the catalogue, they often do indicate how they classify an artifact and why. In the majority of cases this project follows the designations assigned to the artifacts by the authors of the publications.

The authors of both publications also provide information concerning the fragmented residual material that was found in the burial-pit but could not considered either primary or secondary goods. Ideally, the primary grave goods should be recognizable because they are distributed amongst the burnt debris of the grave-pit, while residual material should appear above this layer in the fill; however, the actual situation is not always so straightforward. The fragmentary nature of funerary deposits makes them almost impossible to differentiate decisively from fragments that contaminate the deposit due to a range of site formation processes (Gassner 1999: 83).[214] While recognizing that the fill material and other fragments that are found around the grave are potentially of interest, as they may give some indication of activities around the tomb (Márton *et al*. 2015: 29; Pearce 1998: 101), this material will not be included as grave goods or be covered in this study. This project relies on the judgement of the authors of the publications for their differentiation between primary goods and fill-debris.[215]

Although the authors of both publications differentiate between grave goods and fill material, it is conspicuous that many more primary grave gifts are generally listed for the graves of Aquincum than those of Carnuntum. Of course, this could be that more material from the pyre made it into the burial or even that more material was used during the funerary ceremony in the Aquincum ceremonies; however, it is likely that the authors had different criteria for how they

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[214] Urban development of modern-day Budapest certainly contributed to the disturbance of the Bécsi Road graves of Aquincum, while the plowing of fields contributed to disturbance of the burials in the southern cemetery of Carnuntum. Even modern archaeological excavation, if not done properly, is a factor that can compromise conditions of the grave (Gassner 1999: 83).

[215] This project uses the artifact typologies established by the authors of the publications unless otherwise specified.

evaluated what was considered a primary good and what was considered residual fill material, with Topál considering more material as a primary goods than the authors of the Carnuntum catalogue. While this potential issue is problematic, this project uses the classification system of the authors of both publications as they are.

This project clearly recognizes that various issues with the publications problematize the material; however, where possible it is addressed by the authors and does not preclude us from identifying meaningful overarching trends in both cemeteries.

6.1.2 Economic Considerations of Pottery

In both cemeteries, ceramics form the bulk of the surviving grave goods, both primary and secondary. Consequently, when it comes to determining what the economic impact of a funerary ceremony was on the mourners or how the wealth deposited in the burial might reflect the status of the deceased, we are obliged to rely almost exclusively on ceramics.

In many ancient societies, including those in the Roman Empire, pottery was considered a low-cost product, so the medium was accessible to mourners of various socio-economic strata. Most ceramics serving the daily needs of everyday life were probably easy to replace at a low cost (Peña 2007: 27). Because goods made out of ceramic material were in the realm of the mundane for many inhabitants of the Roman Empire, very few authors comment on their value. Although there is no way to know for sure, generally, coarser, unembellished wares probably cost less than vessels of a similar shape that were made of a finer ceramic and had a special finishing, like a glossy-slip, or were embellished with stamped, molded or incised decoration. That said, high quality vessels, such as *terra sigillata*, were still much less expensive than metal

wares made of bronze, not to mention precious metals (Peña 2007: 29–30). So, while the use of

higher quality wares such as *terra sigillata* in the cremation and burial ceremony may indicate

that mourners were expending more wealth than people who were using less expensive goods,

the difference of value is not such that the mourners using *terra sigillata* should be deemed to be

members of the upper echelon of society. In addition, as Robert Philpott has argued, it was not

the vessels or how abundant their number, but it was what the vessels contained that determined

the value of the deposit. Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to determine what this was (1991:

20). The presence of many or few ceramics therefore is not necessarily a good indicator of the

wealth or poverty of a deceased individual or of their mourners. As mentioned in chapter four

(see pages 177–178) there are several reasons why a grave might have a large grave assemblage

composed of low-cost pottery, including the size of the deceased's social network.

Pottery in itself is not a good indicator of wealth expenditure at a funeral and any gifts of

organic material that were potentially quite valuable did not survive. However, analysis of the

individual categories of wares, as well as the study of the corresponding practices that they

represent, such as drinking (flagons and cups), and eating (pots, plates and bowls), the project is

able to reach conclusions concerning common funerary practices and what those practices may

have meant to those involved in the ceremony.

6.1.3 Note on Methodology

This study closely investigates the burial assemblages for patterns of similarities as well

as differences in their material form and content as these relate to the rituals that governed the

burials concerned. In the subsequent analysis of these patterns, this project determines whether

or not distinct expressions of personal and/or externally structured identities can be attributed to the practices reflected in the burial assemblage. Scholars have recognized the utility of functional analyses for isolating patterns of identity in the burial record for quite some time (e.g., Cool 2004; Meskell 1999; Bietti Sestieri 1992; Morris 1992; Pader 1982).

6.1.4 Temporal Organization of the Burials

Essential for any analysis of burials is a careful dating of the material and a clear chronological organization of the tombs. Altogether, the one hundred and sixty-three burials of Aquincum and the forty-seven burials of Carnuntum dated between the late first and the third century can be divided into four phases. The majority of these burials are dated to a rather small date-range, most within a half-century; unfortunately, however, the many and varied date designations that the authors of the publications ascribe to the burials do not make it easy to establish an organized chronological system, through which changes over time in practice can be recognized. The charts for each cemetery, which are included below (Table 6-1 and 6-2) provide a visual to illustrate the variation that exists in the dating of the burials. Fortunately, the dating systems used for both cemeteries are comparable; however, within the dating systems of the individual cemeteries there are numerous and overlapping date designations. Some burials are dated to either the beginning, middle or end of a century, or to the first half or second half of a century, or to the first, second or third part of a century, or even to one of the four quarters. It is not uncommon for graves to be dated even more loosely (e.g., "second third of the second century to the first half of the third century" or even to a full century or more). Such date-ranges overlap considerably, so the issue was to come up with a system with which to organize the

burials so that the trends taking place in one temporal grouping of burials could be compared easily with that of another grouping, while including as many burials as possible.

Basically, the dated burials of this study were organized as they would occur on a timeline according to the date/time designation that was assigned by the authors of the publications. Next, through the process of research the project was able to recognize that among a large number of the burials patterns did emerge through which the author could organize a manageable and easy-to-use chronological system based on four phases. Most of the burials are dated to one of three half-century time periods: the first half of the second century corresponds to phase one, the second half of the second century corresponds to phase three and the first half of the third century corresponds to phase four (phase two is discussed below). Where the date range given for a particular item spill into another half century, it is not by much, as for example, "the late second to the beginning of the third century." Only a small portion of this date range is in the second century, while the majority of it is in the third century. In order to include as many burials as possible in a chronological system, some overlap between different phases based on half-century increments must exist. This is evident in the first half-century increment, which is only applicable to Aquincum since the published portion of the Carnuntum cemetery was not occupied until the mid second century. Because a handful of burials are dated to late first century, these are included in the phase based on the first half of the second century, phase one. The phase based on the second half of the second century, phase three, is the phase with the least overlap. Those few date ranges that spill into the next century all come from the Carnuntum cemetery. Any burials that date to the end of the second century, but spill into the third century are included in the third phase increment, phase four. In fact, this phase includes the rest of the third century since few cremation burials existed after the mid third century. These three

chronological periods, based roughly on half century time spans, are the basis of three of the chronological phases used in this study.

In order to include as many burials as possible, the author thought that a second phase was necessary; one that takes into account those burials with date ranges spanning the middle of the second century, or more specifically those burials dated to the middle of the second century and the second third of the second century. Altogether, thirty-three burials are dated in such a way. Such a date phase very much overlaps with both phases of the second century, phase one and phase three, but it would be difficult to partition these graves any other way. These burials of the mid second century constitute the second phase.

Altogether, the one hundred and sixty-three burials of Aquincum and the forty-seven burials of Carnuntum are divided into four phases, based on the time periods discussed above. While such phases are inexact, they roughly follow some key historical processes. The first phase includes all graves dated to between the late first century and the first half of the second century. This phase is restricted to graves in Aquincum.[216] The second phase is the earliest phase in which Carnuntum graves are included. It spans the middle of the second century. The second phase ends just prior to the Marcomannic wars (AD 166–180),[217] a transformative event for the settlement of Aquincum and the province as a whole. The third phase encompasses graves that are dated to the second half of the second century or to the late second century. This phase begins prior to the Marcomannic wars and ends roughly when the so-called "Golden Age" of

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[216] The Bécsi Road cemetery of Aquincum was in use longer (late first century until the fourth century) than the published portion of the southern cemetery of the Civilain city of Carnuntum (mid second century to the mid third century).
[217] See pages 124–127.

Pannonia starts.[218] The fourth phase includes burials that are dated between the late second

century and the mid third century, which was a time when the city was prosperous and the use of

the cremation as a dominant funerary rite was in its twilight. By defining the phases in this

manner almost all dated graves could be attributed to a phase (see Tables 6-1 and 6-2). That said,

there are a handful of graves that had to be excluded because their dates did not fit neatly into the

scheme.

6.1.5 Determining the Gender and Age of the Human Remains

As discussed in chapter two, two important variables of identity, biological age and sex,

are established through the osteological analysis of the skeletal remains, which is provided in the

publications. This project uses this osteological basis to find patterns of artifact use based on

gender and age, which are culturally constructed. While the age and sex of cremation burials are

difficult to determine with confidence, the few datable inhumation burials, which are more suited

to osteological analysis, are used. In the examination of the individual artifacts, associations

between a type of artifact and, age and gender are explored. To help support the potential

association of a type of artifact and the identity variable, the analysis considers any artifacts that

might traditionally carry connotations of a particular gender or age. Unfortunately, due to the fact

that the osteological studies were not able to accurately sex and age many remains, and few

burials contained clearly gendered goods, any associations between ceramic goods and key

identity variables are only possibilities, which warrant further testing from other burial samples

from the area. For the present project, however, such markers in context with other burial goods,

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[218] Roughly beginning during the reign of Septemius Severus and ending by the middle of the third century. See pages 127–133.

especially personal items, provide an indication as to how gender and age were constructed,

negotiated and maintained in the funerary ceremony in relationship to other variables such as

wealth and ethnicity and what sort of factors may have contributed to the commemoration of

these identities.

Table 6-1: Aquincum: Phases and Date Designations

Phase	Date Designation	Number
First Phase	Last Third of the First	1
	Last Quarter of the First, Domitianic	1
	Last Decades of the First	1
	Late First	2
	Late First–Early Second	7
	End of the First, Beginning of the Second	1
	Domitianic–Trajanic	1
	Turn of the First/Second Century	3
	Early Second	5
	First Quarter of Second	3
	First Third of Second	4
	Trajanic–Hadrianic	1
	Second Quarter of Second	2
	First Half of Second	13
	Before the Second Third of the Second	1
	Total for Phase 1	**46**
Second Phase	Second Third of Second	23
	Mid Second	10
	Total for Phase 2	**33**
Third Phase	Second Half of the Second	18
	Last Third of Second	4

Phase	Date Designation	Number
	Last Quarter of the Second	1
	Late Second	9
	Total for Phase 3	**32**
Phase	**Date Designation**	**Number**
Fourth Phase	Late Second–Early Third	10
	Late Second–First Third of Third	1
	Late Second–Mid Third	1
	Turn of the Second/Third	2
	Late Second–First half of Third	1
	Late Second–Third	2
	Early Third	8
	First quarter of Third	4
	First Third of Third	8
	First Half of Third	6
	Second Third of Third	2
	First and Second Third of Third	1
	Mid Third	4
	Second Half of the Third	2
	Total for Phase Four	**52**

Table 6-2: Carnuntum: Phases and Date Designations

Phase	Date Designation	Number
Second Phase	Second Third of Second	2
	Total of Phase Two	**2**
Third Phase	Second Half of Second	19
	Fourth Quarter of Second	1
	End of Second	2
	Second Half of the Second–Beginning of Third	2
	Second Half of Second–Early Third	2
	Second Half of Second–First Quarter of Third	1
	Total of Phase Three	**27**
Fourth Phase	End of Second–Beginning of Third	4
	End of Second–Early Third	2
	End of Second–First Half of Third	1
	End of Second–Mid Third	2
	Mid Second–Mid Third	1
	First Half of Third	7
	Second Third of Third	2
	Total of Phase Four	**18**

6.2 Introduction to Ceramic Liquid Holding Vessels

Serving liquids appears to have been an important part of the funerary ceremony in all periods in the Bécsi Road Cemetery, since this rite is represented through evidence of liquid holding vessels in many cremation graves dating from the late first century to the middle of the third century. Found together, flagons, the primary serving vessels, and cups indicate that funerary drinking took place during the cremation ceremony, at the tomb, or both. It must be kept in mind, however, that such vessels could have had other uses. Although archaeologists found both liquid serving and liquid consumption vessels in the graves, serving vessels appear more often, which suggests that these vessels may not have been used exclusively for funerary drinking. This section will concentrate on the ceramic liquid holding and serving vessels from Aquincum, since they are not nearly as evidenced in the Carnuntum cemetery. Liquid holding vessels of glass, which occur in far fewer numbers, are discussed in chapter 9.[219]

The use of such liquid holding vessels in the funerary ritual reflects the practice of mourners. Patterns of use may reflect the trends or customs of communities using the cemetery. How much patterns of use reflect an internalized sense of groupness among members sharing similar practices cannot not be known, but trends in practice do contribute to a sense of commonality and connectiveness through these shared practices that are important to comment on, nonetheless. Further, more in depth examinations of specific burials in the cemetery may be able to reveal more whether practices represent particular groups in the cemetery.

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[219] Grave 14.VI (20) and grave 79.VI (11) contained glass liquid serving vessels in addition to ceramic serving vessels. The glass serving vessel of Grave 14.VI was deposited as a primary good. The fragments of a ceramic flagon (19) and drinking vessels (6, 14) accompanied the glass vessel as primary goods and the burial also contained evidence of a bronze flagon (24) and a ceramic serving vessel (1) as well as drinking vessels (2, 3, 8) as secondary gifts. The glass serving vessel of Grave 79.VI was deposited as a secondary gift. A ceramic flagon (1) and drinking vessels (3, 4) accompanied the glass vessel as secondary goods. The grave also held evidence of a ceramic flagon (2) and a drinking vessel (5) as primary goods.

6.3 Aquincum: Liquid Holding Vessels

6.3.1 Flagons: Aquincum

Ceramic flagons were the most popular type of liquid serving vessel[220] category of

ceramic goods in funerary rituals in the Aquincum sample. Approximately 64% (104 of 162) of

all of the graves, dating between the late first century and the mid third century, contained

lagonae (flagons) as primary grave goods, secondary grave goods, or both. This shows that

activities that included flagons played a prominent role in the funerary rituals that occurred in the

Bécsi road cemetery. These *lagonae* or flagons are recognizable by their slender necks, which

ended in a wider mouthed opening that sometimes had a lip (e.g., Pl. 3-1 – 3-6). Their bodies

were globular with a foot ring and often featured one or more handles (Baddiley 2018; Peña

2007: 28; Philpott 1991: 36; Webster 1976: 18). In the settlements, flagons were specialized

utensils that were generally used to store and serve liquids, particularly wine (Anderson and

Woolhouse 2016: 65). They have been considered an indicator of romanization in the provinces

(Crummy 2007: 429; Biddulph 2005: 42; Pitts 2005: 155) because of their association with wine

(Anderson and Woolhouse 2016: 65), which prior to the Roman conquest was largely a

Mediterranean commodity. As mentioned in chapter 3 (see page 132), the practice of viticulture

was practiced in the area around Aquincum, especially in the third century when grape

cultivating intensified. Of course, the people who used the flagons probably also deployed them

to hold any other type of liquid and even dry and flowing solids, such as flour (Philpott 1991:

36).

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[220] Other liquid serving or storage vessels such as amphorae and jugs were also found in the cemetery, but in much smaller numbers. This section regarding the liquid serving vessels of Aquincum only concerns flagons. The discussion concerning the liquid serving vessels of Carnuntum, in which far fewer vessels of this type occur, does concern other types of liquid holding vessels.

Flagons of the type found in the tombs were generally used in the settlement for the serving of liquids and were complemented by a variety of drinking vessels,[221] including forms without handles, like beakers and small jars, as well as mugs, which had a single handle.[222] It is, therefore, reasonable to attribute the evidence of these sorts of vessels found in the funerary context to ritual drinking (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31; Crummy 2007: 429; Pitts 2005: 148; McKinley 2000: 68). That said, it is equally true that these vessels may have been used for other purposes as well in the settlement context and therefore we cannot assume that they were always used for funerary drinking.

When found as primary grave goods, such implements for the storage/serving and consuming of liquids can be taken as evidence that mourners were drinking as part of a funerary banquet or some similar ceremony (Crummy 2007: 429; Barber and Bowsher 2000: 67–68; Pitts 2005: 148) during the cremation rite (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31). A more precise interpretation of the rituals is difficult, however, because it appears that mourners threw the flagons and other utensils onto the pyre after their use. Given that at best only a fraction of the pyre ended up in the graves, we are given only minimal evidence to interpret.

Flagons could serve numerous purposes during the funerary ceremony. An essential part of the drinking was the pouring of libations to the deceased or to relevant gods and it is likely that flagons were used for this purpose as well, there being no evidence for separate libation vessels. Flagons may have held water (or some other cleansing liquid) to be employed in purification ceremonies at any point of the funerary ritual (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 322;

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[221] As is discussed in chapter 9, one drinking vessel is made of glass. Excavators found it in grave 29.VI (18) as a primary good. Evidence of seven ceramic drinking vessels deposited as primary goods (6–8, 12–15) and one as a secondary gift (5) as well as four flagons as secondary gifts (1–4) accompanied the glass vessel.
[222] Large flagons have been used for storage (Baddiley 2018).

Webster 1986: 131–132). Vessels containing liquids may have also served as gifts to the dead themselves or the gods, as the smashing of the grave vessels on the pyre released them from the world of the living (Cool 2004: 444; Mráv 2004: 3; Fitzpatrick 2000: 27; Philpott 1991: 237, 239). Still, we should not assume that all vessels used in the funerary ceremony were necessarily discarded on the funerary pyre

The presence of vessels as secondary grave goods may be explained through two general scenarios. Either that they were deposited by mourners after ceremonial drinking but before the grave was covered, or they may have symbolized or actually contained liquids offered to the deceased as a form of libations. Such vessels may have also contained liquids used during purification ceremonies. The defining characteristic of these vessels is that mourners placed them either full or empty before the tomb was sealed. Once the grave was sanctified, they should be considered either offerings to the deceased in the tomb (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 111; Mráv 2004: 4; Philpott 1991: 238; Black 1986: 220) or at least as a sign of piety on the part of the mourners that they had conducted the appropriate rites (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121; Robinson 1942: 186–197). Some scholars also emphasize their function in the sanctification[223] of the grave or at least they see them as a sign that a burial-pit containing cremated remains was consecrated as a proper burial (Márton *et al*. 2015: 25; Blaizot and Tranoy 2004: 178).

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[223] As mentioned in chapter four (See pages 165 and 177), Cicero mentions that a number of rituals might have to be performed before the location where the remains were interred could be considered protected by sanctity laws. For archaeologists, the presence of secondary gifts indicates that burial is sanctified.

6.3.2 Drinking vessels: Aquincum

This category of vessels is an umbrella term for a variety of forms, including beakers, mugs and small jars that were likely used for everyday drinking in the settlement, as well as drinking and libation pouring in the funerary ceremony (Ortalli 2017: 75, 80; 2001: 232). In most cases it is not known exactly how these vessels were used or what name people used to identify them. In recent years, the use of vessels, typically ascribed to drinking, has been the subject of much study since there is a range of other uses besides drinking for which they may have been employed (e.g., Allison 2017; Dannell 2006; Cool 2006: 150; 187; 209).[224] The use of modern terms, like a "mug," to describe ancient vessels implies certain functions, which these vessels may not have had (Allison 2017: 189; Dannell 2006: 151). Even if we can be sure that certain vessels were used for drinking, as in the case of beakers and mugs, we do not necessarily know what was consumed or if a certain shape reflected specific habits. The choice of one form over another may just reflect what was available (Cool 2006: 187). These issues cannot necessarily be resolved but are important to keep in mind as several plausible functions that these vessels could have held in the funerary ceremony are discussed below.

Ceramic drinking vessels can be divided into three different kinds: beakers, mugs and small jars, the latter a rather open category with many different forms. Most beakers are elongated, like many modern drinking vessels and of an appropriate size to fit in a hand (Webster 1976: 17). The majority in this sample are "folded" meaning that they feature oval indentations on their sides (Webster 1976: 9). Mugs are usually smaller open-formed vessels that have a handle (Webster 1976: 20) and while most mugs were used for drinking, some vessels labelled as

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[224] This debate especially concerns vessels listed as "cups" as will be discussed below. This term is not used as a classification term in the Aquincum publication.

"mugs" appear to have been more suited for pouring and therefore, serving liquid, more like a small liquid serving vessel.[225] The term "jar" (*olla*) is used for a wide range of vessels, some of which were used for drinking, but others more likely for storage. In our analyses only small jars are taken as drinking vessels. They often feature a bulbous body, narrowing at the mouth.

While it is possible that the various forms reflected diverse types of drinking habits, such as for the consumption of certain liquids in particular social contexts, there is no hard evidence to support this, and their inclusion may merely reflect their availability or personal preference. For the wide range of cups, Allison has listed a variety of other uses based on the literary sources. In the case of the vessels that Allison terms as cups which includes a variety of forms designated as "jars" at our cemetery, she identifies a wide range of usages. (Allison 2017: 191). Such diversity of use is evidenced in grave 13.IV, of Bécsi Road cemetery where the burial held four small jars that each contained paint.[226]

6.3.3 The Evidence of Drinking: Aquincum

The evidence of primary grave goods shows that a funerary banquet of some sort which involved drinking and/or libation pouring was a common ritual during the cremation ceremony. As was mentioned in the previous section, it is likely that mourners used many of the drinking vessels found as primary grave goods for the funerary banquet, a ritual that evidence shows took

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[225] This will be discussed further under "mugs."

[226] All of the jars were coarse grained. The first jar (1) contained cinnabar red paint and the outer surface was smeared with this paint. The second jar (2) contained vermilion, while the third (3) had white paint and was besmeared with this paint on the outside surface. The fourth jar (4) contained ochre paint and the outside surface was besmeared with red and white paint. Underneath Jar #4 there was a folded, bronze, tube-shaped furrule (5), which might have been a paint brush. This cremation grave was probably a *tegulae* chamber (See page 206). This grave was likely laid out in the third or fourth century. Unfortunately, the earth-moving machinery destroyed the upper part of the grave.

place in all four periods, predominantly during the cremation ceremony. Flagons and all sorts of drinking vessels (cups) were evidently destroyed on the pyre prior to its being lit or during the cremation. There may have been several reasons for engaging in this practice: members of the community did not consider the vessels fit to use in the settlement after the funeral, or they wished to dedicate the cups, and perhaps the remaining contents, to the spirit of the deceased, or it may have been a way to demonstrate wealth, by disposing of material goods that would have otherwise been useful.

In general, funerary drinking appears to have been a popular rite and conversely it is entirely clear that flagons and cups were used for such drinking during the cremation ceremony given that in some graves large amounts of cups were found as primary grave goods, sometimes in conjunction with evidence of the flagons. For example, in grave 4.V, which dated to the late second century, excavators found the lower portion of a flagon (1) and the fragments of five drinking vessels (2–6).[227] Grave 181.VI contained a fragment of one large two-handled flagon (1) as primary material, as well as the fragments of seven drinking vessels (3–7, 9 and 15).[228] The lack of evidence for cups and flagons as primary goods that is seen in some graves may indicate that funerary drinking did not always take place. Caution should be exercised with such an interpretation, however, as not all of the pyre remains were kept and evidence may also have been lost.

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[227] The excavators did not find any secondary grave goods in this grave, possibly because the north-west portion was destroyed. This means that this might not have been a sanctified burial, but a plot that was used for the cremation ceremony, after which participants removed some of the remains and deposited them in a sanctified burial.

[228] This grave has the same issues as grave 4 of graveyard V. Excavators found this plot heavily disturbed in the corner of a stone wall, which may have demarcated a separate burial plot or graveyard. The grave furniture was heavily disturbed, and no secondary grave goods were noticed. The archaeologists were not even able to determine what type of cremation burial it was (Topál 1993: 66–67).

Drinking vessels such as beakers, mugs and small jars were also found as secondary grave gifts, indicating that similar rituals took place during the burial ceremony. These vessels may have been used for funerary drinking, and for pouring libations while the cups were probably offered as a gift to the deceased, either on their own, or filled with a substance. Unlike flagons, however, drinking vessels as secondary grave goods appear in very few graves (no more than a quarter of the graves from any given phase) and also in most cases only one cup is found in each grave at a time, although there are a few exceptions. It is tempting to view the limited number of vessels per grave as an indication that only libation and gift-giving happened at this stage and not ritual drinking.

6.3.4 Quantities of Flagons and Cups: Aquincum

The following section contains the quantification analysis conducted on the burials

containing liquid holding vessels according to the time period to which each dated burial was

assigned. Ceramic flagons and cups are treated together, since they are closely related to the

same principal activities, funerary drinking and libations. However, as will be commented on in

the discussion following this section, such vessels were not necessarily used in sets of liquid

serving and drinking vessels, the way they would often have been used in the settlement.

Flagons, which were more numerous in burials in all periods, are discussed first for each period,

followed by cups. First, the percentage of burials that carried evidence of a liquid holding vessel

is given. This number is useful, since it can reflect the popularity of the implement in the

funerary ceremony in any given period. Such a statistic must be used with caution, since many

burials, even if dated to a precise range, may be damaged, so evidence might be missing and

evidence of vessels used in the cremation ceremony might not make it into the burial. Following

this, the percentage of burials in each phase containing evidence of a liquid holding vessels as a

primary and secondary grave good is provided, as well as the percentage of burials that contain a

type of vessel as both a primary and secondary good. In this case, only burials in which primary

and secondary goods are distinguished, regardless of whether they contained liquid holding

vessel or not, are used to get the percentage. As mentioned previously, the finds from some

burials, particularly those excavated in 1937, were not able to be distinguished into primary and

secondary goods. While it is useful to include these burials in the overall total because the

inclusion of a liquid holding vessels in such burials does say something about their overall

popularity, they are not useful in quantifying their general use in the funerary ceremony. Not all

funerary ceremonies needed to include such vessels and it is important to get an idea as to how

many did for each period. Next, the numbers of burials containing multiple vessels as primary and then as secondary goods are provided. The number of vessels contained as each type of grave good might say something about ritual habits in the cremation ceremony and the significance of the vessel in the funerary ceremony. Once these numbers are given for the liquid serving vessels and then the drinking vessels, the percentage of burials containing both types of vessels is provided. Then, the percentage of graves containing both types of vessels as primary and secondary vessels is given. This gives an indication as to if such vessels were used in tandem in the cremation or the burial ceremony. At the end of each phase section, a footnote providing any burials that contain combinations of liquid serving and drinking vessels as primary and secondary goods is provided, though these numbers are not used.

All the basic statistics the author provides for the Aquincum and Carnuntum cemeteries are considered useful in isolating trends in each cemetery over time and between both cemeteries. At the end of this section and the corresponding Carnuntum section, the important aspects of this quantification are commented on and interpreted. Further key points are commented on and given further significance at the very end of the chapter when the key results from both cemeteries are compared.

Table 6-3: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Ceramic Flagons and Cups per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Flagons" and "Cups" is the total number of burials containing flagons and cups and the percentage of burials from each phase containing each item.

	Total	Flagons	Cups
1st Phase	46	26 (56.5%)	26 (56.5%)
2nd Phase	33	26 (78.8%)	19 (57.6%)
3rd Phase	32	23 (71.9%)	15 (46.9%)
4th Phase	52	29 (55.8%)	25 (48.1%)
Total	163	104 (63.8%)	85 (52.1%)

Table 6-4: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Ceramic Flagons and Cups per Phase
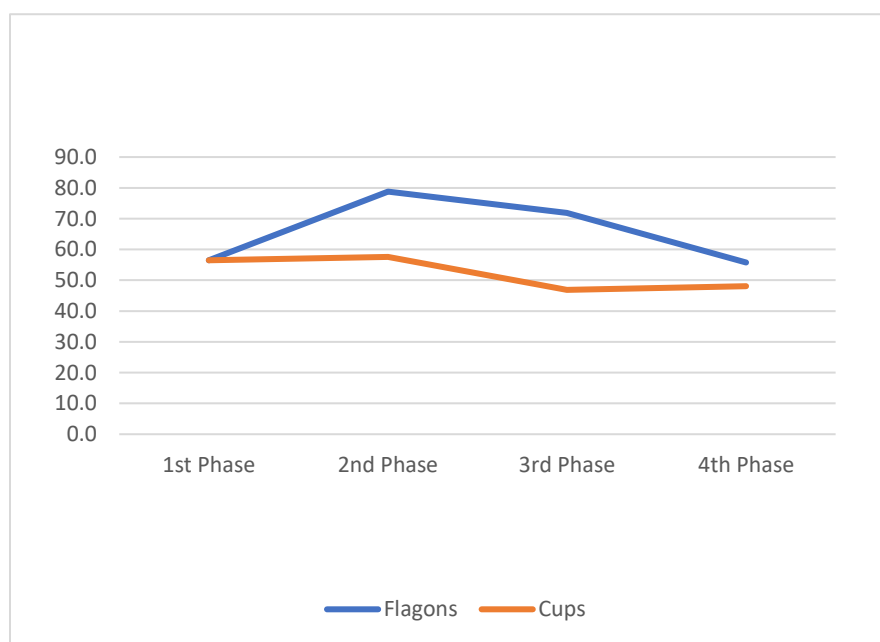
Table 6-5: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Ceramic Liquid Holding Vessels in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of vessel. Of these burials containing primary and/or secondary goods, the total and percentage of burials which contained at least one primary good and one secondary good are provided under "Both." The total amount of burials carrying flagons or cups that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

|		Flagons				Cups			
	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both	ND	Primary	Secondary	Both	ND
1st Phase	29	16 (55.2%)	10 (34.5%)	3 (10.3%)	4	13 (44.8%)	9 (31%)	1 (3.5%)	6
2nd Phase	25	18 (72.0%)	10 (40.0%)	6 (24.0%)	4	14 (56.0%)	5 (20.0%)	2 (8.0%)	4
3rd Phase	27	11 (40.7%)	14 (51.9%)	5 (18.5%)	3	8 (29.6%)	9 (33.3%)	5 (18.5%)	1
4th Phase	45	13 (28.9%)	22 (48.9%)	5 (11%)	0	18 (40.0%)	11 (24.4%)	4 (9.0%)	0

Table 6-6: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Carrying Ceramic Liquid Holding Vessels in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

Table 6-7: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Ceramic Flagons from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials containing multiple vessels of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of vessel.

		Flagons		Cups	
	Total	**Primary**	**Secondary**	**Primary**	**Secondary**
1st Phase	**29**	7 (24.1%)[229]	2 (6.9%)[230]	6 (20.7%)[231]	5 (17.2%)[232]
2nd Phase	**25**	9 (36.0%)[233]	5 (20.0%)[234]	5 (20.0%)[235]	3 (12.0%)[236]
3rd Phase	**27**	5 (18.5%)[237]	8 (29.6%)[238]	4 (14.8%)[239]	1 (3.7%)[240]
4th Phase	**45**	5 (11.1%)[241]	14 (31.1%)[242]	15 (33.3%)[243]	4 (8.9%)[244]

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[229] Six graves contained evidence of two flagons and one held evidence of three out of twenty-nine burials.

[230] Two graves contained of two flagons as secondary goods out of twenty-nine burials.

[231] Three graves contained evidence of two cups, two graves contained three cups and one grave contained four out of twenty-nine burials.

[232] Two burials contained two and three contained three out of twenty-nine burials.

[233] Six graves contained evidence of two flagons and three held evidence of three out of twenty-five burials.

[234] Three graves contained two flagons as secondary goods and two graves contained three out of twenty-five burials.

[235] Two graves contained evidence of two cups, one carried three, one held four and one grave contained five out of twenty-five burials.

[236] Three burials contained two cups out of twenty-five burials.

[237] Three graves contained evidence of two flagons, one held evidence of four and one had five out of twenty-seven burials.

[238] Five graves contained two flagons as secondary goods and three held three out of twenty-seven burials.

[239] Two graves contained evidence of two cups, one grave contained three cups and one grave contained five out of twenty-seven burials.

[240] One burial contained three cups out of twenty-seven burials.

[241] four graves contained evidence of two flagons and one held evidence of three out of forty-five burials.

[242] Seven graves contained two flagons as secondary goods, six contained three and one contained four out forty-five burials.

[243] Six graves contained evidence of two cups, four graves contained three cups, four graves contained four and one even held seven cups out of forty-five burials.

[244] Two burials contained two cups, one contained three and one held five out of forty-five burials.
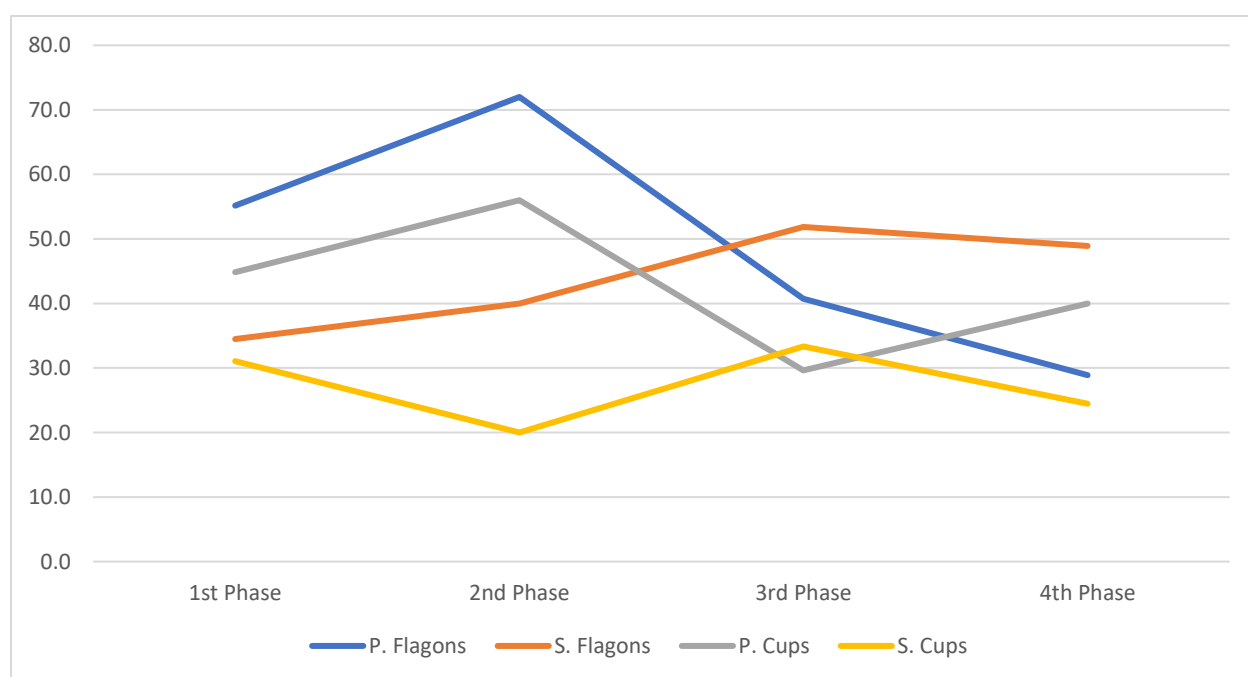
Table 6-8: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Ceramic Flagons from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished
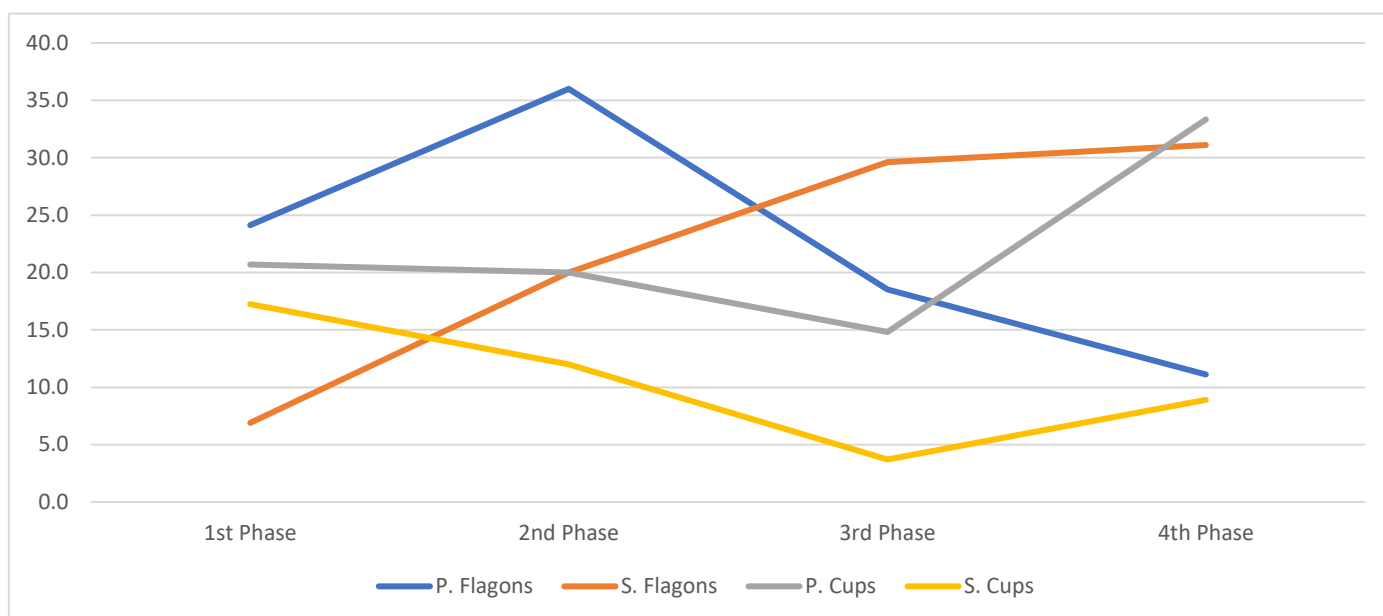
6.3.5 Burials Containing Both Ceramic Flagons and Cups: Aquincum

From the first phase approximately 73% of graves[245] that contained flagons also contained at least one corresponding drinking vessel. In approximately 47% of these cases a grave contained evidence of at least one flagon and one cup as a primary good,[246] while approximately 26% carried at least one flagon and one cup as a secondary good.[247] Several graves also contain combinations of cups and flagons as primary and secondary goods.[248] From the second phase, approximately 62.5%[249] of burials which carried a flagon also carried a cup. In

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[245] 19 of the 26 burials containing flagons.

[246] 9 of 26 burials carried at least one flagon and cup as primary goods.

[247] 5 of 26 burials contained at least one flagon and one cup as secondary gifts.

[248] Two of these graves contained at least one flagon as a primary grave good and at least one as a secondary gift as well as evidence for one cup as a primary good (Grave 6.VI and 175.VI). Only Grave 22. V contained serving and drinking vessels as both a primary and secondary grave goods. Two graves of this sample contained one flagon as a secondary gift and at least one cup as a primary grave gift (56.I and 126.VI).

[249] 15 of 24 of the burials containing a flagon.

approximately 47%[250] of these cases, a grave contained at least one flagon and one cup as a primary grave good, while 27%[251] carried both as secondary gifts. Several graves also contain combinations of cups and flagons as primary and secondary goods.[252] In the third phase, approximately 52% of burials containing a flagon also held a cup. Among this group, 58%[253] of graves contained evidence of at least one flagon and one cup as primary goods and 42%[254] carried at least one of each as secondary gifts, including one burial with at least one flagon and one cup as both a primary and secondary good.[255] Several graves also contain combinations of cups and flagons as primary and secondary goods.[256] From the fourth phase, 57%[257] of burials containing a flagon also carried a cup. Of these burials, approximately 30%[258] carried both as primary goods and 17%[259] held them as secondary gifts. Several graves also contain combinations of cups and flagons as primary and secondary goods.[260]

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[250] 7 of 15 burials carried at least one flagon and cup as primary goods.

[251] 4 of 15 burials contained at least one flagon and one cup as secondary gifts.

[252] Two contained flagons and cups as both primary grave goods and secondary gifts (10.VI and 79.VI). Two further graves contained at least one flagon as a primary grave good and as a secondary gift as well as at least one cup as a primary good (11.I and 87.VI). Finally, one grave contained at least one flagon as a primary and secondary good as well as one cup as a secondary gift (22.VI) and one grave contained a flagon as a secondary gift and evidence of a cup as a primary good (62.I).

[253] 7 of 12 graves carried at least one flagon and cup as primary goods.

[254] 5 of 12 graves contained at least one flagon and one cup as secondary gifts.

[255] Grave 81.VI contained evidence of one flagon (6) and two cups (4 and 5) as primary goods, and one flagon (2) and one cup (8) as secondary gifts.

[256] Two burials contained at least one flagon as a primary and secondary gift as well as a cup as a primary good (75.VI and 131.VI). One burial held at least one flagon as primary and secondary goods as well as a cup as a secondary gift (36.I). One burial held at least one flagon and cup as primary goods and one cup as a secondary gift (127.VI- Grave 127.VI contained one flagon (1) and three cups (2, 4–5) as a primary goods, and one cup (15) as a secondary good. Grave 127 is a double burial and the cup (15) likely belonged to the infant buried at another end of the grave-pit. A cremation was located on the other end with which the primary grave gifts were associated). Finally, one burial contained evidence of a cup as a primary good and a flagon and cup as secondary gifts (101.VI).

[257] 17 of 30 graves carrying at least one flagon and cup.

[258] 9 of 30 burials carried at least one flagon and cup as primary goods.

[259] 5 of 30 burials contained at least one flagon and one cup as secondary gifts.

[260] Three graves contained at least one flagon as a secondary gift and at least one cup as a primary gift (20.VI, 8.VII and 21.VII). In addition, a further three graves contained at least one flagon as a primary good and a secondary gift as well as at least one cup as a primary good (30.III, 34.VI, 106.VI). Finally, one grave contained evidence of cups deposited as primary goods and flagons and cups deposited as secondary gifts (29.VI).

6.3.6 Analysis of Results: Aquincum

Ceramic liquid holding vessels were quite popular as primary and secondary goods from the late first century until the mid third century, but the levels at which they appear in each phase differ. Flagons and cups are present as primary grave gifts at consistent levels in the first through the third phase. Flagons are always more popular, being found in approximately 10–15% more burials than cups, but they follow the same trajectory of popularity as cups in rising to a peak in the second phase and declining to a low point in the third phase compared to the previous two. In terms of numbers of cups and flagons found in each grave as primary goods, the flagons follow a pattern consistent with their general inclusion in the grave; a high point in the second phase and a low point in the third phase. Cups follow a different trajectory, however, as the percentage of graves containing more than one cup declines in the second phase and remains consistent in the third. While it is possible that fragments of the smaller cups did not make it from the pyre into the grave, it is also possible that fewer cups were used during the cremation ceremony. In the fourth phase, while the number of graves carrying flagons as primary goods declines to the lowest point, those containing evidence of more than one also declines. Cups on the other hand not only rise in their inclusion to almost the same level as in the second phase, but many graves contained more than one cup as a primary good. In the fourth phase, not only were there more graves containing cups as primary goods than any time other than the second phase, but more were also being used as a majority of graves containing cups, contained more than one. It appears that either greater emphasis was being placed on funerary drinking before or during the cremation ceremony, or cups were being used for libations, possibly by more people at this time than in earlier phases. Flagons, however, did not decrease significantly in popularity in this phase

compared to the previous one, just in their use before or during the cremation ceremony, or their destruction on the pyre.

As secondary goods, ceramic cups and flagons follow very similar trajectories in their inclusion in graves. During the first phase a little over 30% of graves contain at least one cup and one flagon. After this point, though, from the second to fourth phase, at least 20% more graves carry flagons as secondary goods than they do cups and in the fourth phase, 24% more graves carry at least one flagon. In the last three phases few graves contain more than one cup as a secondary gift. As an implement used in the burial ritual or as a gift to the deceased, cups do not seem to have played a large role and if they were included, usually only one sufficed. Interestingly, it is in the third and fourth phase, as flagons decline in popularity in the cremation ceremony, that they increased in popularity as secondary gifts, and the numbers show greater occurrence in more graves in these later phases. Great numbers of burials also included more than one flagon as the use of flagons and the gifting of them to the deceased during the burial ceremony increased in popularity. In the fourth phase, cups increased in popularity as vessels to use during the cremation phase.

It is possible that during the fourth phase, which was an era of general prosperity in Aquincum, there were greater numbers of people participating in the funerary ceremonies with increased activity. Such activities included collective funerary drinking, offering libations in the cremation ceremony and the deposition of flagons in the burial ceremony. An influx of immigrants during the Severan era could have brought in new influences which impacted the way funerary rituals were carried out. It is also possible that wine may have become cheaper and more popular as there appears to have been an increase in viticulture in the area surrounding Aquincum (Fitz 1982: 22). Jenő Fitz also notices that communities in and around Aquincum

became more integrated due a variety of factors discussed in chapter three (1982: 29). This increased connectivity, in addition to the other factors presented above, may help to explain why it seems that more people were involved in funerals at the time.

The evidence does not show that flagons and cups were used or deposited as a set as they might have been used in the settlement (Gassner 1993: 94). In the case of vessels used on the pyre, the evidence may not make it into the grave. In the first phase, approximately 35% of all graves containing evidence of at least one flagon also contained evidence of a cup as a primary good. In the subsequent phases, though, this only occurred in approximately 20% of the burials. Flagons interred with cups as secondary gifts was also not a common practice as only 17% to 22% of graves in any phase that contained a flagon also contained a cup deposited in the same manner. The inclusion of at least one flagon and one cup in either the cremation ceremony or the burial ceremony was not common, and in most cases did not follow the trends of cups and flagons deposited individually as primary or secondary goods.

Topál assumes that most of the grave gifts used in the ceremonies of the Bécsi Road cemetery in Aquincum originated from the local market. She noticed that flagons of the Gose 389 type (Pl. 3-1 – 3-3) which were common in the cemetery were not found in excavations of the settlement (Topál 2000a: 202). This implies craftsmen and merchants produced and sold this particular type of single- or double-handled flagon flagons especially for the funerary sphere at least in Aquincum. This observation seems to be supported by the evidence as burials that carry this type of flagon tend to only carry this type.[261] This may mean that mourners procured the

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[261] Eighteen of this type of flagon were found in the thirteen graves of the sample. The flagons found in twelve of the thirteen burials were deposited secondarily. One could not be differentiated as a primary or secondary good. Of these twelve burials, nine contained two or more flagons as secondary gifts. Only two of the graves carrying multiple flagons held other types of flagons. Grave 75.VI contained three flagons as secondary goods (1–3) and one as a primary good (4). #3 is a Gose 389 type (misshapen), while #1 and 2 are of the Póczy, Taf. V/6 (worn slips)

flagons in one place before the funerary ceremony. It is possible that producers or merchants of a particular liquid that catered to the funerary industry used flagons manufactured at a particular workshop that produced this type. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the liquid held in the containers was likely more important than the vessel itself which was inexpensive.

6.3.7 Types of Ceramic Drinking Vessels: Aquincum

Ceramic vessels that were meant to be used for drinking were manufactured in a large variety of shapes, including cups, beakers, mugs and small jars. It must be remembered, however, that these vessels may not have been always used for drinking and that other vessels such as bowls, may at times have been used to hold or consume liquids.

6.3.7.1 "Mugs"

Topál describes a small vessel that has one handle and a relatively open form (compared to a flagon, which has a slim neck) as a one-handled mug (e.g., Pl. 3-7 and 3-8). This sample contains thirteen mugs deposited in twelve burials as grave goods. One can roughly describe these mugs as having an outturned rim, around a proportionally large opening (mouth) that is slightly smaller than the bulbous body. The handle is a small one and is attached to the lower part of the rim on one end and the upper part of the body on the other. It is not surprising that eight burials containing mugs held them as primary goods, since evidence implies that funerary drinking and libation pouring took place mostly before or during the cremation phase. Three of

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type. The primary good (4) cannot be identified. Grave 106.VI contained two flagons as secondary gifts (2–3) and evidence of two as primary goods (4–5). #3 is of the Gose 389 type and #2 of the Brunsting, glattwand Ware 20 type. The fragments of two flagons found as primary grave goods (4 and 5) cannot be identified.

the burials contained them as secondary grave gifts and one mug that could not be differentiated as a primary or secondary goods.

It is interesting to note that these vessels were only found in graves in which the human remains were ascertained to be those of adult females or those of juveniles of undetermined sex. Five of the graves belonged to females who were adults,[262] while two of the burials supposedly contained the remains of juveniles.[263] Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine the sex of the juvenile individuals. Based on this pattern, they were probably female although not necessarily since it may not have been important to differentiate with ritual the sex of juveniles or children at their stage in life. Of course, as mentioned previously, the sexing and aging of these skeletons is tentative so therefore no firm conclusions can be determined from this information without a larger sample. It is possible that mourners used a mug to commemorate and mark certain females and possibly children in some burial ceremonies. If this finding is meaningful, the reasons for why only some individuals were commemorated in this way and what it marked cannot be known at this time.

6.3.7.2 Beakers

Topál labels an elongated vessel that is an appropriate size to fit in a hand as a beaker. All of the beakers in this sample are "folded," meaning that they feature oval indentations on their sides (Webster 1976: 9). This sample contains ten beakers deposited in nine burials as grave goods. Dents on the bodies of these vessels characterizes the vessel, which otherwise varies in

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[262] Grave 17.VI held an adult/mature female and grave 34.VI contained a mature female. Graves 30.I, 29.V and grave 7.III supposedly held adult females.
[263] Grave 120.VI contained a juvenile and grave 30.III contained a juvenile or an Infant II (approximately 7–15 years of age).

shape. All the beakers have between five (Pl. 3-9 and 3-10) and eight dents (Pl. 3-11).[264] The fabric of most of the beakers is listed as coarse with the exception of one which has a fine fabric.[265] This piece features a shiny grey slip, while most of the other folded cups do not show evidence of having any surface treatment. In fact, only three pieces show evidence of having any sort of colour-coating.[266] In the sample, six burials contained beakers as primary goods and three contained them as secondary gifts.

Eight of the nine burials containing beakers are of graveyard VI, which was located on the northern section of the Bécsi Road cemetery. The other grave is of graveyard VII which is just north of graveyard VI.[267] Given that the graves in which they were found are clustered in the northern part of the cemetery and they date between the late second to mid third century, it is possible that a merchant in the area sold vessels like this. Further evidence from the settlement is required in order to determine whether or not this hypothesis has any merit.

6.3.7.3 Small Jars

Topál uses the term "jar" (*olla*) to describe a wide variety of small vessels with a narrow base that tapers into a bulbous body before the mouth. Numerous types of jars were found in the cemetery, so this section will only deal with the three most widespread types that all share roughly the same shape, the Oelmann 94 type, the Brunstring Firnisware 2a type and the Oelmann 87 type. In the Aquincum sample, forty-three of these vessels are found in thirty-five

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[264] The number of "folds" or dents of each cup was difficult to determine since most were found as primary grave goods. There were two pieces with five indents, two with six indents, and one with eight shallow indents.

[265] Find #2 of grave 14.VI. It is the most unusual of all of the folded beakers. It has a narrow base and a cylindrical body that is shorter than the other beakers, so consequently the dents are also short. The ridges that lie between the eight dents are narrow and more pronounced.

[266] Find #12 of grave 29.VI has a worn red coating on the inside and outside of the piece, while find #4 of grave 68.VI is coated in orange paint on the outside and find # 4 of grave 3.V has a brownish-red coating inside and on the outer surface.

[267] Grave 8.VII and grave 3.V.

burials. Three burials contain more than one type.[268] Of the thirty-four burials twenty-two

contained them as primary goods, eleven carried them as secondary goods and those of two

burials could not be distinguished as primary or secondary goods. Of these two burials contained

at least one jar as a primary and secondary good.[269]

The largest group of small jars featured in the sample are of the Oelmann 87 type (Pl. 3-

12).[270] Twenty-five vessels of this type were found in twenty-four graves. The fabric of this type

is coarse and gritty, with none of the jars showing signs of surface treatment. Three cups from

this list are of local origin.[271] Eleven jars of the Brunstring Firnisware 2a type were deposited in

nine graves (Pl. 3-13). All the jars of this type were colour coated (*firnisware*) on the surface and

eight of the fourteen jars were decorated with a roughcast. Topál mentions that at least one of

them was supposedly an imitation of an imported ware which demonstrates that the craftsman

was in tune with forms elsewhere.[272] Another significant form of small drinking vessel is the

Oelmann 94 type (Pl. 3-14).[273] In all, there were seven of this type found in five burials. All these

pieces are coarse and gritty, except one.[274] Because these wares are considered to have been

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[268] Grave 79.VI contained two Brunstring, Firnisware 2a type (4, 5) and an Oelmann 87 type (3); grave 106.VI held two of the Oelmann 94 type (6, 9) and one of the Oelmann 87 type (1); Grave 181.VI contains two of the Oelmann 94 types (4, 7) and two of the Oelmann 87 type (5, 6).

[269] Grave 97.VI contained one jar as a primary good (5) and two as secondary gifts (3, 4); grave 106.VI contained two jars as primary goods (6, 9) and one as a secondary gift (1).

[270] Vessels of the Oelmann 87 type are also referenced in the catalogue as the Gose 535, Ritterling 87a, Bonis XVIII/27, Müller, Taf. 52, 281/6 and Brunsting Rauhwand Ware 1a types. All five of these types are similar and are included with the Oelmann 87 type with the total for this type.

[271] Find #7 of grave 3.I, find #3 of grave 14.I and find #2 of grave 21.I are believed to have been produced locally.

[272] Topál mentions that find #3 of grave 13.VI were manufactured locally, while find #4 of grave 21.VII was an imitation of an imported ware. This piece has a cornice rim, a brownish metallic slip, both on the outside and inside surface, and a rough cast was applied to the outer surface.

[273] Vessels of the Oelmann 94 type are also given in the catalogue as the Schörgendorfer 211 and Brunsting Glattwand Ware 11 types. All three of these types are similar and are included with the Oelmann 94 type with the total for this type.

[274] In the supposed grave 181.VI, find # 4 has a dark red bunt slip.

inexpensive, they were likely produced and distributed in the region. In most cases, these vessels were used for funerary drinking and libations, but some exceptions exist.

Most of these jars were probably used for holding liquids; however, this may not have always been the case. In grave 13.IV, excavators found four jars that had once been filled with paint (Pl. 2-12). Interestingly, in the burial, these jars were used to hold up the *tegula* covering the cremation grave; therefore, they may not have been offerings but simply chosen to act as architectural elements. One jar of the Oelmann 87 type was used as an urn (1) in grave 106.VI (Pl. 2-31). These examples demonstrate that context is valuable in determining the function of a vessel typically associated with drinking.

6.3.7.4 Fine ware and Imported Cups

The drinking vessels that have been discussed up to this point are low-cost coarse ware vessels with little embellishment on the surface. Most of the vessels of the catalogue are of this type and caliber but several types of major fine wares were found as well. The most common type of fine ware cup is the *terra sigillata* Drag. 33 type with only five examples found in four graves (Pl. 3-15). The bottom of the vessel extends beyond the ring base to a sharp transition to the flaring wall with a rounded rim. Unfortunately, since all the vessels were fragmented and burnt as primary grave goods it was not possible to pinpoint their place of manufacture.

Imported wares help to demonstrate where goods that ended up in the grave may have come from. At the very least these wares help to determine from where at certain times the area was receiving their higher-end ceramics. Since flagons appear to have been mainly produced in the region, drinking vessels that were found in the cemetery better demonstrate the links that existed to other regions, since they came from farther afield. Of the nine fine ware cups found in

seven burials that were identified as imported in the catalogue, all but one[275] were deposited in graves of the late first and early second century early in the development of the *canabae*.[276] Of these eight pieces, four of them were either imports from northern Italy (e.g., Pl. 3-18), or are suspected to have been (e.g., Pl. 3-16 and 3-17).[277] The fact that many of the obviously imported cups came from northern Italy is not surprising, given that many higher end ceramics came to Aquincum from northern Italy in the late first and early second century due to trade (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 188). Several other cups that were probably imported, either by merchants or migrating people have parallels in Emona, Poetovio and even Carnuntum, major centers along the Amber Road, which led to northern Italy.[278] Considering that most pottery was made relatively close to where it was bought, it makes sense that more exotic and expensive wares might be imported into the region before a local industry was developed to meet demand.

From the above evidence, it is clear that mourners did not often offer fine ware, imported cups in the graves. When they did use imported wares, it was generally in the early period of the settlement, before a local industry became established. Later in the settlement history, imported fine wares and influences on local potters came from the western provinces like Gaul instead of Italy. The *terra sigillata* cups or at least their style, for example (the cups in the shape of Drag. 33) that for the most part date from the late second century and the early third century, probably came from provinces further west. Certainly, there were also a few *terra nigra* fine ware forms

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[275] Grave 11.I (11), dates to the second third of the third century.

[276] Grave 41.I (1) and grave 52.I (1) both date to between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. Grave 82.I (2, 3) dates to the Domitianic-Trajanic period. Grave 38.I (2, 5) date to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period. Grave 80.I (5) dates to the first third of the second century. All of these graves are from graveyard I, the earliest occupied cemetery of the Bécsi Road. Grave 22.V (6) dates to the turn of the first to second century.

[277] Find #1 from grave 52.I and find #1 from grave 41.I are from northern Italy, while Topál suspects that find #5 from grave 80.I is from northern Italy or Aquileia and find #6 from grave 22.V is derived from northern Italy. Both of the latter finds have precedents found in Emona a major center along the Amber Road, through which these imports came through, if they were brought in through trade.

[278] See previous note (83) Find #2 from grave 82.I has parallels from Emona, Poetovio and Carnuntum, while find #1, a conical beaker, has a parallel in Poetovio.

that may have been imported, as well.[279] Forms that are similar to Belgian Ware 21b, but were

identified as coarse ware, were also present. It is quite possible that these wares were imported

into the region or at the very least their form and style influenced the region manufacturers.[280]

6.4   Liquid Holding Vessels: Carnuntum

Turning to Carnuntum, the evidence suggests a very different set of rituals in the funerary

ceremony as far as drinking is concerned. There is no evidence for burnt ceramic serving vessels

and very few burnt drinking vessels found in the sample from Carnunntum, which marks a

significant difference from the findings of Aquincum. This may have to do with the fact that the

excavation of the cemetery was far from ideal as it was a rescue operation brought on by road

construction.[281] Damaged and only partially excavated burials as well as a lack of professional

workers negatively influenced the quality of the excavations (see pages 156-157). It must be kept

in mind that the excavators assumed that the grave inventory was larger than what they had

actually identified in some of the graves, so some material in burials is missing (Gassner and

Jilek 1999: 78). Excavators may also have had strict criteria for differentiating between the

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[279] In grave 107.VI excavators found the form of a Burnsting, *terra nigra* 5a cup (3) which dates to the second century. In grave 140.VI they found a Brunsting *terra nigra* 19 cup (7), which dated from the late second to early third century. Both pieces are fine wares and have a grey to black glossy slip.

[280] Brunsting Belgian Ware 21b type. One was from grave 17.I (4) and the other was from grave 18.I (2), both of which are dated to within the first third of the second century. Both contained senile female remains. Grave 17 is a cremation grave (with the intrusion of an inhumation grave dating to the mid fourth century), while grave 18 is an inhumation grave. Find #1 from the cremation grave 173.VI is listed as a Brunsting, Firnisware 3a type, but is referenced in Topál 2003a with both of the above finds as being similar. The piece dates to the late second century. Grave 18 also contains a cup with an overall "bronze-brown," yet flecked, matte colour-coating, which has a parallel in grave 110 of Emona.

[281] The robbery of burials and agricultural activities already damaged burials before they were excavated. Earth-moving machinery that took off the first 30cm of soil from the surface damaged some burials. Archaeologists could only excavate within the area of development, so burials straddled the area inside this area and out were only partially excavated. Finally, there was a shortage of funds, so they could not hire professionals and had to rely on volunteer amateurs (Stiglitz 1999: 9–10).

fragmented artifacts in the pyre debris and in the fragments in the grave fill. This may in part explain why far fewer primary goods are recorded at this site than at Aquincum. Still, the results are too striking to be purely the result of this shortcoming even if we take into account the very different state of preservation and the differences how the material was sorted.

The sample of well dated burials that fit into the phase system is not large with forty-seven graves in total and only thirty-six cremation burials, but it is large enough to demonstrate striking differences in the funerary ritual between the two sites. Only two cremation graves can be dated to the second phase, which is not enough, unfortunately, to comment on any changes in the funerary ritual that may have taken place between the middle and later half of the second century. Twenty-one cremation graves date to the third phase, while thirteen date to the fourth phase. In this sample there are some inhumation graves, six in the third phase and five in the fourth phase. While this project concerns itself mainly with cremation graves, the information from the inhumation graves which can be precisely dated is useful and will inform some parts of the analysis. In addition, some cremation graves have not been precisely dated, but they contain useful material that will be used in some interpretation where chronological considerations need not play a part.

6.4.1 Quantities of Liquid Holding Vessels: Carnuntum

In graves that were precisely dated, ceramic liquid serving vessels appear to have made up a very large portion of the grave goods, especially as compared to drinking vessels. Gassner (1993: 94) points out that liquid serving vessels are one of the most common type of ceramic vessels that were deposited as grave goods (as were incense bowls), but the sample of more precisely dated graves does not show this.

Table 6-9: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Ceramic Liquid Serving Vessels and Cups per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Liquid Serving" and "Cups" is the total number of burials containing liquid serving vessels and cups and the percentage of burials from each phase containing each item.

	Total	Liquid Serving	Cups
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	1 (50.0)%)
3rd Phase	27	4 (14.8%)	12 (44.4%)
4th Phase	18	3 (16.7%)	4 (22.2%)
Total	47	7 (14.9%)	17 (36.2%)

Table 6-10: Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Ceramic Liquid Serving Vessels and Cups of the Third and Fourth Phase
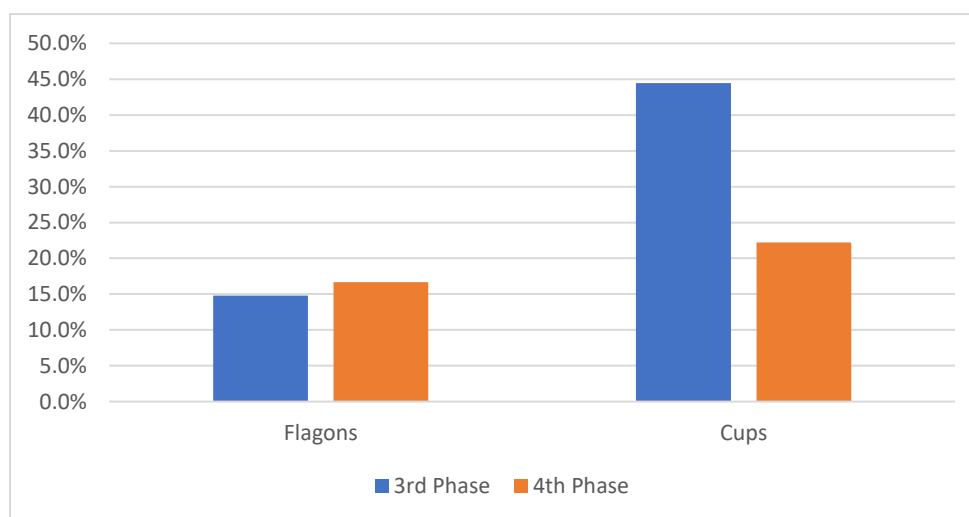
Table 6-11: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Ceramic Liquid Holding Vessels as Primary and Secondary Goods[282]

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of vessel.

		Liquid Serving		Cups	
	Total	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (50.0%)
3rd Phase	21	0 (0.0%)	3 (14.3%)	3 (14.3%)	5 (23.8%)
4th Phase	13	0 (0.0%)	2 (15.4%)	2 (15.4%)	2 (15.4%)

Table 6-12: Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Ceramic Liquid Holding Vessels as Primary and Secondary Goods of the Third and Fourth Phase

Each bar shows the percentage of cremation burials in the third and fourth phases that carry serving vessels or cups as primary (P.) and secondary goods (S.) for each phase.
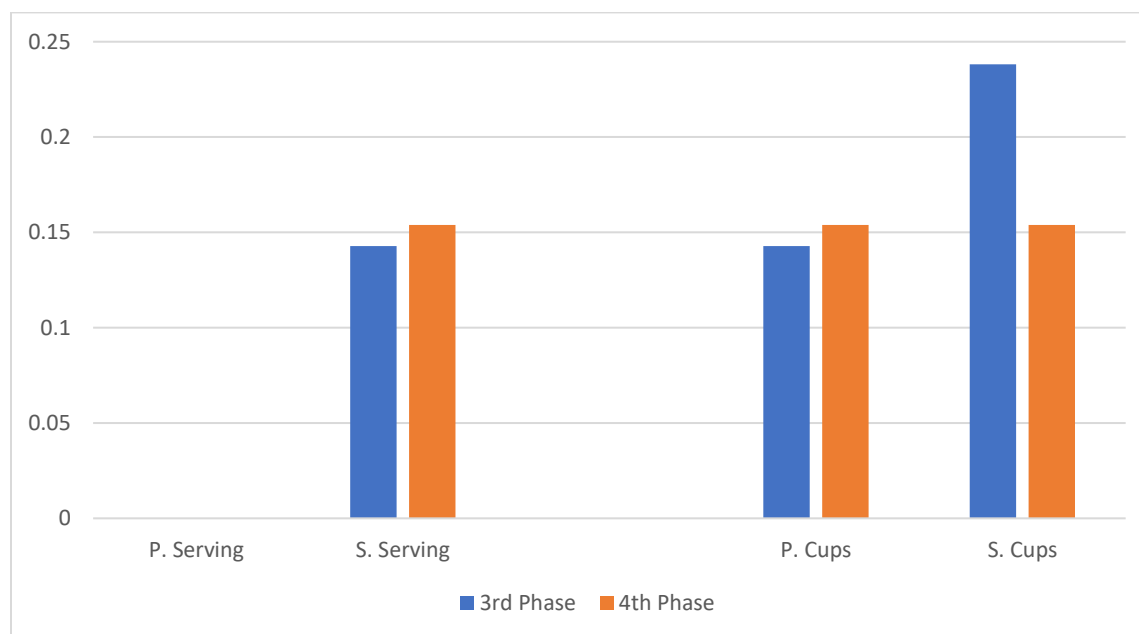
[282] From the third phase, one of the six inhumation burials contained a liquid serving vessel and four of the six contained a cup. From the fourth phase, one inhumation burial contained a liquid serving vessel and one contained a cup.

6.4.2 Analysis of Results: Carnuntum

Ceramic liquid serving vessels are certainly less important in the cremation rites as none are recorded as primary goods, while in both phases some cups are recorded as primary goods. Even as secondary goods they do not appear to have been popular in any phase. More drinking vessels than serving vessels were found in the burials of this cemetery with approximately 36% of all dated burials[283] containing a cup. They were most popular in the third phase and remained more popular than liquid serving vessels in the fourth phase. In the third phase, a higher percentage of burials contained cups as secondary goods than liquid serving vessels, but in the fourth phase they were approximately equal in the percentage of burials they were found in. Burials of the third phase carried the most liquid holding vessels with 52% of graves[284] carrying at least one. Interestingly, though only two of these graves contained a cup and a liquid serving vessel,[285] otherwise burials either contained one or the other and in most cases, it was only a cup. During the fourth phase, 39% of burials[286] contained a liquid holding vessel, all as single finds. Evidence from this sample shows that cups were not as popular during this phase compared to the third phase. In both the third and fourth phases most often one liquid holding vessel was deposited, and during the third phase, the preference was clearly for a cup. In the settlement, a liquid serving vessel and a cup often formed a drinking set (Gassner 1993: 94); however, in death, this pairing was rare.[287]

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[283] 17 of 47 burials of all periods.

[284] 14 of 27 burials of the third phase.

[285] 2 of 13 burials containing liquid holding vessels. Grave 93, a cremation burial, contained a cup (1) and a liquid serving vessel (2), and inhumation grave 96 contained a cup (1) and a liquid serving vessel (2).

[286] 7 of 18.

[287] Graves 93 (2) and 96 (2). The liquid serving vessels were paired with a small jar/*olla* (1) and a folded beaker (1), respectively.

6.4.3 Serving Vessel Types: Carnuntum

The ceramic liquid serving vessels from the Carnuntum cemetery are not as uniform in their shape as those from Aquincum, where flagons, a liquid serving vessel commonly with at least one handle and no spout, were most frequently used in the funerary ceremony. Five principal forms of serving vessels are present in the sample. The first type of vessel, of which there are two, resemble the single-handled flagons found more commonly in Aquincum (Pl. 3-19).[288] This type of vessel was very common in the settlement of Carnuntum (Gassner 1993: 39–40). A more bulbous vessel with a shorter neck and two handles is similar to the flagons in that it does not have a spout (Pl. 3-20).[289] The second type of serving vessel is a jug with two examples (Pl. 3-21).[290] The principal difference between a flagon and a jug is that a jug has a spout (Webster 1976: 19). In this case, both vessels have a thickened, triangular rim. This type was found in smaller numbers in the settlement than the flagons (Gassner 1999: 41). One serving vessel has three handles, and a wide neck and mouth (Pl. 3-22).[291] The last type was a larger, two-handled vessel with no spout that likely served as a storage vessel for liquid goods (Gassner 1999: 97; see Pl. 3-23).[292] A variety of forms were used in the funerary ceremony that appear to have been produced locally.

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[288] The flagons from graves 93 (2) and 96 (2).
[289] Grave 188 (1).
[290] Graves 170 (4) and 193 (1).
[291] Grave 174C (1).
[292] Grave 112 (2).

6.4.4 Drinking Vessel Types: Carnuntum

The ceramic cups of the Carnuntum sample fall into two principal types.[293] The first of these types is a locally produced folded beaker with seven examples found in eight graves. Six of the seven are fine wares.[294] Of these one was found in a burial of the second phase,[295] five were found in burials of the third phase[296] and one was found a burial of the fourth phase.[297] Of the seven graves, three of them are inhumation graves. [298] Of the cremation graves, two appear as primary grave goods[299] and two were deposited as secondary gifts.[300] Six of the seven beakers[301] featured an applied colour coating with a rough cast treatment on their outer surface (Pl. 3-24). Such folded beakers differ from those of Aquincum, which tend to be coarse ware with little surface treatment.

The second type of cup is the *terra sigillata* form, Drag. 33 which was found in seven burials of the Carntunum sample (Pl. 3-26). Of these four were found in burials of the third phase,[302] while three were found in burials of the fourth phase.[303] Of the seven graves, two of them are inhumation graves.[304] Of the five cremation burials, three of these cups were deposited

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[293] Two cups of other forms were also discovered of which only one example exits of each. Grave 52 contained a two-handled conical shaped, fine ware cup (1). The vessel has a wheel pattern that circles the middle of the cup and a grey matt colour-coating. Gassner believes this piece to be amongst the earliest examples of fine ware to have been placed in the cemetery and that it is a local imitation of a foreign product (1999: 37). Grave 80A contained an egg-shaped coarse ware jar (1) of a type common in the Aquincum cemetery material and in Pannonia in general (Miglbauer 1999: 49). Both pieces were deposited as secondary gifts.
[294] Find #5 from grave 127 has course white inclusions and a rough surface.
[295] Find #2 of grave 25. There are only two graves in this period.
[296] #3 of grave 73, #1 of grave 96, #1 of grave 98, #5 of grave 127 and #1 of grave 140.
[297] #1 of grave 103.
[298] Graves 96, 103 and 127.
[299] #3 of grave 73 and #1 of grave 140.
[300] #2 of grave 25 and #1 of grave 98.
[301] find #5 from grave 127 has no coating (Pl. 3-25).
[302] Find #1 of grave 105 and find #1 of grave 171. Graves 114 (1) and 166 (2) are inhumation burials of this phase.
[303] Find #3 of grave 78, find #1 of grave 117 and find #1 of grave 141.
[304] Graves 114 and 166.

as primary grave goods[305] and two were offered as secondary gifts.[306] Christine Kandler-Zöchann believes that this type of cup was imported (1999: 35). Three Drag. 33 cups were imported from Rheinzabern,[307] three come from Middle Gaul[308] and one of them was from Pfaffenhofen.[309]

Evidence shows that the cup, at least in most of the above combinations, seems to be a marker of a female. Even though anthropologists have not for the most part been able to sex and age the cremated remains, we are able to get a sense of the gender of those buried with these accoutrements based on evidence provided from the remains from inhumation graves which are easier to sex and age than cremation burials. The inhumation graves of the sample appear to have contained similar inventories as those found in many of the cremation graves.[310] Of the inhumations, three contained adult females, one contained a juvenile female[311] and one was of a neonate for which the sex could not be determined.[312] Two of the cremation graves contained adults.[313] The fact that all of the inhumation graves containing a cup except one were determined to contain women, which provides a solid basis from which to interpret cups accompanying cremated remains.

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[305] Find #1 of grave 105, #1 of grave 117 and #1 of grave 192.

[306] Find #1 of grave 117 and find #1 of grave 171.

[307] Graves 78 (3), 105 (1) and 114 (1).

[308] Find # 1 of grave 171 and find #2 of grave 166. Find # 1 of grave 171 has the stamp, QUINTI M., while find #2 of grave 166 has the remains of the stamp, …]ATI.

[309] Find #1 of grave 117.

[310] Graves 103, 166, 127, and 114 are inhumation graves and all contain just a cup, just like the cremation graves 52, 105, and 166. Grave 96, which is the other inhumation grave contains a cup, liquid serving vessel, and two bronze rings, which is similar to the cremation grave 80A, which contains a cup and a glass flask, which is like the cup and liquid serving vessel from grave 96, as well as a golden pendent and a bronze fibula, which are for personal adornment, just like the two bronze rings. In addition, grave 80A contains two asses and a lamp.

[311] Grave 96 contained late to mature (51–60) female, grave 103 held an early juvenile female (13–14), grave 127 preserved an early adult female (19–22) and grave 166, contained an early adult female, as well (22–25). All four were simple inhumation burials.

[312] This burial is an I5 burial, which means that the body was probably incased in a wooded coffin. Nails are present on three corners of the soil discolouration surrounding the remains. Above the discolouration were some adult bones, possibly of an adult, which did not belong to this grave.

[313] Grave 98 contained a mature individual (41–60), while grave 140 contained an adult (19–40).

Even though the cremation graves containing cups were not able to be sexed, some items buried with them may mark a female identity. Gold earrings (grave 117) and a gold pendant (grave 80A) likely indicate a female, while a knife (grave 25) might as well.[314] Burials for which the sex was able to be determined and/or contained gifts that carry a feminine connotation, accounted for 41% of the burials containing cups.[315] While this is not enough of a correlation to draw any absolute conclusions, it is an association worth further examination with a larger sample of burials. If there is a correlation between females and cups in the funerary record, then why do some women have them, and others do not? In such cases, it is possible that the cup was placed on the pyre but evidence of it did not make it into the grave.[316] It is also likely that not all females needed to be marked in this way. Noteworthy is that none of the four cremation graves for which the remains were able to be sexed contained a cup.[317] Perhaps females, who were buried according to these rites, were marked as such in a way that is not necessarily archaeologically visible in the burial.[318]

6.5   Liquid Holding Vessels: Comparison

Evidence shows that ceramic liquid serving vessels played a much more prominent role in the funerary ritual of Aquincum than that of Carnuntum. In Aquincum flagons appeared as either primary or secondary grave goods in a little less than 60% of all graves during the first and

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[314] See page 404.

[315] 7 of 17 of all burials of the Carnuntum publication regardless of their dating.

[316] The cups of graves 73, 93 and 105 were primary grave goods and the cup of grave 140 was likely placed by the fire since some of the surface was burnt.

[317] Presumably, inurned remains are easier to identify since usually more bones are contained within a vessel and they are better protected from the elements. The urns of graves 139, 167 and 179 only contained bones, while the urn of grave 156 did contain pyre remains, as well.

[318] According to the excavators none of the graves except for gave 179 contained any grave gifts, some of which had feminine connotations, such as a bronze ring (15), a knife handle (16) and a lead mirror frame (17). The grave also contained a liquid serving vessel.

fourth phase, while during the middle of the second century, they are found in 78% of graves. This is far more than at Carnuntum, where at most, during the third phase, evidence of serving vessels is only found in approximately 15% of graves. Furthermore, the fact that all the liquid serving vessels found in graves at Carnuntum were deposited as secondary grave goods demonstrates that drinking was not part of the cremation ceremony in the way that it was in Aquincum.

Of course, the activities that took place during the cremation phase are notoriously difficult to determine, but it is telling that there is also a marked difference in the number of liquid-serving vessels that were deposited secondarily. Here too the people at Aquincum were far more likely to deposit such vessels than the people of Carnuntum.[319] Furthermore, in regard to Carnuntum, no burials of the sample contained more than one liquid serving vessel,[320] while in the burials of Aquincum, it was not as uncommon, especially as it pertained to the third and fourth phases that a grave held more than one serving vessel as a secondarily.[321]

The evidence indicates that in Carnuntum drinking vessels were much more prevalent and perhaps more important for mourners to deposit as grave offerings than were serving vessels, especially in the third phase when 44% of burials contained them as primary or secondary goods. This total is roughly comparable to that of the Aquincum cemetery, where 47% of the third phase graves contained at least one drinking vessel as a primary or secondary grave good. Although in Carnuntum, all the graves that contained a cup as a secondary grave good contained only one,

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[319] With regards to the Aquincum material from the third and the fourth phase which is the time period when the southern cemetery of Carnuntum was active, 48% of graves from the third phase contained flagons as secondary grave goods, and 44% of burials from the fourth phase held flagons as secondary offerings. Concerning the burials from Carnuntum during that same time period, 17% of graves from the third phase held liquid serving vessels and 11% from the fourth phase contained liquid serving vessels.

[320] Grave 178 dated to the third century did contain two ceramic liquid serving vessels.

[321] 27% of all graves.

while at Aquincum the same was true for approximately 62% of burials[322] that contained at least one cup as a secondary gift. This suggests at least some areas of similarity in the funerary rites of both locations at least as far as the depositing of cups is concerned.[323]

These similarities should not be over emphasized because in the southern cemetery of Carnuntum, drinking vessels became less popular in the fourth phase as only 17% of graves contained a cup, while in Aquincum they grew in popularity again as 49% of graves contained at least one cup. In the majority of burials at Aquincum cups were deposited as primary goods at this time and numerous graves contained more than one. It is possible that the popularity of cups reached its zenith during the third phase in Carnuntum but at that same time in Aquincum their popularity was at its lowest point.

In Aquincum, ritual drinking and pouring libations were an important part of the cremation ceremony of many funerals, despite the decline in the use of flagons during the third and fourth phase. In Carnuntum, interestingly, this practice does not appear to have been as prevalent, since no serving vessels and few cups occurred as primary grave goods in the burials.

6.6 Conclusion

Ceramic liquid serving vessels (found as both primary and secondary goods) and the rituals which they imply were much more popular in Aquincum than Carnuntum. Even though the Carnuntum sample did not contain many liquid serving vessels a variety of forms were used.

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[322] 21 of 36 burials containing a cup as a secondary gift.

[323] In the Aquincum cemetery, the point is emphasized by the fact that there were significantly fewer cups used during the cremation phase, or at least discarded, since there was a huge drop seen between the second phase and the third phase (48% vs 22%) before rebounding in popularity again in the third century, when 39% of graves contained at least one cup as a primary grave good.

The sampling of cups from each cemetery dating to the third and fourth phases provides a much better data set for comparative analysis, despite the fact that Aquincum provides greater numbers of ceramic cups and more variety of forms. In Carnuntum most cups with the exception of one beaker were fine wares of either the folded beaker or Drag. 33 forms, and during the second half of the second century, when the use of cups in this cemetery was at its peak most cups were placed secondarily. In Aquincum, both the later mentioned forms were present, but did not dominate; instead, the Oelmann 87 type jar was the most popular type found. Many other forms of drinking vessels were also found, however, with the majority of all cups being categorized as coarse wares.

Within the context of ritual practice mourners used these cups only slightly differently in each of the two locales. All of Drag. 33 cups found in Aquincum cemetery were primary grave goods, while at Carnuntum, in the cremation graves three were found as primary grave goods and two as secondary gifts. However, the sample is too small to indicate any meaningful difference between the treatment of the *sigillata* cups. In regard to the folded beakers, at both sites they were used in the cremation ceremony and were deposited as secondary grave goods.

This comparison highlights that the rituals performed in each cemetery could be quite different. While we cannot necessarily come to firm conclusions about the specific rituals themselves, the difference in some of the materials and the way in which they were deposited in the grave do indicate that the material was meaningfully used. How much these practices reflected an internalized sense of sameness cannot be known. Common practices, however, in ritually charged communal events that happen on occasion promote connectivity and can contribute to an overall sense of belonging in a community.

In both cemeteries, cups, or at least particular kinds of cups, may be associated with females. In the Aquincum sample, a correlation may exist between females and mugs, while in the Carnuntum sample a single drinking vessel may be associated with a female. Such correlations between particular vessels, particularly cups, and a particular demographic are not surprising. In fact, Cool and Baxter noticed a strong correlation between glass cups and adult males at the Roman-British cemetery of Brougham which was occupied mostly in the third century. They see such cups as a mark of a particular male status, as they note that not all burials containing men are accompanied with a cup (Cool and Baxter 2005: 128–129). Not much more beyond this can be said about this correlation without further evidence. This same sentiment can be applied to the findings in these cemeteries. The correlation between females and mugs is not conclusive since the sexing of the human remains is not certain. In addition, the sample of burials containing mugs is very small compared to the overall sample. The correlation between females and cups in the Carnuntum cemetery may be stronger, but it is still not conclusive. In both cases, the cup is associated mostly with adult females, but juveniles and children also contain the item. In such instances, the cup simply marks a female, or an ideal status in life that has not been reached by the young deceased. The placing of a cup or a mug may also indicate that a female belongs to a certain community. Further research which tests the findings in a larger dataset and takes into account more aspects of the assemblage and the rituals that they represent might reveal deeper meaningful patterns.

7 Chapter 7: Implements for Serving and Consuming Solid Foods

7.1 Introduction

This category includes pots, which mourners presumably used as storage for solid food, as well as bowls and plates which participants used to present or consume solid foods. As was the case concerning the implements involved in the consumption of liquids, the categories of goods here do not necessarily imply a particular function. Although plates could only hold solids, pots and bowls may also have served several interchangeable functions involved with the storage and consumption of both liquid and solid foods. The categorization and determination of function of some of these implements is made difficult since the evidence is often fragmentary. When the function of the piece is in doubt, it will either not be used, or the concern over the item's ambiguity will be addressed.

7.2 Pots: Introduction

Pots, vases and large coarse-ware jars were presumably used to hold solid foods for serving, storage or presentation (Crummy 2007: 429; Polfer 2000: 35). These items were commonly used in other cemeteries as burial urns, which was discussed in a previous chapter, so they will not be included here. Mourners may have also used deep bowls for the presentation and the storage of solid material.

7.2.1 Pots: Aquincum

Table 7-1: Aquincum: Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Pots per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Pots," is the total number of burials containing pots and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a pot.

	Total	Pots
1st Phase	46	3 (6.5%)
2nd Phase	33	6 (18.2%)
3rd Phase	32	6 (18.8%)
4th Phase	52	2 (3.8%)

Table 7-2: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Pots in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods. The total amount of burials carrying pots that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

	Total	Primary	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	29	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%	3 (10.3%)
2nd Phase	25	5 (20.0%)	1 (4.0%)	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	4 (14.8%)	2 (7.4%)	0 (0.0%)
4th Phase	45	2 (4.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)

From the first phase, only approximately 6.5% of burials[324] contain pots as grave goods and they all come from burials of graveyard I. All are described only as grave goods, but it is likely that one example can be categorized as a primary good and two as secondary gifts.[325] In the second phase the number of pots increases, but they are still only found in 18% of the graves and most are primary goods.[326] In the second phase only four burials contained evidence of at least one pot. One of these four burials contained two and another four.[327] From the third phase 19% of burials contain one pot.[328] From the fourth phase, only two burials contained a pot, both as primary grave goods.[329]

Pots were not a significant part of the inventory of the funerary ritual in only the third period and when pots were used, it was most often during the cremation phase (e.g., Pl. 4-1 – 4.5). With two exceptions, only evidence of one pot was found at a time in a burial. Lack of evidence for pots in burials may indicate that they were not widely used in rituals, were not considered appropriate to deposit as secondary grave goods or perhaps were used and then taken

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[324] 3 of 46 graves of the first phase.

[325] The remains of the pot, find #3 from grave 71.I, are burnt on the outside, so the vessel could be a primary grave good, but it may have been burnt during use in the settlement, possibly as a cooking pot. The small pot (3) from grave 38.I is whole so it was likely a secondary grave good. The rim and the shoulder have rouletting on it, so it may not have been for food, but for drinking, since it was small. The large pot found as a secondary grave good in grave 53.I, (2) was likely used for the presentation or storage of food during the funeral.

[326] The one fragment (3), from grave 96.I, offered as a secondary grave good, was the upper portion of a large cooking pot, which the scholars believe may have been a used as a cinerary urn. Grave 96.I was excavated in 1937, so details concerning the type of cremation grave it was are not available. The pots of grave 1.I (1, 6, 9–10), grave 11.I (9), grave 33.I (5) and grave 62.I (3–4), grave 96.I (3) as well as grave 97.VI (4) were deposited as primary goods.

[327] Grave 62.I (3–4) and grave 1.I (1, 6, 9–10). Find #6 is called a 'small pot' so it could be a drinking vessel.

[328] Graves 43.V (4), grave 51.V (2), 81.VI (7) and 101.VI (6) carried the pots as primary goods. Grave 16.V (2) and grave 81. VI (3) and). Of the secondary grave goods, only the upper half find #3 from grave 81.VI is preserved and it is burnt. The piece must have been considered a secondary grave good because a large portion is preserved. This piece must have been burnt on or near the pyre since it was burnt secondarily. From what remains of the piece it is described as a "deep bowl-like pot," probably because the mouth of the piece is almost as wide as the wall of the body, which curves inwards towards the bottom very little. Find #2 from grave 16.V is a large *olla*, or jar, the upper half of which earth-moving machinery destroyed.

[329] 2 of 53 burials of the fourth phase. Only the base (8) survived of grave 106.VI and the pot (5) of Grave 120.VI (5) was coarse with comb-décor.

away to be used again. For the presentation, storage and offering of solid goods, other vessels such as plates or bowls must have sufficed, at least for the rituals themselves.

7.2.2 Pots: Carnuntum

In Carnuntum, pots are found less commonly in the funerary context than at Aquincum, as the site only yielded six pots in four graves, all as secondary grave goods (e.g., Pl. 4-9). This of course does not mean that they did not play a role in the cremation rites, but this role is not visible to the archaeologist.

Table 7-3: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Pots per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Pots," is the total number of burials containing pots and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a pot.

	Total	Pots
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	2 (7.4%)
4th Phase	18	1 (5.6%)

No burials of the second phase contained a pot. From the third phase, 7.4% of burials[330] (two graves) contained pots, one pot in the first case and two in the second.[331] From the fourth phase approximately 5.5% (one grave) contained a pot.[332] One grave which contained two pots

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[330] 2 of 24 burials of the third phase.
[331] Grave 72 (1) and grave 189 (1, 2).
[332] 1 of 18 burials. Grave 112 (1) is an inhumation grave, in which the deceased was presumably inhumed in a coffin, since nails were discovered in the corners of the grave-pit.

cannot be dated.[333] While it is clear that in general such vessels were not popular as grave gifts, they and whatever they had contained must have been seen as an appropriate and prominent offering in the tomb as in all graves but one, the inhumation burial 112, a pot was the only ceramic vessel deposited as a secondary gift.[334] Most examples of this type of ware found in other parts of the Carnuntum cemetery were used as burial urns, and this pot is also seen frequently in the settlement (Gassner 1993: 42).

7.2.3 Pots: Summary

The evidence shows that when pots were used, they were utilized differently at each of these two sites, beyond their use as funerary urns. At Aquincum, the evidence shows that most pots were used during the cremation phase, and often only one sufficed. In Carnuntum, mourners presented them as offerings in the burial ceremony. In the cremation burials, in the three instances where at least one was offered, it was the only ceramic offering, which means that it and what it held would have been thought to be acceptable to the deceased and helped to mark the sanctity of the burial.

7.3 Bowls: Introduction

The category of "bowl" is a bit problematic, since a large shallow bowl can equally be referred to as a deep dish while a small bowl can be seen as a cup. Most bowls, however, are

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[333] Grave 68 only contained the two pots (1, 2), so that it was not able to be dated.
[334] Grave 72 also contained a coin (2) and a bronze fibula fragment (3), grave 189 held a lamp (3) and a coin (4), and grave 68 contained no other gift besides the two pots. Inhumation burial 112 held a jug (2) and a bowl in addition to the pot.

readily recognizable as such, and for the sake of convenience the terminology used by the authors of the cemetery publications is adopted.[335] Mourners and the attendants likely used bowls for a variety of purposes during the funerary ceremony because it is such a versatile type of tableware. Bowls of various sizes could be used to present and consume food, but like a jar it can also store or serve goods (Crummy 2007: 249; Biddulph 2005: 24; Cool 2004: 429). Paired with liquid serving vessels, bowls could also be used in purification ceremonies and pouring libations (Ortalli 2017: 66; Pearce 1998: 101). Bowls, then, do not necessarily mark an identity, but represent practices which could represent a sense of sameness among those who practice similar common, communal rituals.

7.4   Bowls: Aquincum

Table 7-4: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Bowls per Phase

> The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Bowls," is the total number of burials containing bowls and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a bowl.

	Total	**Bowls**
1st Phase	46	11 (23.9%)
2nd Phase	33	15 (45.5%)
3rd Phase	32	9 (28.1%)
4th Phase	52	12 (23.1%)
Total	163	47 (28.8%)

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[335] Webster defines a bowl as a "neckless vessel, which can be conveniently defined as having a height more than one-third of but not greater than its diameter (1976: 17)." These sorts of ratios are difficult to infer from the publications, so the classifications of the publications are used.

Table 7-5: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Bowls per Phase
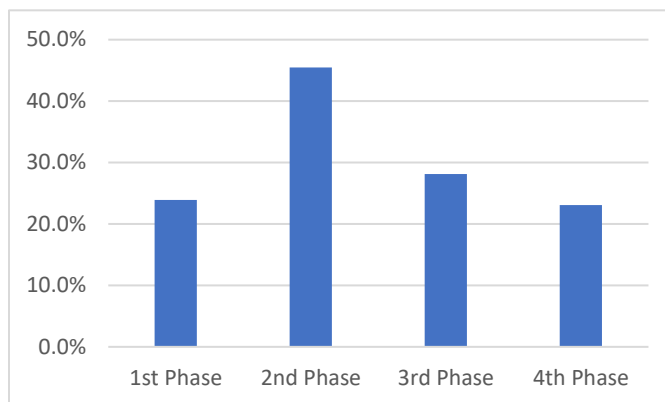
Table 7-6: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Bowls in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods. The total amount of burials carrying bowls that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

	Total	Primary	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	29	7 (24.1%)	4 (13.8%)	0
2nd Phase	25	15 (60.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0
3rd Phase	27	7 (25.9%)	1 (3.7%)	1
4th Phase	45	9 (20.0%)	3 (6.7%)	0

Table 7-7: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Carrying Bowls in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

Table 7-8: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Bowls from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials containing multiple vessels of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods.

	Total	**Primary**	**Secondary**
1st Phase	29	6 (20.7%)[336]	2 (6.9%)[337]
2nd Phase	25	5 (20.0%)[338]	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	3 (11.1%)[339]	0 (0.0%)
4th Phase	45	2 (4.4%)[340]	0 (0.0%)

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[336] Three contained evidence of two bowls as primary goods, two contained evidence of three and one contained four.
[337] Two burials contained evidence of two bowls as secondary gifts.
[338] One burial contained evidence of two bowls as primary goods, three contained three and one contained four.
[339] Two burials contained evidence of two bowls as primary goods, and one contained four.
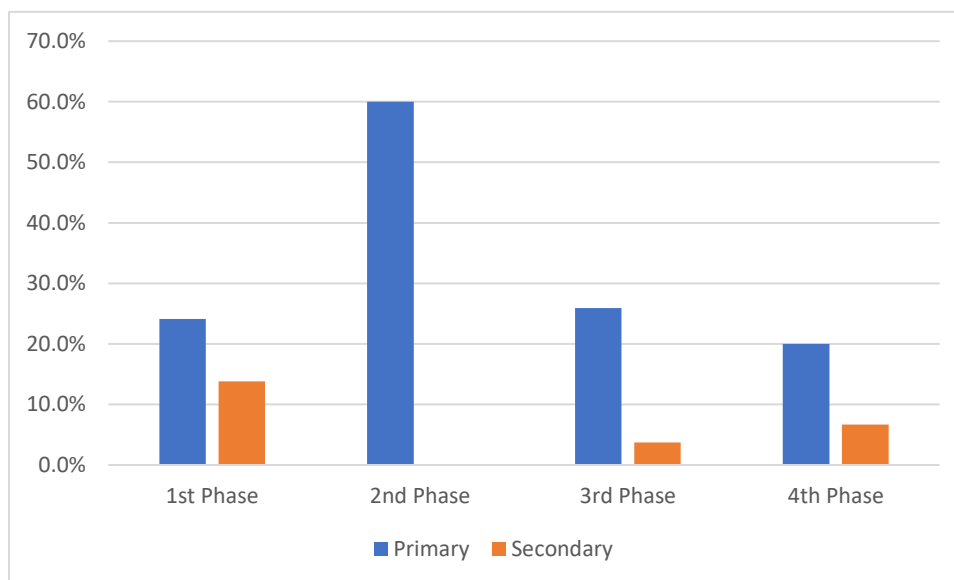[340] Two burials contained evidence of three bowls as primary goods.

Table 7-9: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Bowls from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished
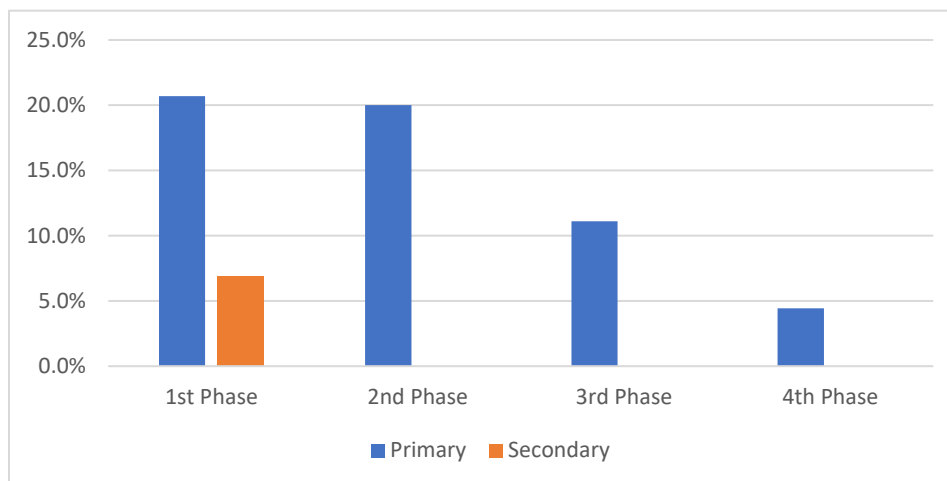
Bowls were quite popular with participants in the Bécsi Road cemetery during the second phase since they are represented in 45.5% of the graves of that time. This is not surprising since most major goods (flagons, plates and lamps) are found in a higher percentage of burials in this phase. In the other three periods they appear in a lower percentage of burials. Most bowls were used during the cremation ceremony, especially during the second phase in which all of the bowls were found as primary goods. In most phases, few burials contained evidence of more than one bowl with the exception of the first phase. Although less than a quarter of burials from the first phase contained bowls 73% of the burials[341] contained evidence of more than one bowl. Bowls were not popular as secondary goods in any phase and no burials contain both as a primary good and a secondary gift.

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[341] 8 of 11 burials containing evidence of a bowl contained more than one in the first phase.

7.4.1 Bowl Forms: Aquincum

Most of the bowls deposited in the graves of the Bécsi Road Cemetery were fine ware as they constitute over two thirds of all identifiable bowls found.[342] Quite a few locally or regionally produced fine ware bowls imitating *terra sigillata* forms produced in southern Gaul were deposited as grave goods[343] and hardly any wares from further afield were deposited in the cemetery. Although the range of fine ware forms is large, only the Drag.36 and Drag. 37 types which occur with any frequency are discussed below in detail.

The Drag. 36 type bowl[344] tends to be shallow with a short ring base and a thickened rim, but deeper bowls of a similar shape occur as well (Pl. 4-10).[345] This shape of bowl was particularly popular in the second century and its use carried over into the third century. In line with general practice the vast majority of Drag. 36 bowls were used as primary grave goods; only three of twenty-one were deposited as secondary grave goods.[346]

The other major type of fine ware bowl is the Drag. 37. As with the Drag. 36 shape the Drag. 37 bowls were locally made imitations of Gallic *terra sigillata*. This form consisted of a bowl with a foot ring and contrary to Drag. 36, had an unarticulated rim (Pl. 4-11). The Drag. 37 form was popular from the first half of second century into the early third century. While most

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[342] Approximately 68% of all identifiable bowls or 54 out of 79 bowls.

[343] Most of the examples were imitations, on which no stamp was preserved, except for a few, which the workshop of RESATVS made, which was probably a local business. Excavators found three bowls with the RESATVS stamp on the base, all of which were of the Drag. 36 shape or close to it (Find #8 from grave 62.I, find #4 of grave 98.I, which could also be a Drag. 35 bowl, find #11 of grave 84.VI). This workshop seems to have been in operation from the Trajanic period to the mid second century.

[344] Under this form there were quite a few variations, including the Ettlinger Taf. 7.11, Drack 14-15, and those listed referenced as Bónis 1942 XXI/46 types.

[345] For example, from grave 47.V there were four bowls of the Drag. 36 shape, three of which were shallow, finds #3, 5, and 6, while find #4 was deeper. Find #8 of grave 107.VI was also a deeper, hemispherical bowl considered to be of this form.

[346] Find #5 and 6 from grave 18.I and find 7 from grave 22.V. Find #4 from grave 98.I is listed as a Drag. 35 or 36. Unfortunately, it is not found in the collection. It was not counted among the twenty-one finds.

were locally manufactured there are several pieces that were clearly imported.[347] The earliest

dated piece was found in a grave from the first half of the second century and is believed to have

been imported from central or eastern Gaul.[348] Just as with other fine ware bowls, those of the

Drag. 37 shape were mostly used for rituals surrounding the cremation ceremony. Of the eleven

finds, from eleven graves, only two of them were deposited as secondary grave goods.[349]

Although the majority of the bowls are fine wares, a significant number are also locally

produced coarse ware bowls. Most of these are so-called flanged bowls, with a narrow base, a

rounded bottom and straight sides (e.g., Pl. 4-12 and 4-13).[350] Unlike the fine ware vessels, these

bowls do not feature a surface treatment although decorative grooves occur in the middle of the

body and in the top of the rim. Of the ten bowls found in ten graves, all but two were deposited

as primary grave goods;[351] however, those that were deposited as secondary grave goods were

burnt, which means that they were probably placed on or near the funeral pyre.[352]

Another form of coarse ware bowl, the Schörgendorfer 105 type, was mostly deposited in

graves of the late second and third century. Such bowls have a shoulder that curves inward near

the top (e.g., Pl. 4-14 and 4-15). This is the only bowl type that was mainly deposited as a

secondary grave good, with only one of these six bowls found deposited as a primary grave

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[347] Find #6 from grave 98.I is from the Rheinzabern area and is believed to have been manufactured in the mid second century. The latest dated *sigillata* bowl is find #2 from grave 70.VI, which dates to the early third century and comes from Pfaffenhofen. This piece had a worn OFCAM Stamp on the base. The rest of the pieces were likely manufactured locally or regionally.

[348] Find #2 from grave 89.I. The piece has a very worn …]ΓAN stamp on the base. The piece itself is not dated, but the grave is dated to the first half of the second century.

[349] Find #3 from grave 29.I, which was burnt and find #2 from grave 70.VI, the foot-ring of which was broken in antiquity.

[350] These bowls are referenced with vessels of several publications including, Gose 504, Brunsting *rauhwand* Ware 5/1, Ritterling 91 and Brukner T. 78/22 types. The references of flanged bowls frequently include more than one of these types.

[351] Find #16 of grave 1.I, find # 11 from grave 16.I and find #4 of grave 33.I. Find #2 of grave 50.V and find #4 of grave 62.V. Find #2 of grave 67.VI, find #7 of grave 107.VI and find #3 of grave 126.VI.

[352] Find # 5 of grave 29.I and find #2 of grave 58.I.

good.[353] It appears that these served functions other than as a container for edibles in the ceremony. In three cases the piece was used as a lid [354] and in one was used as an urn.[355] In all but two cases where the bowl was used as a lid, the piece was burnt even though it was considered a secondary grave good.[356] This suggests that they had some sort of particular function in the cremation ceremony. It is possible the fact that they were burnt may mean that they served as incense burners or were used to hold other burnt offerings

7.5 Bowls: Carnuntum

Table 7-10: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Bowls per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Bowls," is the total number of burials containing bowls and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a bowl.

	Total	Bowls
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	2 (7.4%)
4th Phase	18	4 (22.2%)
Total	47	6 (12.8%)

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[353] Find# 14 from grave 49.V. The upper portion of this piece survived in fragments. Because so much of it survived it might be considered a secondary grave good in other contexts. The piece was burnt thoroughly.

[354] #9 of grave 14.VI is the upper part of the bowl. It was placed as a lid on a jug (1), while #10, which is the lower part of a bowl was a lid for a folded beaker (3). Find #5 of grave 7.III (second half of the third c.) was used as a lid for a small vase (3- this piece had a "cross of Saint Andrew" scratched on the neck). This piece was also burnt thoroughly.

[355] #1 of grave 54.V.

[356] #2 of grave 20.V and #1 of grave 54.V, #6 of grave 7 and #3 of grave 150.VI and #5 of grave 7.III. Only fragments #9 and #10 which were used as lids do not seem to have been burnt.

Table 7-11: Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Bowls per Phase
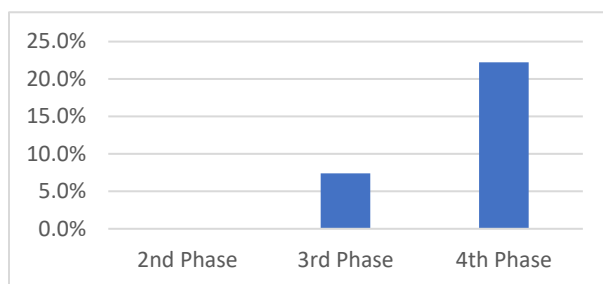
Table 7-12: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Bowls as Primary and Secondary Goods[357]

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods. Of these burials the number of burials containing both a primary and a secondary gift is under "Both."

	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	21	2 (9.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
4th Phase	13	2 (15.4%)	2 (15.4%)	1 (7.7%)

Bowls were only occasionally deposited in the graves of Carnuntum. Most were deposited as primary grave goods but in the fourth phase two cremation burials and an inhumation burial contain them as secondary gifts. One of these burials also contained a bowl as a primary gift. [358]

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[357] From the fourth phase, one inhumation burial contained a bowl.
[358] Grave 125 (1).

7.5.1 Bowl Forms: Carnuntum

Four *sigillata* bowls were found among the grave goods of the cemetery of Carnuntum, all of the same, Drag. 37, form (Pl. 4-20).[359] All the bowls were deposited as primary goods with one per grave.[360] Three of the four bowls are from Middle Gaul[361] and one is from the Rheinzabern region.[362] That is the inverse of the general trend of the settlement, in which Rheinzabern ware, smooth wares with little relief, was more popular than the relief-decorated Middle Gaulish ware (Kandler-Zöchmann 1999: 37).

The Drag. 37 form was not the only type of fine ware deposited in the burials, but the other fine wares were deposited as secondary grave goods. Again, there was one fine ware bowl per grave. Two of the bowls resemble the Schörgendorfer 105 type (Pl. 4-21).[363] Another bowl was made in imitation of a Drag. 24/25 ring bowl (Pl. 4-22).[364] The last bowl is uncharacterized and fragmented.[365] All four of the bowls were locally made (Miglbauer 1999: 48). [366] Because they were all secondary grave goods, it is likely that they held food offerings for the deceased.[367] Although the evidence from four tombs is too meager for any real conclusions, it is quite striking that the imported *sigillata* was used for the cremation and the local fine ware was entombed as secondary grave goods. It is likely that the imported *sigillata*, which may have been considered

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[359] There was one bowl per grave; graves 112, 136 and 141 date to the fourth phase. Grave 175 is not dated.
[360] Find #2/3, which belong to the same vessel from grave 16, find #3 of grave 171, find #1 of grave 136 and find #1of grave 125.
[361] Find #2/3, which belong to the same vessel from grave 161, find #3 of grave 171 and find #1of grave 125.
[362] Find #1 of grave 136.
[363] Find #3 of grave 112 and find #4 of grave 175. Find #3 from grave 11 also has a hole which was bored into it in antiquity, which might be a deliberate attempt to ritually remove it from the realm of the living, just as the act of burning or smashing vessels on the funeral pyre during the cremation ceremony may have had. Given that this grave good was deposited in an inhumation grave, this explanation is plausible, although the other two goods, a pot (1) and a jug (2) did not appear to have any holes in them.
[364] Find #8 of grave 141.
[365] Find #4 of grave 136.
[366] Grave 112, 136 and 141. Grave 175 is not dated.
[367] At least this is believed for the bowl deposited (3) in grave 112 (Gassner 1999: 97).

more prestigious, was used during the cremation ceremony as part of the public display exhibited at this point in the funerary ceremony.

7.6   Plates: Introduction

Plates likely played a very similar role to that of bowls during the funerary rituals, in that they could be used both for the presentation of solid foods intended to be deposited as primary or secondary grave goods and as serving dishes for food to be consumed by the mourners (Márton *et al*. 2015: 32–33, 37; Crummy 2007: 249).

7.7   Plates: Aquincum

Table 7-13: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Plates per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Plates," is the total number of burials containing plates and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a plate.

	Total	**Plates**
1st Phase	46	14 (30.4%)
2nd Phase	33	16 (48.5%)
3rd Phase	32	14 (43.8%)
4th Phase	52	19 (36.5%)
Total	163	63 (38.7%)

Table 7-14: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Plates per Phase
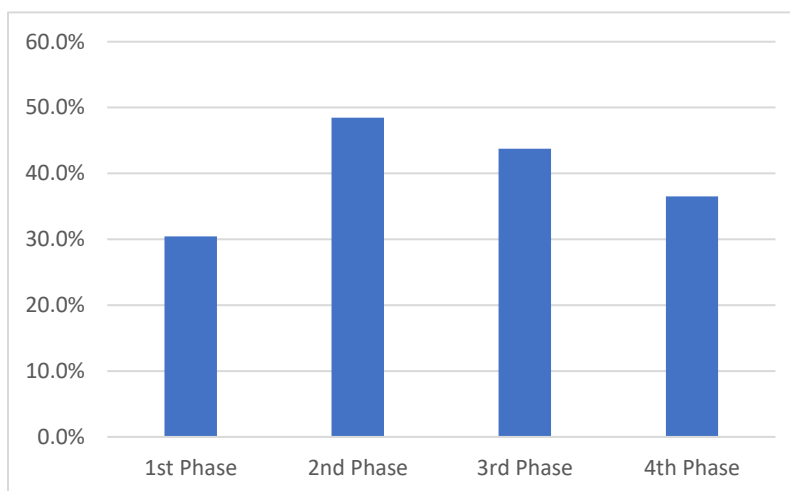
Table 7-15: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Plates in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods. Of these graves, the number of burials containing a plate both as a primary and a secondary good is given under "Both." The total amount of burials carrying Plates that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both	ND
1st Phase	29	8 (27.6%)	4 (13.8%)	0 (0.0%)	2
2nd Phase	25	12 (48.0%)	2 (8.0%)	1 (4.0%)	3
3rd Phase	27	11 (40.7%)	4 (14.8%)	1 (3.7%)	0
4th Phase	45	18 (40.0%)	1 (2.2%)	0 (0.0%)	0

Table 7-16: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Carrying Plates in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

Table 7-17: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Plates from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials containing multiple vessels of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods.

	Total	Primary	Secondary
1st Phase	29	2 (6.9%)[368]	0 (0.0%)
2nd Phase	25	4 (16.0%)[369]	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	6 (22.2%)[370]	1 (3.7%)[371]
4th Phase	45	8 (17.8%)[372]	0 (0.0%)

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[368] Two burials contained evidence of two plates as primary goods.
[369] Two burials contained evidence of two plates as primary goods, one contained three and one contained four.
[370] Three burials contained evidence of two plates as primary goods, two contained three and one contained six.
[371] One burial contained evidence of two places as secondary goods.
[372] Three burials contained evidence of two plates as primary goods, two contained four, two contained five and one contained six.
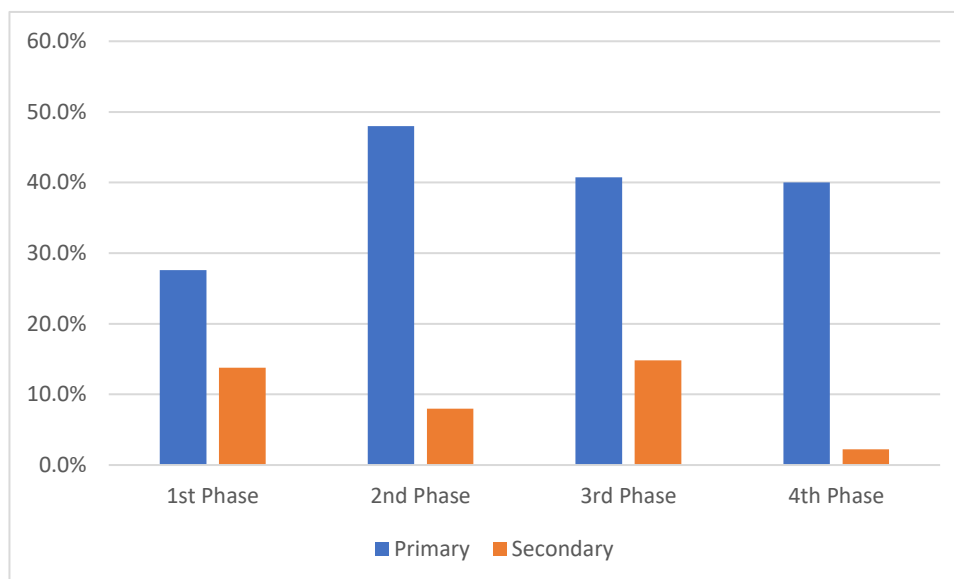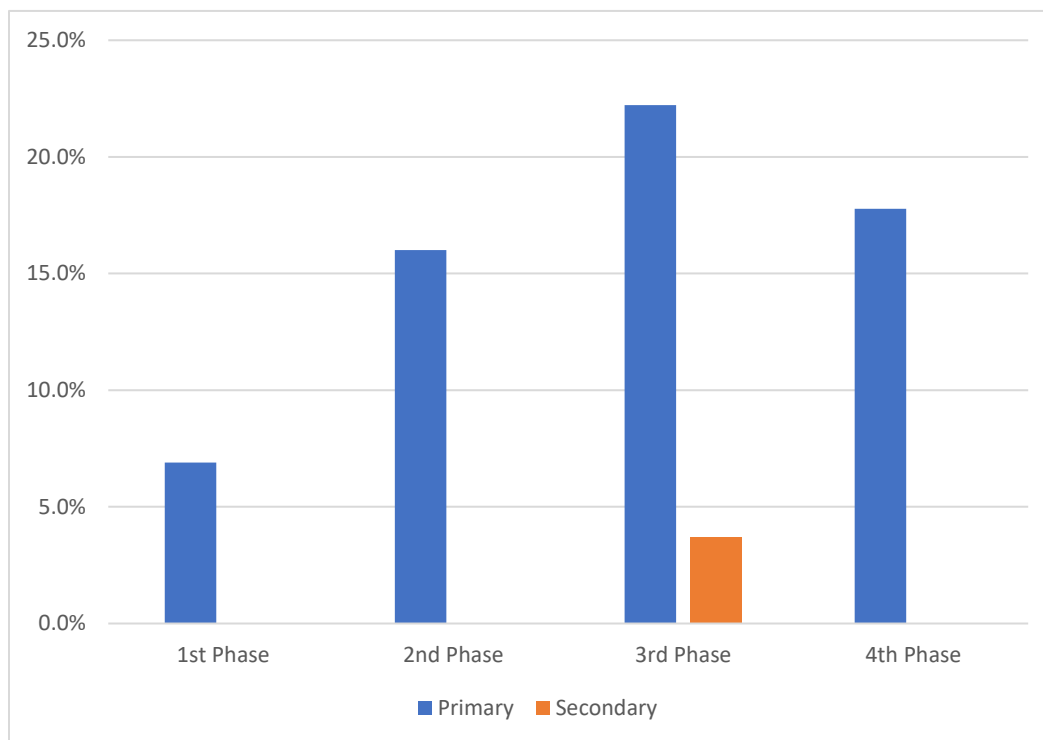
Table 7-18: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Containing Multiple Plates from Burials in which Primary and Secondary Goods were Distinguished

From the numbers presented, it is clear that just like bowls, plates were never popular as secondary gifts, with very few burials from any phase containing them as such. They were used mainly for funerary feasting during the cremation and possibly even the offering of food on the pyre. As is the trend with bowls, a higher percentage of burials contained plates in the second phase, but plates remain steady in their frequency in the third and fourth phase, only decreasing slightly. In the last two phases, a higher percentage of burials held more than one plate as a primary good.[373] Since the plates occur as primary grave goods, it is possible more ceremonies

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[373] In the first phase 21.4% (3 of 14) of burials containing evidence of a plate contained more than one plate. In the second phase 26.7% (4 of 15), in the third phase 57% (8 of 14) and in the fourth phase 40% (8 of 20).

included feasting that took place during the cremation phase or that more evidence was being

included in the burial.

7.7.1 Plate Forms: Aquincum

Coarse ware plates were used far more than fine ware plates and come in a greater variety

of shapes.[374] Most common is the Brunsting *Rauhwand* 22a type[375] represented by twenty-seven

plates found in twenty-one graves, ranging in date from the early second century to the middle of

the third century (Pl. 4-16). Of these twenty-seven plates, five were deposited as secondary grave

offerings.[376] Another popular shape was the Brunsting *Rauhwand* ware 22b1 type (Pl. 4-17).

Sixteen plates of this type were found in fourteen graves, again predominately as primary grave

goods. Only two of these were determined to be secondary grave goods and both were burnt.[377]

Terra sigillata and imitation fine ware plates were not widely used in the funerary

ceremony as most plates were coarse wares but of the nineteen *sigillata* fragments of plates

found all but three of them were deposited as primary goods.[378] Seventeen of these nineteen fine

ware plates were locally made and only two were imported. One plate, in the form of Drag. 31, is

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[374] Other categories with five or more examples, include the Holwerda, fig. 94, 224, which include six examples, Oelmann 112b which include five examples and the Gose 249 forms which include six examples.

[375] This includes those designated as the Gose 468 form.

[376] Find #7 of grave 14.VI, find #3 of grave 25.VI, and find #3 and 4 of grave 31.VI and find 4 from grave 61.V. Of these, two were burnt, so that they did presumably have a part in the cremation ceremony, as well as being deposited whole in their respective graves. Find #3 from grave 31.VI and find #4 from grave 61.V.

[377] Find #5 from grave 10.VI, was burnt after being broken, so a substantial amount of it must have been deposited for it to be considered a secondary deposition, while find #4 from grave 57.I was burnt, as well. Find #6 from grave 29.I was labelled as a secondary grave good as well, but this is likely a mistake, since it is only a burnt rim sherd. Since there is nothing substantive of the pot remaining, the author is considering it a primary grave good.

[378] A small imitation of the Drag. 17 form (2), found in grave 90.I was deposited between the late first and early second century, the early period of this cemetery, while a small imitation of a Drag. 4 plate (4) found in grave 96.I, was deposited in the mid second century, and a piece which is similar to the Drag. 32 shape (6), found in grave 7.III was deposited in the second half of the third century. This plate is also referenced as a Unverzagt 9, along with find #11 and possibly 16 from grave 14.VI.

thought to be from Lezoux, Lubié or eastern Gaul and is dated to the Antonine period,[379] while

the other in the form of Drag. 18/31, is believed to be from south or central Gaul and is dated to

the Flavian period.[380]

One of the common shapes of the locally made fine ware plates is similar to the form of

Drag. 18/31 (Pl. 4-18). All five plates of this type were primary grave goods, and each was from

a separate tomb.[381] Another common locally made fine ware plate was that of an imitation of the

Drag. 32 form of which there are possibly seven, found in four graves with all but one found as

primary grave goods (Pl. 4-19).[382]

7.8   Plates: Carnuntum

Table 7-19: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Plates per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Plate," is the total number of burials containing plates and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a plate.

	Total	Plate
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	4 (14.8%)
4th Phase	18	4 (22.2%)
Total	47	8 (17.0%)

[379] Find #3 from grave 59.I. On the inside of the base is stamped: REG[INVUS or VLVS, and above the foot-ring is the graffito: C II ? VIIDIIS.
[380] Find #8 from grave 71.I The grave, however, is dated to the late first to the early second century.
[381] Find #8 of grave 71.I is listed as a grave good. It is only a fragment, but no signs of burning are mentioned.
[382] # 6 from grave 7.III (second half of third century) is a secondary grave good.

Table 7-20: Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Plates per Phase
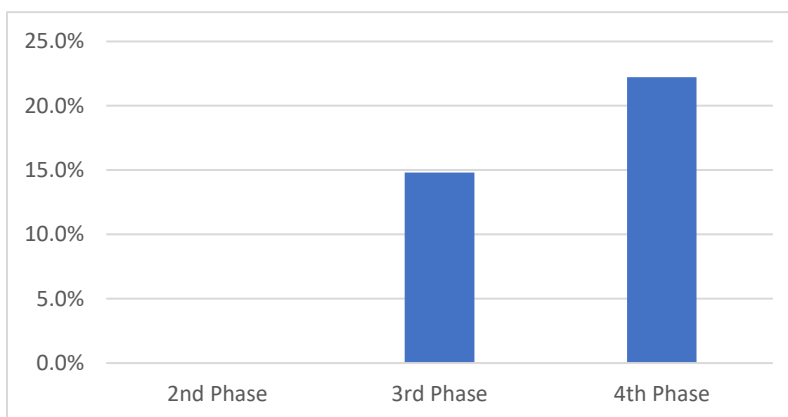
Table 7-21: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Plates as Primary and Secondary Goods[383]

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods. Of these burials the number of graves containing both a primary and a secondary gift is under "Both."

	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	21	4 (19.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
4th Phase	13	3 (23.1%)	3 (23.1%)	2 (15.4%)

Plates are not found in many burials in both phases just as with liquid serving vessels and bowls. This small sample indicates that through the third phase, plates were used during the cremation phase. In all cases evidence of only one plate was found. During the fourth phase mourners were also offering plates and their contents as gifts in the burial. With a similar trend to

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[383] From the fourth phase, one inhumation burial contained a bowl.

bowls, plates were proportionally found in more graves in the fourth phase than in the third with more graves containing more than one plate;[384] however, the sample is too small to reach any certain conclusions concerning whether this marks a significant change in funerary trends. None of the eleven inhumation burials contain a plate, but again, the sample is too small to indicate whether this observation is significant.

7.8.1 Plate Forms: Carnuntum

All eleven plates of the above sample are fine wares.[385] According to Kandler-Zöchmann most of the *sigillata* was imported, and she identifies five as coming from the Rheinzabern area[386] and two from Westerndorf (1999: 36).[387] As was the case in Aquincum, most of the *sigillata* was offered during the cremation ceremony, since eight of the eleven vessels are fragmented and burnt. Of identified shapes, the Drag. 18/31 type plates were the most popular (Kandler-Zöchmann 1999: 36).[388] In all there are six examples,[389] two of which were offered as secondary grave gifts (Pl. 4-23).[390] There are also three plates of the Drag. 32 type,[391] with two being offered as secondary grave goods (Pl. 4-24).[392] There is also one of the Ludowici Tb shape

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[384] Grave 78 contained two plates as primary goods (2, 4) and one as a secondary gift (1) and grave 144 held evidence of a plate as a primary good (2) and a secondary gift (3).

[385] Two loosely dated burials not included in the sample, graves 32 (5) and 173 (4), each contain a coarse ware plate.

[386] Find # 1 and 2 from grave 78, find #1 from 89, find #1 of grave 131, and find #3 from grave 144. Find #1 of grave 78 has the stamp: REGINVS F.

[387] Find #1 from grave 56 and find #1 from grave 44. Find #1 from grave 56 contains the stamp: MUVSCELLAF, while find #1 from grave 44 has the stamp: MATVGEFII.

[388] Find #1 of grave 26 is a primary grave good, the shape of which cannot be determined.

[389] Find #1 of grave 44, find #1 of grave 56, find #4 of grave 78, find #1 of grave 131, find #2 of grave 144, and find #1 of grave 161.

[390] Find#1 of grave 41 and find #1 of grave 44.

[391] Find # from grave 78, find #1 from grave 89 and find #3 from grave 144.

[392] Find #1 of grave 78 and find #3 of grave 144.

which was offed as a primary grave good (Pl. 4-25). The shape of one *sigillata* piece is undetermined.[393]

7.9   Implements for Serving and Consuming Solid Foods: Summary

Unfortunately, due to the nature of the evidence only the third and fourth phases of both cemeteries can be compared.[394] Although evidence shows that there were many differences in both the way liquid consuming vessels were employed by mourners and the frequency with which they occurred in the graves of Aquincum and Carnuntum, there were many more similarities concerning the use of table ware for consuming solid foods, particularly in regard to *terra sigillata* and other fine ware. At both sites fine ware bowls and plates appear to have been the vessels of choice during the cremation phase. As mentioned previously, the choice of using and destroying more expensive table ware during the cremation phase may have had to do with the visibility of the spectacle. More people may have witnessed these ceremonies, compared to the burial phase. From the evidence we do see a major difference in the types of wares utilized at both sites. In Aquincum cemetery, locally or regionally made imitations of shapes manufactured in areas of Gaul, were employed while those used in Carnuntum were imported.

In both cemeteries during the third and fourth phases, plates of the Drag. 18/31 shape were the most popular type of fine ware plate and Drag. 32 shaped plates were the second most used. The Drag. 37 was the most popular fine ware bowl in both cemeteries during the third and fourth phase.

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[393] Find #2 of grave 78.

[394] No graves from the first phase exist and only two graves from the second phase are given both of which did not carry evidence of solid food holding vessels as grave gifts. Some results may also be skewed since it seems that the collecting methods and which items were considered grave goods seemed to have differed between both archaeological sites.

Although coarse ware plates were rarely found at Carnuntum, coarse ware bowls were found more regularly both there and in Aquincum, however, this does not mean that they were especially common.[395] In the burials of Carnuntum, there seems to have been a dichotomous relationship between coarse ware bowls and fine ware bowls during the fourth phase, where coarse wares were deposited as secondary grave goods and fine wares as primary grave goods.[396] In Aquincum, during the fourth phase, both coarse ware and *sigillata* bowls were deposited on the pyre with the exception of the Schörgendorfer 105. It is notable that of the eight found, only one was broken on the pyre during the cremation process. The rest were deposited as secondary grave goods, and of these all but two were burnt.[397] Two bowls of this type were also found as secondary grave goods in Carnuntum.[398]

Plates were more popular than bowls at both sites in all time periods. At Aquincum coarse ware plates were more numerous while at Carnuntum *terra sigillata* plates were more common. There were, however, proportionately many more coarse ware plates deposited as grave goods in Aquincum than was at Carnuntum, where *terra sigillata* plates were the most common.[399] In Aquincum, coarse ware shapes are more numerous than fine ware forms, both as primary and secondary grave goods.

Pots were not common as grave goods at either site but occurred enough to reveal differing practices in their use. As urns or urn covers, they exist at both cemeteries. They were also used as containers, presumably to hold offerings, at the Bécsi Road Cemetery, both as

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[395] In Aquincum they reach the height of their popularity by the mid second century, while in Carnuntum they are not particularly popular in either the third or fourth period.

[396] With the exception of a plain ring-bowl in the shape of Drag. 24/25 which was deposited as a secondary grave good.

[397] Finds #9 and 10 from grave 14.VI which were used as lids for finds #1 and 3 respectively.

[398] They do not seem to be burnt.

[399] Only two coarse ware plates were found as secondary grave goods and none were primary offerings, but these graves were not in the scope of the dating scheme.

primary and secondary grave goods. At Carnuntum cemetery they were also used as containers but only as secondary grave goods.

From this summary it emerges that the use of vessels and their wares was not haphazard. There are enough examples of specific uses to indicate that there were clear differences over time, between both cemeteries and within each cemetery in the type and ware of vessels used in specific moments of the ritual. The above summary demonstrates that there were numerous similarities in the composition of many of the grave assemblages concerning the deposition of implements used for solid foods. Such similarities include predominance of certain types of *terra sigillata*, their preferred use during the cremation ceremony, and their preference for plates over bowls. There, however, are many differences that define the funerary rites at each cemetery. Evidence shows that more goods were used or at the very least deposited as grave goods at the Bécsi Road Cemetery as compared to the Carnuntum Cemetery and mourners appear to have been much less particular with regards to the types of wares that they deposited, while participants at Carnuntum deposited fewer implements with a greater preference for imported wares, more of which may have reached Carnuntum through trade.

These similarities and differences in the general practices and the implements used in them between the cemeteries do not necessarily mean anything on their own. They could in a small way contribute to a sense of sameness through common, communal rituals. What is interesting is that despite their being different options available in the implements used for the serving of solid food or certain preferences in either cemetery, mourners generally use them in a similar way at both cemeteries. It is unknown at this point whether this represents merely the appearance of a common practice, a coincidence or perhaps a practice common in areas of the middle Danube region.

8   Chapter 8: Incense Bowls and Lamps

Now that we have discussed the ceramic vessels used for the serving and consumption of liquids and foods, we can turn our attention to incense bowls and lamps. Such implements may represent practices of mourners or even beliefs in the afterlife.

8.1   Incense Bowls: Introduction

Incense bowls, or *tazze*, are wide open bowls that have a high stand-base.[400] In the bowls, incense and other aromatics were burned, often with the assistance of hot coals. Philpott does caution us that they served other purposes as well. Mourners may also have used them to hold offerings or even to pour libations (Philpott 1991: 193). Most often they were produced as a coarse ware to withstand the heat of the burning coals emitted (Bird 2011: 284–285). They are in almost all cases decorated on the outer surface with notch strips or bands of waves, but despite the decoration and the variation in styles, in neither site can they be dated accurately (Gassner 1999: 40). Commonly, these vessels were used to burn incense, on or near the funeral pyre. The incense along with perfumes, helped to counter the smell of the body as it burnt on the funeral pyre, but also helped to mark the new status of the deceased (Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 111, 126). The burning of the incense was also probably considered as an offering to the dead and to the gods (Bird 2011: 284; Atchley 1909: 71–72, 76), and presumably, the light and aromatic scents generated would have added to the religious ambience of the ritual, just as it had

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[400] It seems to an extent the terms "incense bowl," "*tazza*" and "censer" can be used interchangeably in archaeological publications. The term *tazza* is the term that many British authors use in their publication and will be used in this study. While authors do use "censer" to denote an incense bowl or *tazza* (e.g., Bird 2011: 284), this term is not used in this paper, since in modern, Christian contexts, it tends to denote a "chain censer," or a portable incense burner often made of metal, which is swung in the air (*Merriam-Webster* "Censer"; *Wikipedia* "Censer").

in cult practices (Bird 2004: 192, 198; Eckardt 2002: 109). Incense was very likely burnt during the funerary procession, and for purification rites as it was in other religious rites (Eckardt 2011: 191; Bird 2004: 191: Atchley 1909: 46–52).

The use of *tazze* in Pannonia in the domestic context and in the funerary sphere was Italian in origin (Bónis 1942: 51), and in general scholars see them as indicating a Roman presence (Láng 2015: 543; Groh *et al.* 2014: 385; Struck 1995: 140, 142). The vessels indicate that people were burning incense, the base of which was often comprised of gums, such as frankincense, myrrh and balsam, which were native to Africa and south Arabia (Bird 2004: 191; Miller 1969: 101–105). The expansion of the empire and its trade networks presumably gave communities in the northwest empire, including Pannonia, greater access to such exotic goods. There may have been a number of other aromatics offered in such vessels in addition to the aromatic gums which were normally used, including spices, pinecones, scented woods and perfumed oils (Bird 2011: 285; 2004: 191; Atchley 1909: 46). Although the *tazze* may have been of little monetary value, the aromatic may have been expensive. Propertius indicates that burning incense on a *tazze* may belong to a wealthier individual's funerary rites, when he discusses that he preferred a "plebian" funeral without incense burners for his own hypothetical funeral (Prop. II. 13. 23–24; Atchley 1909: 59).[401]

8.2   Incense bowls: Aquincum

Few incense bowls were deposited as grave goods in the burials of the Bécsi Road cemetery from the first phase; only two graves contained evidence of an incense bowl

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[401] *desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus, adsint plebei parvae funeris exsequiae* (Prop. II. 13. 23–24). "Let there be absent a line of dishes spreading odor for me, let there be the inconsiderable funeral obsequies of a plebian funeral."

(approximately 4%), one of which is a primary good[402] and the other is not differentiated.[403]

From the second phase, one grave (approximately 3%) contained an incense bowl[404] which as a

primary good. Two burials[405] (approximately 6%) also carried evidence of an incense bowl as a

primary good from the third phase (e.g., Pl. 5-1). Finally, one burial[406] (approximately 2%) held

an incense bowl as primary good in the fourth phase. Given such a low number of incense

burners were found in the burials, it appears that unless incense bowls were items that the

funerary organizations used and reused again, they do not appear to have been a necessary

accoutrement for funerals taking place at any time in the Bécsi Road Cemetery.

8.3   Incense Bowls: Carnuntum

Incense bowls played a larger role in the funerary rites that took place in the cemetery of

Carnuntum. In fact, they are one of the most popular grave offerings (Gassner 1999: 94). All the

examples from Carnuntum have a relatively high stand base and a wide and open mouth (Pl. 5-

14 and 5-15). The bodies feature registers which are divided with edges often decorated with a

series of strikes (Gassner 1999: 40).

Unfortunately, few of the *tazze* come from graves that can be precisely dated. Of the

twenty-seven graves of the third phase,[407] only three (11%), which were cremation graves,

contained incense bowls although one of these burials contained evidence of four *tazze*.[408]

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[402] Grave 17.I (13).
[403] Grave 92.I (7).
[404] Grave 1.I (17).
[405] Grave 36.VI (6) and grave 127.VI (10).
[406] Grave 27.VI (2).
[407] Grave 98 (3) grave 170 (2) and grave 56 (2–5).
[408] Grave 56 contained four *tazze* (2–5).

Another of the burials, a double inhumation grave, of the fourth phase contained one (6%).[409]

Two further cremation graves that each held one incense burner are less precisely dated to the

third century,[410] but will be included in this discussion for a total of six burials.

There was variation in how incense bowls were deposited in cremation graves. Two

graves contained evidence of at least one fragmented incense bowl as a primary good,[411] one of

which contained fragments of more than one incense bowl. [412] Three incense bowls were placed

in the cremation grave whole as secondary grave goods.[413] Gassner notes that some *tazze* are

burnt on the outside, which means that they were placed near the funeral pyre before they were

placed as an offering in the burial (1999: 94).[414] As has been discussed, goods placed by the pyre

may not show signs of burning so it is possible that more of the *tazze* were also placed by the

pyre. While it is possible that many *tazze* were use during the cremation phase, some of which

were broken and some of which were placed in the burial whole, this is not necessarily the cases,

since one inhumation burial in the sample contains a *tazza*. It is possible that in this case the

tazza was used while the body lay in-state or during the burial ceremony.[415]

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[409] 1 of 18 burials. Grave 168 (2) contained an early adult male (25–30) and an infant I (3–4).

[410] Graves 32 (2) and 177 (5) are dated to the third century.

[411] Those *tazze* found in grave 56 (2–5) and #2 of grave 170 (2). However, the catalogue does not mention if find #5 of grave 56 was burnt, although it mentions it with the other pieces and only the base, stem and bottom, of the piece is missing.

[412] Graves 56 and 66. Four fragments from grave 56 (#2–5) and three from grave 66 (#3–5). The fragments from grave 66 (#3–5) were burnt, but not on the broken edges so they were probably not broken on the funeral pyre like the others (Gassner 1999: 94).

[413] Grave 32 (2), grave 98 (3) and grave 177 (5).

[414] Gassner mentions that the piece from 177 (5) exhibits traces of partial burning on the outside, which indicates that it may have been singed while placed next to the burning pyre. One *tazza* of an undated cremation burial, grave 66, also had traces of burning on the outside wall (1999: 94).

[415] The fragmented *tazza* of the inhumation burial 168 is not mentioned as being burnt in the catalogue, which might suggest that its placement was a symbolic gesture on the part of the mourners.

8.4   Incense bowls: Summary

Evidence shows that incense bowls did not play an important role for participants in funerary ceremonies at the Bécsi Road cemetery, while in the southern cemetery the opposite trend occurred. Incense bowls may have served both a practical and religious function during the funerary rites. From a practical standpoint, aromatics burned in incense bowls may have served to mask or make bearable the stench of the burning flesh of the deceased if they were placed near the pyre. Given that all the incense bowls of the Aquincum cemetery were deposited as primary grave goods and evidence from Carnuntum exists that suggests the same practice, despite many of the *tazze* being placed as secondary goods, it is possible that the *tazza* was used during the cremation ceremony. However, since one inhumation burial from Carnuntum contained a *tazza*, it is also possible that a vessel placed as a secondary good was used while the body lay in-state or during the burial ceremony.

Besides the practical considerations for their use incense bowls probably also served a spiritual function since the burning of incense can often be performed as a religious rite. This type of rite with this connotation appears to have been a more prominent practice in the funerary rituals of Carnuntum, than in Aquincum. The evidence shows that many mourners of Carnuntum believed it was important to deposit an incense bowl whole with the burnt remains of the deceased, while those burying their dead in Aquincum did not share this sentiment. Still, the majority of burials from Carnuntum did not contain evidence of a *tazza*. While a the inclusion of a *tazza* could represent differences in how the implement was treated after it was used, the it may also reflect individual choices of mourners, or customs of particular communities or demographics to include an incense burner in the ceremony. The vessel itself may not have been

expensive, but it is possible that aromatics used in it could represent a substantial cost some mourners were willing to put into the funerary ceremony.

8.5   Lamps: Introduction

Lamps are commonly found in cemeteries of the Roman Empire. They are almost always ceramic, mold made, and hence mass-produced at a low cost (Peña 2007: 27).[416] Lamps may have served to illuminate the journey to the afterlife (Eckardt 2002: 110; Philpott 1991: 135, 1992; Alcock 1980: 61), but may also have served to symbolically light up the grave while the spirit resided there, either before it transitioned to the afterlife or for certain times of the year when spirits came back to their burials for feasting with the living (Philpot 1991: 192; Black 1986: 220; Alcock 1980; 60–61). Philpott speculates that lamps may have also served the practical function of lighting the fire on the pyre and perhaps a symbolic or spiritual role in the cremation ceremony (Philpott 1991: 1992). Lamps do not seem to have been essential grave goods, however, as the majority of graves do not contain any lamps. That lamps are not found in a majority of burials is not surprising and the choice to include one in the ceremony could be personal. Future research that looks for the use patterns of lamps in conjunction with other aspects of the grave assemblage may reveal complex use patterns that reflect particular

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[416] According to the *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, or the Edict of Diocletian and his Colleagues concerning the Prices of Salable Objects, of AD 301, a set of ten lamps only cost four denarii communes, which was the lowest denomination of coin at the time. Mold-made lamps were mass produced which helped keep their price down (Peña 2007: 27–28). According to the *praefatio* of the document, the laws that set the maximum prices on many goods including types of ceramics were meant to curb the greed of merchants and trades people, who were supposedly charging exorbitant prices. This law and the price list contained in it came into effect in a period later than that of the scope of this project and seems to have been associated mainly with the eastern empire (Noethlich "Edictum Diocletiani"). While in absolute terms the edict is problematic, it does provide useful information concerning the relative value of pottery.

communities in the cemetery. This project general patterns of lamp use in each cemetery which can inform any future study.

8.6   Lamps: Aquincum

Table 8-1: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Lamps per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Lamps," is the total number of burials containing lamps and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a lamp.

	Total	Lamps
1st Phase	46	16 (34.8%)
2nd Phase	33	20 (60.6%)
3rd Phase	32	11 (34.4%)
4th Phase	52	17 (32.7%)

Table 8-2: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Lamps per Phase
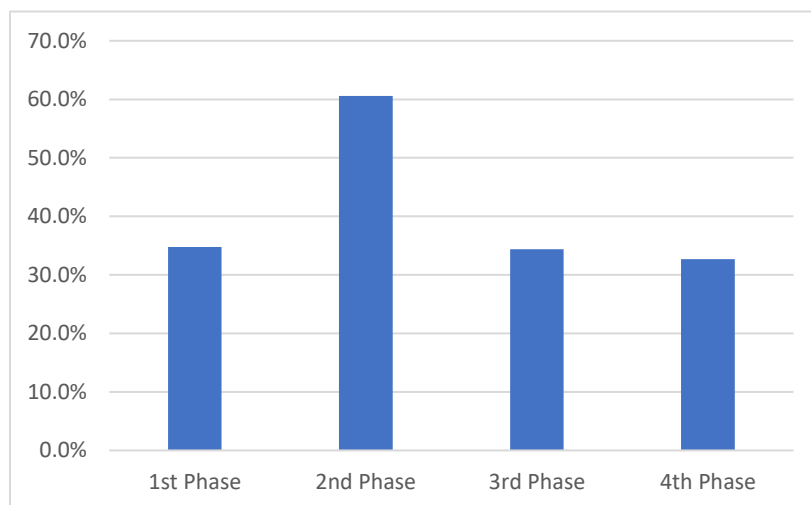
Table 8-3: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Lamps in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

> The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of lamp. Of these graves, the number of burials containing a lamp both as a primary and a secondary good is given under "Both." The total amount of burials carrying lamps that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both	ND
1st Phase	29	9 (31.0%)	7 (24.1%)	1 (3.4%)[417]	1
2nd Phase	25	14 (56.0%)	3 (12.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3
3rd Phase	27	8 (29.6%)	4 (14.8%)	1 (3.7%)[418]	0
4th Phase	45	13 (28.9%)	5 (11.1%)	1 (2.2%)	0

Table 8-4: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Carrying Lamps in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

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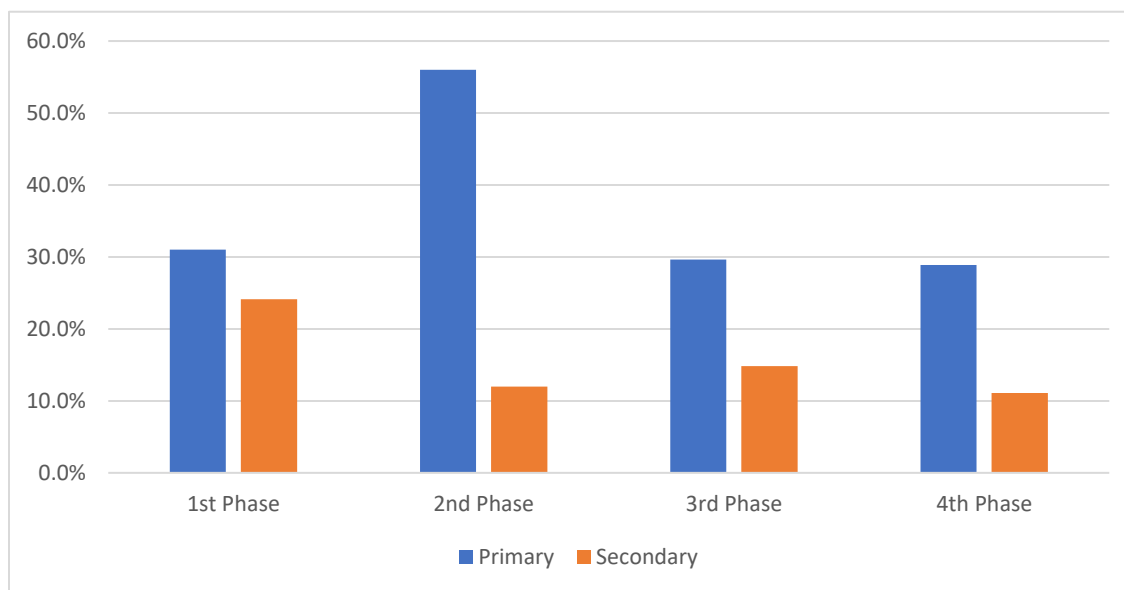
[417] One grave contained evidence of three lamps as primary goods and two as secondary goods.
[418] One grave contained evidence of two lamps as primary goods and one as a secondary good.

Some clear trends emerge from the above numbers. In all phases except for the second, lamps are found in approximately a third of all of the graves. During the second phase, however, 61% contain a lamp, which represents a sharp increase. In this phase, lamps are found in a higher percentage of any other grave good with the exception of flagons. While such a trend is distinct, other major goods such as flagons, plates and bowls are all found in a higher percentage of burials during this phase than others. Reasons for the much higher percentage of burials carrying lamps than in other periods may include greater spiritual importance being placed on the inclusion of lamps or that the fuel for lamps was plentiful and cheap at this time. Especially note-worthy is that 92% of burials that contain evidence of a lamp only contain one lamp per burial. Since many of these lamps evidently were primary goods,[419] it is possible that others used in the cremation ceremony may not have made it into the grave, but the evidence indicates this is likely not the case. Unlike many other goods, lamps were often placed wholly in the burial, whether they had been placed on the funeral pyre or not. From the forty-five burials (approximately 70%) in which lamps were thought to have been deposited as primary goods, approximately 64%[420] contained at least one whole or relatively whole lamp. Given that many were not fragmented, it seems likely that a lamp, involved in the cremation ceremony, was purposely selected for deposition in the burial. If the publications are correct, it is somewhat surprising that so many lamps described as primary grave goods are still intact.[421] From the evidence available to him from Britain and from what he has observed on the Continent, Philpott does mention that lamps likely had an important role in the cremation ceremony (Philpott 1991: 192). Three inhumation

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[419] 66% or 42 of 64 burials contained at least one lamp as a primary good. 25% or 16 of 64 burials contained at least one lamp as a secondary gift, 5% or 3 of 64 burials contained at least one of each type as a good and in 5% or 3 of 64 burials the lamps were not distinguished.

[420] 29 of 45 graves, which include three which contained evidence of lamps as primary and secondary goods.

[421] It is apparent mourners were not using them and then breaking them on the pyre. For many of the mourners it seemed important, but certainly not necessary that the lamp be used on the pyre and then deposited whole in the grave.

burials of the sample contained lamps which means that they were not restricted to use in cremation burials.[422] Although most lamps show signs of burning either due to use or the placement on the pyre, or both, there are a few lamps that mourners placed into the grave whole without evidence of use, which shows that they did not have to be lit to be effective as an offering.[423]

8.6.1 Lamp Types: Aquincum

Among the earliest lamps deposited in the Bécsi Road cemetery were the five voluted lamps, mostly of the Loeschcke Type IC.[424] On either side of the nozzle, which either comes to a point or is rounded, are two volutes, from which their name is derived. This type has a large round discus on the top of the body which makes them ideal for placing relief images. All five have relief images on the discus. One depicts a kneeling gladiator (Pl. 5-2),[425] another a fish,[426] two a bust of Amor (Pl. 5-3),[427] and the last an equine head (Pl. 5-4).[428] This form of lamp was most common in the first century but lasts into the second century. The voluted lamps from this

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[422] Grave 18.I carried an open potter lamp (7). It was located immediately to the left of the abdomen area. The fingers of the of right arm which crossed the body appear to be touching it. Grave 34.III contained a Loeschcke VIII type lamp next to the lower right leg and foot. Around it, were two bone gaming pieces (2, 3) a bone die (4) and a bronze coin (5). Grave 127 is a double burial containing a cremated adult female and an inhumed small child. Two lamps were found near the remains of the inhumed child. One immediately to left of the child (14) was fragmented and burnt and is listed as a primary grave good, so it may have belonged with the cremation burial. A second lamp is located further away from the inhumed remains but is located on the opposite side of the burial-pit as the cremated remains. Since Topál considered it a secondary gift (1993: 53) it likely belonged to the child.

[423] At least in the early period of the cemetery, during the late first and early second century, when the following finds were interred: Find #2, a voluted relief lamp of the Loeschcke type IC, from grave 34.I, find #10, a factory lamp of the Loeschke type X, from grave 71.I, both which date to the early period of the cemetery.

[424] In most cases, vessels of the Loeschcke Type 1C and the Iványi 1/3 type are treated as synonymous types in the catalogue.

[425] Find #8 from grave 22.V.

[426] Find #4 from grave 81.I.

[427] Find #5 from grave 74.VI and find #12 from grave 84.VI.

[428] Find #2 from grave 34.I. The catalogue does not say what is on the discus, but the picture (plate 95) is relatively clear in its depiction.

site are not precisely dated but appear in graves from the first phase[429] to the second phase[430] and

even a grave from early fourth phase.[431] This type of lamp was produced locally in Aquincum

(Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 191–192; Szentléleky 1959: 200), but all but one of these lamps was

clearly imported from northern Italy.[432]

The most popular lamp by far is the type known as a "factory lamp".[433] In all fifty-one

lamps of this type were found in forty graves.[434] This sort of lamp usually features three knobs

around the discus. A raised lip encircles both the discus and the nozzle (Pl. 5-7). Although the

discus is generally smaller than that of the voluted lamp, a relief image is sometimes placed on

the discus. There are only three examples of this type of lamp with images on them: one with a

head of Zeus Amon (Pl. 5-5),[435] and two with a comic mask (Pl. 5-6),[436] a common motif for this

sort of lamp.

Factory lamps were the most common type of lamp in the northwestern provinces,

particularly in the military areas from the late first century to well into the third century and even

into the early fourth century. This type of lamp was first manufactured in and exported from the

area of Modena in northern Italy beginning in the mid first century (Schneider and Daszkiewicz

2011: 275) before local manufacturers in the provinces produced the form (Póczy and Zsidi

2003: 191; Gassner 1999: 55–56; Bailey 1980: 275; Harris 1980: 133–134; Szentléleky 1969:

92–93; 1959: 201). Factory lamps were some of the earliest lamps imported and manufactured in

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[429] Mostly from the first and early second century. Find #2, which was found in an urn, from grave 34.I and find #4 from grave 81.I, as well as find #8 from grave 22.V.
[430] Find #5 of grave 74.VI and find #12 of grave 84.VI.
[431] Find #8 from grave 175.VI.
[432] Find #2 from grave 34.I.
[433] Most of these are labelled as Loeschcke type X or Iványi type XVII, although many of them are merely as factory lamps.
[434] This includes for lamps, which will be discussed later, which are not labelled as factory lamps, but have the same general form and were manufactured locally.
[435] Find #7 from grave 58.I.
[436] Find #3 from grave 66.I and find #3 from grave 96.I.

Aquincum (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 191). After the Marcomannic wars, workshops located south of the civilian city often made simple factory lamps, without maker marks (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 200). Lamps of this sort are found in cremation graves of all periods in this cemetery, from the late first century to the mid third century. At least five, but likely even more of the fifty-one factory lamps were produced by local manufacturers.[437] Of these, one locally made lamp features an LDP stamp,[438] while another has an ATIMETI stamp.[439]

Many of the factory lamps were stamped with a maker's mark in relief. The most common maker's mark in Aquincum was FORTIS, with eleven examples (e.g., Pl. 5-5). This is not surprising as FORTIS is attested as a maker's mark throughout the northern provinces. It was first attested as present in northern Italy in the late first century. This mark was used for 150 years into the third century and can be found on lamps from Bulgaria to Britain (Eckardt 2002: 204; Gassner 1999: 57; Bailey 1980: 275).[440] William Harris believes that large firms like FORTIS may have appointed an *institor*, or manager/agent, to establish a branch of the workshop in a foreign market (1980: 140-141). A manufacturer like FORTIS may have had between twenty to thirty branches at different times and places (Harris 1980: 141). It is also possible the producers exported molds (Bailey 1980: 275–276) or even that a large proportion of signed lamps were unauthorized imitations (Harris 1980: 139, 144). Other stamps include FRONTO,[441]

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[437] Find #18 of grave 17.I, find #3 of grave 66.I, find #9 of grave 36.VI find #2 of grave 38.VI and find #10 of grave 79.VI.

[438] Find #10 from grave 79.VI.

[439] Find #3 from grave 66.I.

[440] Gassner mentions that certain forms of this type are found in the early fourth century (1999: 57).

[441] Find #3 from grave 17.VI and Find #4 of grave 82.I, which has a suspected stamp, F[RO]NTO.

OCTAVI,[442] FESTI,[443] CERIALIS,[444] VICTORIA,[445] SEXTI,[446] L NERI,[447] APRIO,[448]

CASSI[449] and PROBVS[450].

The only other category of lamp found in significant numbers at this site are those of the

Loeschcke VIII type.[451] This form of lamp usually features a high round shoulder, a relatively

large, sunken discus and a short, rounded nozzle. This form's large discus and shoulder made it

ideal for relief images. From the datable graves at Aquincum, eleven lamps were found in as

many graves. Most lamps in this sample date to the late second and the middle of the third

century, but a few are dated earlier.[452] The deposition of such a high number of these lamps

during these later time periods is conspicuous, since most of these lamps appear north of the

Alps in the first century AD (Alram-Stern 1989: 34). These lamps were more widespread in the

Mediterranean area, becoming popular there in the second century as the volute style lamps

became less fashionable. In the northwestern provinces the Loeschcke VIII type was less popular

than factory lamps (Eckardt 2002: 185; Bailey 1980: 314–315).

All the lamps are decorated with relief images, in a similar fashion. In all examples,

except for find #10 from grave 140.VI (Pl. 5-8), leaves encircle the shoulder and bunches of

grapes are displayed on the shoulders of find #4 of grave 48.V and find #8 of grave 131.VI (Pl.

5-9). Many of the lamps display a wreath in the discus or surrounding this discus,[453] a flower in

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[442] Find #13 of grave 11.I and find #6 of grave 33.I.
[443] Find #9 of grave 10.VI.
[444] Find #3 of grave 62.VI.
[445] Find #5 of grave 51.V.
[446] Find #9 of grave 18.VI.
[447] Find #4 of grave 12.I.
[448] Find #7 if grave 69.I.
[449] Find #14 of grave 17.I.
[450] Find #3 of grave 98.I.
[451] Also listed as Iványi type XI lamps.
[452] Find #4 from grave 25.VI of the second quarter of the second century and find #4 from grave 55.VI of the mid second century.
[453] Find #10 of grave 28.VI, find #4 of grave 55.VI and find #10 of grave 140.VI, as well as find #4 from grave 48.V and find #1 of grave 34.III.

the center of the lamp (Pl. 5-10),[454] and even a handle in the form of a leaf (Pl. 5-8).[455] Other

figures featured on the discus, of some lamps include an eagle (Pl. 5-11),[456] a bird,[457] rays (Pl. 5-

12[458] and even a nude figure, likely Heracles (Pl. 5-13).[459] According to the catalogue, local

manufacturers made at least five of these lamps.[460]

Lamps found at Aquincum clearly follow trends taking place in other areas of the empire.

Originating in the Mediterranean region, Loeschcke Type IC lamps were used and even

manufactured locally early in the settlement's existence. When factory lamps became popular,

they were also picked up by local manufacturers and became dominant in the settlement and in

the cemetery. At the same time factory lamps became popular, Loeschcke VIII lamps, which

were not widespread north of the Alps, were present in the cemetery in conspicuous numbers,

demonstrating how in-touch craftsmen and merchants were with trends outside of the region. In

fact, producers used the FORTIS stamp as they did in many other parts of the northwestern

empire. Noteworthy is also that lamps continued to be manufactured and imported into

Aquincum while this activity declined significantly in areas of the western Danube *limes* by the

third century (Gassner 1999: 88–90). The preference for lamps or the access to them, could have

reflected common practices which contributed to a sense of sameness amongst those using them.

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[454] Find #1 of grave 11.VI, find #13 of grave 20.VI and find #10 of grave 28.VI, as well as find #4 of grave 48.V.
[455] Find #13 of grave 20.VI, find #4 of grave 55.VI and find #10 of grave 140.VI, as well as find #1 of grave 34.III.
[456] Find #1 of grave 34.III (Pl. 2-11).
[457] Find #8 of grave 131.VI.
[458] Find #18 of grave 3.I (Pl. 2-3).
[459] Find #8 from grave 175.VI (Pl. 2-35).
[460] The lamp of graves 3.I (18), 11.VI (1), 20.VI (13), 131.VI (8) and 140.VI (10). Topál does not specifically mention why she considers the lamps locally produced, but for three of the lamps she seems to indicate how she reached this conclusion. She likely considers the poor quality of the lamps found in graves 3.I (10- inferior quality) and 131.VI (8- deformed product) as evidence that they were produced locally. Topál could not find a parallel for the lamp of grave 20.VI (13) which might be why she considers it locally manufactured. She does not indicate why she believes the lamps of 11.VI (1) and 140.VI (10) were locally produced.

8.7   Lamps: Carnuntum

Evidence from graves of this cemetery shows that lamps were relatively common grave goods from the middle of the second century until the end of the century.

Table 8-5: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Lamps per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Lamps," is the total number of burials containing lamps and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a lamp.

	Total	Lamps
2nd Phase	2	2 (100%)
3rd Phase	27	9 (33.3%)
4th Phase	18	2 (11.1%)

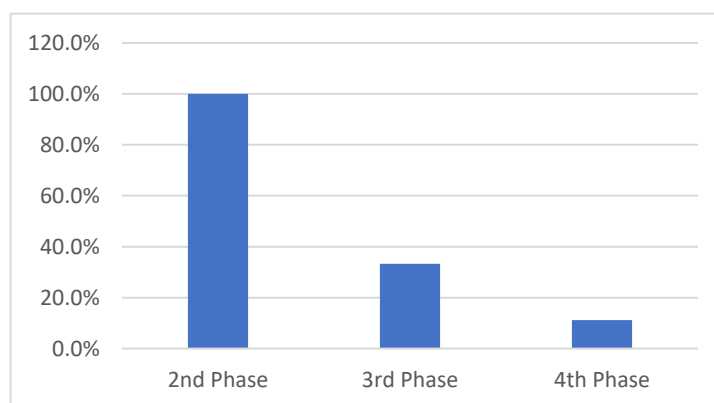**Table 8-6:** Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Lamps per Phase

Table 8-7: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Lamps as Primary and Secondary Goods[461]

> The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of lamp. Of these burials the number of burials containing both a primary and a secondary gift is under "Both."

Lamps	Total	Primary	Secondary	Both
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	21	3 (14.3%)	8 (38.1%)	2 (9.5%)
4th Phase	13	0 (0.0%)	2 (15.4%)	0 (0.0%)

From the third phase, approximately 33%[462] of burials contained at least one lamp. This frequency is in line with what was observed in Aquincum, where during the same period 34% of all graves contained a lamp. Most of these were placed as secondary goods, but of the eleven lamps found in nine burials, three (27%) were likely primary goods as they show signs of burning due to the grey discolouration of their slip.[463] The lamps of one of these burials was also fragmented, which may mean that it was damaged on the pyre.[464] Otherwise, the lamps were placed in the burial intact or nearly so. Only two of the burials have more than one lamp.[465] These cases are interesting since it appears that in both cases one lamp was deposited as a primary good and one was offered as a secondary gift. Although a lamp was used in the cremation ceremony, in both cases an additional lamp was offered at the time of burial.

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[461] From the fourth phase, one inhumation burial contained a bowl.

[462] 9 of 27 burials of the third phase.

[463] Find #2 of grave 15 and find #15 of grave 56 are completely preserved. The body with part of the shoulder is preserved of find #3 of grave 80A. Although the authors did not mention in the catalogue whether a lamp was burnt or not, Gassner does mention that several of the lamps were grey because they burnt together with the grave goods (Gassner 1999: 56).

[464] The lamps of graves 80A (3).

[465] Graves 15 (2, 3) and 56 (15, 16). All were complete when deposited in the grave but as mentioned in the citation above, one lamp from each is mentioned as being burnt (2 and 15 respectively).

In the fourth phase the percentage of burials containing lamps decreases considerably. While there is a paucity of lamps in the graves of Carnuntum from this phase (Gassner 1999: 88), in the Bécsi Road Cemetery, 34% of graves contained at least one lamp as a grave offering. Scholars have noticed this lack of lamps in both the settlements and burials along the Noricum *limes* and in Raetia as well, where they begin to disappear in the middle of the second century. They believe that the supply of oil must have declined considerably from the previous period, in Raetia first and then in Noricum and at least the western portion of Pannonia along the *limes* (Gassner 1999: 88–90). Piroska Magyar-Hárshegyi believes that the dramatic decrease in imported oil in amphorae is due to the military importing less goods especially during and after the Marcomannic wars (2014: 6). The military may also have been responsible for importing *terra sigillata* from more westerly provinces, but this also went into decline in the third century as the military relied more on local suppliers. Presumably, without oil, there was no impetus to produce or import lamps (Gassner 1999: 88–90). The cessation in oil importation did not seem to affect all areas of Pannonia, however, since at larger centers in the interior of the province, such as Scarbantia and Savaria, lamps were still manufactured and used in the second and third centuries. Aquincum both produced lamps and imported olive oil from Spain (Magyar-Hárshegyi 2016: 424; Bezeczky 1995: 165). Ultimately, it may have been the decline of olive oil imports under the Severans that could have affected these changes in consumption in the way it was manifested in Carnuntum (Gassner 1999: 90).

Evidence shows that lamps were used in Carnuntum in much the same way as of those of Aquincum as most of them were placed in the grave whole. That being said, few of them are mentioned as being burnt. This is not surprising as many more of the goods deposited in the burials of Carnuntum were done so during the burial ceremony. It also appears that a lamp need

not have been lit to function as an offering, but it is notable that two of the three graves that contain a lamp that is burnt, also contain one that is not. This happens in two other burials which are not precisely dated and, therefore, not included in the sample.[466] This may indicate that when a lamp was given in the burial, one that had not been used may have been preferred.

8.7.1 Lamp Types: Carnuntum

The sample graves from the cemetery of the civilian city of Carnuntum did not carry the same variety of lamps that were found in the Aquincum cemetery as all but one of the lamps found in the burials were factory lamps of the Loeschcke type X form (Pl. 5-17).[467] These lamps are representative of the type and the manufactures of those that were also found in the settlement (Gassner 1999: 58).

The only voluted lamp in the cemetery is from the second phase and features a relief image of a maenad striding to the left (Pl. 5-18). This piece was offered in a grave dated to the middle of the second century (Gassner 1999: 55).[468]

In this sample, fourteen factory lamps were found in twelve burials. Only one factory lamp featured a decoration on the discus; that of a bearded comic mask (Pl. 5-18).[469] Evidence shows that most of the factory lamps were produced in the region, since imported wares from northern Italy tended to be made of a fine, hard fired clay, with no coating, and according to

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[466] In grave 15, #2 has been burnt, but #3 shows no sign. In grave 56, #15 has been burnt, but #16 shows no signs. In grave 61, find #2 has been burnt, but #1 shows no signs. In grave 85, the nozzle of #1 is blackened, but #2 shows no signs.

[467] The outlying lamp, a volute lamp which has an image of a maenad on it (Gassner 1999: 55), came from grave 77 (1) of the second phase.

[468] Grave 77 (1).

[469] Find #1 of grave 30. Lamps with this sort of embellishment are also attested in the settlement.

these criteria, one lamp of this sample has been identified as imported.[470] These made regionally

tended to be embellished with a surface coating.[471] Unfortunately, the exact locality of where

they were produced is unknown (Gassner 1999: 56).

Most of the lamps displayed stamps on their base. As was the case in the Bécsi Road

Cemetery the FORTIS stamp is the most commonly found on lamps, with six examples in the

grouping.[472] Of these one may have been imported from northern Italy;[473] however, the rest are

likely from Pannonia, where a number of examples of molds were found (Gassner 1999: 57). All

the examples from this cemetery come from graves that are dated to the latter half of the second

century. The next most popular stamp is that of OCTAVI, but none were found in precisely dated

burials, so they are not discussed here.[474]

Several other stamps of which only a few examples exist were in the sample. Two lamps

contain L. NARI stamps, both of which are dated to the second half of the second century.[475]

This stamp was used only on factory lamps of the Loeschcke type X shape from the beginning of

the second century, until the time of Alexander Severus (Gassner 1999: 57). One bearing the

FAVOR/F stamp, which probably stands for *Favorinus fecit* was also found.[476] This type of

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[470] Find #1 from grave 30.

[471] Gassner mentions that lamp #3 of grave 188 and #3 of grave 189 do not have a coating (1999: 56), but in the catalogue the lamp in 189 (3) is mentioned as having brown coating with grey specks and a patchy metallic shine ("*Ü: braun, mit grauen Flecken, stellenweise metallisch gläzend*" 1999: 187).

[472] Gassner mentions that find #3 of grave 189 has a FORTIS stamp on its base (Gassner 1999: 57), but the catalogue mentions that it has LNARI on its base. She does not include: find # 15 of grave 56, find #7 of grave 98 (which has a suspected FORTIS stamp: [FO]RTIS), or find #2 of grave 188, which the catalogue mentions as having a FORTIS stamp. Otherwise, find #3 of grave 25, find #1 of grave 30, find #6 of grave 40, find #1 of grave 61, find #3 of grave 80A, find #3 of grave 118 and find #13 of grave 179 all contain a FORTIS stamp.

[473] Find #1 of grave 30.

[474] Five examples were found as grave gifts. Find #4 of grave 50, find #2 of grave 61, find #9 of grave 66, find #1 of grave 85 and find #2 of grave 97. This stamp first appears in northern Italy in the late first century, while Pannonian manufacture is attested through a lamp model from Siscia. These lamps were disseminated from the middle of the second century until the middle of the third century (Gassner 1999: 57; Alram-Stern 1989: 78).

[475] Find #2 of grave 15 and find #3 of grave 189.

[476] Find #3 grave 15 has suspected stamp, since only a portion of it survives, [-OR/F. Above this is the remains of a laurel crown with an "eye" dot in the center of it (Gassner 1999: 57).

stamp was originally found in northern Italy on Loeschcke type X shape lamps, but the find of molds in Aquincum shows that it might have been manufactured there. Lamps with this stamp appear at the beginning of the second century, until the first half of the third century (Gassner 1999: 57; Alram-Stern 1989: 70–71). One lamp featured a VICTOR stamp,[477] a manufacturer that also operated in Aquincum (Alram-Stern 1989: 82; Szentléleky 1969: 93; 1959: 200). One lamp each feature the following stamps VRSVS,[478] CRESCES,[479] VICTORIA,[480] and QGC.[481]

The sampling of lamps from Carnuntum does not feature as much in the way of variety as was found in Aquincum, but like Aquincum, Carnuntum can be seen as following some of the same trends that took place in the northwestern empire with the popularity of factory lamps. Also, in Carnuntum, as in Aquincum, the wares of numerous manufacturers were present, including those that used the FORTIS stamp, but also those of FAVOR/F and VICTOR which are believed to have been made in Aquincum.

8.8 Lamps: Summary

Evidence shows that the lamps of the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum were used during the funerary ritual in a similar way, with some slight differences. The placement of a lamp on or near the pyre and the deposition of a whole or partially whole lamp in the grave appears to

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[477] Find #20 from grave 78.

[478] Find #7 from grave 161.

[479] Find #2 from grave 26. This stamp may have originated in Gallia Cisalpina, but it was mainly used in the northern provinces from approximately the early second century until the end of the third century (Gassner 1999: 56). There were three other lamps found with a CRESCES stamp. Find #4 of grave 95 and find #48 of grave 174a were not found with a body, while only a base fragment and wall were found of #3 grave 163, an inhumation grave, which was ransacked. The authors of the catalogue do not mention it as a grave gift.

[480] Find #16 from grave 56. VICTORIA is perhaps an abbreviation for VICTORIALIS. The manufacturer was located in Aquincum (Gassner 1999: 57).

[481] Find #1 from grave 174B. The stamp is hard to read but is the most likely interpretation. The QGC stamp occurs most frequently in the second half of the second century and is believed to have been produced in Savaria, since a model with the initials on it were found there (Gassner 1999: 57).

have been an important part of the funerary ceremony at both locales. Approximately a third of the sample of all lamps from both sites show clear signs of having been burnt on the funeral pyre but were deposited in the grave intact or relatively so. A closer look at the third phase more effectively reflects these similarities since both cemeteries were active at this point and lamps were involved in the funerary rites.[482] Of the thirteen lamps of this period from Aquincum nine were placed in the grave whole or nearly whole,[483] while in the Carnuntum sample eight of the nine were placed in the grave whole.[484] Nine of the thirteen lamps of the Aquincum sample, however, were deposited as primary grave goods, while only three of the lamps from Carnuntum were deposited as primary goods. This difference in the way lamps were treated in the ceremonies of these two cemeteries is reflective of overall trends that occurred concerning the deposition of artifacts during the funerary rites. It is notable, however, that normally items used in the cremation ceremony ended up in the grave heavily damaged so this phenomenon of the placement of a whole lamp in the grave is striking.

By the beginning of the third century lamps were rarely being placed in graves at Carnuntum. In the Bécsi Road Cemetery, on the other hand, based on the number of graves that contained lamps the deposition rate remains steady from the third phase into the fourth phase. It is possible that whatever supply decisions were made, or whatever issues arose with regards to olive oil in the *limes* area of Pannonia Superior, Noricum and Raetia they did not affect the *limes* area in Pannonia Inferior to the same extent or even at all, since lamps are still found in the burials at that time. Still, a decline in the number of burials containing lamps did take place in

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[482] In this sample the southern cemetery of Carnuntum was not used during the first phase and there are only two graves of the second phase. As mentioned, very few graves contained lamps in the fourth phase. Therefore, the third phase is the most ideal for a direct comparison.

[483] The lamp of grave 131.VI is missing its nozzle. The lamp of grave 36.VI (9) seems to have been fragmented, but most of it ended up in the burial. Only fragments of the lamp from grave 7.VI (1) ended up in the burial. Two fragments of lamps were found in grave 127.VI (13, 14) and one fragment was found in grave 49.V (15).

[484] Only fragments of the lamp of grave 80A (3) were placed in the grave.

Aquincum between the mid second century (second phase) and the latter part of the second century (third phase) and into the third century (fourth phase). It is possible that the oil supply was strained in Aquincum, but not to the same degree as in other areas of the western Danube provinces. That less lamps were available in Carnuntum in the third century must have meant a slight change in how the deceased were commemorated and was possibly even reflected in the ways in which they viewed the afterlife. Then again, in a general sense, a lamp was only one item that mourners had at their disposal to accommodate the beliefs of the mourners. That many mourners of Aquincum still had access or at least a preference to deposit a lamp with their deceased may have contributed to a sense of sameness amongst them, especially since they seem to have declined in popularity in other areas of the middle Danube region.

In both sites, factory lamps of the Loeschcke type X dominate. This is not surprising given that this type of lamp was widespread throughout the northern provinces. The graves at Aquincum held a larger variety of lamps than Carnuntum, even if only lamps of the third phase are compared. There are quite a few Loeschcke type VIII which are more popular in the Mediterranean area than the northern provinces. It does seem, that at least some of these were manufactured locally, which is why they may appear in Aquincum, but not Carnuntum.

With regards to the manufacturers of the lamps, the maker mark of FORTIS dominated with its appearance in both cemeteries, while OCTAVI, L. NERI and VICTORIA were also found in both areas. The fact that a lamp with the stamp of VICTORIA was found in Aquincum is no surprise, given that, evidence shows that this manufacturer was located in the city (Gassner1999: 57). Based on the hypothesis of Harris it is possible that lamp firms set up branches in the areas around both settlements.

8.9   Lamps and Incense Bowls

Scholars have noticed that *tazze* are often found in graves with multiple lamps, not only in Britain, but on the continent (Eckardt 2011: 191; 2002: 99, 109; Philpott 1991: 193). This is not surprising given that both can be associated with light and purification in the funerary ceremony (Eckardt 2011: 191; 2002: 109; Philpott 1991: 193). From a modern archaeological standpoint, they, as well as coins, are also associated with a sense of Romanness (Philpott 1991: 193). Beyond these two interpretations, it is difficult to determine exactly what the connection between these two vessels was (Eckardt 2002: 109), but it is one worth exploring in the cemeteries of this study. Just because a *tazza* and a lamp did appear in a grave together, it does not mean that the same significance was given to their inclusion from one funerary ceremony to the next, or even if their pairing implied any significance at all. Their mutual placement in the grave was certainly not common in Aquincum where only two graves contained both a *tazza* and a lamp, but in Carnuntum, all but one cremation grave that contained a *tazza* also contained a lamp.

In Aquincum, only two graves contained both a *tazza* and a lamp.[485] Both are in the same graveyard and in the same relative section of it, but are from different clusters of graves and relatively different times.[486] It is interesting, however, that in both cases the *tazza* and the lamp are both primary grave goods, which means that they probably played a part in the cremation ceremony.[487] Such implements may also have been used together in other parts of the funerary

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[485] Grave 27.VI and grave 36.VI. Grave 27.VI contained one lamp (#8) and one *tazza* (#2), while grave 36 also held one lamp (#9) and one *tazza* (#6).
[486] Grave 27 is dated to the first third of the third century and grave 36 dates to the last third of the second century.
[487] In Grave 27 the discus fragment of the lamp is burnt and the *tazza* fragment was burnt after it was broken, while in grave 36, parts of the lamp are broken and the slip is burnt, while the *tazza* fragment was burnt.

ceremony, as shown on the relief of the Haterii family tomb, which shows *tazze* at the base of the funerary platform and lamps, on pedestals on either side of it, while the deceased is lying in state.

In the sample from Carnuntum, all but one of the eight cremation graves that contain a *tazza* also contain a lamp. Unlike the situation that scholars noticed in Britian, where there are multiple lamps interred with a *tazza*, both Carnuntum and Aquincum, in most cases, only one lamp and one *tazza* per grave are deposited as grave gifts. Of these, only grave 56 of Canantum contains two lamps and multiple sherds of various *tazze*,[488] and grave 66 contains multiple *tazze* fragments, but only one lamp.[489] The only grave that holds a *tazza* but does not contain a lamp is grave 170. Since the *tazza* piece is a rim fragment, it can be assumed that most of the vessel was lost during the cremation ceremony. So, if a lamp was used in the cremation ceremony it may not have made it into the grave, skewing the evidence. In any case, a strong correlation existed between the use of *tazze* with lamps in the cremation burials at Carnuntum.

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[488] lamps #15 and 16 and *tazze* #2–5.
[489] lamp #9 and *tazze* #3–5.

9   Chapter 9: Glassware

9.1   Introduction: Glassware

According to the available evidence between the late first to the middle third century glass wares were not employed in the funerary ritual with any great degree of frequency in either cemetery, since very few pieces were found in the grave inventory. This is despite the fact that glass vessels were produced in both locales (Thomas 1980: 381) and glass vessels were generally widely available in the empire (Benedetti-Whitton 2020: 3; Kraskovská 1981: 15) as the technology for mass production improved and local manufacturers established themselves (Benedetti-Whitton 2020: 3; Henderson 2013: 251; Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 189; Fleming 1999: 24, 61).[490]

As it stands, however, according to scholars a glass vessel included in a burial may be considered as somewhat of a luxury item used by those who were at least of medium wealth or rank in society (Biddulph 2005: 34, 39; Gassner 1999: 90; Philpott 1991: 116). Often only one glass vessel was deposited in a burial and glass vessels are generally associated with wealthier grave inventories (Gassner 1999: 90; Philpott 1991: 115–116). In the case of phials, while they were mass-produced and cheap, it was the contents that they held that were more important and more expensive than the container itself (Hrnčiarik and Nováková 2019: 101; Cool 2004: 371). Still, in the cemetery of Aquincum, and in many other cemeteries, phials were often the most common glass item deposited (Márton *et al*. 2015: 11; Gassner 1999: 91; Philpott 1991: 115).

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[490] Strabo mentions that in his time (late first century BC to early first century AD.), glass had gotten so inexpensive that one could buy a bowl for a copper coin (16.2.25; Henderson 2013: 229). Petronius (ca. 60 AD) echoes this sentiment when the nouveau-riche character, Trimalchio, says that he prefers glass, which is much cheaper than gold, if only it did not break so easily (*Saty*. 50; Henderson 2013: 251).

Table wares were placed in graves as well. Most of these deposited in burials tended to be vessels made for the serving and storage of liquids, which is a phenomenon noticed in other cemeteries (Gassner 1999: 90; Cool and Price 1995: 234; Philpott 1991: 116; Kraskovská 1981: 15). These glass vessels, like bottles, flasks and jugs were a more luxurious substitute for a ceramic piece (Biddulph 2005: 34; Gassner 1999: 90).

9.2   Glassware: Aquincum

Table 9-1: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing a glass vessel per Phase

> The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Glass," is the total number of burials containing glass vessels and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a glass vessel.

	Total	Glass
1st Phase	46	4 (8.7%)
2nd Phase	33	3 (9.1%)
3rd Phase	32	4 (12.5%)
4th Phase	52	5 (9.6%)
Total	163	16 (9.8%)

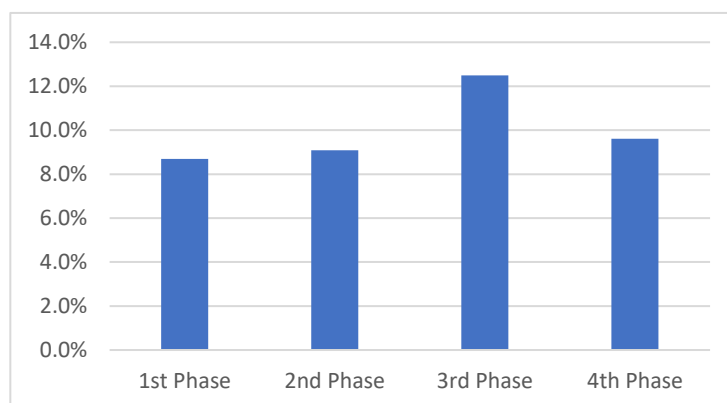**Table 9-2:** Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing a glass vessel per Phase

Table 9-3: Aquincum- Number of burials containing Primary and Secondary goods from each Phase.

Burials which cannot be distinguished as a primary or secondary goods appear under "ND" (Not Distinguished). Any inhumation burials appear under "Inhumation."

	Total	Primary	Secondary	ND	Inhumation
1st Phase	4	1	1	2	0
2nd Phase	3	1	1	0	1
3rd Phase	4	2	2	0	0
4th Phase	5	3	2	0	0

Several glass vessels were found in the Bécsi Road Cemetery, but they were not found in large numbers in graves from most phases. Several graves also contained multiple glass vessels including one of the cremation burial second phase,[491] one from the third phase,[492] and two from the fourth phase.[493]

9.2.1 Phials: Aquincum

Of the glass vessels of Aquincum, phials are the most common. Fifteen burials contained glass goods, and thirteen of these held phials with three of them containing two or more phials. Phials are a type of small, closed-form glass vessel with a long neck. Archaeologists have ascribed numerous names to these vessels, such as *balsamaria*, *unguentaria*,[494] toiletry bottles

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[491] Grave 14.I (6, 7).
[492] Grave 127.VI (17, 18).
[493] Grave 14.VI (20, 21) held two vessels and Grave 146.VI (4–7) contained four.
[494] A *balsamarium* is a vessel that presumably held an aromatic balsam, while an *unguentarium* held some sort of perfume, unguent, or ointment (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179).

and especially in the funerary context, *lacrimaria,*[495] all names that indicate either the contents that they held or the way they were utilized (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 107). Because scholars largely do not know precisely what the bottles contained or how they were used in the funerary ceremony, they will be referred to here as phials.

Table 9-4: Aquincum- Burials Containing Glass Phials

I= Grave   II= Graveyard   GT= Grave Type   III= Phase
IV= Grave Good Type   V= Artifact Number

I	II	GT	III	IV	V	Artifact
14	I	C1	2nd Phase	P	6, 7	Frags. of Glass Phial
34	I	C6	1st Phase	S	3	Glass Phial
58	I	C	1st Phase	GG	11	Glass Phial
71	I	C	1st Phase	GG	9	Frag. of Glass Phial
28	V	C1	4th Phase	S	3	Glass Phial
14	VI	C1	4th Phase	P	20	Frags of Glass Phial
19	VI	C4	3rd Phase	P	1	Frags. of Glass Phial
23	VI	C1	3rd Phase	S	5	Glass Phial
25	VI	C1	1st Phase	P	5	Glass Phial
26	VI	C1	3rd Phase	S	6	Glass Phial
28	VI	C8	4th Phase	P	11	Glass Phial
127	VI	C1	3rd Phase	P	17, 18	Glass Phial
146	VI	C1	4th Phase	S	4, 5,7	Glass Phial (4,5,7)

From the first phase, four graves each contained one phial. Of these, one grave contained the vessel as a primary good, one as a secondary gift and in two graves the status of the vessel cannot be determined. One burial of the second phase contained evidence of a phial, containing two phials as primary goods. From the third phase four graves contained at least one phial. Of these, one burial contained one as a primary good, two contained them as secondary gifts and

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[495] The name *lacrimaria* indicates that the vessel held tears of the mourners (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179; Nikolić and Raičković 2006: 327; Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 107).

one grave contained two vessels, one as a primary good and the other as a secondary gift. Four graves of the fourth phase held phials. Two of the burials contained the vessels as primary goods and two held them as secondary gifts. One grave held three phials as secondary gifts. Overall, within all phases there was really no predominance of one manner of deposit over another, as five graves held them as primary goods, five held them as secondary and one grave held one as a primary good and one as a secondary gift.

The fact that these phials were made from glass distinguishes them from the majority of vessels deposited in graves, which were usually made of ceramic materials; however, phials could be made from ceramic, copper alloy and even organic materials like leather. Bronze phials were certainly more expensive and only infrequently found in cemeteries, and leather does not often survive in the archaeological record (Robin and Silvino 2012: 181). Phials made of a ceramic material certainly were mass-produced and inexpensive and in fact, ceramic phials were widely used until the first century AD, when glass phials gradually replaced them (Robin and Silvino 2012: 182; Fleming 1999: 24; Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 114). At that time, glass workshops could produce glass phials at a rapid rate through developing the free-blowing technology (Fleming 1999: 24). Glass phials were one of the first mass-produced glass objects made through such glass blowing techniques in the Roman world (Mateescu-Suciu 2017: 138). Not only were such vessels easily and cheaply produced, but they likely appealed to consumers because of their shiny aesthetic and their non-porous material (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179; Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121, no. 104). Because of the porosity of ceramic phials, they gradually lost their liquid contents (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 116). As a cheap, attractive and practical vessel, the glass phial became popular in the empire (e.g., Pl. 6-1 – 6-4).

Such mass-produced vessels were made in Aquincum, but they were also imported, either by merchants or by way of migrants who brought them as personal possessions, especially early in the settlement's history before the glass industry had developed (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 190; Cool and Price 1995: 225). Phials from two of the four graves of the first phase are thought to have been imported from northern Italy (e.g., Pl. 6-1).[496] But by the early second century, such simple types of glass vessels began to be manufactured in Aquincum in order to accommodate local demand (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 189, 194, 197; Kraskovská 1981: 16; Fitz 1980: 330). Even then, vessels were still imported and a phial from a grave of the second phase was likely imported from the area of modern Cologne.[497] That such goods were being imported from these areas at that time is not at all surprising. For instance, in this cemetery, during the first phase, lamps were imported from Italy, and goods such as *terra sigillata* were imported on a large scale from Gaul as far as Moesia on the Danube trade route in the second century (Gabler 1982: 49). Even though workshops in Aquincum produced their own glass vessels it is likely that the raw glass itself was produced in specialized workshops a considerable distance away and transported to Aquincum in the form of large chunks and ingots. Old and broken glass was also collected as 'cullet' which could be cheaply and easily melted and made into new forms (Jackson and Foster 2015: 44, 48; Henderson 2013: 231–232; Benedetti-Whitton 1–2). Phials may have been considered a luxury good, when they were imported prior to the development of a local glass industry; however, afterwards they likely became an object of widespread use for everyday life (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 194; Kraskovská 1981: 15).

Phials could be used to hold a variety of goods, including perfumes, products for body care, cosmetics and medical substances (Hrnčiarik and Nováková 2019: 101; Mateescu-Suciu

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[496] Grave 34.I (3) and 71.I (9).
[497] Grave 14.I (6).

2017: 141; Cool 2004: 371; Philpott 1991: 117). Many of these products were liquids, but studies have also shown that they carried cosmetic powders (Mateescu-Suciu 2017: 141, no. 17; Devroe 2008: 297) and some speculate they could hold incense (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 116). Tests have shown that the base substance of many residues of phials was a form of fatty acid, possibly in many cases olive oil, but also perhaps other vegetable oils, beeswax and animal fats (Mateescu-Suciu 2017: 149; Robin and Silvino 2012: 187; Ribechini *et al*. 2008: 168; Massarat 2008: 315; Devroe 2008: 295). The base then could be infused with aromatic and fragrant components derived from resin, flowers, spices and aromatic wood, but may have held a complex variety of ingredients depending on the use of the product (Robin and Silvino 2012: 187; Ribechini *et al*. 2008: 168). If the product was refined, complex and contained exotic materials, the product would be worth far more than the vessel that carried it (Hrnčiarik and Nováková 2019: 101; Devroe 2008: 296). If the product was composed of local ingredients and manufactured using simple techniques, however, the aromatic would be less costly (Devroe 2008: 296).

Phials served numerous purposes in the grave ritual. Like items such as fibulae, belts and jewelry, they could be personal items that were buried with the individual who owned them, but this is difficult to ascertain since very often the phial and its contents might also be purchased for the funeral ceremony (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 118). In some cases, archaeologists have associated the phials with a profession and have assumed that phials were buried with physicians and, therefore, contained pharmaceutical liquids (Mateescu-Suciu 2017: 141). In addition, phials filled with cosmetics, perfumes, unguents, etc. were part of a woman's toiletry (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 325; Fleming 1999: 60; Treggiari 1991: 389; Ulp. *Dig*. 34. 2. 25. 10), so in many cases where other toiletry items were found with a phial, it may be assumed that the phial

functioned as a toiletry bottle. In this sampling, four graves that held evidence of a casket also held phials (see pg. 11 no. 34)[498] which may have belonged to or were directly associated with the individual. One of these burials, grave 146.VI, included the only phial (7) that contained a substance (8). This was a residual amalgam of lead, resin and probably some other organic substance, which may have been components of cosmetics (Topál 1993: 59). In this case, it is very possible that the deceased owned or was associated with the phial and its contents. While the presence of a casket and other gendered products may indeed indicate the deceased was a female, the association of some personal goods with women is not always a certainty as perfumes could also be used by men, as Devroe demonstrates (2008: 296, 298–299).

Evidence shows that deceased individuals of various ages and sexes were given phials. Of the thirteen graves which contained a phial and for which the sex or age of the individual was determined, either by osteological analysis or because the grave goods indicated the sex, two likely held adult females,[499] six likely held children or juveniles,[500] four of which were almost certainly female,[501] and three graves supposedly held adult males, but none of the latter held any artifacts that might mark their gender.[502] Phials are firmly associated with females in six graves

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[498] Grave 58.I held a long-necked perfume bottle (11). Grave 28.V held a small toiletry bottle (3). Grave 146.VI contained three toilet bottles (4, 5 and 7) and grave 127.VI held a slightly melted toilet bottle (18).

[499] Grave 14.VI supposedly held an adult (30–40) and also contained a bronze bucket, which may be indicative of a female. Grave 127.VI held an adult female and a child. Both phials (17, 18) were found around the remains of the child in the south part of the pit, however, #18 is melted, so it was probably placed on the pyre with the cremated adult female. The adult female was also associated with a casket (21a–21e) and a comb which was also burnt on the pyre (10).

[500] Both grave 14.I and grave 23.VI supposedly held an infant II (8–10), but there are no artifacts that can be definitively linked to a gender identity.

[501] Grave 58.I supposedly held a juvenile female. It contained casket fittings (12), which indicates a female occupant. Grave 28.V may have held an infant II or juvenile female (7–15 years old), which also contained beads (4), a lead mirror (6), bronze bulla (7), an earring (8) and casket mounts (9–11) further indicating that this grave held a female. Grave 28.VI supposedly held an infant II female (7–12 years old). The grave also contained an earring (12), beads (13) and bronze sheets of a casket (15). Grave 146.VI contained casket fittings (10–13), which indicates a female occupant, and a bead (9).

[502] Grave 19.VI, Grave 25.VI and grave 26.VI, reportedly contain the remains of males. All were adults, but the remains of grave 26.VI were thought to contain an older, mature adult.

compared to males in three graves. This gender imbalance is to be expected since it is often more difficult to identify males since they are less likely to be associated with gendered items. In addition, as mentioned previously, females kept such phials in their toiletry sets, which may be included in their grave inventory. In most cases, however, the phial was likely used during the grave ritual, rather than being owned or associated with the individual during their life.

There are several interpretations concerning the use of the contents of phials in the different phases of funerary and cremation ritual. Scholars consider them a part of 'Roman' rites of migrants (Póczy and Zsidi 2003: 190; Philpott 1991: 117–118, Alcock 1980: 62). While immigrants may have imported and used the phials initially, phials do not seem to have a firm cultural connotation. In settlement such as Aquincum, mourners likely had an array of choices reflecting what they could afford or what they had access to with regards to the contents of the phials, which was likely more important than the phial itself. Traditionally, one of the prominent interpretations is that during the ceremony a phial was passed around to collect the tears of the mourners to put in the grave. Hence, archaeologists have labelled phials found in burials *lacrimaria*.[503] Archaeologists, however, long ago dismissed this theory of usage (Robin and Silvino 2012: 186; Nikolić and Raičković 2006: 327; Anderson-Stojanović; 1987: 107).[504] Most scholars now believe that perfumes, scented oils and ointments were the primary contents of phials in the funerary context (Robin and Silvino 2012: 186), although incense could certainly be stored in these containers too (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 116). Literary sources, discussed below, provide information on how fragrant oils and ointments were used in the funerary

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[503] *Lacrimarium* is formed from the Latin root, *lacrima* which means 'tear' and the suffix '-arium' which often indicates a place in which something is kept.

[504] The idea of the phials used as *lacrimaria* is based on an interpretation of the biblical passage, Psalms 56. 8: "put my tears into your bottle" (Anderson-Stojanović; 1987: 107).

ceremonies, although there is no mention of what sort of container held them. Archaeologists link these products and their use to the phial evidence (Robin and Silvino 2012: 186).

As mentioned in chapter four, perfumes, oils and ointments could be used on the body as it lay in state (Márton *et al*. 2015: 34; Toynbee 1971: 44–45). Apuleius mentions in the *Florida* (19) that the individual whom Asclepiades rescued from the funerary pyre had already been anointed, and his limbs were covered in spices and his mouth was full of unguent. Such products helped to cleanse the body, mask the smell of decay, and symbolically separate the body from the world of the living. While it is unlikely that a phial used in this early phase of the funerary ceremony might be placed in the burial, it is possible that an empty phial used in this portion or any other part of the ceremony may be placed later in the grave as a way to signify the honour paid to the individual by the mourners (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121).

During the cremation phase of the ceremony, perfumes and scented oils stored in phials may have been used in a variety of ways. Fragrances, including those kept in phials, may have been placed on the pyre. During the funeral of Misenus in the *Aeneid,* myrrh as well as bowls of oil was placed on the pyre (Verg. *Aen.* 6.227). Herodian mentions that when Septimius Severus was cremated, "they added every kind of perfume and incense the earth provides, together with all the fruits, herbs, and juices that are gathered for their fragrance..." on the funerary pyre (4.2.8). In addition, Martial writes of a certain Zoilus that he removed incense, cinnamon and nard from the bier and pyre (11.54). These three examples highlight the importance of the use of fragrance while the body lay on the pyre, both before and during the cremation rites. During cremation rites fragrances probably masked the smell, in this case the burning flesh (Robin and Silvino 2012: 186) and their use, like that of the use of incense bowls, was also believed to help facilitate the passing of the deceased into the afterlife or at least mark the transition symbolically

(Márton *et al*. 2015: 30; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2011: 111, 126; Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121).

Archaeologically, we know that phials were sometimes placed on the pyre and may have even been important parts of the grave furniture (Robin and Silvino 2012: 185). Scented oils contained in the melting phials may have gradually seeped out, not only providing a pleasant fragrance but possibly also acting to intensify the fire (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 121). Phials still full or empty may have been thrown on or near the pyre and as a result these glass vessels were often found either partially melted, exhibiting "jig-saw" like breaks from the shattering of the glass in the heat, or they were found in glass lumps, fused with other material (Cool 2004: 365). As with other primary goods, such cremation debris could end up in the burial. Of course, one would be unable to discern what sort of vessel a glob of glass had been (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179, 182).

Phials may also have been placed in the grave with the remains as a gift or a token of piety on the part of the mourners. A passage from Ausonius (*Epit*. 31. 1–2) suggests that the cremated remains may have been sprinkled with perfumes prior to their deposition in the grave,[505] but the contents of a phial may also have been used in a ceremony to sanctify the grave. A passage ascribed to Tibullus[506] suggests that luxury products of Arabia and Assyria were deposited in burials as gifts, presumably in phials, such as those being discussed here (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179; Philpott 1991: 118; Alcock 1980: 62). The deposition of phials and their contents in burials by mourners may have served to mark the occupation, status, gender

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[505] *Sparge mero cineres bene olentis et unguine nardi,/ hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis*. "Sprinkle the ashes well with unmixed wine and the unguent of oily nard (spikenard), stranger, and lay balsam with scarlet roses" (Auson. *Epit*. 31.1–2). Ausonius wrote in the fourth century, when few people partook in cremation rites.

[506] *Atque in marmorea ponere sicca domo./ Illic quas mittit dives Panchaia merces,/ eoique Arabes, dives et Assyria* "and to place them dry in a marble house. In this place he puts any riches from Panchaia, Arabian rewards and Assyrian riches" (Tib., *Eleg*.. 3.2.22–24).

or stage in the life cycle of the deceased or may have been placed simply because they had once belonged to the deceased. Presumably, mourners believed that the phials and their contents served the deceased well in the afterlife (Robin and Silvino 2012: 179).

It is quite difficult to determine precisely how phials were used in the funeral ceremony and why they ended up in burials. If they had been associated with or owned by the deceased as, for example, part of a toiletry set they may have been merely displayed on the pyre with other personal goods and or placed in the grave secondarily. They may also have been used throughout the ceremony for rituals that took place before and during the burning of the funeral pyre, during the collecting and deposition of the human remains, or placed as offerings during either phase of the ritual. Determining their use, however, is only speculative since we do not know precisely what materials they may have held and because usually only one phial is associated with a grave.

9.2.2 Other Glass Vessels: Aquincum

Other than phials, four burials contained glass vessels used for holding liquid, including liquid serving vessels, a beaker and two *infundibula* (feeding bottles for infants). Two burials were of the second phase one of which is a cremation burial and the other is an inhumation. In both cases the vessels were deposited as secondary gifts. Three cremation burials from the fourth phase contained glass liquid holding vessels. Two graves held the vessels as primary goods and one contained a vessel as a secondary gift. That glass vessels of this sort appear more frequently in the third century is not surprising as more glass vessels appear as grave goods during the Severan period (Ottományi 2016: 3).

Table 9-5: Aquincum- Burials Containing Glass Vessels

I- Grave			II- Graveyard			GT- Grave Type
III- Phase			IV- Grave Good Type			V- Artifact Number

I	II	GT	III	IV	V	Artifact
21	I	I	2nd Phase	S	7	*Infundibulum*
14	VI	C1	4th Phase	P	21	Glass Liquid Serving Vessel
29	VI	C4	4th Phase	P	18	Frags. of Glass Beaker
79	VI	C5	2nd Phase	S	11	Glass Liquid Serving Vessel
146	VI	C1	4th Phase	S	6	*Infundibulum*

Glass vessels used for pouring liquids undoubtedly served a similar function to that of their more numerous ceramic counterparts, but were probably of greater monetary value, so the inclusion of glass vessels in burials may have been a demonstration of the wealth of the deceased or their family (Biddulph 2005: 34; Gassner 1999: 90). This is likely the case concerning grave 14.VI, which held numerous items, both as primary and secondary goods (Pl. 6-5). Many of these goods were ornate and made from bronze, including a bucket (22), a patera whose handle was decorated with a dog's head (23), and fragments of a flagon whose handle featured an Amor figure (24).[507] Such gifts, including the glass flagon (20), were rare for this sample. Unlike the bronze goods, this glass vessel served a function in the cremation ceremony, similar to that of the phial (21) from this grave since pieces of it were melted and fragmented. This vessel may have been used for libations or in conjunction with the ceramic drinking vessels found in the grave, some of which were primary grave goods.[508] The grave goods of grave 79.VI were not as elaborate, but numerous (Pl. 6-6). In this case the glass jug was deposited as a secondary gift with other vessels involved in liquid serving and consumption, including a ceramic flagon (1)

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[507] The burial also contained a Jug (1), two beakers (2, 3), a small jar (8) and a dish (7) as secondary goods. Fragments of other vessels were placed on finds #1, 3 and 8, presumably to protect the contents.
[508] A body fragment of a small cup (6) and the base of a small olla (14).

and two ceramic drinking vessels (3, 4).[509] The glass beaker deposited as a primary good in grave

29.VI was also likely used in the same manner as ceramic drinking vessels in similar contexts.

Numerous other drinking vessels were deposited in the burial as primary goods, so such a glass

beaker certainly complements the eclectic assemblage.[510] None of the finds deposited were of

great monetary value,[511] but like the two previously mentioned burials, this grave held numerous

vessels, indicating that several people participated in the ceremony.[512]

Two bottles which feature a neck, and an off-center spout are widely thought to have

been used as feeding bottles for infants, known as *infundibula*. Some tests on residue in the

bottles show that they contained milk. They developed in the second century and became widely

distributed in the third century (Jilek 1999: 52). In the case of grave 21.I, an *infundibulum* (7)

accompanied the inhumed remains of a small child (infant I 1–6 years old). Such a gift, along

with the bronze bell[513] was likely associated with the child during their life. Grave 146.VI also

held an *infundibulum* (Pl. 6-7). Unfortunately, the sex or age of the individual cannot be

determined,[514] but because excavators found casket fittings (10–13) and three phials (4, 5 and 7)

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[509] A small Jar (3) and a rough-cast beaker (4). It is tempting to see the individual, whose cremated remains were identified as a mature or senile male, as a bit of a fun-loving individual, since he was buried with several drinking implements and a bone die, possibly part of a game with which he was associated. He was also buried with a coin (13) and a lamp (10) which suggests that mourners wished him a safe and secure transition into the underworld.

[510] A handled jar with glass embellishment (6), evidence of four jars (7, 8, 13, 15), a folded beaker (12) and an *olla* (14).

[511] The handled jar (6) is quite ornate and unique to the province, likely being a local imitation of such a vessel from Rome. The slip was a lustrous brown or silver grey. The body is decorated with appliqué and barbotine embellishment. The small barbotine circles are inlaid with blue, yellow and green vitreous paste. This vessel would have been more costly and certainly more ornate than the other vessels in the burial. In this burial also the two tweezers (19, 20) were deposited.

[512] Four flagons (1–4) and a jar (5) were deposited as secondary gifts.

[513] Bells had an apotropaic function in antiquity (Cool 2004: 401; Nuzzo 2000: 252; Russell 1995: Johns 1982: 67–68). Their sound served to ward away and nullify the effects of the evil eye (Nuzzo 2000: 253). Small bells were often associated with children in life and in burials (Nuzzo 2000: 252; Russel 1995: 42). This piece may been an ornament placed somewhere near the child during their life (Cool 2004: 401; Russel 1995: 42), it could have been a toy or part of one (Nuzzo 2000: 252) or even worn by children on their hands to protect them (John Chrysostom *Ep. 1 ad Cor. Homil*. 12.13) in a similar manner as *crepundia* (Cool 2004: 401). Cool also believes that the inclusion of a bell might help to protect the child in their journey to the afterlife (2004: 401).

[514] Grave 146 dates to the early third century. It was cut into by grave 139.

in the grave, it is likely that the individual was a girl (10–13). If so, the individual may have died

young as a child or as an adolescent who did not live to fulfil the potential of motherhood, or

perhaps as a woman who died in childbirth. Hence, the inclusion of an *infundibulum*.[515]

9.3 Glassware: Carnuntum

Table 9-6: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Glass Vessels per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Glass," is the total number of burials containing glass vessels and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a glass vessel.

	Total	Glass
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	2 (7.4%)
4th Phase	18	1 (5.6%)
Total	47	3 (6.4%)

Less evidence for glass vessels exists from Carnuntum burials. Of the burials in the

sample, there are only two cremation burials from the third phase and one cremation burial from

the fourth phase, which held five glass vessels as secondary gifts.[516] Four further burials from the

cemetery are referenced to the discussion that do not belong to a phase. One cremation burial

contained a glass vessel as a primary good,[517] while another carried one as a secondary gift and

three contained one glass vessel each as secondary grave gifts.[518] Two were inhumation graves

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[515] The burial assemblage also included a bead (9), which could have served an apotropaic purpose, just like the bell in grave 21.I.

[516] Out of eighteen burials. Grave 174B (2–6).

[517] Grave 192 (2).

[518] Grave 14 (12), grave 38 (7) and grave 150 (1).

that also contained evidence of a glass vessel.[519] All glass vessels discussed above were deposited as secondary goods which is not surprising given that most gifts were deposited in this manner.

Table 9-7: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Glass Vessels

I= Grave	II= Graveyard	GT= Grave Type
III= Phase	IV= Grave Good Type	V= Artifact Number
C4= *Bustum* Burial	BGG= *Brandgrubengrab*	BSG= *Brandshüttungsgrab*
SC= Stone Cist	OC= Organic Container	w/Tile= With Tile Covering
w/Urn= Urn Burial	I= Inhumation	

I	GT	III	IV	V	Artifact
14	I		S	12	Frags. of Mercury Flask
26	BGP w/T	3rd Phase	S	3	Mercury Flask
38	BGP w/T		S	7	Frags. of Mercury Flask
80A	BGP	3rd Phase	S	2	Glass Bottle
150	I		S	1	*Infundibulum*
174B	SC	4th Phase	S	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	Glass Phial (2); Doubled Handled Glass Cup (3); Glass Bottle (4); Spherical Glass Flask (5); Spherical Glass Flask (6)
192	BGP		S	2	Glass Bottle

Most of the vessels offered at Carnuntum appear to be table wares (Gassner 1999: 90), however, there was one clear phial and an *infundibulum* in the sampling. The only phial offered as a grave gift came from grave 174B (2) (Pl. 6-8). This vessel was part of a costly burial assemblage that included four other glass vessels (3–6). That there was only one phial in the sample is strange compared to what occurred in other cemeteries in Pannonia, where often phials were the most popular type of glass vessel. The practice of depositing a phial may have become defunct by the mid to late second century, since they were more frequently found in the region in

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[519] Grave 14 is a sarcophagus burial and grave 150 is a simple inhumation.

early inurned graves from the first century. In fact, it is possible that this practice was uniquely tied to inurned burials in the first century. It is also possible that evidence of phials was missed, as it is easy to overlook fused glass during excavation, or the evidence did not make it into the grave from the pyre (Gassner 1999: 91). An *infundibulum* was also given to the inhumed infant (1–1.5 years old) in grave 150 (Pl. 6-9). This was the only gift provided to the child.

The most common type of glass vessel found in the sampling was the so-called "mercury flask"[520] with evidence found in three burials (Pl. 6-10).[521] Long cylindrical necks and tall slender square bodies characterize these vessels (Lazar 2003: 173; Price and Cottam 1998: 179; Cool and Price 1995: 152). Unlike many of the phials discussed, these vessels were mold-blown, which enabled the manufacturers to often include a characteristic stamp on the bottom. The flasks received their name from the figure of Mercury on the bottom of some of the bottles, but numerous vessels featured other figures or maker marks, and some held no depiction at all, including the three from the southern cemetery (Lazar 2003: 174; Fleming 1999: 76; Jilek 1999: 51; Cool and Price 1994: 152). Such bottles were likely manufactured in the second half of the second century or early in the third century and imported; however, during this time it is also possible that they were made in one of the known Pannonian glass manufacturing centers, such as Carnuntum, Brigetio, Arrabona, Aquincum or Intercisa (Jilek 1999: 51). Mercury flasks held liquids, like oil, or probably even granular solids. Gassner considers them as table wares, in which case they may have played a part in the funerary banqueting, or as a food offering to the deceased (1999: 90). Mercury flasks could hold consumable food items but probably also held medicinal products (Price and Cottam 1998: 14) and possibly even served a similar function to

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[520] Isings 84/Barkóczi 105a type vessel.
[521] Two mercury bottles, from sarcophagus grave 14 (12) and cremation grave 38 (7) were found fragmented and incomplete, but the piece from cremation grave 26 (3) was wholly preserved.

phials, as numerous authors believe that they held oils, ointments or perfume as many scholars believe (Devroe 2008: 300; Lazar 2003: 173; Philpott 1991: 119; Isings 1957: 100).

Two cremation graves carried bottles characterized by a short neck, a cylindrical body and a modest wide, ribbed banded handle that began under the rim and was set on the shoulder (Pl. 6-11).[522]   Where these pieces were produced is unknown, and although it is possible they were manufactured in the area of Cologne where similar pieces are known to have been produced, they may also have been made in Pannonia (Jilek 1999: 53). This type of bottle was probably used for the storage of liquids but could also have been used for serving (Mateescu-Suciu 2017: 148–149). Again, Gassner interprets these as tableware vessels (1999: 90), but they may have held similar products to phials. The vessel of grave 192 (2) was broken and melted on the pyre,[523] the only glass vessel to which this happened.

Grave 174B contained three liquid serving vessels and one drinking vessel in addition to the phial it held. Two of the flasks (5, 6) were of a similar shape[524] with short, funnel shaped necks and globular bodies (Pl. 6-12 and 6-13). This form was developed in the mid third century and was thought to be a very popular vessel for holding wine and other table liquids (Isings 1957: 122). A third liquid serving vessel was a jug with a thickened funnel-like mouth, and a band handle that was attached on the top of the shoulder/body and on the mouth (Pl. 6-14).[525] A series of thin glass filaments encircled the vessel from the top of the body/shoulder and down to the base. A two handled cup was also a part of the assemblage. Examples of vessels that resemble this piece come from Syria, but Jilek believes that this piece may have actually been made locally by immigrants from the east who settled in the region and kept up their tradition

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[522] Grave 80A (2) and grave 192 (2). They are of the Isings 51a/Barkóczi 168b type.
[523] A wall and a base fragment survive with other melted glass pieces fused to these (Ertel *et al*. 1999: 188).
[524] Of the Isings 104a/Barkóczi 120 type.
[525] Of the Isings 121 type.

(Jilek 1999: 54). Such glass vessels were of greater monetary value than the ceramic equivalents found in other graves. In fact, the only ceramic item included in this burial was a factory lamp.

While Grave 174B certainly had the most elaborate and costly assemblage in the sample, other graves containing glass vessels also exhibited a greater degree of wealth than many other burials. In these burials a glass vessel was always accompanied by another gift (Gassner 1999: 90).[526] In addition to holding a mercury flask, the sarcophagus grave 14 also contained evidence of a casket (14–16) and grave 26 contained a *terra sigillata* plate (1), fibula (6), belt fittings (7–12) and a knife (14), certainly more gifts than most graves from this sampling. Grave 80A, which contained a bottle, also had a cup (1), a golden pendant (6) and a fibula (7). The inclusion of valuable glass vessels and other goods is not necessarily a marker of wealth of the deceased or the mourners but may simply signify that mourners wished to place emphasis on the assemblage in marking their loss. All four of these graves contained at least one coin, while three of them contained a pottery lamp.[527] Besides the silver *denarius* in Grave 174B, all of the coins were bronze and not of much value. Clearly, mourners signified their wish to ensure that the deceased made it safely to the underworld with the accomplishment of some nice items.

Gender is not a direct criterion for the inclusion of glass vessels in the burial. Graves 26 and 174B probably held males, who may have been soldiers during their lives (see pages 467 and 474). Several females also appear to have received a glass vessel, but only the remains of sarcophagus grave 14 have been identified as a female. This burial also held evidence of a casket (14–16), in which case the mercury flask (12) may represent a toiletry bottle. The gender of the

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[526] Grave 38 contained a head fragment of a bronze hair pin (8) and grave 192 also contains burnt fragments sigillata cup (1).
[527] Only grave 14 did not carry a lamp.

deceased in the other graves is assumed based on the grave assemblage.[528] The only clearly

identified young individual is the infant found in grave 150 (1–1.5 years old).

9.4 Glass Conclusions

In regard to the inclusion and use of glass vessels in burials, three notable commonalities

exist when examining the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum; (1) most of the graves that

contained glass vessels at all only had one vessel, (2) vessels were normally those used to store,

serve, or consume liquids but may also have held granular solids, and (3) the inclusion of glass

did not necessarily mark gender. In four examples from Aquincum and one example from

Carnuntum, however, the glass bottle found in each of these graves may have been part of a

toiletry set, as evidence of caskets was part of each of these grave inventories and both are

usually associated with females. In other cases, however, similar associations with one gender

over another did not exist.

The fact that there was only one phial from the Carnuntum sampling, while most of the

glass vessels from the Aquincum sampling were phials, marks a notable difference between the

sites. As Gassner points out, this lack of phials is strange, since they appear relatively often in

other cemeteries of Pannonia, and, in fact, they were often included in the grave inventory of urn

burials in the region around Carnuntum during the first century. This discrepancy may be due to

a change in ritual or because of evidence of phials did not make it into the burial if they were

used during the cremation ceremony (Gassner 1999: 91); however, other vessels that were found,

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[528] Grave 38 contains a bronze head fragment of a hair pin (8), an item usually associated with females. Grave 80A contains a gold pendant (6) and a fibula (7) which may indicate that the occupant is female, but the inclusion of a cup (1) may indicate that the deceased was female. This is the case with grave 192, which also contains the burnt fragments of a cup (1).

like mercury flasks and the two cylindrical handled bottles, may have been utilized as an acceptable option for storing items like perfumed oils or unguents. Such items were used for their fragrance, purification or to encourage the flames.

The most significant observation that can be made, however, is that often, although not always, burials that contained a glass vessel also contained a large and/or wealthy grave inventory. This was demonstrated in Aquincum concerning burials that held phials that may have been part of toiletry sets, as indicated by the caskets, and with burials that held tableware that was accompanied by a cache of more luxurious items or those with a larger inventory than other burials. From the Carnuntum sample, all but one of the burials that held a glass item also held at least one other grave good.[529] This is significant because the graves of Carnuntum had fewer grave gifts in general. As stated earlier, four of the seven burials that contained glass vessels contained substantial grave inventories. There were burials from both locales that were exceptional in the amount of wealth they displayed in grave gifts. Grave 14.VI of Aquincum, had several bronze items in addition to two glass vessels and grave 174B of Carnuntum, which was located within a grave structure, held gilded bronze fittings (8) in addition to the five glass vessels, all of which are perhaps, indicative of the wealth and status of the deceased.

With regards to other burials that held glass items, factors other than the wealth or status of the deceased may have played a role in the inclusion of uncommon glass items and their contents. In burials of Aquincum many cheaper ceramic table wares were included in the grave inventory either as primary goods or secondary gifts with the glass item and could indicate that many mourners took part in banqueting and offering gifts to the deceased. This may reflect a large social network on the part of the deceased or of key mourners. Many burials also contained

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[529] The inhumation Grave 150, which contained an infant only contained an *infundibulum*.

personal items, including glass vessels that may have been associated with the individual during their life or may symbolize key potential identities (such as motherhood) that would never be realized. Such emotive factors probably played a part in the way mourners marked the passing of the individual. This is not to say that wealth did not play a part. Attendees or mourners may have sacrificed some wealth through grave gifts, although they themselves may not have been wealthy. Instead, they invested in commemorating their loss, through the inclusion of a more expensive glass vessel. This supposition is supported by the fact that many burials containing glass vessels also contain a coin or lamp which may symbolize the wish of the mourners that the soul of the deceased have a safe journey to the afterlife and most importantly for this argument, represent a minimal expenditure of wealth. From Aquincum, eleven of the sixteen burials that contained a glass item also held a lamp, a coin or both items.[530] In the Carnuntum sample, four of the seven burials contained at least one of these items.[531] Interestingly enough, none of the three burials from both cemeteries that included an *infundibulum* contained a coin or a lamp, although one had a bead[532] and another a bell,[533] both of which could hold protective properties. It is possible, then, that an *infundibulum* not only marked an identity of the deceased but may have symbolized some sort of power in the afterlife. In any case, in all but one of the cases, the coins were small denomination bronze coins and pottery lamps were not expensive, so an expenditure of wealth was not a factor in their inclusion. The focus seems to have been on ensuring a safe journey for the deceased and the inclusion of a glass vessel and with perhaps its contents seemed merely a greater expenditure in marking the loss of the deceased, just as the other gifts would.

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[530] Five burials contained at least one lamp, two burials held at least a coin and four burials contained at least one coin and one lamp.
[531] One grave contained a coin and three graves contained at least one coin and one lamp.
[532] Grave 146.VI (9).
[533] Grave 21.VI (8).

10 Chapter 10- Coins

10.1 Introduction: Coins

Coins are the most common non-ceramic item preserved in burials. There are various theories as to why coins were used as extensively as they were. The most common interpretation for the inclusion of a coin in a burial is that they were meant as a way for the deceased to pay the ferryman, Charon, to secure entry into the afterlife. Literary sources emphasize this connection, but, since the practice of giving a coin to the deceased was so widely practiced in the Roman Empire by a variety of groups and in different manners over time, such a simplistic explanation cannot be accepted outright, since this potentially restricts a wide variety of meanings and motivations (Perassi 1999: 44; Stevens 1991: 216). Mourners and attendants may have been motivated to gift coins in burials for reasons other than those concerning Charon. Such motivations might involve other religious and superstitious beliefs, as well as reasons based on a sense of tradition and fashion (Barber and Bowsher, 2000: 322; Philpott 1991: 235). In addition, coins featuring particular images and legends may have been chosen because they represented particular values and aspects of the funerary ritual or afterlife (Ellithorpe 2017: 44–45; Găzdac 2014: 98 – 99; Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2009: 170; Perassi 1999: 43). Unfortunately, much of the symbolism of the deposition of a coin is lost to us (Cleary 1992: 38–39; Philpott 1991: 235). Even though this practice was widespread, in cemeteries of the western Roman Empire, coins only appear in a minority of burials in most cemeteries (Stevens 1991: 223).

The literary sources from the Hellenistic and Roman periods offer relatively standardized depictions of the meaning and purpose of "Charon's obol". Susan Stevens sees four main characteristics which the literary sources mention: 1) a single, low denomination coin is used; 2)

it is placed in the mouth; 3) this is done at the time of death 4) it is used to pay Charon to ferry

the spirit of the deceased into the afterlife (Stevens 1991: 216). The first aspect put forth by

Stevens concerns the deceased taking with them a low denomination coin as payment for entry

into the underworld (1991: 217, 219). Stevens, though, does acknowledge that while most of the

literary sources she covers only mention one coin, there are a few sources that are ambiguous

regarding how many coins are necessary.[534] Stevens emphasizes that by the Roman era, the low

value, base metal aspect of the monetary offering is significant and not necessarily the number

given (1991: 217–218). So, it is important that despite the number, the denomination of the coin

is low, which modern and ancient writers believe symbolizes the poverty which comes with

death. Many of the literary sources emphasize that individuals, no matter how rich, cannot take

their earthly wealth with them.[535] Death is also the great equalizer, as it makes rich and poor

individuals equal (Stevens 1991: 217).[536] All a person needs is one low denomination coin to

enter into the underworld, which most people were able to furnish (Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac

2009: 165). The practice of giving low value, broken or worn gifts to the deceased may be part of

this same mentality (see pages 181–182)

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[534] Stevens uses cites passage from elegy of Propertius (4. 11. 7) as an example: *ubi portitor aera recepit* (Where the ferryman receives asses/money). In this case, aera can simply mean "money" or it is the plural of *aes*, or a low denomination, bronze coin. In either sense Propertius gives the sense of "pocket-change" (1991: 217–218).

[535] Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 1. 3 in which Diogenes gets Pollux to tell the wealthy not to punish themselves by accumulating wealth, since they can only arrive in the underworld with a penny; *Charon* 20, in which Charon mentions that men vie for offices, honour and possessions, while they are living, but they can only bring an obol with them when they die; Juvenal 3. 257–267, in which a wealthy man, who dies unexpectedly in an accident without his household knowing, does not even have a coin to pay the fare; Ammianus writes in an epigram about an un-named individual that even if he could own all the land to the "Pillars of Heracles" he will get no more of an area than any man gets when he goes into the ground and will only lie with a obol (*Anth. Pal.* 11.209); Antiphanes says in an epigram about an un-named individual that when they die, they will leave a great fortune, out of which they will only get to carry away one obol (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 168); Lucilius also write in an epigram stating that a certain wealthy miser named Hermocrates, who bequeathed his fortune to himself, thought it cheaper to pay an obol to die rather than to pay a drachma to the doctors (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 171).

[536] As is implied in an epigram by Ammianus (*Anth. Pal.* 11.209) and in Lucian's *Downward Journey* in which Megapenthes' status as a tyrant means nothing (13, 16) and the cobbler Micyllus delights in the fact that everyone is equal in the underworld (15).

Some surviving literary sources mention that the coin was placed in the mouth (2), especially at the time of death (3) but these aspects of the funerary rites are not mentioned often.[537] This rite may have been important, given that the head was commonly seen as the seat of the soul, which left the body at death through the mouth. The placement of the coin in the mouth at the time of death acts as a rite of passage, during which the soul leaves on its journey to the underworld (Găzdac 2014: 96; Stevens 1991: 221). In this case, the rite may not be important for the burial ceremony since in cremation burials the body has been destroyed (Stevens 1991: 224). In this sort of rite, several opportunities existed for the coin to be displaced; while the pyre was burning and collapsing, while the remains were being collected to be deposited, during the deposition and burial, as well as all of the post depositional processes that could potentially affect the grave. There was not even a guarantee that the coin would be placed in the grave given that not all evidence of items placed or thrown onto the pyre made it into the grave.

With regards to the fourth point, many of the literary sources mention that the deceased's coin was a fare to the ferryman, Charon, in order to cross the river (Acheron or Styx) into the underworld.[538] While many in the Greco-Roman world may have believed this literally, archaeologists lack an understanding of how provincial individuals and communities viewed the

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[537] When Juvenal discusses the wealthy man, who died alone in an accident without his household's knowledge, he says the man, who was sitting on the bank, was unable to cross because he had no coin in his mouth to pay the ferryman (3. 264–267). In his discussion *On Funerals*, in describing aspects of the underworld and the funerary ceremony, he mentions that as soon as a family member dies, they immediately put an obol in their mouth to pay the ferryman (10). In his *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius tells us that as one of her trials, Psyche must hold two coins in her mouth (6. 18. 10), one to pay Charon on the way in and another to pay him on the way out (6. 18. 16–22; 19. 21–22).

[538] Both Leonidas and Archias write epigrams for Diogenes' crossing into the underworld, evoke Charon through epithets at the beginning of their poem (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 67. 1; 7. 68. 1); Propertius mentions him collecting his coin (4. 11. 7); Apuleius also mentions that when Psyche descends to the underworld, she must pay a toll to Charon (*Met.* 6. 18). Juvenal says that the man, who died unexpectedly, does not have a coin to pay the old ferryman (3. 264–267). Charon himself mentions that he collects a coin in Lucian's satire (*Charon* 11). Interestingly enough, Charon also mentions that Aeacus was the toll-taker who collected the obol (2). In the *Downward Journey*, Charon, as the captain of the boat had not even collected an obol (1). Lucian again, mentions that that a coin must be placed in the mouth of the deceased to pay the ferryman in his treatise *On Funerals* (10). *In the Dialogues of the Dead*, Lucian too has Crates mention that the obol that the deceased bring down with them, does not go beyond the ferryman (21. 4).

underworld. Even in the literary works that survive, authors may evoke aspects of the underworld for comedic purposes,[539] and as a metaphor for the grim reality of death, so as to convey their cynicism of practices of the living and to teach moral lessons, without necessarily believing in the fantasy that they portray (Stevens 1991: 221–223). There is no firm way to tell, then, why mourners deposited a coin in the grave, even though a consistent and long-lasting tradition existed regarding its symbolism.

An overreliance on the literary sources may restrict the interpretation of the meaning and motivation for why individuals were burying their dead with coins, so other interpretations are important to consider in order to help broaden our understanding of this practice. At a general level, the placement of a coin could reflect part of a rite of passage as much for the deceased, who crosses into the afterlife (Găzdac 2014: 96; Stevens 1991: 221), as it is for the living who must deal with the loss of a community member. On the part of the mourners the coin contributes to the expression of the sentiments and beliefs they hold regarding the gods and the deceased (Găzdac 2014: 96). At the very least the inclusion of the coin could be customary or a conventional practice (Găzdac 2014: 101; Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2009: 165). For the living, the placement of a coin in the grave may ensure that the spirit does not come back to the world of the living. It may, thus, help to propitiate the dead, whether it be placed in the mouth, on or close to the body, or even in the grave as a secondary grave offering (Stevens 1999: 221). The fact that it the coin was in some instances burnt on the funeral pyre may also indicate that the mourners wished the item to combust with the deceased and thus to be imbued with their spirit (Webster 1986: 131–132; Barber and Bowsher 2000: 322). Like many other grave gifts, then, a coin may have been intended for use in the afterlife (Găzdac 2014: 97; Stevens 1991:

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[539] This is true for many of the passages cited of Lucian, but also of Aristophanes' comedy, *Frogs*.

225), even representing a token part of the wealth of the deceased (Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2009: 164, 172). These interpretations could be relevant to graves carrying multiple coins or coins of a higher value (Stevens 1991: 225; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 211). Coins may also have possessed amuletic significance (Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2009: 170) meaning that the object was supposed to avert harm or bring about good fortune. Certain figures, images and legends depicted on the coins may have been selected to represent this amuletic function, but they could also symbolize valued characteristics of the deceased that mourners wished to highlight, or act as an eschatological message concerning the funerary ceremony, passing into the afterlife or benevolent well-wishes to the deceased in the afterlife (Găzdac 2014: 99). Studies of ritualistic sites, such as graves and sanctuaries, have demonstrated that participants intentionally selected coins with particular reverses to dedicate.[540]

As Cristian Găzdac has pointed out in his study concerning the eschatological message of coins in burials, mourners may have selected coins to convey aspects of the funerary ceremony and/or well-wishes to the deceased in the afterlife.[541] In line with Claudia Perassi (1999), Găzdac believes that if one studies the design, symbols and legends (and in particular reverse characteristics) of the coins found in graves in relation to what is known about these aspects from the literary and epigraphical material, one can reach a more educated understanding of the

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[540] Boris Kaczynski and Michael Nüsse compared the reverses of *antoniniani* of the third century found at shrines at Castellberg and Martberg with those found in settlements and hoards of the area in the Mosel region of Germany. While they could not say that there was positive selection of coins, since there were similarly high numbers of coins with *Pax*, *Spes* and *Hilaritas* on the reverse in both the settlements and the sanctuaries, there was a negative selection of coins featuring "military types," like Sol Invictus and Fides Militum, since none of these coins are found in the sanctuary (2009: 105). Corey Ellithorpe found that participants tended to have deposited coins with a religious theme (as opposed to a military theme or a virtue) on the reverse in the graves and shrines of Ulpia Traiana (2017: 39), and civilian graves and the shrine of Liber Pater at Apulum (2017: 41), while mourners deposited coins with military themed reverses in graves of the *canabae* cemetery (2017: 44–45). The frequency of coins with these themes differs considerably from those that were found in the settlements (2017: 44–45).

[541] Găzdac draws inspiration and builds on the work Perassi conducted on Roman imperial coins (1999) and his own research with Alföldy-Găzdac concerning the coins from Brigetio (2009).

eschatological beliefs of members of the community (2014: 99). While such an approach is certainly worthwhile, Găzdac reminds us that the meanings we might see in the coins may not correspond to those that the mourners held when depositing the coins (2014: 101; Ellithorpe 2017: 36; Perassi 1999: 44). Găzdac focused his study on coins interred in the two cemeteries of this study, as well as the necropolis south of the auxiliary fort in Matrica. Out of 102 coins with an identifiable obverse and reverse, Găzdac found that forty-two of them had what he considers to be direct eschatological implications. According to him, some legends and images might refer to qualities of the afterlife, like AEQVITAS,[542] which may represent the sense of equality that is emblematic of the afterlife. Coins depicting *Salus* with or without a legend could refer to the wish for salvation in the afterlife (2014: 99; Perassi 1999: 66). An altar may be an eschatological symbol (2014: 97–98, 99) and the figures of Juno and Diana may be seen as goddesses linked to eschatological ritual (2014: 99). Găzdac's findings certainly provide another strong interpretive lens through which to view the function and meaning of coins in the funerary sphere. His perspective regarding the importance that the image and legend of a coin might represent to mourners and his specific interpretations on coins from the cemeteries of this project certainly helps to shed light on the meaning the coins held within the context of the funerary sphere in relation to the other artifacts found.

With these interpretations in mind, we can now explore coin evidence from the Bécsi Road cemetery of Aquincum and the southern cemetery of the civilian city of Carnuntum.

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[542] In three examples of four he found the legend is: AEQVITAS AVGVST(I) (2014: 99).

10.2 Coins: Aquincum

In the burials of the Bécsi Road Cemetery, coins were never found in more than approximately 33% of graves from any period. This is not surprising, since in a given cemetery graves containing coins are usually a minority (Stevens 1991: 223–224).

Table 10-1: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Coin per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Coins," is the total number of burials containing coins and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a coin.

	Total	Coins
1st Phase	46	10 (21.7%)
2nd Phase	33	10 (30.3%)
3rd Phase	32	6 (18.8%)
4th Phase	52	17 (32.7%)
Total	163	43 (26.4%)

Table 10-2: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Coin per Phase
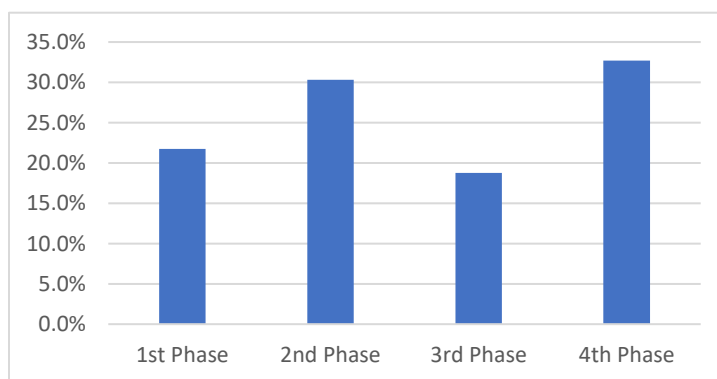
Table 10-3: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Burials Carrying Coins in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of coin. The total amount of burials carrying coins that cannot be distinguished are provided under the "ND" columns (Not Distinguished).

	Total	Primary	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	29	6 (20.7%)	2[543] (6.9%)	1
2nd Phase	25	8 (32.0%)	1 (4.0%)	1
3rd Phase	27	5 (18.5%)	1 (3.7%)	0
4th Phase	45	11 (24.4%)	4[544] (8.9%)	0

Table 10-4: Aquincum- Graph of the Percentage of Burials Carrying Coins in which Primary and Secondary Goods are Distinguished

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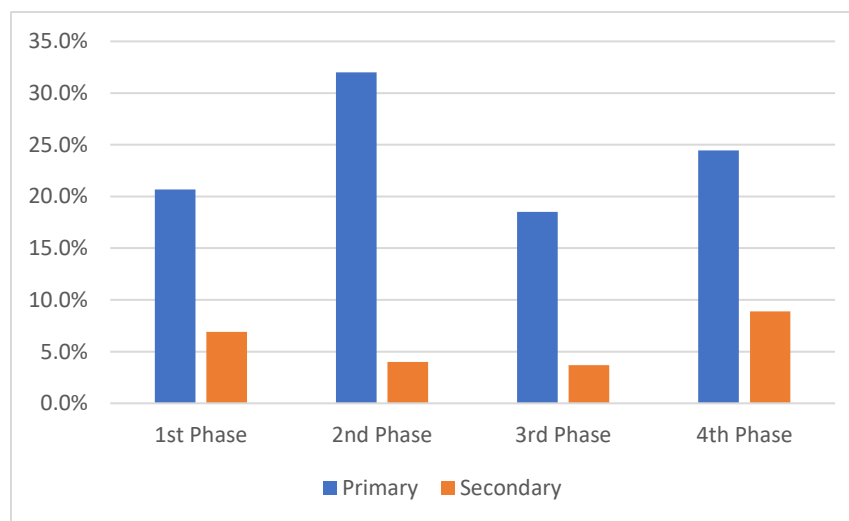
[543] Grave 5.I is an inhumation burial. The coin (2) is located on the left arm near the chest.

[544] Three of the four burials containing coins are inhumation burials (2.I (1), and 34.III (5) and 13.VII (2). While the coins of these burials were not burned, Topál does consider the coin (2) found in grave 13.VII a primary grave good as it was found in the mouth area of the skeleton, meaning that it was on the individual. As a good directly associated to the body of an inhumed body, it is considered a primary good.

The number of graves containing coins does vary between phases. This small increase in the percentage of burials containing coins during the second phase is to be expected, since burials seemed to carry more grave goods in general during this time period. Although the coins of approximately 84% of cremation graves[545] in which primary and secondary goods are distinguished from all phases are listed as primary grave goods only half were recorded as being burnt.[546] This means that some ambiguity exists concerning the manner by which many of these coins entered the grave, since not all coins placed on the pyre will show signs of being burnt.

The majority of coins from all phases were of a low denomination, usually an *as*, which is in line with what one would expect of the evidence, considering the above discussion concerning this principal criteria of "Charon's Obol".[547] Only two of forty-five coins (4%) found in datable graves were not bronze.[548] Of these two, one was an *antoninianus* of an emperor who was in power sometime between Gordian III (238–244) and Valerian (253–260), which may be regarded as a low-value denomination, since there was little silver in them (Găzdac 2014: 98). In addition, thirty-nine of the forty-five coins (87%) were worn,[549] so that not only were mourners generally offering low denomination coins, but they were also offering coins that were not in pristine condition. Some of these coins may have been damaged during the cremation ceremony since fifteen of the forty-five coins[550] also show signs of burning. As expected, the evidence

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[545] 30 of 36 burials are primary grave goods from cremation graves.

[546] 15 of the 30 cremation burials.

[547] It is also in line with the sort of low-denomination bronze coinage we should expect in the region. Until the end of the second century the *as* or the closely related *dupondius* (Hobley 1998: 12) was the principal type of bronze coin used in Pannonia before the *sestertius* became popular (Juhász 2018: 16; Găzdac 2010: 100–101; Hobley 1998: 12).

[548] Find #7 from grave 62.V, an *antoninianus* of an emperor from Gordian III to Valerian. The grave dates to the mid third century. Find #6 from grave 74.VI, a *denarius* of Trajan. The grave dates to the second third of the second century.

[549] Approximately 88%.

[550] Approximately 36%.

shows that the dead spirt did not require a high denomination coin or even one of good condition to enter into the underworld or to be propitiated.

For evidence concerning the placement of the coin during the cremation phase, the four contemporary inhumation burials which contained a coin may provide some insight.[551] Only in grave 13.VII, dated to the early third century, was the coin (2) found near the jaw which indicates that could have been placed in the mouth, just as the literary sources relate (Pl. 2-36). In grave 2.I, dated to the late second and early third century, the coin (1) was found just below the chest area near the spine, so it is possible it was placed on the chest (Pl. 2-2). The coin (2) of grave 5.I, dated to the turn of the first and second century, may also have been on the chest, as it was located to the left side of it, between the arms (Pl. 2-4). In both cases, the coin may have been just placed on the chest, or a hand could have been holding it.[552] The coin (5) of the latest burial of this group, grave 34.III, dated to the second third of the third century, was located near the right foot of the remains (Pl. 2-11). Interestingly enough it, along with two bone game pieces (2 and 3) and a bone dice (4), were found around a lamp.[553] From the above four examples, it seems that a coin could be placed in the mouth, on or near the chest, perhaps held by a hand, or even with other goods near the body when the body is displayed before the cremation.[554] That being said, the burials are inhumation burials, a rite that might represent different views of the

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[551] Two of the burials (34.III and 13.VII) contained children (infant II 7–12 years old), one (2.I) held a juvenile and the last (5.I) carried a juvenile or adult. All are listed as males. The sample is too small to reach any conclusions regarding a connection between the placement of a coin with an inhumed young male.

[552] In both graves the arm crosses the body. In grave 2.I the left arm was not extant during excavation. In grave 5.I, the arm appears to be folded on the left side of the chest, near the coin. The right hand reaches across the chest, with the hand close to it, so the coin might be associated with either hand, if it was placed in one.

[553] The coin and the lamp seem to be a well-wish for the child (Infant II 7–12 years old) to get into the afterlife, while the game pieces were likely sentimental, representing a favorite game.

[554] Jock Macdonald notices patterns of coin placement in inhumation burials in Roman Britain. He notices them in the mouth or skull area, by the hands, near the feet and even an instance where one is placed by an eye. Such practices might reflect believes in the afterlife on the part of the participants (1979: 408–409).

afterlife and three of them are from the fourth phase, a time when funerary rites were changing.[555]

While Găzdac places importance on interpreting the meaning of the reverse of the coin, one might expect that mourners would have preferred the coins with the images of certain emperors as they may confer amuletic properties (Berg 2002: 60). Only the coins of Hadrian seem to have been favored in the burials that can be dated to within the four phases. There are six examples of the twenty-six coins (23%) from datable graves[556] for which the figure on the obverse was able to be at least roughly identified. Coins of Hadrian appeared in one grave from the first phase,[557] four graves from the second phase[558] and one grave from the fourth phase.[559] This distribution is not surprising, given that we know that, in general, artifacts could be used in the funerary ceremony soon after they were made and even several generations after they were manufactured. Mourners could certainly have chosen Hadrian's coins because of the themes of the reverse, as Găzdac suggests. Two of the *asses* of Hadrian[560] featured the image of *Salus* which could represent a benevolent wish for salvation for the soul in the afterlife (2014: 99; Perassi 1999: 66) and a third[561] featured an image of a galley with rowers and a pilot which might symbolize crossing into the afterlife on Charon's boat (2014: 100). While the image of *Salus* was certainly fitting, the coin also featured the image of the serpent which is associated with chthonic (Ogden 2013: 247–251) and regenerative qualities (Bremmer, "Snake" *BNP*). As Găzdac points out, *Salus* was one of the more popular figures on monetary issues from the

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[555] Topál dates grave 5.I to the turn of the first and second century based on the dating of the *olla* (1), but as is discussed in the jewelry section (see page 497, note 950), the intaglio ring (4) may date later, closer the other burials.

[556] There is another *as* of Hadrian from grave 31.VI (6) that is dated to the second century, so it is not included.

[557] Find #4 of grave 17.VI.

[558] Find #4 of grave 86.I; find #9 of grave 22.VI, find #13 of grave 79.VI and find #6 of grave 98.VI.

[559] Find #2 of grave 125.VI.

[560] #13 of grave 79.VI (Pl. 7-1) and #2 of grave 125.VI (Pl. 7-2).

[561] #9 of Grave 22.VI (Pl. 7-3).

second century, especially on Hadrian's coins (2014: 99; Hobley 1998: 52), so the inclusion of such a coin in a burial could be coincidental, or for several reasons which include that the emperor was featured on the obverse.

There were several possible reasons for why Hadrian's coins were so common. Periodically during Hadrian's reign many low denomination bronze coins were released for circulation in Pannonia. In fact, his reign marks a peak of bronze coin distribution in the second century (Juhász 2018: 16; Găzdac 2010: 100; Hobley 1998: 50).[562] In addition, as mentioned in chapter three, it seems that profound positive development took place in Aquincum under Hadrian, which may have made his coins appealing. While most of these developments, including the raising of the civilian settlement to the rank of *municipium* (Kóvacs 2014: 94–95; 1999: 288–289), the creation of a town council (Láng 2016: 354) and granting of citizenship to members of the urban community (Mócsy 1974: 145; 1959: 70, 71) probably mostly affected the population of the civilian city, the military and the population of the *canabae* likely benefited considerably, for example, from the refurbishment of the legionary fort. Keeping this in mind, there may be several congruent reasons why certain coins were favored over others. A brief look at the meaning of the reverses and the impact of the emperor on the obverse in Aquincum demonstrates why Hadrian's coins may have been popular. It is not in the scope of this paper, or Găzdac's for that matter, to answer why the coins of other emperors were not popular.

Although coins of numerous emperors were deposited in the burials, there is a conspicuous lack of coins minted by Marcus Aurelius and even Septimius Severus. Of Marcus Aurelius, there was only one coin that may feature him on the obverse, but the coin was too

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[562] The volume of bronze coin distribution was particularly heavy between 125 and 128. Hobley found that 48% of all coins from Pannonia (he used coins found in mainly in western Pannonia, 1998: 142) were from this period. Several of the types featured *Salus*.

damaged to say for sure.[563] During the long reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180) many issues of low denomination bronze coins were distributed in Pannonia, particularly during the 170s when the distribution of bronze coins reached another peak (Juhász 2018: 16; Hobley 1998: 18, 128, 129). Perhaps, the reverses with appealing personifications, such as *Salus* and *Aequitas* were too few to be reflected in a small sample such as this. While there were many coins distributed in Pannonia during the reign of Septimius Severus they were mostly of silver denominations, like the *denarius* (Găzdac 2010: 96). During the reign of Septimius Severus and subsequent emperors, very few bronze coins were distributed to Pannonia and the northern provinces in general (Găzdac 2010: 101; Kemmers 2009: 147; Abdy 2003: 141–142; Duncan–Jones 1994: 108; Reece 1973: 237–238).[564]

It is impossible to know if a coin was included because of what it depicted or because it was readily available. Several of the coins were already quite old when they were deposited. For example, the earliest coin found in this sample was a bronze coin of Germanicus[565] minted in AD 42, which came from a grave dated to the end of the second century (Topál 2003a: 10). The coin itself was very worn and thinned, which is not surprising, given how old it was. A coin like this

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[563] Find #6 from grave 89.I. The catalogue mentions Marcus Aurelius or Antoninus Pius as possibilities.

[564] Scholars are not completely sure why bronze coins were not distributed. It is possible that there was a shortage in the bronze supply from the government (Găzdac 2010: 101). Until the reign of Septimius Severus, Rome had a monopoly in the west to produce imperial coinage, so coinage was minted and distributed from Rome (Ellithorpe 2017: 55; Găzdac 2010: 110; Hobley 1998: 1). Even after Septimius Severus allowed local mints to produce imperial coins, they were mostly located in the eastern empire, which could not supply Pannonia until the mint at Viminacium started to produce in 239–240 under Gordian III (Găzdac 2010: 110–111). Bronze coins were essential to purchase every day, low-cost items so they must still have been significant to the economy (Kemmers 2009: 147). The most probable explanation is that the cost of transporting bronze coinage from Rome to the northern Provinces was too high (Kemmers 2009: 149). In the past this was not an issue, but when Septimius Severus and then Caracalla gave large raises to base legionaries it debased silver coinage (see Speidel 2009: 366–371), transporting large amounts of silver and bronze coins was not desirable (See Hobley 1998: 139 for a breakdown of how much coinage a legion needed per annum). Instead, the economy depended on bronze coins already in circulation. Scholars have noticed many Antonine coins to be especially worn from use and found in clear third century contexts (Kemmers 2009: 147; Abdy 2003: 142; Reece 1973: 238). It is even possible that money changers earned profits by importing used bronze coinage from elsewhere as is suspected of taking place in Britain (Kemmers 2009: 158; Abdy 2003: 141; Clay 1989: 220–221).

[565] Find # 4 found in grave 16.V.

may have been an heirloom but given its condition it was likely a coin that was found or in circulation for a long time. In any case it is probable that the world of the living did not miss it. Next to this, the oldest coin was a very worn and corroded *as* of Claudius dated between AD 41 and 50, which was discovered in a grave dated to the second half of the second century and then a very worn *as* of Vespasian dated between AD 69 and 79, which was found in a grave dated to the first half of the second century.[566]

While it seems that coins minted by emperors in the late first and second century remained in circulation even in the late second and the third century, since coins of Nerva,[567] Trajan,[568] Hadrian,[569] Antoninus Pius,[570] Faustina I,[571] and Lucilla[572] were found in the dated graves, these coins were for the most part worn. An *as* of Hadrian,[573] however, and an *as* of Antoninus Pius[574] were not very worn, so it seems possible that in some cases an effort was made to deposit a good coin of a well-regarded emperor. Coins of Julia Domna[575] Caracalla/Elagabalus[576] and Gordian III[577] were deposited in graves that were dated closer to the time of their minting so therefore they would not have been in circulation for long.[578]

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[566] Find #4 found in grave 21.VI.
[567] Find # 2 of grave 13.VII which dates to the early third century.
[568] Find #21 of grave 29.VI which dates to the first quarter of the third century.
[569] Find #2 of grave 125.VI which dates between the late second and third century.
[570] Find #4 of grave 50.V which dates between the late second and early third century. Find #13 of grave 181.VI which dates to the early third century.
[571] Find #11 of grave 140.VI, which is dated between late second and early third century.
[572] Find #12 of grave 28.V which dates to the first third of the third century.
[573] Find #2 found in grave 125.VI.
[574] Find #4 found in grave 50.V.
[575] Find #4 found in grave 4.III which dates to the first quarter of the third century.
[576] This bronze *as* (#7), found in Grave 11.VI, was worn and burnt, so an exact identification is difficult. The grave is dated to the first half of the third century.
[577] Find #5 of grave 34.III, which is dated to the second third of the third century.
[578] The *dupondius* of Iulia Domna and the *as* of Caracalla/Elagabalus were worn and burnt. While the bronze of Gordian III was in good condition, but grave 34.III is an inhumation grave deposited in a sarcophagus, so the coin did not have to face the elements while interred.

10.3 Coins: Carnuntum

Table 10-5: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Coins per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Coins," is the total number of burials containing coins and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a coin.

	Total	Coins
2nd Phase	2	2 (100.0%)
3rd Phase	27	10 (37.0%)
4th Phase	18	7 (38.9%)
Total	47	19 (40.4%)

Table 10-6: Carnuntum- Graph of the Percentage of Graves Containing Coins per Phase
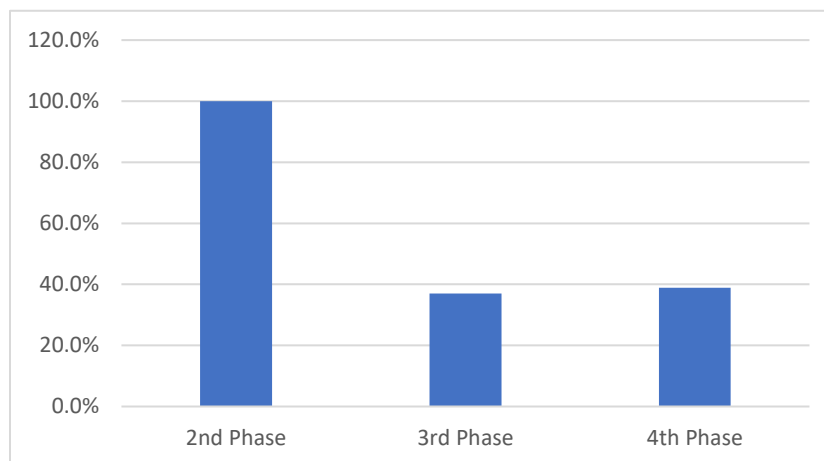
Table 10-7: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Cremation Burials Carrying Coins as Primary and Secondary Goods[579]

> The "Total" column the total amount of burials in which primary and secondary goods could be distinguished. The number and percentage of burials of each phase is given for the "Primary" goods and the "Secondary" goods for each type of coin. Of these burials the number of burials containing both a primary and a secondary gift is under "Both."

	Total	Primary	Secondary
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)	2 (100%)
3rd Phase	21	3 (14.3%)	7 (33.3%)
4th Phase	13	0 (0.0%)	6 (46.2%)

Of the burials that fit into phases, half of the graves contained a coin as a grave gift,[580] although they were found in approximately 20% of all graves as grave gifts (Gassner 1999: 84). Coins were represented in roughly the same percentages in the third and fourth phases. Only cups were found in a higher percentage of burials in the third phase and coins were the most popular item in the fourth phase. Just as with lamps, most coins were deposited as secondary goods.

While in burials of the Bécsi Road Cemetery, approximately 50% of coins were found burnt and even more (84%) were considered primary grave goods in the cremation burials, in the Carnuntum sample, only three (20%) coins of fifteen cremation graves[581] were burnt.[582] All three of these burnt coins came from graves of the third phase. Although this does not mean that coins

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[579] From the third phase, one inhumation contained a coin. From the fourth phase, two inhumation burials contained a coin.
[580] It seems that the excavators relied a lot more on the coins to date the burials since there are only three graves which contained coins as grave gifts that do not have dates. Graves 22 (1), 35 (5, 6) and 50 (5).
[581] The 18 dated graves listed above include three simple inhumations (grave 110 from the third phase, and graves 146 and 152 from the fourth phase).
[582] Find #5 of grave 80A, find #8 of grave 98 and find #4 of grave 189 were burnt.

without signs of burning could not have been placed in or on the funerary pyre, it does indicate

that most of the coins were probably placed as secondary grave goods (Gassner 1999: 85).[583]

As with the coins from Aquincum, most of the Carnuntum coins were of bronze, mostly

asses, while only three silver coins were found in two burials from the mid third century.[584] Not

only were most of these coins of a low denomination, but most were worn, as well. Of the

twenty-three total coins, three were burnt, fourteen[585] were somewhat worn, four were strongly

or totally worn and two were found in mint condition.[586] Most of the coins seem to have been

placed in the grave at most thirty years after they had been minted (Gassner 1999: 85), although

there were certainly exceptions to this. It appears that, although it was important for mourners to

place a coin with the deceased in the grave, especially in the second half of the 2nd century, they

often gifted coins of no great value or those that had already circulated for a time.

Just as with the discussion concerning Aquincum, two inhumation burials[587] which

carried coins may shed some light on where the coin may have been placed if it was placed on

the funeral pyre.[588] The coin (2) in grave 152, dated between the end of the second and beginning

of the third century, was found directly under the skull fragment near the neck, so it was likely

placed in the mouth (1999: 172), just with the coin of grave 13.VII of Aquincum. Grave 146,

dated to the second third of the third century, contained four coins (2–5). One of these (5) is

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[583] The publication mentions that only two coins, find #5 from grave 80A and find #4 of grave 189 were burnt (Gassner 1999: 85), but in the catalogue, it is mentioned that #8 of grave 98 was also burnt.

[584] A *denarius* of Vespasian (3) and a silver *antoninianus* of Decius (4) from grave 146, an inhumation burial, and a *denarius* of Severus Alexander depicting Sallustia Orbiana found in the cist burial, grave 174B, a cremation burial.

[585] Approximately 61%.

[586] *As* of Marcus Aurelius for Lucius Verus (1) found in grave 110, an inhumation grave from the second half of the second century, as well as a *denarius* of Alexander Severus (7) found in grave 174B, a cist grave filled with cremated remains, which dated to the second third of the third century.

[587] While nothing could be said about the remains of two of the graves, the remains of 152 belonged to a 6–7 year old (Infant I–II), a young individual, just as those inhumed with coins from the Aquincum sample.

[588] Three inhumation burials contained coins, but grave 110 was destroyed by earth-moving machinery, so the placement of the coin (1) could not be determined.

located between the arms crossed on the chest of the remains, perhaps similar to the way the coin was deposited in grave 2.I and perhaps even 5.I, both of which were from Aquincum. The three other coins (2–4) were placed by the left foot close to the base of an incense bowl (1) (1999: 171),[589] which seems to be similar to the way the game pieces, lamp and coin of grave 34.III were deposited. These two inhumation burials demonstrate similar ways of depositing coins to the inhumation burials from Aquincum as a coin was likely placed in a mouth, on the chest or near a foot. Again, while these analogies are useful, the meaning behind the practice and the practice itself may differ from what was performed when the body lay in-state on the pyre.

As with Aquincum, evidence shows that coins minted by particular emperors appear in graves more frequently in this cemetery. Coins featuring Antoninus Pius were the most popular as three of them were found.[590] One grave of each period contained a coin featuring Antoninus Pius.[591] A further two burials of the third phase contained coins of Antoninus Pius' reign depicting Faustina II[592] and a grave of the fourth phase held one of Diva Faustina also minted under Antoninus Pius.[593] There were three coins of Hadrian,[594] one from a burial of the second phase[595] and two from one of the third.[596] Three coins were minted under the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, one of which featured Lucilla from burial of the third phase and one

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[589] The authors of the catalogue did not consider this a grave gift, even though it seems to be associated with the coins. Although only a written description of the burial is provided, these items seem to have been deposited in a similar way to the lamp associated with the game pieces and coin at the right foot of the remains of grave 34.III.
[590] Find #2 of grave 77 from the second phase, find #8 of grave 98 from the third phase and find #3 of grave 23 from the fourth phase.
[591] In addition to this there are two graves which are not dated that each contain an *as* of Antoninus Pius; graves 22 (1) and 50 (5).
[592] Find #4 of grave 15 and find #7 from grave 73.
[593] Find #6 of grave 131.
[594] In addition, there is an *as* of Hadrian in grave 35 (6), which is undated. This grave also contains an *as* of Trajan (5).
[595] Find #4 of grave 25.
[596] Find #4 of grave 26 and find #4 of grave 189.

of the fourth. [597] One featured Lucius Verus from a burial of the fourth phase.[598] This pattern is similar to that found in Aquincum, given that there were several coins dedicated to Faustina and a few to Antoninus Pius, while Hadrian was the most popular. However, there were no clearly identifiable coins of Marcus Aurelius in the sample. Only two Severan-era coins were found, including an *antoninianus*,[599] and a *denarius* of Severus Alexander.[600]

According to Găzdac there are good reasons why coins of Antoninus Pius were popular. Two coins feature the emperor[601] or his genius[602] sacrificing with a *patera* over an altar of some sort (Pl. 7-4 and 7-5). Găzdac believes that this act can be equated with the act of pouring libations in the funeral. The third coin[603] featured the legend SECVRITAS PVBLICA, with a personification of *Securitas* holding a sculpture and leaning on a column (Pl. 7-6). From inscriptional evidence in which *Securitas* is described with *Perpetua*, Perassi and Găzdac believe that the legend and figure of *Securitas* can be equated with perpetuity, which they view as a positive wish for the afterlife (2014: 100; 1999: 61–62). Găzdac believes that two of the three coins featuring Faustina also featured an eschatological message. [604] One of the coins featured Juno[605] whom Găzdac associates with eschatological rituals. Juno holds a *patera*, which may signify the pouring of libations (Pl. 7-7). The other featured the legend, AETERNITAS and depicts *Felicitas* holding a capricorn and a winged caduceus (Pl. 7-8).[606] *Aeternitas* can refer to

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[597] Find #1 of grave 110 and find #2 of grave 152. According to Găzdac these coins are minted under Lucius Verus/Marcus Aurelius for Lucilla (2014: 106, Cat. 21 and Cat. 22, respectively).
[598] Find #3 of Grave 21.
[599] Find #9 of grave 141. The catalogue mentions the piece as a Antoninus III and IV hybrid (1999: 169).
[600] Find #7 of grave 174B.
[601] Find #2 of grave 77.
[602] Find #8 of grave 98.
[603] Find #3 of grave 23.
[604] On the reverse of find #7 of grave 73, Venus holds a Victory and leans on a shield set on a helmet, and the legend is: AVGVSTI PII FIL. Găzdac includes this coin and others with Venus on it in his catalogue, but he does not discuss it in relation to any eschatological message.
[605] Find #4 of grave 15.
[606] Find #6 of grave 131.

the passing into the afterlife (Găzdac 2014: 99), while the figure of *Felicitas*, like *securitas*, can

be described as *perpetua* and, therefore, refer to survival after death (Perassi 1999: 59). *Felicitas*

was also frequently found on coins with the legend AETERNITAS (Găzdac 2014: 100), which

may reinforce the benevolent eschatological meaning for the mourner. The capricorn that

Felicitas holds is a symbol of the end of one cycle and the start of a new one, which could

represent the transition of a life into the afterlife (Perassi 1999: 60), while the caduceus is often

associated with *Felicitas* as a symbol of continual happiness (Schaffner, "*Felicitas*" *BNP*; Perassi

1999: 53) which can be seen, again, as a benevolent wish for the deceased in the afterlife. The

"DIVA" in the legend of the obverse of the coin, DIVA FAUSTINA, may also represent positive

eschatological connotations to the mourners.

The 140s during Antoninus' reign was another high point in the distribution of bronze

coins to the northern provinces, as it was during the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius

(Hobley 1998: 128 – 129), so it is not surprising that so many of these coins were found in the

Carnuntum sample. In both Carnuntum and Aquincum coins dedicated to Diva Faustina were

found which is understandable, given that many coins were dedicated to Faustina after her death

in 141 (Hobley 1998: 65).[607] Faustina II, the daughter of Antoninus Pius, was also featured on

coins after her marriage to Marcus Aurelius in 145, so it makes sense that several were

represented in this sample.[608] As for only historical reasons for the inclusion of the coins, the

reign of Antoninus Pius was generally considered peaceful and he distributed money to the

legions (Werner "Antoninus" *BNP*) which probably caused them and the people of the *canabae*

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[607] In Hobley's sample of coins from the northern provinces, they make up 21.2% of the coins minted during his reign.
[608] In Hobley's sample, 7.5% of all of Antoninus' bronze coinage features Faustina II. It is assumed that coins with the legend, FAUSTIN AVG PII AVG FIL, were minted during Antoninus' reign (from 145–161) and those with FAVSTINA AVGVSTA were issued after the accession of Marcus Aurelius (Hobley 1998: 65).

who depended on the military for their well-being to feel well disposed towards him. While mourners selected a variety of coin types minted under Antoninus Pius, all three of the reverses of the coins of Hadrian highlighted the image of *Salus* feeding a snake with a *patera*.[609] Hadrian's relative popularity in Carnuntum was likely for the same reasons as he was popular in Aquincum.

There were several coins that seemed out of place given their old age even at the time of the interment. The oldest coin found was one of Augustus which was totally worn and burnt[610] and was in a grave dated to the second half of the second century. In a grave dated to the same time was found a coin of Claudius commemorating Germanicus[611] which was also strongly worn. From the third phase a few coins of Domitian[612] and a coin of Nerva,[613] were found all of which were minted in the late first century and therefore were probably well over fifty years old when they were interred. Again, while these older coins may have been selected as heirlooms, or because of their age or for the depictions they held, their condition makes it more likely that they were selected for deposition because of their poor state.

The inclusion of silver coins in graves of the mid third century may hold some ritual significance. The *denarius* of Vespasian (2), which was found in grave 146[614] dated to the second third of the 3rd century, may have been an heirloom, since it was deposited at least 150 years after the minting of the coin. The coin was not in bad condition as it was only worn. This

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[609] On the reverse of the *as* (4) of grave 26, the snake is arising from an altar, while on those of graves 25 (4) and 189 (4) the snake is held in *Salus*' arms.

[610] Find #5 of grave 80A.

[611] Find #2 of grave 72.

[612] Find #6 of grave 170 which was worn and #15 of grave 171 which was totally worn.

[613] Find #5 of grave 26 which was strongly worn.

[614] This coin was interred with a *sestertius* of Decius (2), an *antoninianus* of Decius (4) and a bronze Greek provincial coin of Gordian III (5) from Hadrianopolis (Găzdac 2014: 97–98). Grave 146 was a simple inhumation burial, in which the poorly preserved skeleton lay in a supine position. It seems that in one of the hands, which were crossed above the chest, was the coin of Gordian, while the other three coins lay directly by the left foot. Clearly there was some other religious or superstitious motivation behind placing four coins in the grave.

old but relatively undamaged coin must have fulfilled some sort of role in the funerary rites. Around the same time grave 146 was laid, mourners placed a mint condition silver *denarius* of Sallustia Barbia Orbiana from the reign of Alexander Severus (7) in the cist cremation grave, 174B, a burial which was surrounded by a monumental enclosure. Although only one coin was found in this grave, it was a new coin of a higher denomination. Given that this was placed contemporaneously with grave 146, it is possible that some of the same motivations went into the addition of these coins, a motivation that was at least slightly different than what was displayed previously in the cemetery. In any case, the inclusion of silver coins is not too surprising. In addition to the religious connotations the coin might still carry, a *denarius* might represent the standing, the social role and/or prestige of the individual in the eyes of the mourners (Stevens 1991: 225). In addition, the material, the images and legends on these coins may have held significance to the mourners by their sense of loss.

10.4 Coins: Summary

With the above evidence, it is not possible to say whether the inhabitants of Aquincum or Carnuntum were offering "Charon's Obol," when they deposited a coin on the pyre or in the burial. Evidence from a handful of inhumation burials from both cemeteries suggest that the coin could be placed in the mouth, on the chest or near a foot with other items. It is likely then, that if a coin was associated with the body before it was cremated, the coin could be placed in a number of spots. But it is not possible to say what the placement might mean. A specific motivation for their inclusion in the grave can also not be ascertained; however, evidence has been presented which is in line with what we should expect of this ritual. Coins in both the Aquincum cemetery and the Carnuntum cemetery tended to be of a low denomination, the vast majority being *asses*,

and were in circulation for at least enough time to be worn, when deposited in the grave. Thus, for most of those depositing the coin, the worth of the coin did not matter, as it supposedly did not for the ferryman, who guided the spirits of the dead into the underworld.

Although there was much overlap in custom, mourners of Aquincum and Carnuntum demonstrated diversity in their methods of depositing the coin. If the catalogue is to be trusted, 84% of coins from the Bécsi Road cemetery were placed on the pyre and deposited in the graves as primary grave goods. At the very least the 50% of coins that showed signs of burning had been placed on the pyre. Since not all goods made it into the grave from pyre, it is reasonable to posit that significantly more coins were used in the pyre ritual than what the archaeological evidence shows. Of course, it is unknown if and when the coin was placed on the body. All we can tell from the evidence is that the coin was burnt somewhere on or near the pyre. In Carnuntum on the other hand, most of the coins showed no signs of burning and were probably placed directly in the burial. It is possible, however, that some of them were placed near or even on the pyre to be ritually lustrated or to become imbued with the spirit of the deceased without showing signs of being burnt. For mourners at both sites, the offering of the coin at the cremation ceremony or the burial rites may imply differing views of the afterlife, or at least there may be significance to depositing it in one context as opposed to the other. This difference in the way the coin was deposited between locales is not surprising given that Gassner notes that the handling of coins tended to differ across cemeteries of the western empire (1999: 84).

While many other categories of artifacts tended to become scarcer in the third phase at both sites, in the burials of Carnuntum, coins were found in more burials of this phase than of the subsequent or previous phases. The Bécsi Road Cemetery, on the other hand, did follow the typical pattern, in that fewer burials contained coins in the third phase. This difference may

represent some diversity in the reaction of the residents to the volatility of this time. While other items became scarcer and potentially rationed in both locales, the mourners at Carnuntum still felt it important to deposit coins in burials.

Although the sample is small, from the burials of both sites the coins of certain emperors appear to have been preferred over others. In Aquincum coins featuring Hadrian were most popular. While there were also several of them found in the burials of the southern cemetery, coins minted under Antoninus Pius were found in the greatest abundance. Although these coins were also well represented in Aquincum, no clear examples of coins minted in the reign of Marcus Aurelius were found. Burials from the southern cemetery of Carnuntum, on the other hand, did contain a handful of examples of coins from that emperor's joint reign with Verus. There was also a general lack of Septimius Severus coins in both cemeteries, as well as of Severan coins in general, although this may be because in the first half of the 3rd century, these coins had not been in circulation long enough to be considered suitable for burial. In both cemeteries several coins were quite old when they were deposited. Some of these may very well have been heirlooms, given that their condition was fairly good for their age.

According to Găzdac many of the images and legends on the reverse of coins held an eschatological meaning and some of these were outlined above in relation to the coins of emperors that appeared in high numbers. One of the most popular reverse personifications was *Salus* with two examples from the datable graves of Aquincum[615] and three from Carnuntum.[616] As mentioned above, this should not be too surprising given that *Salus* was a popular personification on coins, especially on Hadrian's in the second century (Găzdac 2014: 99). Coins featuring reverses were deposited in Aquincum but, since many were damaged and could not be

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[615] Find #13 of grave 79.VI and find #2 of grave 125.VI.
[616] Find #4 of grave 25, find #4 of grave 26 and find #4 of grave 189.

precisely identified, there were relatively few other reverse types featured. In Carnuntum, however, more identifiable coins that reflect common themes were preserved. There were three coins from datable graves that featured a figure sacrificing with a *patera* over an altar[617] and three more that featured a standing Juno making a sacrifice with a *patera*, while holding a scepter.[618]

Some of the reverse figures and portrayals even of female members of the imperial family on the obverse of coins may reflect identities, as well as the hopes and views mourners had of the afterlife, particularly in Carnuntum. From this sampling evidence shows that certain coins were deposited particularly with women and children during the second half of the second century and early third century.

Juno is featured on the reverse of the coins from four graves, one of an adult who was likely a female and three of children. Two inhumation burials containing children[619] included an *as* featuring a portrait of Lucilla on the obverse and Juno Regina holding a *patera* and scepter with a peacock[620] at her feet on the reverse (Pl. 7-9).[621] In addition, a third grave containing an inhumed child[622] dating to the second half of the third century, and therefore out of the scope of this paper, also held a coin of this type. Because these are the only three graves from cemeteries

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[617] Find #2 of grave 77 features a veiled Antoninus Pius conducting this act, while on find #8 the genius is featured and on find #3 of grave 146 Jupiter is sacrificing in a similar fashion, with the legend IOVIS CVSTOS, or Jupiter the Custodian.

[618] Find #4 from grave 15 with the legend IVNO. It is an *as* of Antoninus Pius for Faustina II. Find #1 from grave 110 and find #2 from grave 152 both have the legend IVNO REGINA and also feature a peacock at Juno's feet. Both are *asses* of Marcus Aurelius/Lucius Verus for Lucilla.

[619] Grave 110 contained an infant II (8–9) and grave 152 held an infant I/II (6–7).

[620] The symbolic significance of the peacock will not be discussed much in the main text beyond its sacred associations with Juno and the apotheosis of empresses, discussed below. Under Antoninus Pius the Peacock became closely associated with female members of the imperial family, particularly the wives of emperors (Antić and Stevanović 2018: 525, 526, 529). According to Perassi, the peacock symbolizes immortality, and its tail evokes the stary sky (1999: 58), both interpretations which relate well to the connection the peacock has with a heavenly apotheosis.

[621] RIC III, 1752.

[622] Grave 153 held an infant II (7–8).

that contained such a coin, it is reasonable to suppose that there may be some symbolic and amuletic correlation between the coin and its internment with children. Because no clues to the gender of these children were found the figure of Juno cannot be said to reflect the gender of the deceased.[623] Juno may embody values of a *matrona* and *mater familias* (Freyburger "*Matronalia*" *BNP*; Rives 1992: 45). Perhaps, then, Juno represented the mourners' hope that the child would be protected and cared for in the afterlife, therefore assigning the piece amuletic significance. If the child was female, such an image may represent the unfulfilled potential of the girl who was never able to be a mother or lead her own household. Juno also represented aspects of the marriage ceremony and brides (Graf "Iuno" *BNP*; Palmer 1974: 38),[624] and childbirth (Graf "Iuno" *BNP*; Rives "Juno" *OLD*; Palmer 1974: 20),[625] important stages in the life cycle of a female, but in the case of these pre-pubescent children, they were never actualized. Juno also embodied values that mourners may have wished to emphasize in relation to their children, such as chastity, and austere and upright conduct (Mueller 1998: 233). The image may also reflect a dedication to the *iuno*, the female equivalent to the *genius*, of the deceased, which is the immortal part of the individual. James Rives mentions five inscriptions concerning dedicatory inscriptions from parents to the *iuno* of their daughter (Rives 1992: 48) which demonstrates that such commemoration did take place.[626] So, many possible interpretations of the image of Juno

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[623] Grave 152 held a pot with a hole placed in the wall in antiquity (1).

[624] For example, Juno's epithets, *iterduca* and *domiduca* which the Romans took to mean 'she who leads the bride into marriage' and 'she who leads the bride to her new home,' respectively, and *cinxia* which is Juno who undoes the bride's girdle (Palmer 1974: 38).

[625] Particularly as Juno *Lucina*, a goddess of childbirth (Graf "Iuno" *BNP*; Rives "Juno" *OLD*; Palmer 1974: 20).

[626] Rives points out that the veneration of *genii* and *iunones* mostly took place among individuals of the enslaved and freed classes (1992: 48). In the five examples he provides of Parents providing dedications to their daughter's *iuno*, he believes only one was dedicated by a freeborn woman (1992: 48, no. 50). In fact, he finds that most of the inscriptions dedicated to *iunones* are from enslaved or freed individuals (1992: 48–49). If this were a practice widespread amongst people of these ranks and these coins do represent a dedication to the *iuno* of the deceased, then it is possible that the practice could reflect the status of the individuals burying the deceased. Given that the children were inhumed with little to no other grave goods, this is a possibility.

exist. She could be a protective deity, especially concerning children, she could also represent significant aspects of a woman's life cycle, responsibilities, and values, and may even represent the soul of a deceased female. Like many other interpretations concerning the images on coins, they cannot be substantiated without further examples.

Many of the basic interpretations of coins featuring Juno in relation to the children may also apply to the grave of the cremated adult.[627] Instead of representing matronly protection, the veiled image of Juno holding a *patera* and scepter may represent the matronly values and piety that the adult embodies. Such an interpretation was augmented in this burial by the inclusion of a bone spindle whorl, which is not only synonymous with women and female activities (Richlin 2014: 249), but also symbolic of the ideal behaviour of a Roman matron (Takács 2008: 37; see pages 420–421). Since the individual was an adult, the gifts may represent values that mourners felt that the deceased embodied and wished to emphasize. Unlike the children discussed above, these values were not idealized in the potential of the individual, but in the lived experience.

While a coin featuring a Juno figure seems to have been deliberately chosen for deposition with an adult female or a child regardless of the gender, it is also possible that a coin featuring a female member of the imperial family, in this case members of the Antonine dynasty, portrayed on the obverse may also have been chosen for similar reasons. All five of the coins from the sampling that portray a female member of the imperial family were found in graves that are dated between the second half of the second century and the early part of the third century and were likely interred with a female or a child. Three of these graves were that of females and

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[627] Grave 15 contained an individual who was adult or mature in age. The coin (4) featured Faustina II on the obverse and a veiled Juno holding a *patera* and a scepter on the reverse. In addition to the spindle whorl (5), the burial also contained two lamps (2, 3).

two were of children previously discussed. Of the potential female graves,[628] two coins portrayal

Faustina II[629] and one depicted Faustina I,[630] while both coins buried with children featured

Lucilla.[631] As members of the imperial family and eventually empresses, Faustina I, Faustina II

and Lucilla were associated and assimilated with numerous deities and abstract qualities (Levick

2014: 129) that conveyed the ideology of the dynasty (Levick 2014: 38; Rowan 2011: 993). They

also generally conveyed feminine values, embodied, for example, in motherhood and fertility

(Levick 2014: 61).[632] These much-publicized aspects of imperial women may have made these

coins attractive to bury with females and children. The figures on the reverses of these coins,

such as Juno, Venus[633] and *Felicitas[634]* probably served to add and reinforce values and well-

wishes in the afterlife. Venus, like Juno, represented feminine values and key aspects of a

female's life cycle (see page 440). The personification of *Felicitas* with the legend

AETERNITAS appeared on a coin of Diva Faustina, the deified, deceased wife of Antoninus

Pius.[635] As mentioned previously, the personification of *Felicitas* coupled with AETERNITAS in

association with DIVA, could represent a benevolent wish of survival after one's passing into the

underworld. These qualities also reinforce Faustina's status as a goddess (Levick 2014: 125;

Lusnia 1995: 125–126; Mattingly 1948: 147–148). In this elevated status, she may have

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[628] None of the remains of these graves have been identified as female, but Grave 15 may contain a female because the coin portraying Juno (4) and a spindle whorl are given as gifts which are likely indicative of a female. Grave 73 contains a fragmented folded cup (3), which, as stated on pages 284–285, may help to mark a female. Grave 131 is the most ambiguous since it contains a *sigillata* plate (1) and a fragment of an iron knife (7) which may not indicate a female.

[629] Graves 15 (4) and 73 (7).

[630] Grave 131 (6).

[631] Graves 110 (1) and 152 (2).

[632] This is especially the case for Faustina II (Günther 2016: 128; Levick 2014: 63; Lusnia 1995: 122) who is recorded to have borne at least fourteen children (Birley 2000: 247 – 248).

[633] Venus appears on the reverse of the coin held by Grave 73 (7). She holds Victory and leans on a shield set on a helmet.

[634] As mentioned above, grave 131 (6) contained this coin.

[635] When the Senate deified her after her passing (AD 141), they voted her games and a temple as well as priestesses and statues of silver and gold (HA *Ant. Pius* 6. 7).

embodied some of the same power and responsibilities as goddesses, such as Juno, to whom she is equated on some monuments (Levick 2014: 124; Kleiner 1987: 546).[636] These attributes may have also conveyed well-wishes to the deceased in the afterlife, in which the deified Faustina may have been thought to have a prominent role.[637] This makes coins such as these attractive to offer to women and children. At Aquincum, where there were no obvious patterns of coin distribution based on gender or age, two graves held a coin of Diva Faustina. One burial held a child,[638] while the other likely contained a female,[639] which are the expected demographics for such coins.

Certainly not all women and children were buried with coins featuring empresses, but it seems to be an option that some mourners practiced in the second half of the second century and the early third century, when these coins were interred. It is no coincidence that during this period coins featuring female members of the Antonine dynasty were deposited in graves in greater numbers compared to the coins of females from other dynasties, as under the reign of Antoninus Pius imperial women were featured more on coinage than they had been in the past

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[636] One side of the column base depicts the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina I. The couple, who have attributes of Jupiter and Juno, are carried by a winged male genius (Levick 2014: 124). On a capital in Lorium, an eagle which is sacred to Zeus and peacock which is sacred to Hera were beneath the busts of Antoninus Pius and Faustina I, respectively (Borg 2019: 261–262; Levick 2014: 124). The eagle and the peacock were often depicted conveying emperors and empresses respectively in their apotheosis (Gradel 2002: 307).

[637] A panegyric by Marcellus of Side written on a base of a statue dedicated to Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, highlights the divine status of Faustina I (IG 14. 1389, ll. 56), calling her the "Guardian-goddess of the nymphs of old" and says that she oversees the dances of Elysium (ll. 57–59). In this panegyric, Faustina has a special leading role in activities in Elysium, the blessed realm of the underworld where heroes dwelt, including Regilla (Borg 2019: 288–289; Gleason 2010: 151). This view of Faustina was composed for Herodes Atticus, an influential aristocrat who helped to promote Faustina as the new Ceres and even set up a temple to Ceres, the Triopion, on the Via Appia near Rome where Faustina was assimilated with the goddess (Levick 2014: 127; Gleason 2008: 142–144). It is unclear how widespread this specific view of the role that Faustina had in the underworld was, but with her widespread assimilation to Ceres/Demeter (Levick 2014: 127; Rowan 2013: 222; 2011: 996; Gleason 2010: 145–146), who had a traditional a positive connection to the afterlife (Rowan 2013: 222; Gleason 2010: 146), it is possible that views like this were common.

[638] Grave 23.VI contained an Infant II (8–10). On the reverse, *Providentia* was depicted, and the legend is AETERNITAS.

[639] Grave 140.VI. The burial likely held a Female since casket fittings (12) were found. Vesta is depicted on the reverse and the legend is AVGVSTA, the title of Faustina.

(Günter 2016: 127; Rowan 2013: 215). This trend started with coins concerning Diva Faustina (Rowan 2013: 215; 2011: 991–992) and continued under the Severan Dynasty (Günter 2016: 127; Hekster 2015: 143), but since few bronze coins of the Severan dynasty made it into Pannonia during this period, they do not appear in the graves. In fact, from this sampling, the only identifiable coin depicting a female empress not of the Antonine dynasty is a silver *denarius* of Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of the emperor Alexander Severus. Not only is the coin of silver, which is extraordinary in this sampling, but the burial, dated to the mid third century, likely belonged to an adult male. While this is an exception from a later time than the period discussed here, it seems likely that some mourners were selecting coins featuring female members of the imperial household to bury with women and children. The image of the empress, in addition to the image of the reverse, for example, like Juno and the legends, like AETERNITAS, may have served to highlight qualities in the female deceased, reflect positive wishes for the deceased in the afterlife and/or have amuletic value to protect the deceased, particularly children.

While the inclusion of coins in a burial followed some general conventions, such as the inclusion of a low-denomination coin, or certain trends, like the preference of coins featuring a particular imperial figure or personification, the inclusion of a coin and what coin it was, seems to have been a personal choice on the part of participants. Being aware of this may shed some light on what the particular coin meant to mourners, particularly in relation to the rest of the assemblage.

10.5 Lamps and Coins

The inclusion of lamps and coins in burials has been associated with a sense of "Romanness" in the provinces (Philpott 1991: 193). To characterize graves in this way is not important to this paper, but since scholars have noticed a connection between the inclusion of these two items, a brief exploration of any sort of relationship is worthwhile. This is especially the case since both items seemed to have served as a well-wish to the deceased in the afterlife or at least in the journey to the afterlife as the coin served to pay the ferryman and the lamp lit the way. These are not the only goods that served this purpose, but they are the most widespread.

In all, 50% of all graves in the Aquincum sample carried a coin, a lamp or both. In Aquincum, only four (20%) of the twenty graves[640] of the first phase containing either a coin and/or a lamp held both items.[641] The sample is small, but in two of the three instances where the deposition treatment is able to be determined, both types of objects seem to have been treated the same, as primary grave goods or secondary gifts.[642] From the second phase, eight (36%)[643] of the twenty-two[644] graves that contained either a coin or a lamp held both, which indicates a stronger correlation between the two, but still not large overall. In four of the seven cases where primary and secondary goods could be distinguished, both types of items were deposited in the same manner.[645] From the third phase, four (31%)[646] of thirteen graves[647] that contained either

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[640] The four graves represent 9% of the total burials of the first phase (4 of 45 burials). The twenty burials represent 44% of the total burials (20 of 45 burials).

[641] Grave 71.I, 80.I and 82.I, and grave 17.VI.

[642] The finds of grave 80.I were primary grave goods, while the finds of grave 82.I seem to have been deposited secondarily. In grave 17.VI the coin is listed as a primary good and the lamp as a secondary gift.

[643] Graves 59.I, 62.I and 86.I, and graves 10.VI, 18.VI, 22.VI, 74.VI and 79.VI.

[644] The eight graves represent 25% of the total burials of the second phase (8 of 32 burials). The twenty-two burials represent 69% of the total burials (22 of 32 burials).

[645] In graves 62.I and 86.I and grave 10.VI and 18.VI both types of items are primary grave goods and graves 10.VI, 22.VI and 79.VI contained a coin deposited as a primary grave good and a lamp as a secondary gift.

[646] Graves 62.VI, 75.VI, 127.VI and 131.VI.

[647] The four graves represent 12.5% of the total burials of the third phase (4 of 32 burials). The thirteen burials represent 41% of the total burials (13 of 32 burials).

item held both. In all these graves, the items were deposited in the same manner.[648] From the

fourth phase, nine (35%)[649] of the twenty-six[650] graves that held one of the items held both. In six

of the nine graves these items were deposited in the same manner.[651] The inclusion of lamps and

coins does not strongly or automatically correlate, but certainly in the second phase and the

fourth phase when mourners were generally dedicating more goods there was a stronger

correlation between both items in burials.

Carnuntum follows a very different pattern because of the lack of evidence from the first

two phases and the fact that there were few lamps found from the fourth phase. Despite this, 48%

of burials[652] in the sample contain a coin, a lamp or both which is on par with what is found in

the Aquincum sample. Both burials of the second phase[653] held a coin and a lamp that were

deposited as secondary grave gifts. Unfortunately, the sample is too small to be able to reach any

conclusion concerning the pairing of both items. From the third phase, five (36%) of the fourteen

graves containing a coin and/or a lamp held both.[654] During this phase, however, there was no

consistency with regards to how the coin and lamps were treated in the funerary ceremony.[655]

From the fourth phase, only the richly endowed grave 174B contained both a coin and a lamp,

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[648] Both items are secondary gifts in grave 62.VI and in graves 75.VI, 127.VI and 131.VI both are primary goods. Grave 127.VI also carries an additional lamp as a secondary gift.

[649] Grave 34.III, grave 52.V, graves 11.VI, 28.VI, 38.VI, 106.VI, 140.VI and 181.VI and grave 12.VII.

[650] The nine graves represent 17% of the total burials of the fourth phase (9 of 53 burials). The twenty-two burials represent 49% of the total burials (26 of 53 burials).

[651] Both types of items were deposited as primary goods in grave 52.V, graves 11.VI, 18.VI, 28.VI and 181.VI. Both items in grave 34.III were deposited secondarily. In graves 38.VI and 12.VII the coins are primary goods, while in grave 140.VI the coin is a secondary good.

[652] 23 of 48 burials in the Carnuntum sample.

[653] Graves 25 and 77.

[654] The five graves represent 19% of the total burials of the third phase (5 of 26 burials). The fourteen burials represent 54% of the total burials (14 of 26 burials).

[655] In grave 26, both items were deposited as secondary gifts. In grave 98 and 189, it seems that the coins were primary goods and the lamps were secondary gifts. In grave 80A, one coin (5) and the lamp were primary grave goods, while a second coin (4) seems to be a secondary gift. In grave 15, the coin and one lamp (3) are secondary gifts, while the other lamp (2) is a primary good.

both of which were secondary goods. The lack of graves carrying both items from this period is not surprising given that very few graves of Carnuntum from the third century contained lamps.

Unfortunately, these two sites do not compare well in regards to this lamp/coin correlation when comparing the numbers from each of the phases. In Carnuntum, there were only two graves from the second phase, so no meaningful comparisons can be made with what occurred in Aquincum. The third phase in the Aquincum cemetery, however, can be considered a low point for the inclusion of many different grave goods, including coins and lamps, with few finds in general. Consequently, there were only four graves that contained both types of goods. In the Carnuntum cemetery, however, more lamps and coins were deposited in the third phase than in the fourth phase. Additionally, 19% of the graves of this period contained both items, which is about on par with what was seen Aquincum during the more prosperous periods.[656] There is little comparison in the fourth phase, since there are very few lamps used in Carnuntum at the time, so there was only one grave, the wealthiest in the sample, that contained both items. With regards to the pairing of lamps and coins the lack of evidence from for the second phase in the Carnuntum sample and the fact that seemingly different processes were affecting the inclusion of these two types of gifts in the funerary sphere certainly affects what we can ascertain concerning the pairing of these items.

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[656] 22% in the second phase and 18% in the fourth phase.

11 Chapter 11: Tools

11.1 Tools: Introduction

Tools include a variety of implements, some of which like knives may have assisted mourners in aspects of the funeral rites or may have served an apotropaic purpose, while most others represent personal items which either were directly associated with the deceased or marked an important aspect of them, that mourners wished to highlight. Like many personal items few of these were included in burials and in many cases the choice to include such items was quite personal. Each item on its own may carry particular connotations as to what it may have meant to the mourner which will be explored for each type of good. In many cases this is all that can be gleaned from the artifact, but in some cases, contextual information, for example, concerning the age and sex of the deceased as well as other items from the assemblage, can shed further light on what the item may have meant to mourners/the deceased. This chapter discusses knives and knife accessories before talking about sewing and textile related tools, and then other tools of which only a few examples exist.

11.2 Knives: Introduction

As mentioned previously, archaeologists do not often find tools in burials originating from the early and middle empire and knives were no exception to this phenomenon (Philpott 1991: 189). The examination of those knives from burials that were found can still shed light on aspects of the grave ritual, since they were potentially used to prepare offerings (Márton *et al*. 2015: 36). In such a case, the accompaniment of knives by other items, such as animal bones or dishes, might help to support this interpretation. Similarly, some archaeologists even believe that knives may reflect views of the afterlife, but unless they exist in tandem with other items such as coins and lamps that reflect such beliefs, this assertion is difficult to prove. Knives may also have been deposited simply because they were prized personal items of the deceased.

A contextual approach is needed to shed further insights on what the deposition of knives in the grave may have meant to the individual identities of those interred with them. Since few knives were found and because they tended not to be associated with any particular age or sex it is often difficult for archaeologists to determine what identities may have been reflected through their presence in the grave. At Aquincum, this is particularly true, since there are few knives found in this grave sampling and because knives do not tend to be buried with artifacts that provide significant contextual information in this regard. In burials from Carnuntum, however, knives are found often with other items that can be used to construct stronger interpretations concerning the interment of a knife and how it may have represented identities based on age, gender, occupation and potentially personal grooming habits.

11.3 Knives: Aquincum

Table 11-1: Aquincum- Burials Containing Knives

	I- Grave		II- Graveyard		GT- Grave Type
	III- Phase		IV- Grave Good Type		V- Artifact Number

I	II	GT	III	IV	V	Notes
34	III	I	4th Phase	S	6	Small, iron slightly curved back knife, Sarcophagus grave
52	V	C2	4th Phase	P	6, 7, 8	Cast bronze theca (6), Bronze loop (7), Iron knife frag. (8)
27	VI	C1	4th Phase	P	11	Possible Iron Knife frag.
41	VI	C1	3rd Phase	P	12, 13, 14	Iron Knife (12), Iron Rings (13, 14)
68	VI	C5	2nd Phase	P	9, 12	Iron Knife (9), Iron Stiffener (?) for the Handle of a Knife (12)
73	VI	C1	1st Phase	P	7	Iron Knife w/ broken handle piece

In Aquincum archaeologists found evidence for six knives as grave goods in burials that fit into the phase scheme. One cremation grave from each of the first three phases contained a knife, all of which were deposited as primary grave goods. Three graves of the fourth phase held a knife. Of these, two were cremation graves and one was an inhumation burial. Both cremation graves contained the knives as primary grave gifts, while the one inhumation grave held it as a secondary gift (e.g., Pl. 8-1 – 8-3).[657] Knife accessories were also found in some of the graves containing knives. From Aquincum, an elaborate open-work, cast bronze scabbard fitting (6, Pl. 8-6) and bronze loop (7, Pl. 8-4) that had been used to fasten the knife to the scabbard were found.[658] Two further iron rings (13 and 14) were found which possibly secured a sheath for the knife (12) to a belt (Pl. 8-5).[659]

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[657] Grave 34.III is a sarcophagus grave dated to the second third of the third century.
[658] In Grave 52.V
[659] Grave 41.VI

11.4 Knives: Carnuntum

Table 11-2: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Knives

I- Grave   GT- Grave Type   III- Phase or General Date
IV- Grave Good Type   V- Artifact Number

I	GT	III	IV	V	Notes
23	C	4th Phase	S	6, 7	Bronze Scabbard Clamp (6), Iron Knife (7)
25	C	2nd Phase	S	5	Iron Knife
26	C	3rd Phase	S	14	Iron Knife frag.
131	C	4th Phase	S	7	Iron Knife frag.
132	C	3rd Phase	S	10	Fragmented Iron Knife
161	C	3rd Phase	S	8	Iron Knife
177	C	No Date	S	15, 16	Bronze Sheath Fitting (15), Iron Knife w/ Handle Hinge (16)
179	C	No Date	S	16	Bronze fitting (handle ?) with an iron pin and two small nails
190	C	No Date	S	12	Iron Knife

Proportionally, more graves from the southern cemetery of Carnuntum contained knives as compared to the graves of Aquincum. From Carnuntum, evidence of a knife was found in one grave from the second phase, three burials of the third phase, and two graves of the fourth phase. Three additional graves that contained knives that are not dated are counted in this section, since the sample number of graves is smaller. None of the descriptions mention any melting or burning of the knife fragments, which indicates that they were deposited as secondary gifts. Two of these burials containing knives also held scabbard fragments (Pl. 8-20 and 8-21). Jilek mentions that the type of utility knives in the sample is found in and around the legionary fort (1999: 76; e.g., Pl. 8-16 – 8-19).

Clearly, if the excavators are correct in their interpretations, knives were treated differently in funerary ceremonies in Aquincum than in Carnuntum, where knives are generally more prevalent. All knives of the Aquincum cremation burials have been determined to be primary grave goods, and this indicates that knives were used before or during the cremation

ceremony or accompanied the body on the pyre. At Carnuntum, a knife may have been used at any point in the funerary ceremony but was placed in the grave as a secondary gift with the cremated remains of the deceased. Given that there were several contemporary inhumation graves in the Carnuntum cemetery, it is surprising that all of the examples of knifes that were found appeared in cremation graves (Gassner 1999: 88), especially since there are numerous goods that are found in both types of graves.

11.5 Knife Uses

Most of the knives found in both cemeteries seem to have been short utility knives. Whether knives were preserved in the grave or not, they may have served a utilitarian purpose in the ritual by being used to prepare food offerings in the funerary ceremony (Márton et al. 2015: 36). Bones of animal offerings, such as chickens, are the only direct evidence of an offering that survives in the archaeological record. At Aquincum this is demonstrated with grave 34.III, where leg bones of a chicken and a knuckle bone of a pig were found on a capstone and a knife was placed in the sarcophagus next to the right knee of the remains. While a knife found in the grave is not necessarily associated with the offerings on the capstone, in two inhumation graves of the early fourth century from the same graveyard, a knife does accompany the chicken bones on the capstone,[660] so a connection between the two items of grave 34 may exist. There are few burials in Aquincum in which knives are associated with surviving food items, such as bones. The cremation burial, grave 30.III does contain chicken bones (19) and one iron blade from a pair of scissors (18), which may have functioned as a tool to prepare food offerings. Both the bones and

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[660] Besides the chicken bones (1) on the cap stone of grave 10 was a knife (2), while a knife (8) lay near the chicken bones (10) on the lid of grave 28.

the scissor half were burnt on the pyre, indicating that offerings had at some point been placed on the funeral pyre.

In the cemetery of Carnuntum, where the presence of animal bones is more frequently recorded in or around the graves, no graves contained both animal bones and a knife. However, grave 161 did contain a knife (8) with fragments of horse and cattle buried close by (1999: 175).

Other perishable offerings may also have been prepared with a knife and placed on a plate or bowl as an offering during the funerary ceremony. At the cemetery in Aquincum, three of the six burials that contained a knife also contained fragments of dishes as primary grave goods.[661] From Carnuntum, three of the nine graves that contained evidence of a knife contained plates or bowls as primary grave goods.[662] If the knife was used to prepare the offering, then in the rituals of both cemeteries the offerings were placed on the pyre since all dish pieces are recorded as fragmented and burnt. As mentioned previously, however, the treatment of the knife in the funerary ceremony appears to be different for the two cemeteries. All the knives found in Aquincum are considered primary grave goods which means that often the knife was offered on the funeral pyre during the cremation ceremony along with the dishes. At Carnuntum, the authors give no indication that the knives were offered as primary gifts, which may mean that a knife was placed in the grave as a secondary gift. While there is evidence that knives were used to prepare food before being offered on the pyre in the rituals that took place at Aquincum, or as a secondary gift in the burial in rituals that took place at Carnuntum, views of the afterlife may also have influenced the inclusion of knives in burials.

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[661] Grave 34.III contained four dishes (8, 9, 12, 13). Grave 27.VI contained a bowl (3) and a dish (6), while grave 41.VI contained evidence of a plate (7) and four bowls (6, 9, 10).

[662] Grave 26 (1) and Gave 131 (1) contained burnt fragments of a *terra sigillata* plate, while grave 161 contained fragments of a *terra sigillata* plate (1) and two *sigillata* bowls (2, 3).

Some scholars believe that in some cases knives or metal objects such as nails served an apotropaic function (Topál 1981: 79; Müller 1972: 70). In these cases, it is the point of the knife, or of another object that provided the magical power. Róbert Müller's examples are all fragmentary objects, such as a knife, scissor, or sickle-like tool (1972: 70), but Topál also states that knives placed in the grave in a certain fashion may have also served an apotropaic purpose (1981:79). While Topál's interpretation is interesting, in most cases, such a reading of the material can only be speculative. There is little information on how and where knives were placed secondarily in the graves of Carnuntum, while in Aquincum all the knives found in cremation burials were placed in the grave as primary goods, so their positioning is probably a matter of chance. There are also numerous fragments of knives, but many of them do not include anything resembling the point.[663] One exception to this is the fragment from grave 131 (7) of Carnuntum, of which only the upper blade to the point is preserved (1999: 167).[664] In addition to the potential use as items with apotropaic significance, their inclusion may reflect other views of the afterlife if examined contextually with other goods.

Knives have also been found in graves that contain goods such as coins and lamps which may be indicative of views concerning the afterlife. Two burials from Aquincum containing a knife also contained a coin[665] while four contained evidence of a lamp.[666] One grave contained evidence of both a coin and a lamp and only one grave containing a knife held neither a coin nor

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[663] From Aquincum, only the middle portion of the knife found in grave 52.V (8) survives, while the fragment of grave 27.VI (11) is too broken down to even know for sure if it was actually a knife. The rest of the knives are somewhat damaged, but they are relatively whole. From Carnuntum, only the bottom part of the blade and the top part of the handle survives in the attachment area of the knife from grave 23, the base of the blade and the short tang survive from the knife of grave 26 and only the blade survives of the knife from grave 131. If the bronze and iron pieces from grave 179 are of a knife, then none of the blade is preserved. The rest of the blades are damaged, but relatively whole.

[664] As mentioned above this blade is also mentioned in connection with the preparation of food offerings.

[665] Graves 34.III (5) and grave 52.V (5).

[666] Graves 52.V (4), graves 27.VI (8), 68.VI (5) and 73.VI (5).

a lamp.[667] With the exception of the goods from grave 34.III which was an inhumation burial, all of the other coins and lamps were burnt on the pyre, just as the knives of these graves were. In Carnuntum, four graves containing knives held at least one coin[668] and six contained a lamp.[669] Two of the graves containing a knife held both a coin and a lamp, while one grave contained neither a coin nor a lamp.[670] With the exception of the lamp found in grave 179 (13) all of the goods were placed in the grave as secondary gifts, just as the knives were. As the presence of coins and lamps in a burial are thought to reflect certain views of the afterlife, knives may also reflect similar ones since they are often found with these other items and are treated the same in the grave ceremony in both cemeteries. What exactly, such a connection means, however, is unclear.[671] In addition to potentially representing views of the afterlife, knives may also mark an aspect of the identity of the deceased that mourners wished to highlight.

There does not seem to be from either cemetery any one identity based on age, gender, rank or cultural affiliation that stands out as being represented with a knife. It is only in context with other artifacts and the anthropological information that has been derived from the skeleton that more information can be gleaned concerning how knives might represent the identity of the individual. In the sample from Aquincum, there is not any one age- or gender-based identity particularly associated with knives and the sample is too small to say if trends changed over time. Of the five graves that are said to be aged and sexed, two graves contained small children, who are thought to be boys,[672] two contained adult males,[673] and one grave contained an adult

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[667] Grave 52.V contained a coin (5) and a lamp (4), while grave 41.VI held neither a coin nor a lamp.
[668] Graves 23 (3), 25 (4), 26 (4, 5) and 131 (6).
[669] Graves 25 (2), 26 (2), 161 (7), 177 (14), 179 (13) and 190 (8).
[670] Graves 25 (4 and 2) and Grave 26 (4, 5 and 2) contained both and grave 132 contained neither.
[671] Robert Frecer notices that in the Gerulata cemetery, lamps are most often associated with iron objects, especially knives, but he does not give any significance to this association (2013: 55).
[672] Grave 34.II and grave 27.VI each are said to contain an Infant II (7–12 years old) and both are thought to be boys.
[673] Grave 52.V contains an adult male and grave 68.VI holds an elderly male.

female.[674] At Carnuntum, the three sets of remains that were able to be aged and sexed belonged to adult females.[675] Verena Gassner already noted the strong association of knives with females of Carnuntum, but did not think it out of the ordinary, since knives belong to the work equipment used by women in their daily lives (1999: 88).

Both men and women may have utilized knives for personal grooming. Men may have used them for removing large amounts of hair, as an alternative to scissors (Hrnčiarik and Nováková 2019: 98), or even as a razor for shaving (Foster 1993: 208). Knives could be used for many things that may or may not have meant something to the mourners, but it is possible that some of the knives buried were cosmetic knives, with which one could cut their nails (Boon 1991: 21–23). For a non-expert, identifying such knives in the cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum may be difficult, especially since the criteria of what constitutes a cosmetic/toiletry knife can differ. Boon reports that small knives between 11 to 18cm in length, of delicate construction and a short handle may have been toiletry knives (Boon 1991: 21), while the publishers of the material from the cemetery at Nemesbőd believe that a long hilted, short-bladed knife could be considered a cosmetic knife (Márton *et al*. 2015: 36).[676] This project did not determine any particular function for these knives; however, it is possible that knives, when accompanied by other toiletry goods, performed a cosmetic function. From Carnuntum, where toiletry items accompanied knives, grave 23 (4) and grave 179 (17) contained evidence of a mirror, grave 26 held a glass flask (3), and grave 190 carried a casket (10). If identifying knives accompanying cosmetic goods is at all possible, then such an interpretation can strengthen a meaningful connection between knives and grooming.

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[674] Grave 41.VI contains an elderly female.

[675] Grave 132 contained an early adult, grave 177 held a female of a late adult to early mature age and grave 179 contained a mature woman.

[676] This particular knife (6) was discovered in grave 40 (2015: 65–66).

As already mentioned, Gassner has noted strong association of knives with females of Carnuntum (1999: 88). Of the three graves that contained female remains only the evidence of the lead mirror (17) of grave 179 marks the identity of the deceased as female. Of the burials in which a sex could not be assigned to the human remains, it would not be surprising that the remains of graves 25 and 190 may also have been those of females. Grave 25 contained a folded beaker (2)[677] and grave 190 contained a casket fitting (10) and ring key (11) as grave gifts. According to Gassner, the remains of grave 23 might also belong to a female, since the grave also contains a bronze mirror (4), an item usually associated with women (1999: 88). The type of belt pendant (5) in the burial which is normally associated with males could indicate the deceased was a male, but as discussed in the belt section, such belt pendants could be fixtures of a cord belt which women wore and associated with a female in a burial (1999: 85; see pages 474–475). In all, six burials of nine which contained a knife can be strongly linked to graves which held females which is a strong correlation.

Adult females, however, are not the only demographic that can be associated with a knife in the cemetery of Carnuntum. The knife of grave 26 (14), in addition to the particular belt trimmings (7-12) and the knee fibula (6), helped to mark the deceased as an adult soldier or a veteran. From the available evidence, then, a knife alone does not necessarily mark the gender of the deceased, although a strong correlation between females and knives exists in this cemetery. Further context from the burial must be kept in mind before reaching any clear conclusions on the gender of the deceased. It also appears that knives are associated with adults in the cemetery, although the sample is too small to reach any conclusions.

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[677] See pages 285–286 for the association of a cup with a female.

11.6 Sewing and Textile Related Activities

Both needles and spindles were used in textile manufacture, but they represent two distinct activities, sewing and spinning. In fact, both were not found together within the same graves in the sampling. Despite this, the instruments involved in processing textiles and sewing are usually associated with women at least within the context of burials. As with most tools and other personal items, there were very few of these types of goods found in the cemetery.

Needles are defined as implements that show evidence of having a point at one end and an eye at the other end of a shaft. For the most part, they are used for sewing, typically in the production or maintenance of cloth items; however, they could also be used for medical and cosmetic purposes (Allison 2015: 113). Many of those used for sewing were small, between 50 and 135mm, although needles used on heavier materials were longer (Allison 2015: 113; 2006: 33). Because of their small size they can be difficult to find in the archaeological record, depending on the material of which they are made. For example, in a mortuary context, bone needles are easier to find in cremation graves than those made of iron (Cool 2004: 393; Clarke 1979: 249). Since they are also not frequently deposited as grave goods (Allison 2015: 113–114; Cool 2004: 393), few appear in the sampling from Aquincum, and none are in the samples of Carnuntum.

Table 11-3: Aquincum- Burials Containing Textile Related Artifacts

I- Grave   II- Graveyard   III- Phase or General Date
IV- Grave Good Type   P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation
V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
12	I	1st Phase	P	5	Potter spindle whorl
14	I	2nd Phase	P	10	Frag. of iron needle
41	I	1st Phase	P	4	Frag. of sewing needle
4	V	3rd Phase	P	12	Bone/ivory spindle rod
6	V	1st Phase	S	5, 9, 10	Antler sewing needle; long bronze needle, smaller bronze needle
31	V	3rd Phase	p	5	Potter spindle whorl
7	VI	3rd Phase	P	12 (1–g)	Two bone spindle rods (12a–g)

Evidence of sewing needles was found in three burials from the Aquincum sample. Two

burials are of the first phase and the other grave is of the second phase. Two burials contained

evidence of one needle each, both being deposited as primary goods and one burial contained

three needles, all deposited as secondary gifts. The needles found in Aquincum were made of a

variety of materials. One grave contained one needle of bone,[678] while another held one of iron.

Grave 6.V contained one needle of antler (5) and two bronze needles, one long (9) and one short

(10).

The material and length of sewing needles may reveal how they were utilized in the

settlement. For example, the two short bronze needles of grave 6.V may have been used for finer

work, while the thicker bone needles of grave 41.I (Pl. 8-8) were suitable for use on coarser

materials (Cool 2004: 393). As Nina Crummy has shown, however, thicker bone needles do not

leave large holes in finer fabric (1983: 65). Longer needles from 110mm to 200mm in length

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[678] Find #4 from Grave 41.I. There is another possible bone needle fragment from grave 14.V (2), but only the middle part survives, so Topál mentions it could also be a hairpin (2003a: 9).

with stouter stems may have been used as packing needles or for leather work (Allison 2006: 33). The long bronze needle (9) of grave 6.V is preserved in full and since it is 95mm in length within a slim shaft, it was probably used for finer sewing (Pl. 8-7). The antler needle (5) and the other bronze needle (10) are not preserved in full but were also likely sewing needles (Pl. 8-7).[679] Information on the length of the bone needle and the possible iron needle is not provided.[680]

While spindle whorls are almost always associated with females, sewing needles are more ambiguous in their gender associations (Allison 2015: 113 – 115). Both are associated with cloth working, which was predominately a female task, but in literature, art and in the burial evidence, this association applies more to spinning (Allison 2015: 113). In addition to cloth work, needles are sometimes associated with a woman's toilette, since they may have been used to arrange hair (Allison 2015: 113: Shumka 2008: 182).[681] Despite their association with females, males did use needles for sewing and physicians used them in surgery (Allison 2015: 113–115).

The sexing of the remains and the examination of other personal grave goods may provide further context as to the identities that were associated with needles. The remains of two of the burials were identified as female, one as an adult[682] and one as a juvenile.[683] The other grave belonged to a child aged eight to ten years old.[684] It is difficult to say if the child was a female, as only the melted fragments of two glass toiletry bottles (6, 7) were found in the grave.

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[679] Approximately 63mm of the point and part of the shaft of the antler needle survive, while approximately 57mm of the eye and the shaft of the other bronze needle survive.

[680] The eye and part of the shaft are preserved.

[681] Leslie Shumka does mention that while needles are part of the *mundus muliebris* imagery, they are not easily distinguishable in art because of their size (2008: 182).

[682] Grave 6.V.

[683] The sex and age of the remains of grave 41.I were determined based on the remains; A bone hairpin with a Venus figure carved at the end of the shaft (5) and a bronze casket fitting (7) which indicates the presence of a casket in the funerary ceremony.

[684] Infant II (approximately 7–12 years old). Grave 14.I.

Topál sexed the grave belonging to the juvenile female based on the grave goods, which included a hair pin (5) and evidence of a casket (7). The grave of the adult female also contained gifts, such as a bronze mirror (6), a fragment of a bronze *bulla* (11) and the fragment of an iron brooch (12) that also reinforce the idea that the grave belonged to a female. Within this sampling, it is possible that needles were gendered; however, based on the aging of the remains, age was not a factor that mattered in the association of needles for females. It is interesting that all of the personal items of grave 6.V were placed in the grave secondarily, since in this cemetery, many of the personal items were placed on the pyre. This might represent a variant of practice, or the wish of the mourners that these items accompany the deceased in the grave.

Spindles, which were used in the spinning of raw fibers, such as wool and flax, were often comprised of two principal parts, a rod and a whorl. The rod was made of wood (Andersson 2010: 12) or even more exotic materials, such as amber, jet and glass (Martin-Kilcher 1993: 64), and had a swelling at one end, on which the whorl was wedged. The whorl was often made of wood, terracotta, or even a re-shaped sherd of pottery with a central perforation (Wild 2008: 463). When spinning, the rod held the spun thread and the whorl provided weight for momentum to keep the spindle rotating. Spindles may have been quite common in the settlement, but because of the fragility of their make-up they often do not survive in the archaeological record, including in the funerary sphere (Roth 2007: 108 no. 64). Spindle rods and whorls are not often deposited in graves. When they are, they are most often associated with females, like other gifts such as caskets and mirrors This is true not only in Roman burials, but the pre-Roman, Celtic graves of the region (Jerem 2003: 195). In Roman literature and art, spinning is not only considered a female activity, but is also symbolic of women in general.

Evidence of spindle whorls was found in four graves from the Aquincum sample. One grave from the first phase contained a spindle whorl. The three other graves that held evidence of spindle whorls were all dated to the third phase.[685] In all four graves, they were deposited as primary grave goods. The two other graves contained whorls,[686] both of which were made of ceramic material (Pl. 8-9 and 8-10). Two graves held evidence of spindle rods with one likely containing two.[687] All three were likely made of bone (Pl. 8-11 and 8-12).[688]

From Carnuntum there is evidence of only one grave containing a spindle whorl, which is from the third phase.[689] The spindle is made of bone and consists of two parts, a disc fragment and an end cap, presumably of a wooden rod (Pl. 8-23).[690] Just as with many examples from Carnuntum, the grave gift was deposited in the grave secondarily and not on the pyre.

Spindles were used for spinning fibers, like wool or flax, into thread or yarn (Wild 2008: 470). Spindles and the activity they represent, are consistently associated with females (Richlin 2014: 249), not only as an activity that many females performed in the domestic sphere, but also as a symbol of the ideal behaviour of a Roman matron (Takács 2008: 37; Wild 2008: 471).[691] As a symbol of a maiden, a spindle with thread and a distaff were carried during the wedding (Pliny

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[685] Grave 4.V (12) and grave 31.V (5), and grave 7.VI (12a–g).

[686] Grave 12.I held a badly tempered pottery spindle whorl (5), decorated with incised lines and dots and Grave 31.V contained a ceramic spindle whorl (5).

[687] Grave 4.V (12) held two burnt fragments of a bone/ivory bar, which displayed closely ribbed decoration. The authors believe these fragments may have belonged to a spindle whorl (Topál 2003a: 6). Grave 7.VI contained several portions of bone shafts (12a–f), which are thought to have belonged to two separate pieces that were either used as a spindle whorl or for applying makeup. A burnt and broken bone disc is part of this sampling (12g), probably belonged to one of the bone shafts, which likely makes this item a spindle whorl. Unfortunately, they were burnt on the pyre after already have been broken, making their use difficult to interpret.

[688] The spindle rod fragments of grave 4 could be made of ivory (Topál 2003a: 6).

[689] Grave 15 (5).

[690] While the catalogue mentions that these pieces belong to a spindle whorl (1999: 134, 135), Jilek mentions them as pieces of a *pyxis* and discusses some parallel examples (1999: 75).

[691] As Takács mentions, Livy (1. 57) contrasts the feasting and frolicking wives of the Roman princes with the industrious and chaste Lucretia, who was spinning surrounded by her maids in the middle of the night (Takács 2008: 37).

NH 8. 194; Hersch 2012: 162; Treggiari 1991: 166; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64).[692] These may

represent her chastity and the skills and talents the bride was offering her new household (Hersch

2012: 164). In the funerary sphere, where they are depicted on grave monuments and deposited

in graves, spindles might be symbolic of a woman or a girl who has not yet reached the status of

marriage (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64). As goods deposited on the funeral pyre, directly associated

with the body and on display to the community, the spindle may have symbolized the deceased

as an ideal woman and wife (Márton *et al*. 2015: 36). Spindle whorls can therefore hold a

symbolism that is not unlike the symbolism assigned to other personal items associated with

women (e.g., caskets and mirrors). Archaeologists use evidence of spindles to sex the remains of

a burial, but like other personal items, they are not frequently found in graves (Foster 1993: 210;

Waugh 1993: 300). Spindle whorls could also be used as a flywheel for a drill (Foster 1993:

210), so further context should be essential before a gender is assigned to remains associated

with a whorl.

Very few gendered items accompanied the spindles in graves from both cemeteries. The

remains of all four of the burials containing evidence of spindles were sexed as being female;[693]

however, only grave 7.VI clearly contained other items that are normally associated with

females. These included a small shale palette, gemstones and a casket, as primary grave goods.[694]

Grave 12.I did contain a grinding slab for paint, which might also be associated with females.

From Carnuntum, grave 15 contained no other personal items that are often associated with a

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[692] Pliny even hints at a Roman origin myth for such a practice when he mentions that that the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil (also known as Gaia Caecilia), was preserved in the temple of Sancus and a royal robe made by her for Servius Tullius was still in the shrine of Fortuna as a precursor to the wedding practice he mentions (*NH* 8. 194).
[693] The remains of grave 12.I apparently belong to a Juvenile or an adult, while those of graves 4.V and 31.V are adults and the remains of grave 7.VI belong to a mature female.
[694] A small shale palette (9) possibly for the preparation of cosmetics (Hrnčiarik and Nováková 2019: 100), a paste gem (10), two opal gems (11–12) and iron casket fittings (31–34). Grave 12.I also contains a paint grinding slab (6), which could have been used for cosmetics.

female.

It is possible that a spindle as a personal item was enough to convey the gender, stage in the life cycle, at least ideally, and the feelings that the mourners had towards the deceased. It is interesting that while not considered a personal grave good, lamps were found in all[695] but one grave.[696] Maybe the inclusion of spindle whorls also complemented particular views of the afterlife.

11.7 Other Tools: Aquincum

While knives made up the largest category of tools, other metal tools were also unearthed, including potential toiletry items and craftsmen's tools. In the cemetery of Aquincum, some of the tools found include spoons and tweezers which were used for personal grooming and/or for medical practices. It is often difficult to distinguish whether they were utilized in a medical or grooming context and whether they were used by a professional or a lay person, since in many cases the artifacts may look the same and be used for both purposes (Riha 1986: 33). Archaeologists have found groupings of these sorts of artifacts in medical chests (which represents a physician) (Riha 1986: 33), in caskets (which signifies a toiletry kit) and on rings in a set that can attach to a belt; however, in most archaeological contexts, including burials, only individual pieces are found (Hill 1997: 98). Therefore, it is difficult to determine the specific purpose of the piece without further context.

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[695] From Aquincum, grave 11.I (4), grave 4.V (11) and grave 7.VI (1) all contained evidence of one lamp deposited as a primary grave good. Grave 15 of Carnuntum contained two lamps, one deposited as a primary good (2) and one as a secondary gift (3).
[696] Grave 31.V contained no lamp.

Often toiletry items, such as tweezers, ear-spoons and spatulas, have been gendered as female as they were seen as being representative of femininity in Roman art. As Penelope Allison has made clear, however, just because there is a symbolic connection between toiletry practices and female grooming it, does not mean that men did not use these items in their daily life (2015: 110) or were not marked by them in the funerary ritual. While it is difficult to determine the biological sex of cremated remains, there is no evidence to suggest that these items were limited to the graves of one sex (Hill 1997: 100). The fact that items may have been used as medical implements further complicates the gendering of such artifacts (Allison 2015: 110). Context is needed, therefore, to determine what sort of relevance such items might hold in representing the gender, occupation or even the pastimes of the deceased.

Establishing relevance and context concerning implements and their connection to the deceased is a task made even more difficult by the fact that like other tools, toiletry/medical implements are not often found in graves. This makes it difficult to establish patterns of activity (Hill 1997: 100). The performance in life that such implements represent in many cases could symbolize an individual's preferences and habits towards their grooming and well-being that were significant enough to the mourners to include them in the funerary ritual.

From the Aquincum sample of burials only three graves contained toiletry/medical instruments. From the second phase, grave 3.I contained a spoon-probe (19, Pl. 8-13) and grave 79.VI contained a bronze "ear-spoon" (14) as a secondary gifts (Pl. 8-15). Grave 29.VI, from the fourth phase contained two pairs of bronze tweezers (19 and 20) as primary grave goods (Pl. 8-14). These implements are among the most common grooming/medical implements found in Roman settlements (Hill 1997: 98) and formed the most important components of the toilette (Riha 1986: 9, 26). All three could serve numerous purposes.

Since the bronze tweezers are of a common variant of simple construction,[697] they may have been used for grooming or in medicine.[698] In the toilette, tweezers could be used for the removal of hair (or splinters) from any part of the body. For medical purposes, tweezers or forceps could be used for extracting foreign bodies from wounds and for cosmetic reasons (Riha 1986: 36). With this in mind, in the context of grave 29.VI, it is difficult to determine what meaning the tweezers may have held for the deceased and/or the mourners because they were not accompanied by other objects that might provide further context. Other personal items may have been burnt on the funeral pyre, but potentially did not make it into the grave, making it impossible to know if these tweezers were part of a set. It is surprising, however, that there were two sets of tweezers, which might hold some meaning.[699]

The possible bronze spoon-probe of grave 3.I has a probe at one end, a fluted shaft and molded decoration at the other end of the piece which is broken. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say for sure if there was a spoon at the broken end.[700] If the piece is a spoon-probe it was used primarily in a cosmetic set for grooming but may have been used in a medical kit with other instruments (Riha 1986: 58). As a cosmetic tool the spoon was likely used for removing cosmetics and unguents from phials, while the probe end could be used for mixing of cosmetics, the application of them and with a swab of wool wrapped around the probe, the removal of

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[697] Both tweezers are simple bronze tweezers of the variant G type, according to the typology of Emilie Riha. The bronze band that made up the tweezers was bent so that an eyelet was formed at the hinge of the piece, presumably so that it could be attached to a ring. This simply constructed type was widespread in the empire from the first century AD to the fourth century AD (1986: 37).

[698] In the catalogue, Topál classifies both as 'medical pincers' (1993: 21). Topál may have a good reason for specifically designating them this way, but from Riha's discussion of tweezers that are like these, there does not seem to be a reason for labelling them for a specific purpose. Variations of medical tweezers developed in response to the different tasks that physicians were required to perform (Jackson 1986: 137–139). According to Riha, if the ends of the tweezers were pointed for finer work, or even if they had serrated edges for gripping, there would be more of a case for considering them specifically for medical purposes (1986: 36).

[699] Two scenarios come to mind. Since the deceased is supposedly a senile male, it is possible that he had bodily hair issues later in life, which mourner wished to commemorate with the tweezers on the funeral pyre. Of course, it is even possible that mourners marked his occupation as someone who removed hair.

[700] If it is a spoon-probe it is very close in shape to variant D of Riha's catalogue (1986: 69).

cosmetics (Riha 1986: 64; Crummy 1983: 60). In a medical context, the instrument could be used for the mixing of pharmaceuticals, their application, the swabbing of wounds and even as a tactile probe for wounds (Riha 1986: 64). Unfortunately, there are no other goods in the grave that might provide a hint as to the use of this instrument, so it probably functioned as a toiletry piece.[701]

The bronze spoon from grave 79.VI is of a simple type with a small scoop at one end of a long straight shaft with its opposite end pointed.[702] As a cosmetic tool, the spoon was used primarily to cleanse the ears, but just like the spoon-probe could also be used to remove unguents from jars and phials (Facsády 2012: 3; Eckardt and Crummy 2008: 39; Riha 1986: 58; Crummy 1983: 59). Since the piece was deposited secondarily and was not accompanied by other pieces that could imply its use in a medical context, it was probably used as a toiletry piece.[703] The grave, which supposedly belonged to a mature to senile aged male, also contained a broken bone die (12) as a secondary grave good.[704] The die, along with the bronze scoop, must have been either personal items, or types of items which the mourners associated with the deceased.

11.8 Other Tools: Carnuntum

While the sample from the cemetery of Aquincum contained a few toiletry items, the sample from Carnuntum contained other sorts of tools. In many cases it is very difficult to

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[701] The grave was likely a double burial containing a juvenile male and a senile male (Topál 2003a: 67), but there does not seem to be a differentiation between the remains in the grave-pit, so it is unclear as to what grave goods belonged to what individual. There is quite a bit of pottery given as secondary gifts with the deceased, including an amphora (2), four liquid serving vessels (3–6), evidence of two cups (7, 8), but little evidence of personal items. As primary grave goods were few hobnails for shoes (22), a possible tongue of a belt (20) and the tapering portion of a bronze implement which could be a needle (21).

[702] This spoon shares the same characteristics as Riha's variant E, undecorated ear spoons (1986: 58).

[703] Topál mentions in the catalogue that it was a toiletry piece or perhaps a medical instrument (1993: 38).

[704] This grave contained quite a few secondary grave goods: A flagon (1), glass jug (11), small jar (3), beaker (4), lamp (10), and bronze coin (13), in addition the spoon (14) and die (12).

determine how these items were utilized in the settlement, since their function has not been

clearly identified.

Two burials from Carnuntum contained tools as grave gifts, all of which were made from

iron except for a bone gouge. One of the burials, grave 190, is a cremation burial which is

suspected to be from the third century (Jilek 1999: 70). It contained a short iron shank with a

spatula on one end and a point on the other (13) (Pl. 8-24). Grave 14, a sarcophagus grave, is not

dated and contains three tools. One is a tapered bone gouge (19), while the other two are iron

points (17 and 18, Pl. 8-25). All were placed in the grave as secondary gifts.

The iron implement of grave 190 seems likely to be a *stilus* (Gassner 1999: 88). Many

stili were made of iron and had a point at one end with which to scratch the wax and in many

cases also had a *spatula* at the other end for smoothing the wax writing surface (Eckardt 2014:

186). If this is a *stilus*, it could demonstrate the literacy of the deceased individual and even

indicate their profession (Márton *et al*. 2015: 36; Eckardt 2014: 178). Along with the *stilus*,

grave 190 contains numerous personal items,[705] some of which indicate that the burial probably

belonged to a female. Unfortunately, the tile-covered grave was heavily disturbed, so a more

complete picture of what such items might mean in relation to each other is difficult to draw.

The implements of grave 14 are even more difficult to identify. The bone implement (19)

is a simple needle with one end conically tapered. It is possible that this piece might not be a tool

but a hair pin (Jilek 1999: 77) or even a garment pin (Crummy 1983: 19).[706] In that case, the

deceased, who was identified as a female adult,[707] may have worn the pin in her hair or as part of

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[705] A fibula (9), finger ring (11), knife (12) and probably even a casket (10).

[706] In the catalogue of small finds from Colchester, Crummy considers such bone pins to be used for the arrangement of hair but does not rule out the possibility that some could also have been used as dress pins, or for other functions (1983: 19). Crummy classifies such simple bone pins with a plain conical head as 'type 1' pins (1983: 20).

[707] Late adult to early mature in age (35–45).

her garment when interred. Unfortunately, the grave was robbed in antiquity[708] and all of the remains were pushed towards the center of the sarcophagus (Jilek 1999: 21), so that the position of the bone implement in relation to the laid out remains cannot be known.[709] On the other hand, this piece may have been used as a bone awl or burin (Jilek 1999: 74), since two small iron points (17, 18) which were likely tools, were also found in the grave (Jilek 1999: 77).[710] If these three items were part of a tool set it is possible that the deceased was a crafts-person. Another possibility is that the iron points are arrow heads (Jilek 1999: 77, no. 445), and if so, perhaps the individual was an active hunter. The points may have also served as apotropaic devices.[711]

When personal items are discussed in the context of their burials, there are often multiple interpretations that can be extrapolated concerning the finds, but without further information, there is no certainty. At the very least these instruments may have possessed a sentimental value to either the deceased or the mourners, or perhaps the mourners believed that these instruments (if familiar to the deceased) upon being placed in the burial might serve them well in the afterlife (Bruno and Bowsher 2000: 314; Philpott 1991: 189).

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[708] See page 432, note 753.

[709] The placement of a pin in relation to the skeleton is important in identifying its potential use. For example, Crummy points out that hairpins of glass, metal and even bone were found either on or close to the skulls of women buried in the inhumation burials of the cemetery at Butt Road, Colchester, which indicates that they were likely used as hairpins when the deceased was interred (1983: 19).

[710] The point of find #17 is pyramidal in shape and the shaft is quadratic in its cross-section, while the point of #18 is quadratic and elongated, while the shaft is rectangular in cross-section (1999: 134).

[711] See pages 401–402.

12 Chapter 12: Caskets, Keys and Mirrors

12.1 Introduction

This chapter includes some of the major toiletry items, including casket, casket keys and mirrors. The grouping of these items misleading as it is possible that all three of the items included here could be used for various purposes, none of which had anything to do with an individual's toilette. These issues will be explored piece by piece. In addition, some items including phials and toiletry implements, which could be included in a toiletry set, are discussed more thoroughly in other sections, "Glassware" and "Other Tools," respectively. As will be discussed many toiletry implements can be considered personal items which were directly associated with the deceased or were meant to signify important aspects of them. Just as with all other personal items, graves their inclusion in burials is few because their inclusion was likely to be quite personal. That being said, on their own these items can be representative of certain values, but in context with the remains and the other parts of the assemblage they can inform us about how mourners potentially viewed the deceased.

12.2 Caskets: Introduction

Wooden caskets are thought to have held valuables that mourners presumably wanted to keep together or wished to protect (Gassner 1999: 88; Jilek 1999: 27–28; 75; Philpott 1991:15). In the sphere of the living, this could include jewelry, documents, bridal boxes, or objects of the funeral cult (Gáspár 1986: 36). In the funerary sphere, caskets can be a receptacle for human remains, a container for holding goods placed next to the remains, or it can fulfil both functions, holding the cremated remains with some grave gifts (Philpott 1991 12–13). In this analysis, wooden caskets will largely be considered a separate entity from that of wooden receptacle burials which held the cremated remains of the deceased (Philpott 1991: 12).

Just as was the case concerning most of the other types of grave goods that were found in cremation graves, archaeologists find evidence that mourners gave caskets as both primary and secondary burial gifts (Topál 1981: 92, no. 32). The caskets themselves are evidenced by surviving bronze, iron or even more expensive silver casket fittings, the accompanying nails, handles, embellishments, occasionally wood and casket keys. While metal casket fittings are characteristic in Pannonia compared to other provinces (Gáspár 1986: 70), metal casket fittings are not necessary to construct a wooden casket (1986: 36). Caskets may have fittings embellished with paintings or bone inlay (Gáspár 1982: 135). Even if a casket was placed in the grave secondarily or fragments of the casket from the cremation ceremony ended up in the grave, metal fragments may not survive. Even still, as undisturbed secondary grave goods, archaeologists can often tell what kinds of items were deposited in caskets by examining the non-perishable remains, while in cases where nothing is found in the area of the casket, they may assume that perishable items, such as cloths and garments were deposited by mourners in the caskets (Gassner 1999: 88; Jilek 1999: 75). Unfortunately, in the cases where it is suspected that

attendants burned a casket on the funeral pyre, there is no way to tell from the existing remains just what the casket may have held.

While wood receptacle burials, in which the cremated remains are interred in a casket (C5 burials), can be associated with both genders, the caskets that were cremated or interred with the deceased are often associated with female graves in many parts of the western empire (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 66; Gassner 1999: 88; Waugh 1993: 300). This is not only because of the casket, but what they may have held, which might include personal ornaments, and items typically included in a women's toiletry kit like a mirror, cosmetic kits and containers holding valuable liquids like unguents (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 325; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 66; Topál 2000: 202; Treggiari 1991: 389; Ulp. *Dig.* 34.2.25.10). When attempting to assign a sex to burial remains, a casket is sometimes used as an indicator of a female. Caution must be used, however, as caskets are also known to have been interred with male burials (Gáspár 1982: 134).

Besides indicating gender, archaeologists have also seen caskets as representing other identities, such as those based on status, ethnicity and age. Often caskets are associated with more elite burials, since, in many cases, the quality of the items tends to be higher and the quantity greater than most other burials (Struck 2000: 87; Millett 1993: 264; Philpott 1991: 15). In addition, several scholars see the deposition of caskets as being indicative of a "Roman" identity, whether that be a Romanized native population or immigrants from "Roman" areas (Struck 2000: 87; Philpott 1991: 15).

Still, one should be a bit cautious of such simple interpretations as other factors may play a role in their inclusion. Metal casket mounts, which are often the only evidence of caskets that survive, of the Roman period are a frequently found in Pannonia, so it is thought that the majority were manufactured in the province (Gáspár 1997/1998: 204, 205; 1986: 80). So, even if

the convention of the casket was brought by "Roman" influences, it seems that the craftsmen of the region adapted (Gáspár 1986: 36–37) and developed their own practices to manufacture them to meet the local demand. For example, given that metal casket fittings were so popular in Pannonia compared to other provinces (Gáspár 1986: 70), it is safe to say that many caskets could reflect a Pannonian or regional identity. Gassner is a bit more specific, stating that caskets represent an urban, middle-class identity (1999: 109). While this may not always be the case, the inclusion of a casket in a burial does often seem to be a matter of personal preference since they do not appear often. This is in line with what we might expect to happen in an urban environment where mourners, who are possibly wealthier, are exposed to more choices and were less constricted by tradition (Cleary 1992: 36).

Caskets and the items that they held might not even represent the wealth or status of an individual, but rather where they are in their life cycle, as they might be part of or stand for a dowry of a married woman (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 325; Gáspár 1982: 135). In any case, they do feature prominently in Roman images of the wedding procession, in which the bride or an attendant holds a casket, which is presumably a wedding gift (Gáspár 1982: 134; Schumacher 1963: 203–205, 216). A husband's gifting or donating of ornaments and toiletry items to his wife was common enough for legal experts to discuss with regards to legacies left to the wives when their husbands passed on (Treggiari 1991: 388–389; e.g., Ulp. *Dig*. 32.45; 34.2.25.10; 34.2.13). It is possible when a wife passed away, a husband may have bequeathed these gifts to her in her funerary ceremony, as he would have if he had passed away.

Just as they may represent a married woman, caskets and other items such as spindle whorls and mirrors could also represent the unfulfilled potential of a girl who did not have the chance to marry and, therefore, reach womanhood before she passed away (Tapavički-Ilić and

Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78; D'Ambra 2009: 16–17; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 70). In funerary art, young females were often portrayed with the markers of a more mature woman in order to perpetuate idealized memories of what the girl could have been (D'Ambra 2009: 16).[712] Just as an image could be constructed to perpetuate memories of a girl in this way (D'Ambra 2009: 33),[713] in the funerary ceremony the presentation of the remains on the funeral pyre in in the grave with accoutrements like a casket could also have the same effect (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78). A display of part of the dowry parents had been gathering also serves to highlight what a girl could have brought to the household of a potential husband (Oliver 2000: 120, 122).[714] An interpretation of such a good then is difficult to discern and as with most other features of burials, further contextual evidence may provide more clues as to what sort of identities a casket may embody.

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[712] Eve D'Ambra discusses numerous ways in which this could be portrayed, including through adult notions of feminine grooming and beauty (2009: 17–20), adornments which usually accompanied adults, such as jewelry (2009: 22 and 31), adult virtues, such as restraint and resolve (2009: 20) and aged features (2009: 24–28).

[713] D'Ambra also addresses the craftsmen's contribution to this construction. They probably worked with pre-fabricated monuments whose images could then be given individualized details when needed and also fashioned their images according to broad conventional ways of portraying aspects of gender, age, fashion, etc. (2009: 24).

[714] If the girl died before having children, the dowry may also have returned to the father from the son-in-law (Oliver 2000: 120).

12.3 Caskets: Aquincum

Table 12-1: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing a Casket per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Casket," is the total number of burials containing a casket and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a casket.

	Total	Caskets
1st Phase	46	5 (10.9%)
2nd Phase	33	2 (6.1%)
3rd Phase	32	1 (3.1%)
4th Phase	52	6 (11.5%)
Total	163	14 (8.6%)

Table 12-2: Aquincum- Graves Containing a Casket as a Primary, Secondary Good or Not Distinguished (ND) per Phase

	Primary	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	3[715]	1[716]	1[717]
2nd Phase	2	0	0
3rd Phase	0	1[718]	0
4th Phase	2	4	0
Total	7	6	1

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[715] Graves 58.I (12), grave 30.I (9) and grave 17.VI. In the catalogue the casket fittings (9) of grave 30.I are listed under the heading of "Secondary Grave Goods," but they are described as melted. Therefore, they are considered primary grave goods in this paper.

[716] Grave 57.I (5–7 and maybe 8–11). Unfortunately, this burial was excavated in 1937, so there is not much information available regarding the burial itself. It could be a cremation grave or an inhumation. Since there is no mention of any of the pieces being melted or burnt it is considered a secondary grave gift.

[717] The fittings (7) for the small casket of grave 41 are not listed as a primary or a secondary gift, just that they were found among the calcined bones. There is no mention in the description of there being any burning or melting visible and since the fittings were among the human remains, it is possible that this was a wooden receptacle burial containing some items, like a burnt fragment of bone (?) sewing needle (4), a fragment of a bone hairpin (5) and a burnt as of Vespasian (6). Topál does not conjecture the type of grave based on a lack of information (2003a: 89–90).

[718] Grave 127.VI (21a–21f) is a double grave containing an adult female and a small infant (infant I- one to six years of age). The piece is listed as a primary grave good, but it does not show signs of burning, so it will be considered a secondary grave gift.

In the sample from the Bécsi Road Cemetery archaeologists found evidence of fourteen caskets in graves that fit into one of the phases. In most phases, caskets were found as primary grave goods, but in the fourth phase four of six cremation burials carry them as secondary goods. That more caskets are being deposited in the grave as secondary goods in this phase is not too surprising, since some other categories of items, notably flagons, were deposited more frequently as secondary goods than as primary goods in this phase compared to previous phases.

Evidently, not all caskets seem to have been categorized accurately as primary or secondary goods. Most of the caskets that are likely mis-labelled come from graveyard I, and many of them were excavated in 1937. Either because the excavators did not keep sufficient records of their findings, or the objects cannot be found today in the inventory, or the authors/publisher did not provide correct labelling of the pieces,[719] there is some uncertainty surrounding these goods; however, even casket fittings found in more modern excavations seem to have been mis-labelled. In one case it appears that the casket was placed as a secondary grave good, even though it was presented as being a primary grave good,[720] while another seems to be

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[719] Little to nothing is known about grave 69.I and the finds were listed as primary grave goods. The bronze casket fittings (7) of grave 41.I were listed as being found among the calcined bones, but there was no mention of them being burnt and archaeologists collected many metal pieces of the casket. Since there was no information given about the characteristic features of the grave it is possible that it was a wooden container burial, in which the calcined bones and burnt artifacts were deposited, like that of burial 127.VI where burnt artifacts presumably from the pyre such as the portion of the sewing needle (4) and the bronze *as* (6) were placed in the casket, or the casket really was placed or burnt on the funeral pyre and either survived relatively intact or a large amount of the fragments were collected and placed in the grave. Unfortunately, the description is vague. Grave 57.I also seems as if it was a secondary and not a primary grave good, since many of the casket fitting pieces seemed to have survived and they were not mentioned as being burnt (6–10 and possibly even 5, and iron key and 11, a fragment of a bronze wire). However, the same possibilities that were listed above regarding the casket for grave 41.I and grave 127.VI are applicable to the casket remains in this grave as well. Less information is known for grave 57.I since it is not even known if the remains were cremated or inhumed.

[720] Grave 127.VI (21a–f) was a double burial, which included the cremated remains of an adult female and the fragmentary skeleton of an Infant I (ages 1–6). The grave was cut away by grave 144 in the north and graves 148 and 149 in the south-western side. The intact northern section the rectangular pit contained the cremated remains of the female, especially in and around the area of the casket, but also in the middle portion of the pit. According to the map of the grave-pit, the outline of the casket seemed to be known. In addition, many of the iron and bronze pieces of the original casket still existed (21a to 21 e–f), even if they were corroded (pieces und 21c a presumed iron lock corroded together with two bronze buttons), as well as some fragments of wood (on 21a, a casket fitting with a keyhole). Furthermore, none of the pieces were described as being burnt. The burial itself was not described as an

a primary grave good but is listed as a secondary gift.[721] With the exception of these cases, this project uses the designations assigned to the caskets in the publication.

In most cases it is difficult to determine just how elaborate the wooden caskets were. Since many of the caskets were burnt on the pyre, few of the fragments ended up in the grave. Even in cases where caskets were buried as secondary grave gifts, many of the metal pieces may not have survived if the casket even had substantial metal fittings at all. Based on the available evidence, we can say that the majority of the metal fastenings and embellishments of caskets were bronze, although there is also evidence that at least two had mostly iron fittings.[722] Two other caskets appear to have had iron fittings as well, but more of the bronze embellishments survived.[723] None of the caskets that were deposited in this sampling of cremation graves were likely to have been elaborate enough to have been of great monetary value relative to caskets found elsewhere that were furnished with, or made of more precious or expensive materials, such as silver or embellished with elaborate bronze work.[724]

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organic (wooden) container burial, but it is interesting that many of the ashes were found around and under/in the casket. A doubled-sided bone comb (20) and the nozzle of a factory lamp (13) were discovered in the area of the casket. Both were burnt and are considered primary grave goods (Topál 1993: 53–54). This means that at least some of the artifacts placed on the funeral pyre were deposited in the casket when it was buried.

[721] The description of casket fittings (9) of grave 30 mentions that they were melted, but they are mentioned under the heading of "Secondary Grave Goods" (Topál 2003a: 84).

[722] Grave 57.I contained, as secondary grave goods, a double iron hinge (6), iron fitting (7) and a fragment of a bronze iron mount (10), which may have been used to embellish the casket. Grave 69.I held as primary burial gifts, an iron fitting and nails for a wooden casket (11).

[723] Grave 34.VI held, probably as a secondary grave good, an iron casket mount (16), as well as a fragment of a bronze casket-fitting, which likely has a keyhole (14) and small fragments of another bronze casket fitting (15). Grave 146.VI also contained one thin piece of iron sheet (13), but the majority of surviving the pieces were made of bronze (10–12).

[724] The most elaborate casket from either cemetery to survive is the casket burial (C5), grave 7.VI. This large chest had heavy and elaborate bronze fittings (13–24. 26–27) which held the cremated remains of a mature female. As primary grave goods, it contained, for example, several ring gems (9–12), a possible cosmetic set (Topál 2000a: 203), including a small palette of shale (8) and bone sticks (12a–f), as well as a bone spindle whorl (12g). As secondary grave goods it contained an amphora (1), a flagon (3), a bowl (6), as well as fragments of a bronze flagon (28) and bucket (29), and a bronze ring-key (25). This is one of the richer burials in the cemetery. Because it was labelled as a casket burial, it will not be treated here, but it is interesting that the authors included the iron hinges (31–32), and other iron fittings and fragments as primary grave goods instead of secondary grave gifts like the bronze fixtures (Topál 1993: 8–11, Pl. 3-6 and 118–120, Fig. 20.7).

Table 12-3: Aquincum- Surviving Metal Casket Fixtures of Each Burial

The numbers in columns VI-X refer to the artifact numbers of each casket piece.

I- Grave   II- Graveyard   III- Phase   IV- Grave Good Type
VI- Bronze or Iron Sheet Casket Fittings   VII- Medallion Décor
VIII- Hemispherical Bronze buttons and nail heads IX- Handles
X- Locks

I	II	III	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Other Pieces and Notes
11	I	2nd Phase	P	15					
30	I	1st Phase	P		9				
41	I	1st Phase	GG	7		7			Topál mentions that "The handle, the key, the lock and the key-plate were not to be found among these items" (2003a: 90)- implying that they were excavated.
57	I	1st phase	S	7					Iron casket key (5), iron double hinge (6) fragmentary lift key or small clamp (8)
58	I	1st Phase	P				12		
69	I	2nd Phase	P	11					
28	V	4th Phase	S	9				10	
29	V	4th Phase	P		11	11		11	
17	VI	1st Phase	P	5					
32	VI	4th Phase	S	6		4, 6	3	4	
34	VI	4th Phase	P	15, 16				14	
127	VI	3rd Phase	S	21 (e-f)	21 (a, b)		21 (d)	21 (a,c)	
140	VI	4th Phase	S				12		
146	VI	4th Phase	S	13					Small bronze bolt (10), molded pelta-shaped fitting, with a bronze front and an iron backside soldered on with lead (11), frag. Of a bronze button made of bronze sheet (12)

Because of the lack of surviving evidence, it is difficult to reconstruct all of the fixtures that were used to support and embellish the wooden caskets. The fittings that were used to re-enforce the structure of the container or to embellish it were commonly plain. Thin bands of bronze sheet were the most common type of fitting that was found in the sampling on seven of the caskets,[725] but there were also four examples of iron fittings as well.[726] It is clear that the craftsmen who constructed this hardware also sometimes embellished their fittings with decoration in various shapes. For example, an embossed medallion décor was used in four cases in three burials (e.g., Pl. 9-1 and 9-2),[727] and there are three burials containing bronze buttons and nails with hemispherical heads (e.g., Pl. 9-1, Pl. 9-3 and Pl. 9-4).[728] Some of the fittings are quite elaborate, such as the fragment of a molded bronze pelta-shaped fitting, with an iron piece soldered to the backside with lead (11) from grave 146.VI (Pl. 9-5). There is also evidence in four cases to show that the caskets found in the graves of these periods had handles (e.g., Pl. 9-2 and 9-4).[729] In addition, five of the caskets show evidence of a lock (e.g., Pl. 9-2, 9-4 and 9-6).[730]

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[725] Casket fittings from graves 17.VI (5) and 32.VI (6), grave 28.V (9) as well as grave 11.1 (15) all appear to have been made of rectangular strips of thin bronze sheet. Grave 127.VI contained corner fittings of thin bronze sheet (21 e–f), while that of grave 41.I contained bronze sheet fragments of various shapes that had been employed as front, side and corner mounts (7). Items recorded in grave 41.I include six rectangular mounts, two circular mounts, three square mounts and two half oval mounts were recorded. Grave 34.VI also contains tiny bronze fittings (15), which look like they are more elaborate than just strips of metal. Casket fittings are given for grave 58.I (12) as well, but not information or picture is provided concerning them, so they are not included.

[726] Grave 57.I (7), 69.I (11), 34.VI (16) and 146.VI (13) contain a plain iron casket fitting.

[727] Medallions were embossed around the key holes of the caskets from grave 127.VI (21a) and grave 29.V (11). Medallions were also found on fittings from another piece from grave 127 as well as on melted fragments from grave 30.I (9).

[728] Grave 41.I contain five hemispherical bronze buttons (7) while grave 29.V held a bronze nail with a hemispherical head (11) and grave 32.VI a few fittings which had similar nails (4, 6).

[729] Grave 32.VI contained a bronze handle that held bolt heads at the ends and also fasteners (3), Grave 127.VI held a bronze handle that displayed acorn shaped ends (21d) and grave 140.VI held fragments of a bronze handle and fitting with embossed décor (12). Grave 58.I held a bronze casket handle (12- This and the casket fittings could not be found in the collection- Topál 2003a: 96).

[730] In grave 127.VI excavators found a bronze casket fitting that had a keyhole (21a), as well as what was possibly an iron lock, upon which there were two corroded bronze buttons (21c). Grave 32.VI contained a bronze fitting with a keyhole (4), while grave 34.VI also held a bronze fitting that held the remnants of what was possibly a keyhole (14). In addition, grave 28.V held a bronze casket mount with a keyhole (10) and grave 29.V held a casket mount with an "L" shaped keyhole (11).

Two graves containing a casket also contained keys, one of which probably accompanied the casket, while the other is considered separate (Pl. 9-7).[731]

Even when the basic role of a casket in the funerary ceremony can be determined it is difficult to discern how the casket functioned or what it held in the funerary ceremony and, subsequently, the grave. As mentioned previously, if a casket was burnt as a primary grave good, it is not possible to say for sure what was in the casket, since, if any remains of the caskets did make it into the grave, all that would have existed of the goods would be fragments that were normally scattered with the other debris. We can only say that it must have been important for participants to place the casket close to the pyre and have it burn along with the body. This is not surprising given that most burial goods were offered on the pyre in the cemetery. Even when considering caskets that appear to have been placed in the grave as secondary grave gifts in this cemetery, it is difficult to discern what sort of goods these caskets may have held. The contents of the grave were affected by a variety of post-depositional processes. Still, where the evidence is available, it is worth looking at how some of the caskets deposited secondarily functioned in the grave.

The only grave included in this publication that can provide a somewhat clear indication of what perhaps some of these caskets may have contained was grave 127.VI (Pl. 2-37). The rectangular casket outline was clear in the undisturbed northern section of the oblong grave-pit. Within the area of the casket and its fittings was found a burnt bone comb (20) as well as a fragment of a factory lamp (13).[732] From the description in the catalogue and the drawing the

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[731] Grave 57.I (5) and Grave 17.VI (6) contained keys. In the case of grave 17.VI, the author doubt that this key went with the casket found in the grave (Topál 1993: 15) and a lock was not found in this grave, while the key of grave 57.I is considered a casket key (Topál 2003a: 95).

[732] The nozzle according to the catalogue, but from the plate (Pl. 74, grave 127 no. 13) part of the base seems to have been preserved.

cremated remains and ashes from the pyre were placed in and/or around the casket, as one might expect with a casket burial (C5),[733] but Topál designates it as a C1 grave. So, even in this case where there is clear evidence that a casket had once existed in a grave, still because of the nature of the evidence concerning how and when it was deposited and the way it was recorded by excavators, it is difficult to reach any firm conclusions on how the casket was used in the grave.

The casket found in grave 28.V might also provide an insight into how a casket might have functioned in a burial (Pl. 2-14). The only evidence of a casket found in grave 28.V was a bronze casket mount with a keyhole (10) and possibly a thin bronze sheet fitting (9, Pl. 9-8). So, unlike the casket in grave 127.VI, there is no clear demarcation as to where the casket was deposited. However, it is interesting that excavators found these pieces in the midst of other small finds, including disc-shaped beads (4), a clod of pale-lilac-coloured earth (5), a cast lead cover for a mirror (6), a bronze locket (7), a bronze wire earring (8), a bronze *as* (12), as well as fragments of tiny, thin silver fittings that may have belonged to a diadem or clothing (11). While these items were all found in the center of the east side of the oblong trench, there was about a third of the trench on the west side that was not excavated. It seems unlikely, however, that even if goods were found in the west part of the trench that they would be associated with this original accumulation of goods since these items were gathered near the east wall of the pit. It is possible that the casket did not have any other fittings, and that many if not all these items had been stored in the casket prior to its decay.

The function of other caskets deposited secondarily is even more difficult to determine as in the cases concerning the casket found in graves 32.VI and 146.VI. Although grave 32.VI was

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[733] Other cremated remains and ashes, presumably of the same individual, were found in the middle of the trench under and around a ceramic lid and the remains of a child's skeleton (Infant I 1–6 years old) were found in the extant southern part of the trench.

surrounded by a limestone packing and covered with two stone plates (C8), it was robbed from the western side (Pl. 2-23 and 2-24).[734] Due to the robbery, some of the material was pushed to the sides, so that the casket fittings (3-4, 6) were found in between some of the stone packing on the west sides of the south long side. Since a bronze mirror (5) was found between the same stones in which the fittings were found, it is possible that the mirror was placed in the casket, but we cannot say more. Grave 146.VI was also disturbed in antiquity by the inclusion of another grave and then again in modern times by earthmoving machinery (Pl. 2-33).[735] What was presumed to be casket fittings were preserved together in the central north section of the grave. To the immediate northeast of these fittings were glass wares (4–7),[736] but nothing was found in the vicinity of the suspected casket. It is quite possible that these glass wares were stored in the casket since caskets could certainly fulfil this role (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 325). However, the contents may have been organic, or very small and fragile such that they decayed or corroded over time, leaving no trace. It is therefore often difficult, to tell what may have been deposited within a casket even when the item has been deposited as a secondary grave good.

The caskets that appear to contain goods tend to hold items that are traditionally associated with females. Evidence for items such as mirrors,[737] a comb,[738] beads, a bronze bulla and bronze earrings, as well as tiny silver fittings possibly for clothes or a diadem[739] reflect this association with females. In fact, many of the graves that contained evidence of a casket also

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[734] With the exception of the wall of the west side of the grave, the burnt lining of the grave, stone packing and the lid of stone plates were not disturbed (Topál 1993: 22).

[735] The intrusion of grave 139 during antiquity destroyed the west side of grave 146.VI, while modern earthmoving machinery further damaged the grave.

[736] Two toilet bottles (4, 5), an *infundibulum* (feeding bottle- 6) and a small toilet bottle (7).

[737] Grave 28.V (6).

[738] Grave 127.VI (20).

[739] All from Grave 28.V- Disc-shaped and barrel shaped beads (4), a bronze bulla (7), an earring of thick bronze wire (8) and silver fittings (11).

carried evidence of items associated with females, including mirrors,[740] glass perfume and toilet

bottles,[741] hair-pins,[742] sewing equipment[743] and jewelry items.[744] These goods, both the caskets

and the accompanying items that are associated with females, were often used by scholars to help

determine the gender and even the age of the occupant of the burial from which this evidence

was gleaned.[745] These burials also contain objects that are not as obviously connected to women,

which will be discussed in the next chapter.

12.4 Caskets: Carnuntum

In regard to Carnuntum, unfortunately, most of the evidence of caskets found in the

burials of the southern cemetery is not applicable to this study, since the authors of the report did

not consider most of the evidence to have been deposited as grave gifts. There are three graves

that contain firm evidence for a casket deposited as a gift.[746] Grave 53 also contained a casket,

but since the cremated remains were placed in it, it is considered a casket burial (Jilek 1999: 28,

77).[747] Just as was the case with grave 127.VI at the Bécsi Road Cemetery, this burial will be

considered with the other three. Jilek also believes that grave 174B contained a casket, since

excavators found an elaborate bronze key (13) with the remains (Jilek 1999: 75). However, they

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[740] Grave 11.I contained a bronze fragment of a mirror (14) and grave 32.VI held a bronze mirror (5).
[741] Grave 58.I held a Long-necked perfume bottle (11). Grave 28.V held a small toilet bottle (3). Grave 146.VI contained three toilet bottles (4, 5 and 7) and Grave 127.VI held a slightly melted toilet bottle (18).
[742] Grave 41.I had an oval shaped bone hairpin (2) and grave 34.VI contained an iron pin (18).
[743] Grave 41.I held a circular-sectioned sewing needle (1).
[744] Single beads might be considered amuletic (see pages 489–4890). Grave 34.VI held a gold earring (19) and grave 127.VI contained a necklace holding a variety of beads (19). For the jewelry in grave 28.V, see page 445, note 787.
[745] More often for graves that were excavated in 1937, for example the cremation grave 58.I (juvenile female), but also more recent graves such as the cremation graves 10.V (female) and 58.V (female), which are not precisely dated, so they are not included in this analysis.
[746] Graves 14 (14–16), 64 (5) and 190 (10).
[747] A C5, organic container burial according to Topál's designation. This casket is thought to have been about 40cm x 30cm x 30xm (Jilek 1999: 28).

found no other evidence that would imply that there had been a casket deposited in the cist.

Unfortunately, none of the graves are dated precisely, but grave 64 and 190 are suspected to be

of the third century (Jilek 1999: 70). Two of the burials are cremation graves[748] and two of them

are inhumation graves.[749] All of the caskets were placed in the grave as secondary gifts.

Table 12-4: Carnuntum- Surviving Metal Casket Fixtures of Each Burials

The numbers in columns VI-X refer to the artifact numbers of each casket piece.

I- Grave　　　　　　　GT- Grave Type　　　　　IV- Grave Good Type
VI- Bronze or Iron Sheet Casket Fittings　　　VII- Medallion Décor
VIII- Hemispherical Bronze buttons and nail heads IX- Handles
X- Locks

I	GT	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Other Pieces and Notes
14	I	S	14, 16				15	
53	C	S				4, 5, 6		
64	I	S				5		Ring Key (4)
190	C	S	10					Ring Key (11)

All of the surviving casket fittings from graves are of bronze with the exception of two

iron handles.[750] The iron handle (6) from grave 53 was accompanied by a bronze knob (5), which

is considered a part of the handle along with the bronze disc with a hole in it (4), a washer-like

piece that would have helped to secure the handle to the wood of the casket (Jilek 1999: 75; see

Pl. 9-16). On the other iron handle (5), of grave 64 the cotter pins are preserved (Pl. 9-17). Three

bronze sheet casket fittings are preserved from two graves.[751] In addition there was one bronze

lock plate (Pl. 9-18).[752] Regardless of the fact that all of the caskets were deposited secondarily,

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[748] Graves 53 and 190.
[749] Graves 14 and 64.
[750] Find #6 of grave 53 and #5 of grave 64.
[751] In grave 14 is a corner bracket (14) with three holes, one in the corner and the others at either end, while find #16 is a small casket clasp fragment (Pl. 9-19). Grave 190 contained a corner piece of bronze sheet (10) which a hole near the corner and a rectangular recess closer to the opposite side (Pl. 9-18).
[752] In grave 14. The piece is round with three nail holes around it and a roughly square recess near the center of the piece.

then, there were very few pieces that survived, though some of the graves were heavily disturbed.[753]

Although all four of the caskets were deposited secondarily, it can be difficult to determine what the caskets carried. Since grave 53 was undisturbed and was itself a casket burial, it is most likely that the burnt factory lamp (2) and the fragmented bronze mirror (3) were placed in the casket with the remains. In grave 64, the authors do not mention any items being found as grave gifts around the iron handle. In fact, only the ring-key located above the breast of the skeleton in a supine position was listed as a grave gift.[754] In grave 190, even though there are quite a few grave gifts[755] that originally may have belonged in the casket, the grave was heavily disturbed and Gassner believes that the casket in 190 probably held cloth goods (1999: 88). Grave 14 was robbed, so again, it is difficult to tell what the casket might have held.

Very few of the items in the graves are typically associated with females. Grave 53, however, held a mirror (3), while grave 190 contained a knife, which at Carnuntum is often associated with females (Gassner 1999: 88). Of these four graves, the human remains of inhumation burial, grave 64, might be of a male, who is an early adult (between 25 and 30 years of age). If the casket handle does in fact belong to the grave[756] and the individual is a male, then caskets may also be buried with males, which has been noticed elsewhere.

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[753] The lid on the sandstone sarcophagus on grave 14 was found *in situ*, but in antiquity the grave was robbed after a corner was broken into (Jilek 1999: 21). Grave 190 was heavily disturbed.

[754] There were three fragments of pottery (1–3) found with the iron handle in the fill above the skeleton.

[755] A burnt factory lamp (8), a fragment of a knee fibula (9), a bronze ring-key (11), an iron knife (12) and an iron tool (13).

[756] Right besides this grave were the bones of an adult/mature individual (between 19 and 60 years of age) but earth-moving machinery carried away the remains. The authors say that there was not any discernable grave-pit where the bones were.

12.5 Caskets: Conclusion

The sample of caskets from Carnuntum was much smaller than that of Aquincum, but there are still some observations that one can glean from these samples. Casket fittings found in both cemeteries were composed of mostly bronze, but also iron fittings were also found. None of the caskets seem to have been elaborate. However, due to the fact that many metal fittings did not survive, either because they did not end up in the grave or they were not otherwise preserved, it is difficult to make a determination.

Overall, caskets as they functioned in the funerary ceremony seem to have been treated differently in the southern cemetery than at the Bécsi Road cemetery. There are many more caskets that were incinerated on the pyre in funerary rituals at the Bécsi Road cemetery compared to what took place at the southern cemetery, where there were no obvious instances. Even amongst the material from the fill at Carnuntum which ended up in the grave and was examined and catalogued there was no mention that any of the pieces were affected by fire. That being said, at least two of the four graves that contained caskets might date to the third century,[757] a time period at Aquincum when most of the caskets are being deposited secondarily. If we assume that few caskets were deposited in graves during the third phase at Carnuntum, as in the case at Aquincum, then it seems that both sites might be following the same ritual process in this regard, although, the sample is too small to say for sure.

Caskets are traditionally associated with females, so at both cemeteries other items traditionally associated with females should be present with the caskets. At Aquincum, nine of the fourteen burials can be said to have contained at least one other good traditionally associated with females. Because of the small sample size from the southern cemetery, there are not as

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[757] Graves 64 and 190.

many goods that may be considered traditionally gender specific. To complicate matters, the inhumation burial, grave 64, may contain a male individual. So, if the casket handle does belong to the grave, we cannot say that caskets are firmly gendered at least in third century Carnuntum. While the majority of caskets may be associated with females in either cemetery the context of the assemblage and the sexed human remains should be taken into account before conclusions regarding the gender of the deceased are reached.

12.6 Keys

As was mentioned in the previous section on caskets, keys were often associated with wooden caskets, as it was assumed that the keys opened those caskets that had locks. In the handful of graves from both Carnuntum and Aquincum where keys were considered to be grave goods, this sort of explanation does not necessarily hold since often graves that contained keys did not contain evidence of a casket as well, or the key was not associated with the casket itself. In some of these cases, it might be reasonable to assume that there were religious or superstitious reasons behind the motivation of their depositions which could reflect views of the afterlife. In these cases, keys may have played a similar role to that of lamps and coins. Keys may also have represented an individual's responsibilities in the world of the living, for example as a *materfamilias* or a curator of an institution, since a key signifies a sense of control and access to secure sites.

Table 12-5: Aquincum- Burials Containing Keys

I- Grave II- Graveyard III- Phase
IV- Grave Good Type V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
57	I	1st Phase	S	5	Iron Casket Key
7	VI	3rd Phase	S	25	Bronze Ring Key
17	VI	1st Phase	P	6	Iron Key (Does not belong to the casket)

Few graves from the Bésci Road cemetery of Aquincum or the southern cemetery of Carnuntum carried keys. Three graves from the sample of Aquincum contained a key. Two of the keys were from graves of the first phase, one of which was deposited as a primary good[758] and the other presumably as a secondary grave gift.[759] One other key of the third phase was deposited secondarily.[760] Two of the keys are of iron,[761] while one is made of bronze.[762] Two further burials may have contained keys, but because of a lack of evidence, they are not included in the discussion.[763]

Table 12-6: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Keys

I- Grave GT- Grave Type III- Phase or General Date
IV- Grave Good Type P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation
V- Artifact Number

I	GT	III	IV	V	Notes
64	I	3rd c.	P (I)	4	Bronze Ring Key
174B	C	Fourth Phase	S	13	Bronze Casket Key
190	C	3rd c.	S	11	Bronze Ring Key

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[758] Grave 17.VI (6, Pl. 9-9).

[759] Grave 57.I (5, Pl. 9-7). There was no exact information given on this grave, so it is unknown if it was a cremation or inhumation (Topál 2003a: 95).

[760] Find #25 from grave 7.VI (Pl. 9-8).

[761] Find #5 from grave 57.I and #6 of grave 17.VI.

[762] Find #25 from grave 7.VI.

[763] Topál indicates that there may have been a key present in grave 41.I and grave 29.V. As she discusses the casket fittings for grave 41.I (7), she mentions that "The handle, *the key*, the lock and the key-plate were not to be found among these items (Topál 2003a: 90)," signaling that in the reports of the 1937 excavation these items may have originally been recorded. Grave 29.V contained an iron ring with a circular cross-section (12) and a broken bit one side of it. On it are four smaller iron rings and a chain of tiny bronze rings. Topál suggests that it may have been a keyring with a chain, but that the bit of the key was not found (2003a: 16).

Three burials from the Carununtum sample contain keys, all dated to the third century (Pl. 9-20 – 9-22). Two burials are cremation graves and held their keys as secondary gifts, and one burial is an inhumation burial.[764] They are all made of bronze, which is not surprising since keys are typically bronze (Marshall 1907: XVIII).

Inhumation graves might offer a clue as to where a key may have been placed on the body in the funerary ceremony. The ring key of grave 64 of the cemetery of Carnuntum (Pl. 9-20) seems to have been strung on a cord which was placed around the neck of the deceased, since it was found on the chest of the corpse. Some of the of the keys at Aquincum listed as primary grave goods may have been placed around the neck of the individual before they were cremated, just as had been the case of the inhumation grave 64.[765] In the case of a ring-key, the act of wearing a key around one's neck may also have been a reflection of a practice that occurred in the settlement, where people wore keys around their necks, simply because wearing it on a finger may have been uncomfortable and unpractical (Gassner 1999: 88; Gaspar 1982: 134). Keys may also have been placed in a hand of the deceased or even with other gifts, like a casket.

Some keys found in both cemeteries may have opened the caskets with which they were buried. From the Bécsi Road cemetery, the ring key from grave 7.VI may also have belonged to the casket, in which the burnt remains of the deceased were interred (C5).[766] Grave 57.I, which contained casket fittings, also contained a casket key (5), which was probably associated with them (Topál 2003a: 95). With regards to the graves of Carnuntum, the ring keys from grave 64

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[764] Grave 64 (4, Pl. 9-20), an inhumation grave. Since the ring key (4) was found directly above the breast it was likely associated with the body, so it is considered a primary grave good.

[765] The keys of grave 17.VI, grave 33.VI and grave 88.I were considered primary grave gifts. The descriptions of the keys from the graves of Carnuntum do not mention any signs of burning on the items.

[766] Because this box was associated with an actual casket burial, where the cremated remains were placed in a wooden box, it was not included in the above overview of caskets, which only considered those that held valuables.

(18) and 190 (11) were each found with evidence of a casket. Although many keys were found in a grave containing evidence of a casket, not all were.

Excavators also found keys in both cemeteries that were either found in burials that did not contain a casket or in burials which did contain a casket but were not associated with it. In the Aquincum cemetery grave 17.VI contained an iron key (6) that was not associated with the casket found in the burial (Topál 1993: 15). Grave 88.I also contained an iron key (9), although no evidence of a casket was found, Topál refers to it as a casket key (2003a: 107). In the Carnuntum cemetery, the cist grave 174B, contained a large, well-worked bronze key (13), but there was no evidence of a casket.[767] While it is possible that the key was for a casket that did not survive in the grave or something else of importance in the world of the living, it is also plausible that the key was not intended for use in any particular lock.

The placement of a key in the grave could reflect certain religious views or beliefs concerning the afterlife of the deceased or perhaps the mourners. In a general sense, a key was an object representing the opening of the doors to the next life, and thereby its inclusion, may have helped to facilitate or speed up the spirit's journey to the nether world (Bruno and Bowsher, 2000: 320; Black 1986: 222). Some scholars also believe that, in combination with the act of sealing the grave, perhaps with stone packing or a tile covering, the placement of a key was practiced to symbolize the locking of the potentially maleficent spirt to prevent its causing havoc in the world of the living (Bruno and Bowsher, 2000: 320). Within the context of the Roman west, some scholars have associated the inclusion of a key in a burial with Epona, the Celtic horse goddess or even Sabazios (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 317, 320; Philpott 1991: 187; Black

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[767] Jilek speculates that the key is evidence for a wooden chest which held the valuables of the grave (1999: 75).

1986: 222; Ross 1975: 336).[768] Keys are also depicted with gods such as Hekate, Persephone and Pluto, who can represent aspects of the underworld, and Janus, who embodies the transition from one state to another (Hurschmann "Lock, Key" *BNP*; Gáspár 1982: 135).

Keys may also have been interred with the deceased because they symbolized an occupation or responsibility that was practiced by the deceased while living (Bruno and Bowsher, 2000: 314). The best example of this is the large well-made bronze key (13) found in the richly furnished cist burial, grave 174B, that may reflect the occupation of the deceased as a priest.[769] The possible diadem which is made of pieces of gilded bronze sheet (8) and even a worked goose egg (14) support that the individual buried may have been a priest (Gassner 1999: 86-87). Priests are known to have carried large keys as symbols of their dignity (Hurschmann "Locks, Keys" *BNP*). The key in question, however, may have served any one of several roles, such as a symbol of the priest's responsibility, an actual temple key, or even a symbol of the deity for which the priest was responsible (Gáspár 1986: 42). The authors of the catalogue believe this key may have accompanied a large wooden casket that held goods in the grave, but which no longer exits (Jilek 1999: 75).

As is the case with caskets, some scholars have tried to link the deposition of keys with married females. Even though ancient sources do not mention the ritual explicitly, scholars have portrayed the act of presenting the house key to the bride shortly after she entered the groom's home as part of a marriage ceremony (Gáspár 1982: 135; Hanuy 1912: 32; Forcellini "Clavis" 1.

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[768] According to Anne Ross (1975: 336) in the iconography goddesses who are believed to represent Epona or a similar goddess hold a key in their right hand. Keys were also associated with ritual deposits that Ross also attributes to Epona. Epona was not only a guardian of horses and those concerned with them, but she was also a chthonic goddess who guided souls to the underworld, which in part the key symbolizes. According to this belief, she had the ability to unlock not only entrances in the world of the living, such as those of temples, stables and houses, but also the gates of eternity.

[769] The cremated remains are thought to belong to a man in an advanced age, a conclusion which the belt fixtures (9-11) and the knee fibula fragment (12) help to support (Gassner 1999: 86).

1. b; Brissonius 1564: 45).[770] It is well-known that a new wife assumed many responsibilities in the running of the household as the *materfamilias* (Treggiari 1991: 374-378), which the key might symbolize (Gaspar 1982: 135; Forcellini "Clavis" I. 1. b; Brissonius 1564: 45). Consequently, the return of the key was a sign of divorce, at least in early Roman history, according to Cicero (Cic. *Phil*. 2. 28. 69; Pryce "Keys and Locks" *OCD*; Gáspár 1982: 135; MacCormak 1975: 174; Watson 1965: 41-43; Forcellini "Clavis" I. 1. b; Brissonius 1564: 45).[771] While it is certainly possible that a deceased wife could carry a key as a symbol of her status and responsibility in the household, marriage is just one institution that could be represented by a key.

12.7 Mirrors

Mirrors were generally used for grooming in the Roman world. Round or quadratic bronze mirrors were the most common type from the period being discussed. Generally, the reflective surface was slightly convex and was highly polished (Bózsa 2013: 23). Many had handles of a loop or vertical style, but others had no handles, or they could be soldered to another item, such as the underside of a casket cover (Bózsa 2017: 425). Bronze mirrors, which may also have wooden or terracotta frames and other fixtures (Bózsa 2013: 23), are found not only in

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[770] Brissonius interprets the entry of "Clavim" in Festus' work in this way ("*Clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partus facilitatem*" (43.7 or 56m). "A tradition was to give a key to women to signify ease of childbirth") (1564: 45). While this act in the wedding ceremony that Brissonius and the other scholars cited above mention is certainly plausible, Karen Hersch (2012: 180–186) and Susan Treggiari (1991: 166–169) do not include or even address such an event at the time that the bride enters the groom's house in their wedding ritual sequences.

[771] According to Cicero the practice of returning the key (*claves adimere uxori*) is a custom mentioned in the Twelve Tables (*Phil*. 2.28.69). As a saying, *claves adimere uxori*, means to "separate from her" ("clavis" Lewis and Short), which indicates divorce. For an in-depth discussion of the topic see: Watson 1965: 41–43. He mentions this phrase when discussing the end of Marcus Antonius' relation with his mistress, Volumnia Cytheris, whom Cicero ironically presents as a wife (Treggiari 1991: 437–438; 1971: 197). Even though this practice and/or expression is stated by Cicero as being mentioned in the Twelve Tables, modern scholars do not address it in their discussions on divorce (Grubbs 2002: 187–202; Treggiari 1991: 435–482).

Pannonia but were also common in the rest of the empire (Bózsa 2017: 425; 2013: 21). They appeared in Pannonia after the Roman conquest and start to become noticeable in contexts dating to the Flavian period. In fact, they were common in cremation graves of that time. Generally, certain types of bronze mirrors could be relatively inexpensive and widespread (Bózsa 2013: 26; Roth-Rubi 1974: 35). After the second century, there was a decrease in numbers of them from datable find contexts (Bózsa 2017: 425). In addition to bronze mirrors, there were also numerous small lead-framed glass mirrors in Pannonia and the middle Danube region in general which were popular in the third century (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11; Lloyd-Morgan 1981: 152). These mirrors of glass and lead may have been a cheaper alternative to more expensive bronze and silver mirrors (Lloyd-Morgan 1981: 152). While they may have been used for personal grooming scholars tend to think that they were used for cultic or magical purposes (Graham 2018; Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11).

Typically, mirrors are associated with females in art and the burial record (Gassner 1999: 86; Crummy 2007: 260). Just as with other items generally associated with females, like caskets and spindles, they can be used to sex human remains in contexts where an anthropological sexing is not possible (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 134). As a symbol of women, they are also associated with the goddess Venus who embodies feminine qualities of virtue, beauty and modesty (Antal 2012: 96). Coupled with other items they may also reflect the status of the deceased and mark important stages in their lifecycle, at least in an idealized manner. Males, however, also used mirrors in daily life (Allison 2015: 110; Hill 1997: 102) and they have therefore been found with male remains in the funerary record (Pearce 1998: 107; Foster 1993: 210; Millett 1993: 266), so consequently their association with females is not clear cut. In addition, mirrors may also reflect beliefs concerning the afterlife which may not be associated with any one gender.

Table 12-7: Aquincum- Burials Containing Mirrors

      I- Grave   II- Graveyard   III- Phase
      IV- Grave Good Type   V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
11	I	2nd Phase	P	14	Frag. of bronze mirror disc
96	I	2nd Phase	P	6	Lead case of glass mirror
6	V	1st Phase	S	6	Bronze mirror w/ silver crust
28	V	4th Phase	S	6	Cast lead case of glass mirror
22	VI	2nd Phase	P	8	Frags. of bronze mirror
32	VI	4th Phase	S	5	Bronze mirror
127	VI	3rd Phase	P	22	Bronze mirror w/ silver crust

In Aquincum seven graves contained evidence of a mirror. One mirror was found in a grave of the first period and was deposited as a secondary gift. Three of the mirrors were found in burials of the second period, all of which were deposited as primary grave goods.[772] One mirror was deposited in a burial of the third period as a primary grave good. A further two burials of the fourth period contained evidence of mirrors, which were both deposited as secondary gifts. These burials of the fourth phase are of interest since all the other personal items contained in them are all deposited secondarily as well. In many other graves of the cemetery such items are placed on the pyre, although in the fourth phase there are a few items, like flagons and caskets, that are increasingly deposited secondarily. It is possible, then, that the deposition of personal items followed some of the same ritual trends as other items.

Evidence of mirrors from the cemetery came in two forms, bronze mirrors and lead cases of glass mirrors. Five of the mirrors were of bronze, two of which held remnants of a silver or

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[772] The lead sheet (6) of grave 96.I is listed under the secondary grave goods, but since it is described as being melted, it will be considered a primary grave good here.

lead coating.[773] All but one of the five the bronze mirrors was a round disc mirror[774] and only on one mirror was the handle still intact.[775] Decoration on the mirrors was difficult to determine, as some were fragmented, worn and melted.[776] Two of the mirrors appear to have been unadorned,[777] while one was decorated with an incised line close to its edge.[778] Two feature small perforations all along their edge and incised concentric circles with an accentuated center.[779] This was the most popular type of hand mirror in the empire (Bózsa 2017: 425; 2013: 25). Of the two lead mirrors, one of the potential lead cases was melted and lost in the collection, so not much can be said about it,[780] while another square case was quite ornate.[781] Each corner held an embossed decoration, possibly a winged Amor, and around the central, circular opening was a ring of beading and cast grooves that radiated from it. Inside of the piece, thin fragments of white glass survived.

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[773] The mirror (6) from grave 6.V has a shining crust of a silver/lead coating on both sides (Pl. 9-11) and both sides of the mirror (22) from grave 127.VI have a worn layer of a silver/lead coating (Pl. 9-13). According to Pliny, the method of coating items of copper with white lead to make them look like silver was developed in the Gallic provinces. He calls such a technique *incoctilia*. Later, vessels were coated with silver (*NH* 34. 48).

[774] Find #8 from grave 22.VI (Pl. 9-14). This mirror is made of bronze, but it closely resembles the shapes of drop-shaped lead mirrors (Kat. Nr. 254–255) in the collection of the National Museum of Hungary (Bózsa and Szabó 2014: 76, Pl. II. 3. 47). The mirror and the disc are both cast together, with gradual transition from one to the other. These lead mirrors are typically small, unfortunately the dimension of the fragmented piece is not provided.

[775] Find #8 of grave 22.VI has a vertical handle (Pl. 9-14).

[776] The fragment (14) of grave 11.I has an incised concentric circle on the reflecting side but was otherwise heavily corroded and melted (Pl. 9-10). The fragments of a possible bronze mirror (8) from grave 22.VI are corroded and burnt (Pl. 9-14).

[777] Find #5 from grave 32.VI (Pl. 9-12) and the fragmented piece, find #8 of grave 22.VI (Pl. 9-14).

[778] Find #14 from grave 11.I (9-10)

[779] Find #6 from grave 6.V and find #22 from grave 127.VI, which also still had an attached vertical handle (Pl. 9-13).

[780] Find #6 from grave 96.I

[781] Find #6 of Grave 28.V (Pl. 9-15)

Table 12-8: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Mirrors

I- Grave   III- Phase   IV- Grave Good Type   V- Artifact Number

I	III	IV	V	Artifact
23	3rd Phase	S	4	Frags. of bronze mirror
53	No Date	S	3	Frags. of bronze mirror
179	No Date	S	17	Frag. of lead mirror case

Evidence of three mirrors comes from the Carnuntum sample. One of the graves is datable to the third phase, while the other two are not dated. All the mirrors were deposited secondarily, which is not surprising given that most of the grave goods from Carnuntum were deposited in this manner. Two of the burials contained fragments of bronze mirrors,[782] while one contained a fragment of a lead case of a glass mirror.[783] The bronze mirrors exhibited some decoration featuring incised concentric circles,[784] while the fragment of the lead frame held raised pearl decoration on the edge.

Like spindles, mirrors were a symbol of femininity, so in representations, they were most often associated with women. They are also associated with the attribute of beauty in women and were included in a woman's toiletry set (Allison 2015: 110; Olson 2008: 119, no. 32; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64). This aspect of femininity is embodied in the goddess Venus, who is often portrayed holding a mirror (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 80; Milovanović 2015: 12, 13; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64). The representation of the deceased with the attributes of Venus in funerary art or as displayed on the corpse laying instate may reflect a form of *invocatio in formam deorum*, or in this case *in formam Veneris*, with which mourners could evoke the same

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[782] Only some of the fragments of mirrors of grave 23 (4, Pl. 9-23) and grave 53 (3, 9–24) survive.
[783] Grave 179 (17) (Pl. 9-25).
[784] The mirror of grave 23 featured concentric circles in between which were groups of lines that ran perpendicular to the circles (Pl. 9-23). The center featured a raised circle which had a dot in the center. Grave 53 was decorated with concentric circles (9-24).

feminine qualities that Venus embodied, such as beauty, virtue, modesty and harmony that Venus embodied (Antal 2012: 96, 97).[785] As a symbol of a woman, (like spindles and caskets) mirrors were often given to girls who had not reached womanhood (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 70). In this way, they could be idealized as the married women they never became (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78; D'Ambra 2009: 16–17). Like many other personal items, it is also possible that a mirror was simply an object that was associated with the individual during life, which mourners saw fit to offer in the funerary ceremony.

Even though mirrors are symbolically associated with women, both sexes employed them in daily life (Allison 2015: 110; Hill 1997: 102) and even in the mortuary sphere they can be associated with men (Pearce 1998: 107; Foster 1993: 210; Millett 1993: 266). Therefore, just like with other traditionally gendered items, the mere presence of a mirror should not be used as the sole source of identity of the deceased.

In addition to femininity, scholars have also associated the presence of a mirror in the grave assemblage with the elevated status of a woman (Olson 2008: 119, no. 32; Struck 2000: 87). However, given that mirrors were relatively widespread for personal use (Struck 2000: 87; Roth-Rubi 1974: 35; Bózsa 2013: 25), there is no good reason to treat them as a symbol of status on their own (Olson 2008: 119, no. 32; Struck 2000: 87; Philpott 1991: 277–278, 355). If a mirror is to be a mark of gender, age and status, more context is needed to determine how such identities are being marked.

Five graves of the Aquincum sample which contained a mirror contained further personal items that may mark the individual as female. Four of the graves contained evidence of a

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[785] *Invocatio in formam deorum*, specifically *in formam Veneris* was likely popularized by the imperial family, numerous members who were depicted as Venus, thereby embodying her qualities and in death, such an iconography represented their apotheosis (Antal 2012: 96–97).

casket,[786] three contained jewelry or other dress accessories, [787] two contained toiletry bottles,[788] one contained sewing needles,[789] and one held a comb.[790] In all five of these burials, the cremated human remains were sexed as female.[791] In the two graves that contained no personal items traditionally ascribed to females, the human remains were not sexed as females, so there is some ambiguity, which will be discussed below.[792]

While five of the seven mirrors in the sample seem to reinforce the identity of the deceased as a female and mark qualities gendered as feminine, comments may also be made on the age and status of the deceased. Two of the five graves carrying gendered items contained the remains of younger sub-adult individuals[793] and one held the remains of a juvenile or adult.[794] If these three sets of remains are those of females, the mirrors could help to reinforce the feminine qualities that mourners wished to highlight for girls and young adults who died too early without reaching important lifecycle milestones such as marriage.

Mirrors may also have been used to mark an idealized status of the deceased, as the association with Venus may evoke upper-class values, particularly ones associated with the imperial family. The deposition of a mirror on the funeral pyre or in the grave may not reflect a significant expenditure of wealth, but combined with associated goods, it may reflect the status

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[786] Graves 11.I (15), Gave 28.V (9, 10), and graves 32.VI (3, 4, 6) and 127.VI (21a–f).

[787] Grave 6.V contains part of a *bulla* (7) and an iron spiral brooch (12). Grave 28.V contained vitreous beads (3), a *bulla* (7), a bronze earring of thick wire (8) and fragments of very small, thin silver fittings that may have belonged to some sort of garment or a diadem (11). Grave 127.VI contained a necklace made of various beads.

[788] Grave 28.V (3) and grave 127.VI (18).

[789] Grave 6.V (5, 9, 10).

[790] Greave 127.VI contained a double-sided comb (20).

[791] Graves 11.I and 96.I, graves 6.V and 28.V and graves 32.VI and 127.VI were all sexed as female. No sex is assigned to the remains grave 96.I (excavated in 1937) and grave 22.VI. The remains supposedly belonged to an Infant II or a juvenile female (7–15 years old).

[792] Grave 96.I contained fragments of glass (5) and grave 22.VI did not contain any other personal items. The remains of grave 22.VI were aged as an infant II (7–12 years old), while no gender or age was assigned to the remains of grave 96.I, which was excavated in 1937.

[793] The remains from grave 28.V are said to be of an infant II (7–12 years old) or juvenile female, while the remains from grave 22.VI contained the remains of an infant II (7–12 years old) an older child.

[794] Grave 11.I contained the remains of a juvenile or adult female.

of the individual. The amount of wealth expended on a funeral or even deposited in a grave is difficult to discern, especially with cremation graves, as much of the material placed on the pyre does not make it into the burial. In the sample from Aquincum, only grave 127.VI contained a significant number of personal items deposited as primary grave goods.[795] Three graves contained personal items that were deposited secondarily, which provides the potential for a larger sample of non-perishable goods to survive than would be the case where personal items were placed on the pyre.[796] Even the four graves that contained numerous personal items may not reflect an individual's high standing, but instead reflect feelings towards the deceased or idealized values that mourners wished emphasize in the funeral. They may also simply be personal items of the deceased with which mourners could afford to part.

The graves from Carnuntum that contained mirrors held few other personal items to reinforce the identity of the deceased as a female. Interestingly enough, two of the graves did contain evidence of a knife, which can be associated with women (see page 403).[797] One of these graves, grave 23, provides an interesting case in which the gender of the deceased is not clear despite there being a few 'gendered' artifacts present, since a bronze belt pendant (5), which is

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[795] Based on the description of grave 127.VI that was found in the catalogue, it is difficult to determine which items belonged with which human remains (Pl. 2-37). It appears that this was a double burial, in which the cremated remains of an adult female were deposited with charcoal from the funeral pyre in the north and the central part of the grave and the inhumed remains of a child were placed in the southern portion (Infant I- 1–6 years old). Perhaps the remains were contemporary since the publication did not specify that the child's grave was intrusive. Goods were placed around both of the areas that held the remains but some of the items placed around the child in the southern part of the grave clearly belonged to the adult female or appear at least to have been placed on the funeral pyre with the adult female, since they were burnt. Such items included vessel fragments (7–9 + 11) a lamp (14) and a glass toiletry bottle (which was melted) (18). The catalogue mentioned that a necklace (19), (a primary grave good), as well as a small beaker (15) and a small glass toiletry bottle (17), (both listed as secondary grave goods), probably accompanied the child and did not belong to the cremated adult female remains. The bronze mirror (22) and the bronze coin (23) that were found just to the north of the remains of the child were not mentioned as having exhibited signs of burning, so, therefore they may have also belonged to the child, especially given the proximity; however, these two items were listed as primary grave goods. Therefore, it may be assumed the excavators believed for good reason that these items had been placed on the funeral pyre and thus belonged to the older female.
[796] Grave 28.V held a number of personal items, such as casket fittings (9–10), an earring (8), beads (4) and a toiletry bottle (3). Grave 32.VI also held a casket (3, 4, 6), while grave 6.V contained three sewing needles (5, 9, 10) and a fibula (12).
[797] Graves 23 (7) and grave 179 (16).

usually associated with a male, was also included in the inventory (Gassner 1999: 85). On the one hand, as mentioned, it is certainly in the realm of possibility that the grave did belong to a male. But on the other hand, as discussed in the belt section, such a belt fixture could belong to the end of a cord belt, which was worn by females. Additionally, grave 53 contained a casket, but the grave is also thought to have been a casket burial (Jilek 1999: 28, 77), so, therefore, it cannot be assumed that the casket was associated with a female. Only grave 179 contained remains that were sexed as female.[798] In addition to the possible knife fixture found in the grave, a bronze finger ring was also found. However, there is nothing clearly feminine about these items. With these finds as with those from Aquincum, it is possible that there were other cultic reasons for burying the deceased with a mirror other than for marking the ideal feminine qualities mourners wished to emphasize.

While mirrors are often symbolic of women, it would not be surprising to find them buried with individuals of various ages and gender, not just because many different people used them in their personal grooming regimes, but also because they functioned as cultic or apotropaic items in the funerary sphere. Some scholars speculate that mirrors played a role to bridge the world of the living and the afterlife, which is symbolized not only by their physical presence, but also by their image on tombstones (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 13). Just as they reflect light, mirrors may help to light the transition of the soul to the afterlife or serve to reflect the image of the human soul (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 12). They may also reflect Venus' association with death and the afterlife as the Roman deity, *Venus Libitina*[799] or perhaps more generally as *Venus Funeraria* (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78; Milovanović, *et al* 2015: 12). The

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[798] A mature (41–60 years of age) female.
[799] Libitina is a goddess who watches over the fulfilment of funeral duties (Prescendi "*Libitina*"). She is often identified with Venus but can also be associated with Proserpina (Plut. *Numa* 12. 1).

evocation of other gods could offer the deceased's soul a better afterlife, as likewise did the evocation of Venus in the funerary cult, and it should be seen as a private choice (Antal 2012: 96).

The deposition of mirrors as everyday objects used for grooming may have held numerous simultaneous meanings to mourners and evidence shows that mirrors were used by many in the settlement and were, in fact, owned by the deceased. It is possible, however, that the lead framed mirrors were not practical devices and, therefore, held cultic and apotropaic purposes. Scholars argue that many of the lead mirrors were not suited for grooming purposes since the dimensions of the glass reflecting surface was often only a few centimeters (Graham 2018; Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11; Kouzov 2002: 97), or that as a material, lead was too soft for use in an "everyday utensil" (Graham 2018).[800] In addition, small lead mirrors tended to be found in shrines dedicated to female deities, and likely served as votive gifts or in a funerary context as grave gifts. Few are found in the settlements, although the provenance of many lead mirrors in museum collections is unknown (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11, 12).

The fact that the frames of the mirrors are made of lead may also imply that they held cultic and magical significance. Lead was cheap[801] and malleable and could be poured into a mold to make an inexpensive, but often lavishly decorated, mirror frame, making it ideal for widespread cultic use. The colour, weight and even the poisonous properties of lead were also

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[800] Some mirrors, rectangular in shape and without handles, such as that from grave 28.V (6), could have been attached to the inner part of the lid of caskets, or kept in leather cases (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11; Kouzov 2002: 97).

[801] Jerome Nriagu (1983: 210) and Jean Boulakia (1972: 143) believe that lead was a cheap material. They primarily base their assumption on Pliny's assertion that in his day, a roman pound (*libra*) of lead only cost seven *denarii*, while a pound of tin, in comparison, cost eighty *denarii* (*NH* 34.48). Some authors doubt that these prices were accurate (Boulakia 1972: 143, no. 39; Bostock and Riley 1855: no. 6, 34.48). Nriagu further asserts that in instances in which a high amount of lead was used in pewter manufacture, it was because of the cheapness of lead compared to tin (1982: 219). Boulakia states that lead must have been inexpensive enough in the Roman world because the Romans abandoned the extraction of lead from "marginal mines" (1972: 210).

thought to have chthonic and magical properties (Graham 2018; Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11). Curse tablets and deity figurines, as well as cultic plaques, such as those of the Danube Rider, were often made of lead. Interestingly enough, just like Danube Rider plaques, most of the known small lead mirrors were found in the middle Danube and Carpathian region, meaning that the use of lead as a material to make particular cultic objects seems to have been regionally popular (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 11).

In the funerary sphere, lead mirrors have been found in burials of women and children, just like other mirrors. As Graham points out, however, as cult and magical items or even items of everyday use, scholars should be wary of assigning them to one gender even if most of them are found in the graves of females (Graham 2018). Lead mirrors, like other types, may also be connected to the cult of Venus Funeraris (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 12), although they may have served other uses; for example, as amulets (Graham 2018; Kouzov 2002: 97). In a similar way to how coins were used in the funerary context, mirrors that held specific images may have been selected to evoke certain cults. For example, grapevines may symbolize Dionysus as a god of death and re-birth (Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 13). If the reliefs on the four corners of the mirror (6) of grave 28.V are wings, then they might represent Amor, an aspect of Venus. It is possible therefore that many uses and meanings both known and unknown are behind the use of small lead mirrors in the funerary sphere (Graham 2018).

Altogether, there are three possible lead mirrors in samples from both cemeteries, two from Aquincum[802] and one from Carnuntum.[803] Only the lead mirror frame (6) from grave 28.V is preserved in full. The piece from Carnuntum is only a fragment, but is considered a secondary

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[802] Find #6 from grave 96.I and find #6 from grave 28.V (Pl. 9-15).
[803] Find #17 of grave 179 (Pl. 9-25).

grave good,[804] while the other possible mirror fragment from Aquincum is melted. The remains of two of the burials were sexed as female, but one was a child or juvenile[805] while the other was probably an older adult,[806] which is in line with the demographic with which we should expect these mirrors to be buried.

In either cemetery, mirrors were not a common grave gift. Like the inclusion of many other personal items, the offering of a mirror was likely a very personal decision. A variety of motivations could be at play in the decision to offer a mirror. A mirror could commemorate a stage in life, either achieved or aspired, represent views of the afterlife, have an amuletic function, signify idealized feminine qualities, project an idealized status equated with Venus or a member of the Imperial household, or be a personal item associated with the deceased. The more context is available from the grave assemblage, the better the chance of narrowing down the meanings of the mirror to the deceased and/or mourners.

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[804] Perhaps the piece was ritually destroyed before being put in the burial, taking it out of the world of the living, or transforming its use (Graham 2018).
[805] The remains of grave 28.V were of a child or juvenile female.
[806] The remains of grave 179 of Carnuntum were of an adult or mature (41–60 years of age) female.

13 Chapter 13: Bodily Accoutrements

13.1 Introduction

This chapter includes items which are normally worn on the body, such as fibulae, belts, various types of jewelry and hairpins. Such items are normally considered personal items as they were likely directly associated with the deceased during their life and may have been present on their body when the deceased lay in state. Again, like all personal items, they were found in a minority of burials, so their inclusion was a personal decision on the part of the mourners, but they can provide information on the deceased, especially in context with the remains and the rest of the grave assemblage.

13.2 Fibulae: Introduction

Fibulae or brooches are a type of garment accessory used by pre-Roman and Roman societies from Britain to Syria. Generally, they served to secure articles of clothing. In the Pannonia region, local women used broches to hold unstitched garments such as traditional female dress on the body in the position of the shoulder. A single fibula was also commonly used especially by men to hold a mantle in the shoulder position. There is evidence to show that many types of fibulae, such as the *kräftig profilierte*, knee fibula and the crossbow brooch were popularized by soldiers. In the border areas of the empire, where these types of fibulae were popular and available, they became widely used by civilians, including women. Fibulae were found in only a minority of burials spanning all time periods, so the choice to include them seems individualized. Fortunately, with further context, fibulae can provide information as to the identities that mourners wished to mark during the funerary ceremony.

13.3 Fibulae: Aquincum

Table 13-1: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Fibulae per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Fibulae," is the total number of burials containing fibulae and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a fibula.

	Total	Fibulae
1st Phase	46	4 (8.7%)
2nd Phase	33	4 (12.1%)
3rd Phase	32	3 (9.4%)
4th Phase	52	4 (7.7%)

Table 13-2: Aquincum- Number of Burials Containing Fibulae as Primary and Secondary Goods from Each Phase.

> The number of burials containing fibulae per phase is under "Total." Burials which cannot be distinguished as a primary or secondary goods appear under "ND" (Not Distinguished). Any goods found on the body in an inhumation burial are under "Primary (I)"

	Total	Primary	Primary (I)	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	4	3	1	1[807]	0
2nd Phase	4	2	0	0	2
3rd Phase	3	2[808]	0	1	0
4th Phase	4	2	1	1	0

Fibulae are found in roughly similar percentages in each phase, but they were found in very few burials. As with most items found in the burials of the Aquincum cemetery, the majority are deposited as primary goods. Both of the fibulae found in the inhumation burials were likely directly associated with the body, so they are primary grave goods.[809] Of the fifteen containing fibulae, three of them contained two fibulae each.[810] Thirteen of the fifteen fibulae were made of bronze, one was made of iron[811] and another was made of silver.[812]

Fibulae were treated in several ways in the funerary ceremony. As primary grave goods, many of the fibulae may have been worn by the deceased as part of their funerary attire while they lay in state and when placed on the funeral pyre (Márton *et al*. 2015: 34). This, of course, is difficult to prove, but in both inhumation graves of the sample, the fibulae were positioned on the

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[807] Grave 18.I is a simple inhumation burial.

[808] The brooch of grave 101.VI is listed as a secondary gift, but is described as worn and burnt, so it will be treated as a primary good.

[809] The fibulae of grave 18.I (8, 9) were found on the chest area of the deceased, which means that the individual may have been wearing the fibulae when they were interred. The bronze penannular fibula of grave 2.I (2) was likely a primary good as it was likely directly associated with the body of the deceased. It was found on the right shoulder blade, likely near the place where it was worn.

[810] Grave 18.I (8, 9) and grave 85.I (5, 6), Grave 7.III (10, 11).

[811] The fibula of grave 6.5 (12) is made of iron.

[812] The fibula of grave 71.VI is made of silver.

remains close to where they would have fastened the clothing on the body.[813] Fibulae and other dress accessories may also have been placed on the funeral pyre (Márton *et al*. 2015: 34; Gassner 199: 86). However, in roughly one-third of the cremation burials with fibulae where we can distinguish, the fibulae were deposited secondarily,[814] which implies that mourners may have felt that the deceased required these in the burial for the afterlife (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31). In any case, fibulae were not often found in the cremation burials of the urban cemeteries of Pannonia during the first and second centuries, so it may not have been important to have the deceased "dressed" in the grave (Márton *et al*. 2015: 31). Ascribing an ethnic identity to the deceased based on the type of fibulae that they wore is problematic as various segments of society, such as soldiers, civilians and natives wore similar broches, even if the origins of the fibula may be traced to a specific group. For example, in the cases where fibulae are present in graves from the first three periods, it is possible they represent the indigenous customs of those who moved into the Roman urban centers, since fibulae of such graves often have native precedents (Márton *et al*. 2015: 35). In scholarship, one of the most traditional ways of identifying indigenous women in burials was through the so-called "Norico-Pannonian fibulae," which includes the "winged" fibula. While this fibula might represent an individual who wore a "native" dress, it is difficult to assign a narrow ethnic origin to remains based on the fibulae worn by the deceased.

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[813] The bronze penannular brooch (2) from grave 2.I was located on the right shoulder area of the remains of the juvenile male. In grave 18.I, a senile female, the bronze winged brooch (8) was located on the upper left side of the ribcage and bronze single-knobbed brooch (9) on the middle right side, close to where they would be located for clasping her clothing.

[814] 4 of 11 cremation burials in which primary and secondary goods were able to be distinguished.

13.3.1 Fibula Types: Aquincum

Table 13-3: Aquincum- Fibula Types

I- Grave   II- Graveyard   III- Phase   IV- Grave Good Type
P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation   V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
1	I	2nd Phase	P	18	Frag. of bronze bow brooch (18)
2	I	3rd Phase	P (I)	2	Bronze Penannular brooch (2)
18	I	1st Phase	P (I)	8, 9	Bronze Norico-Pannonian Winged Brooch (9), Bronze single knobbed Pannonian brooch (9)
34	I	1st Phase	P	12	Bronze single knobbed Pannonian brooch (12)
35	I	2nd Phase	P	4	Bronze Penannular brooch (4)
59	I	2nd Phase	GG	5	Frag. of bronze knee brooch (5)
61	I	2nd Phase	GG	4	Bronze T-shaped brooch (4)
85	I	1st Phase	P	5, 6	Frags. of a Norico-Pannonian winged brooch (5), frags. of unknown bronze brooch (6)
94	I	3rd Phase	S	3	Bronze T-shaped brooch (3)
7	III	4th Phase	P	10, 11	Two bronze T-shaped brooches (10, 11)
6	V	1st Phase	S	12	Iron spiral brooch (Distelfibel) (12)
20	VI	4th Phase	P	14	Bronze Fibula (14)
53	VI	3rd Phase	P	4	Bronze T-shaped brooch (4)
71	VI	4th Phase	S	6	Silver T-shaped brooch (6)
101	VI	3rd Phase	P	11	Bronze Knee Fibula (11)

The so-called Norico-Pannonian "winged" fibulae are among some of the earliest fibulae found in the cemetery. Evidence of two such fibulae was found in graveyard I, the earliest used cemetery known along the Bécsi Road.[815] These large pieces are defined by the ring protrusion located on the top of the fibula, close to the pin axis, above the spring (Pl. 10-1). The large rectangular or trapezoidal catch plate is often perforated with various designs for decoration (Sáró 2018: 262; Koščević 1995: 18). Most of our knowledge about how the winged fibulae were

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[815] Graves 18.I (8) and 85.I (5). Grave 18.I is a simple inhumation burial, which contained the remains of a senile female and is dated to the first quarter of the second century. Grave 85.I is a cremation burial, which, based on the items found with the remains, contained the burnt remains of an adult female. The grave is dated to between the late first century and the early second century. Both of the fibulae found in this grave are missing (#5, the winged fibula, and 6, which is missing and no further description of it is given).

worn come from Grave stelae, which in combination with the archaeological remains, have been studied extensively. On grave stelae, these fibulae are often found in pairs, one on each shoulder (Sáró 2018: 261; 2015: 212; Ottományi 2016; Rothe and Keynes 2013: 36, 37; Kremer 2004: 152; Koščević 1995: 18; Csontos 1997–1998: 157) and in some cases a third fibula may be depicted on the chest (Rothe 2012: 162; Jerem 2003: 195). According to the stelae depictions, the large, winged brooches held at the shoulders a loose, sleeveless overtunic likely make of wool (Rothe 2012: 178, 183) and in many cases also a cloak (Rothe 2012: 192).[816] Pairs of native fibulae, like the winged fibula and the "Doppelknopf" brooch were found in burials of the region from the first and second century (Ottományi 2016), while depictions of native dress appeared on funerary stelae between the late first century and the end of the second century (Rothe 2012: 193). At one time the pairing of this fibula and other Norico-Pannonian fibulae was taken as being part of a national Norico-Pannonian costume along with other costume elements (Petres 1990: 13), but Ursula Rothe has since challenged this view (Sáró 2015: 259; Rothe and Keynes 2013: 37; Rothe 2013: 262–263; 2012: 213).[817]

As Rothe argues, winged fibulae cannot be viewed as an accessory of a national Norico-Pannonian costume or even as relating to a broad ethnic, such as the Celts.[818] While there are

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[816] The typical female Danubian "costume" consisted of a high-necked, long-sleeved bodice as undergarments. Over these was worn the loose, sleeveless, tube-shaped overtunic which was fastened at the shoulders with fibulae and bound around the waist with a belt (Rothe 2012: 178). Adult women also wore a cloak and a hat (Rothe 2013: 245; 2012: 179–180).

[817] See Rothe and Keynes 2013 (34–38) and Rothe 2012 (137–139) for a history of research regarding the "Norico-Pannonian" costume.

[818] The winged fibula and the dress that they were a part of are considered part of a "Celtic" tradition by several scholars (Sáró 2018: 268; Kremer 2004: 152). Clearly, many of the peoples wearing this sort of dress style were Celtic, but peoples who are not considered to be Celtic, like the Azali who are thought to be Illyrian (Mócsy 1974:55; recent research is challenging the idea that the Azali were not Celtic, Grbić 2013: 142) also wore a variant of this sort of dress (Rothe 2012: 206). Since the type of fibulae and the custom of using them was so widespread over an ethnically complex area from Dacia to the Rhine region, "Celtic" may not be the best way to identify the particular brooches or the style of dress.

many representations on funeral stelae of females wearing these types of fibulae[819] on each

shoulder and while many are found in graves in the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, such

fibulae are also found paired together on monuments and in burials throughout central and

northern Europe from the late Iron Age (Sáró 2018: 260; Rothe and Keynes 2013: 37).[820] The

wearing of fibulae simultaneously on both shoulders may have even begun as far back as the

Bronze Age (Rothe and Keynes 2013: 37). Additionally, the precursor of the winged fibula, the

Almgren 65 form, is thought to have developed in the Alpine region under north Italian/Celtic

influence before it spread into the regions of Noricum and Pannonia (Kremer 2004: 154; Fasold

2000: 188),[821] where local workshops made short-lived variations of the type (Rothe and Keynes

2013: 42). To complicate matters further the winged fibulae type was often paired with

introduced forms of fibulae (which entered the region in the early Roman era and throughout the

second century) and are found on grave depictions and in the burials themselves.[822] As

mentioned in chapter one, the adoption of foreign forms (in this case fibulae) into local customs

should not be a surprise in a milieu where globalizing processes were accelerated. However, it

does make it difficult to discuss fibulae as a marker of a national costume or ethnicity on their

own.

Winged fibulae do not mark a national or even a narrow ethnic identification, but they are

accessories of a dress style that has certain cultural implications. Women as depicted in this way

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[819] The Norico-Pannonian region has many grave stelae depicting mortals in identifiable dress. When Rothe published in 2012 there were 1412 such monuments in both provinces, while in Raetia only 82 were found.

[820] The Rhine-Moselle region and the provinces of Dacia, Dalmatia and Raetia (Sáró 2018: 260; Rothe and Keynes 2013: 37).

[821] From this region they then spread into the Save-Drava area of southeastern Noricum, before spreading into the pre-Roman kingdom Noricum, as well as Raetia. Apparently, they did not enter Pannonia in any serious quantities until the late first or early second century. Even then, there are very few in the southeast of Pannonia (Rothe and Keynes 2013: 38).

[822] Trumpet fibulae, *kräftig profilerte* type (Sáró 2018: 268), disc fibulae, an anchor type, pelta fibulae and knee fibulae were worn on the shoulders. (Rothe and Keyenes 2013: 42–44). Knee fibulae were also worn on the chest (Rothe 2012: 162).

on monuments and in the burial can be recognized as carriers of tradition of their community; a role which frequently falls on women in a colonial setting (Carroll 2013: 198; Rothe 2012: 173; James 1996: 61–62; Hendrickson 1994: 41, 45; Comaroff 1985: 224–225).[823] In a broad sense, the culture could be Danubian, but elements such as the head gear and the over-tunic clearly mark local identities (Rothe 2012: 212). Even though new elements are incorporated into the dress, like other types of fibulae and styles (Rothe 2012: 175), such apparel and the customs, and habits that they embody, may still be seen as "traditional" by the people at the time as has been noticed in more modern settings where such processes occur.[824] It is difficult to determine the frequency with which such a mode of dress appeared in the settlement, but it was clearly important for native peoples who could afford it to display it on their grave marker and to be marked by it in the grave. As discussed in chapter two, the funerary sphere is a symbolically charged context where people can be presented in an idealized manner.

Only two graves from the Aquincum sample contained a winged fibula and both burials were from graveyard I, the earliest used graveyard along the Bécsi Road. Both burials contained two fibulae, and in both the winged fibulae were paired with a fibula of another type.[825] It is likely that the remains are that of native women.[826] This is especially the case of the senile female of Grave 18.I, which is a simple inhumation burial of the first phase (Pl. 2-6). The

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[823] The term 'non-Roman' is not used. Sophia Jundi and J.D. Hill's hypothesis that the Dragonesque brooch, which seems to have an archaizing, pre-Roman-style, represented a new type of distinct, non-Roman identity that cut across tribal boundaries in post-conquest Britain is fascinating (1998: 132–133). With such a prominence of the winged fibula on grave stelae of the region and with its distribution over such a wide area in the Roman period, it may be tempting to read the same interpretation. However, the winged fibulae and the dress style which it accessorized is part of a complex interplay of experiences and identities, which is being explored in this paper. This view is echoed in Boatwright's study of depictions of familial ties and affection on Pannonian grave stelae, which demonstrates this complexity, showing the limits of such a dichotomous viewpoint (Boatwright 2010: 317).
[824] For example, Deborah James mentions that the traditional (enmeshed in the concept "se*sotho*") dress of the Sotho and Pedi speaking regions of South Africa undergo continuous change (1996: 39–41).
[825] The other fibula of grave 18 is a single knobbed Pannonian brooch (9), while the other fibula fragment of grave 85 (6) has been lost and there is no description (Topál 2003a: 105).
[826] The remains of grave 85 are sexed based on the finds (Topál 2003a: 105), while an anthropological examination was conducted on the inhumed remains of grave 18.

practice of inhuming a body was a pre-Roman one, but a method still employed in the Roman era. Although the two fibulae were located on either side of the chest, it can be assumed that they were either placed there or shifted down the chest as the garments decayed. She also wore what appears to be an iron armband or bracelet (10), accoutrements which are seen on women dressed in traditional garb and depicted on grave stelae (Rothe 2012: 181). Grave 85.I, which also contained a winged-fibulae and another indistinguishable type, is a cremation burial from the first phase, which shows that native people who settled in the town or at least those who buried her, were adapting to new funerary rituals. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say without other cultural markers of the local people[827] whether the individuals here came from the immediate area or further afield.

The single knobbed fibula found in grave 18.I (9) and grave 34.I (4)[828] is also considered a Pannonian type of fibula and is an early form of the *kräftig profilierten* (strongly profiled) type (Pl. 10-2 and 10-3). It is found in native inhumation graves from the Claudian period into the early second century (Ottományi 2016)[829] and this piece features a knob on the bow, which is characteristic for this type of fibula. Usually men, both civilians and military personnel, wore this type (Koščević 1995: 37; Koščević 1973: 60; Koščević 2000: 150), but in in grave 18.I, which carried a female, it was accompanied by the winged fibula (5) discussed above. It is not surprising, therefore, that such a fibula, like other types of fibulae, was incorporated into a native woman's dress. In the case of grave 34.I, (an urned cremation burial of the first phase), it is

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[827] Rothe, who classified and commented on the dress elements on the gravestones of Pannonia, found that some dress elements signified an Eraviscan woman. The Overtunic 4 (O4) is found on grave monuments around Aquincum and as far south as Intercisa, which is considered part of the Eraviscan territory. Aprons tucked into a belt may also be a characteristic of the Eravisci (2012: 189–191). The bonnet of the H3 type is also characteristic of the Danube bend area, particularly of the Eravisci and the Azali to the immediate west (2012: 206). A veil with a cloak was also predominant in the area of northeastern Pannonia where the Eravisci lived (2012: 194).

[828] The piece is a primary grave good as it is burnt and melted.

[829] Seven of these fibulae were found in inhumation burials from the cemetery of the Roman *vicus* at Budaörs dating from the Claudian to the Flavian period (Ottományi 2016).

possible that another fibula accompanied the deceased on the pyre, but it is difficult to reach any conclusions without further evidence.[830]

Other fibulae became popular in Pannonia after their development in other parts of the empire. One of the earliest examples from this group includes a fragmentary iron *distelfibel*, found in grave 6.V (12).[831] The design of this fibula, which was distinct because of its enlarged base near the spring mechanism, developed in the northwest part of the empire, particularly in Germania, during the first century AD (Pl. 10-4). It became popular in other parts of the empire, including Pannonia by the early second century (Koščević 1995: 19; Patek 1942: 112–113).[832] Single iron fibulae are usually associated with men (Ottományi 2016), but in the case of grave 6.V the remains were sexed as an adult female and, as previously discussed in other sections, other of the personal items that accompanied the remains could be associated with females.[833] The association of a female with a single fibula is not surprising, since it is possible that females in Pannonia wore garments with only one fibula (Gassner 1999: 85). For example, long sleeved undergarments were pinned using a single brooch (Rothe 2012: 180), as was a type of over tunic (O2) that was draped diagonally across the body and held with a brooch on the right shoulder (Rothe 2012: 183).

The Aquincum sampling also contained two knee fibulae,[834] which began to appear in the cemetery during the mid second century (Pl. 10-5). At this same time, they became popular in the Norico-Pannonian region (Rothe 2012: 162; Patek 1942: 131). This type of fibula had a short

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[830] The grave also contained a small perfume bottle (3), which could indicate that the burial belonged to a woman, but again, there is not enough evidence to say for sure.

[831] Grave 6 supposedly contained the cremated remains of an adult female and the grave is dated to the first third of the second century. The piece (12) was deposited as a secondary gift.

[832] The piece is apparently similar to two fibulae which were found at the cemetery at Matrica in grave 109 (17) and 101 (4), which were dated to the first and the first half of the second century AD, respectively.

[833] Other secondary goods include a two bronze (9, 10) and an antler (5) sewing needles and a bronze mirror (6).

[834] Grave 59.I (5) is from the second phase and grave 101.VI (11) is of the third phase.

bow, often with a sharp bend in it, making it look like a genuflected leg. A distinguishing feature is the semi-circular head plate found above the spring mechanism (Patek 1942: 131). It was probably developed in the German provinces, just as the *kräfig profiliert* fibulae may have been (Patek 1942: 131). The knee fibula was found all over the northern part of the empire from Britain to Dacia and into Syria (Jilek 1999: 68) in part because the legions used it as part of the military uniform (Tópal 1981: 93). It is typically associated with the military, but as mentioned previously, local women wore this fibula and Rothe has demonstrated that numerous local men likely incorporated it into their dress as well (2012 158–163).[835] The knee fibula (11) of grave 101.VI[836] may belong to an adult female,[837] but there are no other personal grave goods to reinforce this identity. In any case the piece was burnt on the pyre since it is described as burnt and worn. No further context can be gleaned concerning the fibula of grave 59.I (5) due to lack of information.[838]

Variants of the T-shaped brooch, including the later crossbow fibula, are the most common type of fibulae found in Bécsi Road cemetery, with evidence of six examples found in

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[835] Rothe examined a number of tombstone images from the region of Noricum and Pannonia and found that although the majority of tombstones which show a knee brooch date from the Severan era and are featured on soldiers (2012: 160), there are a number of graves from the region dated to before and during the early part of the Severan era which feature what is likely a native male wearing a knee brooch (2012: 161–163). Previously, scholars often assumed that if a male was depicted wearing a *sagum*, or a Roman military cloak, held with a brooch on the shoulder, he was a soldier or a veteran. However, the *sagum* is a just a variant of a rectangular cloak which was popular in cultures throughout Europe in Antiquity (2013: 255–256; 2012: 163; Hudeczek 1978: 84, no. 8 provides an example). Native men shown wearing a rectangular cloak held with a knee fibula often had local names, were featured with women depicted in native dress and images such as the wagon burial and local methods of sacrifice, while no clear indication was given that man depicted was a soldier at any point (2012: 163). A fibula found with the remains of a male then could indicate a few possible identities. When identifying the ethnicity or the occupation of the deceased, context from the grave assemblage that might provide more information about the identity of the individual should be examined before reaching a firm conclusion.
[836] The cremation burial (a) of grave 101.VI is dated to the second half of the second century and the remains are thought to be of an adult female. The inhumation portion of the grave (b) is a neonate. This is likely a double burial, in which the cremated remains were placed in the northern and deeper part of the trench, while the neonate was placed in the southern portion of the trench and a thin slab of sandstone was placed on top. All of the grave goods found were discovered around the cremated remains, so that they are likely all associated with the cremated adult.
[837] According to the osteological assessment.
[838] This burial was excavated in 1937 so the remains have not been examined and the piece is listed as a grave good. There are also no other personal items which might give an indication of the identity of the deceased.

five burials (Pl. 10-6 – 10-8).[839] The T-brooch is characterized by the long arms on the end that held the pin-hinge and often featured knobs on terminal areas. The earliest example was found in a grave that is dated to the second third of the second century.[840] If the grave is dated correctly, it may be the earliest form of this type found in Aquincum (Topál 2003a: 97). The earliest cross-bow fibula, a brooch associated with the military and the imperial bureaucracy from the third to the fifth centuries (Koščević 2000: 20), was found in a grave dated to the late second century.[841] Five of the six examples were of bronze except for that of grave 7.III (10), which was made of silver, was of good quality and was deposited secondarily (Pl. 10-7).[842] Two brooches were found in grave 7.III, which was dated to the second half of the third century.[843] Unfortunately, very few other personal items were found with the T-brooches that might provide further context concerning the identity of the deceased. Osteological analysis determined that two of the graves containing brooches belonged to adult males, including one holding the silver brooch[844] and one belonged to a senile female.[845] Grave 7.III is interesting as it carried two fibulae and dates late to the second half of the third century at a time when our evidence for native female costume is less common. The burial likely belongs to a female since the grave also included beads (7-9) and a casket (12-14) that were burnt on the pyre with the fibulae.

Two examples of the penannular brooch were found, which is the only other type of fibula identified in this sample.[846] This fibula is characterized by its ring shape that is often open

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[839] Grave 61.I (4) and grave 94.I (3), grave 7.III (10, 11), grave 53.VI (4) and grave 71.VI (6).
[840] Grave 61.I.
[841] Grave 94.I.
[842] The remains of grave 71 is believed to belong to a mature male.
[843] The T-shaped brooch is heavily damaged and burnt (10), while the second fibula is believed to be of the same type, but it is burnt and damaged to such an extent that it cannot be identified as such for sure.
[844] Grave 61.I supposedly held the remains of an adult male, while grave 71.VI which contained the silver fibula (6) also contained a mature male. Somewhat surprisingly, the individual of grave 71.VI was not buried with any other elaborate secondary grave gifts: a flagon (1), a jar (2) and a lamp (5).
[845] Grave 53.VI.
[846] Grave 2.I (2) and grave 35.I (4).

with an attached but moving pin on its ring. The remains of both burials are thought to be of males, a young adult male in grave 35.I and a juvenile male in grave 2. I (Pl. 10-9 and 10-10). While the fibula in cremation grave 35.I was burnt on the funeral pyre, the brooch from grave 2.I was found on the right shoulder of the inhumed remains, which means that the individual was likely dressed in a rectangular cloak (Booth 2014: 89) which was popular in many European cultures in antiquity (Pl. 2-2). Unfortunately, only grave 2.I contains another personal grave good, a possible strike light (12). Because of the dating of the graves,[847] it is tempting to view the young males as native to the region, especially in the case of grave 2.I, an inhumation. The possibility does exist, however, that either of these males may have been wearing a *sagum* (see page 461, note 835), a military cloak that was pinned at the shoulder which could mean that they were either part of the Roman military or aspired to be soldiers. Just as girls in death, were sometimes idealized with the accoutrements of marriage or womanhood, despite never reaching these milestones in their life cycle, young males could also be idealized as soldiers (Márton *et al*. 2015: 35). With the exception of the possible strike light, however, no evidence of other military gear exists with which to strengthen such an interpretation.

There were three other fibulae found that do not necessarily fit into any of the above categories. Of these, the earliest form is a bronze bow fragment; considered a primary grave good from a burial of the second phase.[848] It may be a T-brooch variant, but not enough of it survives to say for sure. The bronze fibula (14) of grave 20.VI does not have a parallel and is interesting because it was interred as a primary good cremated with a small child.[849] In the

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[847] Grave 2 is dated to the late second and early third century, while grave 35 is dated to the second third of the second century.
[848] Grave 1.I (18). The human remains may have been of an adult male.
[849] The grave contains the cremated remains of an infant I (1–6 years old) and was dated to the first third of the third century.

province of Noricum too, where evidence of cloth survives in graves young children seem to be dressed like adults with a mantle held with a fibula on the shoulder (Grömer and Höbling-Steigberger 2011: 111).[850] As mentioned before, mourners may do this to present the children in an idealized form, as they would have looked if they had reached adulthood (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 71).

13.4 Fibulae: Carnuntum

Table 13-4: Carnuntum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing fibulae per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Fibulae," is the total number of burials containing fibulae and the percentage of burials from each phase containing a fibula.

	Total	Fibulae
2nd Phase	2	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	27	5 (18.5%)
4th Phase	18	3 (16.7%)

Table 13-5: Carnuntum- Number of burials containing Primary and Secondary goods from each Phase.

The number of burials containing fibulae per phase is under "Total."

	Total	Primary	Secondary
2nd Phase	0	0	0
3rd Phase	5	2	3
4th Phase	3	0	3

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[850] The authors noticed that the fabric the two children were buried with was different than that of the adults (Grömer and Höbling-Steigberger 2011: 111).

From the Carnuntum sample, nine graves contained a fibula, eight of which fit into the phase scheme and one of which does not. No fibulae were found in the two burials of the second phase. While only two of the fibulae were mentioned in the catalogue as being burnt, all but two of them[851] are fragments which means that they were destroyed at some point, possibly in the funerary ceremony. Unlike in the case of the cemetery of Aquincum where fibulae were found in both contemporary inhumation and cremation graves, fibulae were only found in cremation burials in the Carnuntum cemetery. The number of graves that contained fibulae is quite low in both cemeteries, but proportionally, fibulae were slightly more common in Carnuntum then they were at Aquincum. Interestingly enough, they are found in roughly the same proportion during the third and fourth phases, while goods such as cups and lamps are more popular in the third phase than the fourth.

13.4.1 Fibulae Types: Carnuntum

Table 13-6: Carnuntum- Fibulae Types

I- Grave   III- Phase   IV- Grave Good Type   V- Artifact Number

I	III	IV	V	Artifact
26	3rd Phase	S	6	Bronze knee fibula
46	3rd Phase	S	4	Bronze pelta fibula
51	3rd Phase	S	7	Frag. of bronze *kräftig profilierten* fibula
72	3rd Phase	P	3	Frag. of bronze *kräftig profilierten* fibula
80A	3rd Phase	P	7	frag. of bronze disc fibula
144	4th Phase	S	16	frag. of bronze *kräftig profiliert* fibula
174B	4th Phase	S	12	frag. of bronze knee fibula
190	No Date	S	9	frag. of bronze knee fibula
193	4th Phase	S	3	frag. of bronze knee fibula

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[851] The fibulae of graves 26 (6) and 46 (4) were wholly preserved.

While there was a variety of fibulae found in the burials of the cemetery in Aquincm, there were only three types of brooches found in the graves of the southern cemetery of Carnuntum; the knee fibula, the *kräftig profilierte*, and the disc fibula (*scheibenfibel*). This cemetery was occupied from the mid second century onward, so it is not surprising that older-style fibulae, such as the wing fibula, are not found in this cemetery, since in Aquincum they were found in graves that that dated to the late first and early second century. By the time that the people of the settlement began to use this area of the cemetery, the *kräftig profilierte*, (which is thought to have developed in Pannonia), and the knee fibula had already become popular in the area. The disc and pelta type fibulae were also popular in the western *limes* area, so it is not unusual that it was found in burials here.

The *kräftig profilierte* fibula was found in three burials (Pl. 10-35).[852] It is thought to have been of Noricum-Pannonian origins, but the piece was characteristic of those used by the legions who arrived in the area of southern Pannonia at the end of the first century BC (Koščević 2000: 149; 1973: 60). This type of fibula was very popular in the middle Danube region (Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia) in the second half of the second century which was around the time they were interred in the Carnuntum burials (Jilek 1999: 67). Men, both military and civilian, wore the *kraftig profilierte* fibula (Koščević 2000: 150; 1995: 37; 1973: 59), but women of the region also wore them (Sáró 2018: 268; Rothe 2012: 214). Unfortunately, the remains of this group of the graves were not able to be sexed. Grave 144, however, does contain a bronze belt fitting, which may indicate that the remains were that of a soldier or a veteran who wore the fibula and the belt (Gassner 1999: 85). While Gassner does not believe that this particular fibula

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[852] Graves 51 (7) and grave 72 (3), both of which were of the third phase, and grave 144 (16), which were of the fourth phase. Unfortunately, none of the graves were able to be sexed.

fragment was burnt on the pyre, since there is no evidence of burning, Jilek believes that the other fixtures of the belt may have been left with the pyre remains since no others survive (1999: 72). If this is so, it should not be surprising if the individual was cremated wearing both items. None of the fibulae were found whole and only one of the fragments from grave 72 was actually burnt,[853] presumably on the funeral pyre with the deceased.

Knee fibulae were found in four burials,[854] one from the third phase[855] and two from the fourth phase.[856] Of these, only that of grave 26 was preserved intact (Pl. 10-36). None of them show signs of being burnt, so they are thought to have been deposited secondarily. Knee fibulae were likely produced in Carnuntum in a basic form (Jilek 1999: 68–69). Graves 26 (7, 8, 9–12)[857] and 174B (8–11) also contained belts, which may mean that the deceased were soldiers or veterans, as in the case of the individual of grave 144 (Jilek 1999: 69). Given that the individual of grave 174B was determined to be male between the ages of 41 and 60, it is likely he was a veteran (Jilek 1999: 72–73).[858] Not all of the deceased provided with a knee fibula were males, however, since grave 190 contained evidence of a casket (10), key (11) and a knife (12), which may indicate it belonged to a female.[859]

Disc fibulae were found in two graves,[860] from the third phase. The rough surface of the disc from grave 80A had likely been coated in enamel but burnt off during the cremation ceremony (Pl. 10-37). Disc fibulae with enamel were common in the Norico-Pannonian area (Jilek 1999: 67–68). Scholars tend to associate the disc fibula with traditional female dress, but

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[853] Find #3 of grave 72.
[854] Grave 26 (6), grave 174B (12), grave 190 (9) and grave 193(3).
[855] Grave 26.
[856] Grave 174B and grave 193. Grave 190, probably is of the third century (Jilek 199: 70).
[857] See page 474.
[858] There are other goods which may indicate that this individual was also a priest (see pages 438 and 548). Since he was buried in a grave structure, he was probably quite wealthy.
[859] See pages 404 and 432 for more information.
[860] grave 46 (4) and grave 80A (7).

numerous depictions on funerary stele show them securing the mantle to the shoulders of males (Sáró 2018: 266; Rothe 2012: 161–162; Jilek 1999: 68). As discussed earlier,[861] grave 80A probably held a female; however, if the individual did wear the traditional dress requiring two fibulae it is conceivable one brooch did not make it into the grave after the cremation ceremony. The disc fibula from grave 46 is different from that of grave 80A, in that it is an open worked piece, with a semi-circle, kidney shaped head plate and a narrow foot (Pl. 10-38). This type of fibula was found predominantly in the eastern part of Pannonia, and several of them have been found in the settlement.

13.5 Fibulae: Conclusion

When comparing the two cemeteries of Aquincum and Carnuntum there were clear differences in the way the fibulae were offered with the deceased in burials. Fibulae from burials of Aquincum tended to be offered on the funeral pyre, by being placed with or worn on by the deceased. Gassner notes that most of the fibulae offered to the deceased of Carnuntum were not burnt, so they were deposited secondarily and would not have been worn by the deceased on the funeral pyre (1999: 102). However, all but two of the fibulae are fragments. They could have degraded in the soil, mourners could have placed a token, broken piece in the burial or the fibula was broken in some other part of the funerary ceremony, removing it from the world of the living. What both locales have in common is that fibulae were deposited in very few graves and clearly were not seen as a necessary part of the grave inventory. The inclusion of fibulae, then,

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[861] See pages 285–286 concerning the connection between cups and females in the Carnuntum cemetery. The grave held a glass flask (2) and a gold pendant (6) and an egg formed cup (1). Many of the gifts, such as the lamp (3), one of the coins (5), the golden pendant (6) and the fibula (7) were all burned on the pyre. To have this many items burnt on the pyre in this sample is noteworthy.

may demonstrate acts of individualism, where mourners deposited them with the deceased because they held sentimental value. Since most of the fibulae of Aquincum were primary grave goods, it is likely that some mourners either dressed the body, or at least placed the fibulae on the pyre close to the body.

Identities based on age, sex, status and occupation may be reflected in the fibulae found in both cemeteries. The winged fibulae mark identities of gender and ethnicity, while with the accompaniment of a belt, a fibula may have indicated that the deceased was once a soldier. Because very limited numbers of graves from either locale contained fibulae, it is difficult to draw any strong assertions when comparing these cemeteries. The above analysis, however, does demonstrate that fibulae when considered with other evidence and further context can provide insightful information on how mourners wished to commemorate the deceased during the funerary ceremony.

13.6 Belt Fixtures: Introduction

As was the case concerning other personal ornaments, belt fixtures likewise were found in very few burials. Both men and women wore cord belts as part of their dress, but only the metal fittings of belts usually survive in the archaeological record (Fischer 2002: 236; Clarke 1979: 265). Evidence of an organic cord belt or a sash would not survive. Unlike dress accessories such as fibulae, no evidence exists in the Pannonian region to establish that by the Roman period belts marked any cultural groups (Rothe 2012: 219). Distinctive belts like the *cingulum* were associated with the military, but the evidence for such belts could be found in the settlement areas and were worn by the civilian population (Ciugudean 2011: 102; Nicolay 2007: 215–216; Jilek 1999: 71). Still, often evidence of belts is taken as indicating a soldier or a

veteran as they may have retained or received their belt upon completion of service (Jilek 1999: 72). While it could be assumed in many cases that a belt could indicate a soldier or veteran, further context from the assemblage is needed before firm conclusions can be reached.

13.7 Belt Fixtures: Aquincum

Table 13-7: Aquincum- Burials Containing Belt Fixtures

I- Grave II- Graveyard III- Phase
IV- Grave Good Type   V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
3	I	2nd Phase	P	20	Frag. of bronze tongue
16	V	3rd Phase	P	3	Open-work bronze belt fitting
27	V	4th Phase	P	1, 2	Bronze ring (1), Stud (2) of *cingulum*
51	V	3rd Phase	P	6	Large bronze ring of *cingulum*
12	VI	4th Phase	p	7, 8	Bronze ring (7), Stud (8) of *cingulum*

Five graves from the Aquincum sample contained evidence of a belt, the majority of which came from the late second and third century. All the belts were placed on the funeral pyre, so it is possible that the deceased were wearing them, but they could also have been displayed on the pyre in another fashion. Despite the similarities in treatment, however, the belt fixtures are varied in their forms and in what was preserved.

Evidence for *cingula* survived in three of the five graves. *Cingula* of the type found in this cemetery were military belts that are seen depicted on soldiers on monuments starting from the late second century (Coulston 1987: 141–143) and were characteristic of a soldier's uniform in the third century (Ciugudean 2011: 100; Nicolay 2007: 215; Coulston 1987: 143; Topál 1981: 94, no. 258; Sági 1954: 83). These *cingula* did not have a buckle; instead, the belt was drawn around the waist and sides to the center front where both ends were looped in behind a metal ring

and then hooked over studs on either side of the ring (Ciugudean 2001: 100; Coulston 1987: 143; Clarke 1979: 265–266; Sági 1954: 84). In addition to the metal ring and the two studs, a *cingulum* could also include other metal fixtures, such as pendants on the strap terminals. A ring and a stud survived from grave 27.V (Pl. 10-11) and in grave 12.VI (Pl. 10-12),[862] while only a ring survived from grave 51.V (Pl. 10-13).[863]

Being buried with a belt that was characteristic of the military may indicate that the deceased was a soldier or a veteran (Coulston 1987: 143, 149); however, monuments also depict civilians wearing *cingula* (Ciugudean 2011: 102; Nicolay 2007: 215–216). In a symbolically charged, funerary ceremony, however, it is possible that such belts were deposited to intentionally mark current and former male military members. From the mid second century, often the only military items found in the grave assemblages of soldiers were belt fixtures, which presumably symbolized the entire military kit (Ciugudean 2011: 105). Two of the three graves (27.V and 51.V) contained adult males, and in both the only personal items that survived were the belt fittings, so therefore it is reasonable to assume the deceased were soldiers or veterans.[864] The third grave (12.VI), however, contained a child (7–8 years old). The grave inventory also included an arrowhead of "Scythian character" (9) among other items.[865] If the age of the deceased is correct, it is possible that mourners wished to mark the unrealized potential of a soldier who died before he could serve (Márton 2015: 35).

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[862] The catalogue mentions that find #7 is a burnt whetstone (Topál 2003a: 13), but the plate shows a drawing of a metal ring, both a close up of it and also in the drawing of the burial (2003a: 115, Pl. 9).

[863] Topál believes that all three examples were evidence of a *cingulum* and compares them to a relatively complete example excavated in grave 152 from Matrica (1981: 52; Grave 27 2003a: 15; Grave 51 2003a: 24; Grave 12 1993: 13).

[864] Unfortunately, only a small portion of grave 27.V, a middle portion with the walls still intact, survived (Topál 2003a: 14–15).

[865] The grave also contained three flagons (1–3) and some iron objects (10–15) whose purpose Topál did not mention. Two of the pieces (11, 15) hand fragments of wood on them.

Two graves carried evidence of belts other than *cingula*. Grave 16.V, which is thought to have held the remains of an adult male, contained an open-work bronze belt fitting with a small rivet in the middle (3, Pl. 10-14). Again, not much can be said about the piece, but it is possible that this was the burial of a soldier, or a veteran as was also the case in the two adult graves (27.V and 51.V) that held *cingulum* fittings. In this case, the belt fitting represents the military kit of the soldier. Grave 3.I, a double burial that held the cremated remains of a senile male and a juvenile male, also held a fragment of a bronze "tongue" (20) that may have been part of a belt buckle (Pl. 10-15). Unfortunately, the burnt and worn piece was the only such fragment to survive, so little can be said.

13.8 Belt Fixtures: Carnuntum

Table 13-8: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Belt Fixtures

I- Grave II- Graveyard III- Phase IV- Grave Good Type
P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation V- Artifact Number

I	III	IV	V	Artifact
23	4th Phase	S	5	Bronze belt pendant
26	3rd Phase	S	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	Bronze open-work pendent (7), Bronze belt buckle (8), 2 strap pendents (9, 10), 2 Bronze studs (11, 12)
130	3rd Phase	P (I)	1, 2, 3, 4	4 Bronze studs (1-4)
144	4th Phase	P	17	Bronze stud
174B	4th Phase	S	9, 10, 11	Bronze belt buckle (9), Bronze open-work pendent w/ iron back plate (10), Bronze open-work pendent (11)

Five graves from the Carnuntum sample contained evidence of a belt, all of which were of the third and fourth phase. Only one out of the four cremation burials contained a belt fixture as a primary good. [866] In the one inhumation burial of the sample, fittings were found around the

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[866] Since the bronze stud (17) of grave 144 was the only part of a belt surviving, Jilek believes that the belt was burnt on the pyre and the rest of the fixtures did not make it into the grave (1999: 72).

pelvis area, indicating that the deceased may have worn the belt, so this project considers them part of a primary gift (Pl. 10-39).

Graves 26 and 174B give evidence of two particularly elaborate bronze belts with several similarities. Grave 26 contained various bronze pieces of one elaborate belt (Pl. 10-41). The buckle (8) was "D" shaped and featured a protruding flange at the back. One fitting (7) was an open work pendant that was composed of three varied "trumpet-shaped" sections. In addition, two strap pendants with hanging tongues survived (9, 10), which would have been attached to the strap ends with a rivet.[867] Finally, two studs survived, one with a conical head and a stay button on its bottom (12) and the other that was flat (11). Grave 174B also contained a buckle (9) similar to that of grave 26, with the tongue still attached to the facet that was located at the back of the "D" (Pl. 10-42). There was also an open worked fitting (10) that was formed in part by two trumpet-shaped objects that rested on each other's opposite ends. On the back of this piece were two preserved rivets and an iron back plate. Another fitting (11) of the same type survived but the back plate was not preserved.

Of the three other graves that contained evidence of belt fixtures, grave 23[868] contained a bronze belt pendant (5), composed of two parts: a bronze clamp with a rivet on one end and a tongue on the other end (Pl. 10-43). This piece was attached to and hung down from the terminal of the belt to reinforce it (Jilek 1999: 72; Simpson 1976: 198). Graves 130 and 144 contained evidence of belt studs, which may have served as decorative fasteners for a belt set (Jilek 1999: 72). Grave 130, an inhumation burial, contained four bronze studs (Pl. 10-39). Two of the studs (1, 2) were flat and held white enamel inserts that were edged with an orange border with black

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[867] The tongue of find #10 is separated from the clamp.
[868] Possibly, the bronze belt pendant of grave 23 (5) was also deposited as a primary grave gift since most of the belt fittings do not survive.

dots. The other two studs (3, 4) were spherical with eye-shape heads. All four studs featured a flat stay button on their back that attached to a flange. Studs representing belts without a buckle are sometimes found in burials (Philpott 1991: 188). Grave 144 held a bronze stud (17) that was found with a stay button on its back (Pl. 10-40). Since it is believed that this item was burnt on the funeral pyre, other evidence of the belt fittings must not have made it into the grave (Jilek 1999: 72).

As with the Aquincum sample, evidence of belts can shed light on the identities of the deceased. In only two of the five cases, graves 130 and 174B were the remains sexed and aged, both as mature males (41–60). Given their age and the inclusion of a belt, they may have been veterans. Additionally, graves 26, 144 and 174B also each held fibulae, which reinforces the identification of the deceased as soldiers or veterans (Jilek 1999: 69; Gassner 1999: 88; see page 467). Graves 26 and the cist grave 174B, which held elaborate belt fixtures, were also quite richly furnished compared to other graves and they were interred in grave enclosures, which means that if they were soldiers, they were potentially of higher rank and/or had found some success in civilian life after their service.[869]

The inclusion of a mirror in grave 23 makes it likely that the deceased was a woman (Gassner 1999: 88; see pages 404; 446–447). Even though belt pendants of the sort found in this grave are not normally found with women, Gassner does offer an example from the mid fourth century of a female buried with two very similar silver strap pendants (Gassner 1999: 85; Haberey 1949: 84, 93, Pl. 7.12). It is possible therefore, that the remains are in fact female,

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[869] Grave 26 was a disturbed grave found in a grave enclosure composed of a rubble wall held together by mortar. Unfortunately, the whole enclosure was unable to be excavated. The grave was rectangular and lined with tiles. The burial included a *terra sigillata* plate (1), a lamp (2), glass flask (3), two bronze coins (4, 5), a knee fibula (6), a bone token and an iron knife (14) in addition to the belt fittings (7–12).

especially since women from the region were known to have worn cord belts with long straps and the end of which were bronze strap pendants (Fischer 2002: 236; Croom 2000: 143).[870]

13.9 Conclusion

While the evidence of belt fixtures from either cemetery was rather sparse, the handful that were interred were able to provide fairly significant information concerning the deceased. It seems likely that seven of the ten graves from both cemeteries that contained belt fixtures held the remains of a soldier or a veteran. From the Aquincum sample, the remains of the three of the individuals who were possible soldiers or veterans could be identified as adult males and their graves contained no other personal goods.[871] Interestingly enough, all three graves were from graveyard V. From the Carnuntum sample, three of the graves that may have contained soldiers or veterans also contained evidence of a fibula.[872] Additionally, the two graves that contained elaborate belt fixtures were also interred in a grave enclosure and they also contained several other grave goods, indicating their success in military and/or civilian life.[873] Grave 130, an inhumation grave, however, was different. Even though the deceased was thought to be a mature male and veteran (Jilek 1999: 72–73), he was not buried with a fibula and the grave contained no other goods. Evidence provided from this small sample, shows slight variances in how soldiers

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[870] The belt fixture could have belonged to several different cord belts. Thomas Fischer and Alexandra Croom are likely referring to the "three strap belts" which are depicted on tombstones, particularly in eastern Noricum and western Pannonia (Rothe 2012: 220). These sorts of belts had long straps often with metal terminal fittings. In the past, scholars have taken this to be part of a "national dress," but as Rothe points out, these sorts of belts are only one type of many belts that local women may have worn, and they are found in other areas, like Germany and in north-east Italy (2012: 220). Still, scholars working in other areas believe these belts are brought in by women immigrating from the middle Danube region to other areas (Eckardt 2014: 33; Fischer 2002: 236).

[871] Graves 16.V, 27.V, and grave 51.V.

[872] Graves 26, 144 and 174B.

[873] Graves 26 and 174B.

and veterans were generally treated when comparing both cemeteries, but there was a commonality in that a belt was an indicator of occupation.

All seven of theses graves were believed to be of adult or mature males, which contributes to their identification as soldiers or veterans. When the burial includes an item like a mirror, which is typically associated with females (grave 23) or the remains of a child (grave 12.VI), it is more difficult to ascribe such an identity. In both of these cases, the belt fixtures were thought to be typical of adult males. While there are perfectly reasonable explanations regarding the inclusion of such belt fixtures, these examples highlight that more context may be needed before reaching conclusions on what a belt meant in relation to the deceased.

13.10 Jewelry: Introduction

Jewelry in the Roman world served several functions, beyond its use in fashion. According to Ulpian in the *Digest*, jewelry (*ornamenta*) and materials such as gold, pearls and precious stones that serve no purpose of function other than to decorate the body are considered jewelry. The jurist purposely excludes signet rings from this judgement as they served a practical purpose, which will be discussed (34. 25. 10–11; Berg 2002: 22). Under Roman law, therefore, jewelry was meant to be worn on the body and enhance a person's appearance. As an article that was meant to adorn the body, jewelry played a role in displaying the status of the individual wearing it. High quality materials of great value helped to project the wealth and high rank of the wearer (Facsády 2009: 19–20; Berg 2002: 61–62). Many types of jewelry that were made of certain materials or contained images or were ascribed certain powers through magic were worn to protect the wearer from unseen forces.

Jewelry items such as beads, necklaces, rings, earrings and pendants were found in very few graves from both cemeteries. One reason for this is that often jewelry was considered wealth that was to be passed on through generations as inheritance, which is a major reason why it is discussed with some frequency in Roman law (Milovanović 2018: 103; Facsády 2009: 14, 21; Berg 2002: 51–52; Oliver 1996: 130). The inclusion of jewelry in burials was apparently not a rite that was widely practiced and judging from the diversity of jewelry that was found in these few burials, it was quite an individualized rite. Mourners may have included jewelry for sentimental reasons; perhaps to mark the unfulfilled potential of the deceased, or possibly to furnish them with items they might need in the afterlife. Consequently, individual pieces of jewelry or groupings of jewelry together with other goods buried with the deceased may be indicators of social status, the life stage of the individual at the time of death, superstitious or religious beliefs of the mourners, or even gender.

Traditionally, scholars, both ancient and modern have gendered most jewelry as feminine (Berg 2002: 15–16). Beads, necklaces and earrings are usually associated with women, while finger-rings are associated with both men and women. In fact, when experts are not able to sex human remains based on osteological data, they will often use personal ornaments to assign a sex to them (Cool 2004: 389; Philpott 1991: 132). As Lindsay Allason-Jones has pointed out, however, it is possible that ornaments traditionally associated with females in the northern portion of the empire could be found with males who immigrated from elsewhere in the empire,[874] or pieces associated with certain religious beliefs or superstitions may transcend gender lines (1995: 25).[875] Concerning the cemeteries of this study, the likelihood is that most of

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[874] She presents literary evidence that single earrings, for example, may be worn by men in the eastern part of the empire, or parts of North Africa (Allason-Jones 1995: 25).

[875] Single beads may have been worn around the necks of both sexes because of amuletic properties (Allason-Jones 1995: 27; Crummy 2007: 180).

the jewelry will belong to females, especially in cases where the jewelry is found along with other female oriented personal items, which together reinforce this particular identity. Gender and other identities, such as life stage and social status, are important, but the burial of personal items and jewelry with the deceased also may also represent a marker that implies amuletic functions and may inform us about beliefs regarding the afterlife.

13.11 Jewelry: Aquincum

Table 13-9: Aquincum- Total and Percentage of Graves Containing Jewelry per Phase

The figures in the "Total" column are the number of burials in each phase. Under "Jewelry," is the total number of burials containing jewelry and the percentage of burials from each phase containing jewelry.

	Total	Jewelry
1st Phase	46	4 (8.7%)
2nd Phase	33	0 (0.0%)
3rd Phase	32	3 (9.4%)
4th Phase	52	6 (11.5%)

Table 13-10: Aquincum- Number of Burials Containing Jewelry as Primary and Secondary Goods from Each Phase.

The number of burials containing jewelry per phase is under "Total." Burials which cannot be distinguished as a primary or secondary goods appear under "ND" (Not Distinguished). Any goods found on the body in an inhumation burial are under "Primary (I)"

	Total	Primary	Primary (I)	Secondary	ND
1st Phase	4	1	1	1	1
2nd Phase	0	0	0	0	0
3rd Phase	3	2	1	0	0
4th Phase	6	4	0	2	0

In the Aquincum sampling there was thirteen graves that contained at least one piece of jewelry. There are no second-phase graves containing jewelry, which is interesting given that other items such as flagons, plates and lamps are found in more burials in this period than any other. In two inhumation burials, the jewelry was on the body of the deceased, so the jewelry is considered primary.[876]

Table 13-11: Aquincum- Burials Containing Jewelry

I- Grave   II- Graveyard   III- Phase   IV- Grave Good Type
P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation   V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	
5	I	1st Phase	P (I)	3, 4	Bronze ring (3); bronze ring with past inset (4)
52	I	1st Phase	GG	2	Necklace of amber beads w/ phallic pendant
7	III	4th Phase	P	7, 8, 9	Melon shaped ribbed bead (7), half annular black bead (8), black bead (9)
6	V	1st Phase	S	5	Frag. of bronze *bulla* (7)
28	V	4th Phase	S	4, 7, 8	12 disc shaped green glass beads and a barrel-shaped green glass bead (4), bronze *bulla* w/ raisin (7), bronze wire earring (8)
6	VI	1st Phase	P	5	Bronze earring (5)
7	VI	3rd Phase	P	9, 10, 11	Glass paste ring gem (9), white opal ring gem (10), white opal ring gem (11)
11	VI	4th Phase	P	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2 amber beads (2, 3), 4 dark blue glass beads (4), 2 white glass beads w/leaf gilding (5), twisted double wire bronze earring (6)
28	VI	4th Phase	P	12, 13	Gold earring (12), 2 gold beads (13)
34	VI	4th Phase	P	19	Gold open-work earing w/ greyish-white pearl in center
75	VI	3rd Phase	P	13, 14	2 bronze beads (13, 14)
127	VI	3rd Phase	P (I)	19 (a–g)	Necklace of various beads (19a–g)
146	VI	4th Phase	S	9	Ribbed bead of vitreous paste (9)

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[876] The two bronze rings (3,4) of grave 5.I are on two of the fingers of the right hand. The necklace (9) of grave 127.VI are located in the neck area of the child.

Ten of the thirteen burials that contained jewelry held only one type,[877] although in two burials more than one item of the same type of jewelry was present.[878] All three graves that held more than one type of jewelry are from the fourth period.[879] Jewelry composed of beads is difficult to quantify, since only the beads survive in cases where a string made of an organic material is used. In some burials there were many beads, so it is unclear how many pieces of jewelry were originally placed. In other instances, only one or two beads survived, so therefore it is difficult to determine if they were part of a larger piece.[880] Beads were the most popular type of jewelry pieces as seven graves held at least one bead.[881] Earrings were the next most popular, as five graves held at least one.[882] Two graves contained bronze *bullae*,[883] while one grave contained rings,[884] another held ring gems,[885] and one contained an amuletic necklace.[886]

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[877] Graves 5.I and 52.I, grave 7.III, grave 6.V and Graves 6.VI, 7.VI, 34.VI, 75.VI, 127.VI and 146.VI.

[878] Grave 5.I contained two rings (3, 4) and Grave 7.VI contained three ring gems (9–11).

[879] Grave 28.V contained disc shaped and a barrel shaped bead (4), a bronze *bulla* (7) and an earring of bronze wire (8). Grave 11.VI held a number of beads (2–5) and a bronze earring (6). Grave 28.VI contained a gold earring (12) and two gold beads (13).

[880] Grave 28.V contained two gold beads (13). Grave 75.VI held two bronze beads (13, 14) and grave 146.VI contained one ribbed bead.

[881] Grave 7.III (7–9), grave 28.V (4), and grave 11.VI (2–5), grave 28.VI (13), grave 75.VI (13, 14), grave 127.VI (19) and grave 146.VI (9).

[882] Grave 28.V (8), and grave 6.VI (5), grave 11.VI (6), grave 28.VI (12) and grave 34.VI (19).

[883] Grave 6.V (7) and grave 28.V (7).

[884] Grave 5.I (3, 4).

[885] Grave 7.VI (9–11).

[886] Grave 52.I (2).

13.12 Jewelry: Carnuntum

Table 13-12: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Jewelry

I- Grave   GT- Grave Type   III- Phase or General Date   IV- Grave Good Type
P (I)- Primary Grave Good of an Inhumation   V- Artifact Number

I	GT	III	IV	V	
11	C	No Date	P	2	5 faience beads
40	C	No Date	S	7	Iron finger ring
80A	C	3rd Phase	P	6	Gold coin pendant
102	I	3rd c.	S	6, 7, 10	Bulla (6), *crepundia* (7), 61 faience beads (10)
113	I	3rd c.	S	3	23 faience beads (3)
117	C	4th Phase	S	2	Gold earring w/ glass paste (2)
178	C	3rd c.	S	7	Silverly glass cylindrical bead
179	C	No Date	S	15	Bronze finger ring
182	I	3rd c.	P (I)	1, 2	2 gold earrings (1), 2 beads of coloured bone (2)

From the Carnuntum cemetery, nine graves contained jewelry, only two of which fall within the phase scheme. One grave is of the third phase and one grave is of the fourth phase. Of the remainder, four of the graves date to the third century and three graves were not dated. Six of the nine were cremation burials,[887] of which two contained jewelry as primary goods[888] and four as secondary gifts.[889] The jewelry of one inhumation burial was found on the body so the jewelry is considered primary.[890] The items of jewelry of the other two inhumation graves were not found on the bodies of the deceased so they are considered secondary goods.

The sampling from Carnuntum is very much like that of Aquincum in that most graves only contained one type of jewelry[891] and, also like Aquincum, the two burials that held more

[887] Grave 102 is a sarcophagus burial containing three individuals, while graves 113 and 182 are simple inhumation burials. The authors suspect the individual in grave 113 was buried in a wooden container (1999: 161).
[888] The finds of graves 11 and 80A.
[889] The finds of graves 40, 117, 178 and 179.
[890] The two black bone beads (2) from grave 182 were found near the right wrist of the infant I (2–3 years old) and on both sides of the skull at the height of the ears were found a pair of golden earrings (1).
[891] Graves 11, 40, 80A, 113, 117, 178 and 179.

than one type of jewelry are from the third century (fourth period).[892] A difference, however, is that both of those two burials at Carnuntum were inhumations, while at Aquincum all three burials with multiple pieces were cremations.[893] Beads here were also the most prevalent element of jewelry. Five of the nine Carnuntum graves held beads, in three cases several beads,[894] and in two cases only one or two beads.[895] No other form of jewelry was prevalent. Two burials contained earrings,[896] two contained rings, [897] one contained a pendant fashioned from a coin, [898] one contained a bronze *bulla*, [899] and one contained an amuletic necklace.[900]

13.13 Beads and Necklaces

In both cemeteries, beads were the most common jewelry element found. It is likely that beads served as part of necklaces, bracelets, or on their own or in pairs as amulets.[901] In this study, if more than two beads were found in a grave, it is assumed that they belonged to a necklace or bracelet, unless the publication states otherwise. Often beads were threaded together with a metal wire of copper or gold, which can survive archaeologically; however, in only one grave from the sampling that includes both cemeteries is the wire of a necklace preserved.[902] In

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[892] Grave 102, a sarcophagus burial, contained a bronze *bulla* (6) and amulet (7) and sixty-one faience beads (10). Grave 182 contained two gold earrings (1) and two coloured-bone, beads (2).

[893] As has been pointed out numerous times, it is impossible to discern what other goods may have been placed on the funeral pyre.

[894] Grave 11 contained five beads (2), grave 102 held sixty-one beads (10) and grave 113 contained twenty-three beads (3).

[895] Grave 178 contained one bead (7) and 182 contained two beads (2).

[896] Grave 117 contained one earring (2) and grave 182 contained two earrings (1).

[897] Grave 40 (7) and grave 179 (15).

[898] Grave 80A (6).

[899] Grave 102 (6).

[900] Grave 102 (7).

[901] Presumably, beads could also be elements of other pieces of jewelry such as earrings, but this use is not explored in this paper as it is more difficult to show.

[902] The gold wire of the amuletic necklace (*crepundia*) of the sarcophagus burial, grave 102, is preserved (Pl. 10-51).

most of these cases the element holding the beads together was made of a perishable material,

like string or leather (Milovanović 2018: 114; Allason-Jones 1989: 122), so, therefore, even if

the good was a secondary grave good or in the case where the beads were placed on the pyre, the

linking material may not have survived. Of course, if a beaded necklace was placed on the pyre,

not all beads would have likely made it into the burial. Still, archaeologists have found enough

examples where one or two beads were found in a grave and some speculate that frequently they

may have been deposited as amulets which is how they will be treated in this paper.

Five burials in the Aquincum sampling contained evidence of a beaded necklace. One

burial comes from the first phase, and it is not clear how the necklace was used in the funerary

ceremony.[903] As noted above, no graves from the second phase contain jewelry. One third period

grave contains a necklace that is likely a primary grave good as it was found in the area of the

neck of the inhumed child.[904] Three burials from the fourth period contained necklaces, two of

which were deposited as primary grave goods[905] and one as a secondary gift.[906] The remains of

all but one of the five burials[907] are sexed as female, either through anthropological means[908] or

because of the other grave goods associated with the grave.[909] The association of beaded

necklaces with females is not surprising given that many other types of jewelry are likewise

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[903] Grave 52.I (2). The necklace with eight amber beads and a phallic pendant is listed as a grave good. Since the beads are not mentioned as being burnt, it could very well be a secondary grave gift.

[904] Grave 127.VI (19). Topál mentions that the necklace belongs to the little girl (Topál 1993: 53), which is referring to the inhumed child and not the cremation burial located in the same grave (see page 446, note 795 for a discussion of the burial and Pl. 3-37 for a picture of the burial). According to the drawing (Topál 1993: Pl. 74), the necklace looks like it was placed in the area of the neck of the child. In this case, in which the necklace might have been placed on the inhumed corpse, the piece is a primary grave gift.

[905] Grave 7.III (7, 8, 9) and Grave 11.VI (2–5).

[906] Grave 28.V (4).

[907] Topál was not certain if the remains of grave 52.I were inhumed or cremated (2003a: 94).

[908] The remains of grave 11.VI belong to a mature female.

[909] Based on the goods buried with the deceased, the remains of grave 7.III are thought to belong to an adult female. Grave 28.V belongs to an infant II or a juvenile female (7–15 years old). The inhumed remains of grave 127.VI belong to an infant I (1–6 years old).

associated with females. The remains of two of the graves are of adults[910], one is of an older child or juvenile[911] and the last is of a small child.[912]

From the Carnuntum sampling, a total of four graves contains a necklace or bracelet. Of these, three are dated to the third century,[913] while one is undated.[914] One of the burials was a cremation grave, with the piece deposited as a primary good, while the other three burials were inhumations. It was not possible to determine to whom the necklace in sarcophagus grave 102 belonged. The grave contained the inhumed remains of an adult (25–35 years old), a juvenile (14–15 years old), and an Infant I (2–3 years old) but excavators did not indicate the positions of the finds within the burial. Grave 113 contained an infant I (2–3 years old).[915] The two black bone beads from grave 182 were found near the right wrist of the infant I (2–3 years old), so the article was a bracelet. Since the pieces were found on the body, the beads are primary grave goods. It is possible therefore that at least three necklaces/bracelets from Carnuntum could be associated with a child or a juvenile.

Necklaces may function as a piece of fashion, may imply wealth and power or even convey amuletic and magical properties, sometimes all at once. As fashion pieces the beads that made up necklaces were made of a diverse array of materials, such as the metals gold and bronze, semi-precious stones, such as amber, jet and emeralds, bone, faience and glass, and were formed in a variety of shapes and sizes. In fact, from the second century into the third century an assortment of beads of various colours, materials and shapes were strung on the same necklace, as polychromatic jewelry was in style (Milovanović 2018: 114; Oliver 1996: 134; Stout 1994:

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[910] Grave 7.III held an adult and grave 11.VI contained a mature adult.

[911] Grave 28.V contained an infant II or juvenile (7–15 years old).

[912] Grave 127.VI held an infant I (1–6 years old).

[913] Graves 102, 113 and 182.

[914] Grave 11 is not dated.

[915] The publication does not say or show in a picture where the beads were placed relative to the remains, so a determination on whether it was a primary or secondary gift cannot be made.

78; Allason-Jones 1989: 122; Higgins 1961: 180). The use of more valuable, sought-after materials such as amber, jet, emerald and gold in great quantities was certainly ideal in demonstrating one's socio-economic status (Facsády 2009: 19–20; Oliver 1996: 134). More expensive materials could be substituted with materials of lesser value, like glass and bronze, and be fashioned into the same shapes and ornamentation found on more expensive pieces allowing the wearer to look fashionable (Milovanović 2018: 114; Facsády 2009: 22).

The frequency with which people wore necklaces as fashion objects in their daily lives is unknown. Apart from Egyptian funerary portraits, necklaces did not often appear in mainstream art in the empire. If they are shown, often only part of the piece will appear because of high necklines (Croom 2000: 115).[916] On tombstones from Pannonia native women were sometimes depicted with necklaces that were integrated into the native dress (Sáró 2018: 261),[917] but pectoral jewelry and even torques tended to predominate in Pannonia (Rothe 2012: 215–217).[918] Still, beaded necklaces were found in burials of the region from the late Iron Age (Jerem 2003: 200); however, beaded jewelry really did not come into fashion in the region until the Severan period, which corresponds with the decline of native dress (Ottományi 2016).

Although beaded jewelry appeared more frequently in burials during this time, it is sometimes difficult to determine how old such jewelry is. Since necklaces made of valuable materials were assets and a sign of wealth, they were often passed down through generations as part of inheritance (Milovanović 2018: 102) and were even defined in Roman law for such purposes (Ulp. *Dig*. 34. 2. 25. 10–11; Facsády 2009: 19; Berg 2002: 51–52; Oliver 1996: 130).

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[916] Pieces of jewelry might have been painted on, in which case the painted elements would not survive (Facsády 2008: 233).

[917] For example, the woman on the stone LUPA 834 wears a short, beaded necklace.

[918] Pectoral jewelry often consisted of brooches set across the chest which were often joined by chains. Sometimes pendants hung from this formation (Rothe 2012: 216).

Beads of various ages could also be restrung and combined with beads of other types and forms in combinations (Eckardt 2014: 49; Cool 2010: 34), as in the case of polychromic necklaces. Therefore, even though beaded necklaces appear with greater frequency in burials of the third century in Pannonia, it is difficult to determine the age of each individual bead.

In the cemetery of Aquincum, there are indications that mourners may have offered necklaces of significant value to the deceased, since they included beads of semi-precious stones, but most burials held less valuable glass beads. Two graves contained necklaces that contained amber beads.[919] Amber may not have been expensive in Aquincum, given that it was located on a branch of the Amber Road to the Baltic Sea from where much of the amber of the empire was imported (Milovanović 2018: 104; Vass: 2016: 70; Eckardt 2014: 105). Some scholars speculate, however, that it was first processed in Aquileia, known for its amber working, and then exported back north to Aquincum (Vass: 2016: 70). In any case, Pliny sees amber as a highly valued object of luxury (*NH*. 12), particularly desired by women (*NH*. 11). One grave contained a bead that may have been made of jet,[920] but because the beads of this burial were placed on the pyre, they are too damaged to say for sure. Jet was a popular stone in the northern provinces of the empire, including Pannonia during the second and third century (Facsády 2009: 25). Although there were other places where similar minerals could be mined, the main center for its extraction was in Britain (Milovanović 2018: 104; Facsády 2009: 25–26). Jet was rare and expensive, so other materials such as shale and black glass often served as a substitute for it. This may have been the case for the bead in Aquincum (Facsády 2009: 26). Glass beads were commonly found

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[919] Grave 52.I contained a necklace of eight cylindrical amber beads and an amber phallic pendant likely as secondary goods, so all of them would have made it into the grave (2). Grave 11.VI held two burnt amber beads (2, 3). Because the necklace was burned on the pyre, there very well could have been more of them on the necklace that did not make it into the burial.

[920] The fragment of the annular bead from grave 7.III could be of black glass or jet (8). Since it was found with another heavily burnt and melted black bead which is likely glass (9), find #8 could be glass as well.

and probably held very little monetary value.[921] Other types of beads; a bone bead (19d) and gilded beads of various shapes[922] were found in Grave 127.VI (Pl. 10-20).

Concerning the total composition of the necklaces, evidence shows that there was a variety of styles, with the three deposited as secondary grave goods, as the best preserved. The necklace of the first phase, in grave 52.I, held eight cylindrical amber beads and an amber phallic pendant. The necklace of Grave 127.VI of the third phase, fit into the category of polychromic as it held a variety of different coloured and sized beads, made of various materials.[923] The necklace of grave 28.V, of the fourth phase held twelve disc-shaped beads of green vitreous paste and a barrel-shaped bead of green glass (Pl. 10-17). The two graves that contained beaded necklaces as primary grave goods were more difficult to interpret, since the contents were burnt and dispersed. Because of the nature of the evidence the beads may represent more than one piece of jewelry although it is possible that both sets of beads belonged to polychromic necklaces. Grave 11.VI contained two burnt amber beads, four dark blue beads and white, gilded glass beads (Pl. 10.18), while grave 7.III contained a melon-shaped, ribbed bead of pale greenish-blue vitreous paste and two damaged black beads, of either glass or jet (Pl. 10-16). Without knowing the composition of the black beads of grave 7.III the value of the necklace cannot be determined. This may mean that only the amber pendant necklace of grave 52.I held any monetary value.

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[921] Grave 7.III contained a melon-shaped, ribbed bead of a greenish-blue vitreous paste (7). It also contained the two beads which are likely glass, but they could be jet or a material like it (8, 9). Grave 28.V held twelve beads of green vitreous paste and a barrel-shaped green glass bead (4). Grave 11.VI held four dark blue glass beads (4) and two white glass beads with leaf gilding (4), in addition to the two amber beads mentioned before (2, 3). Grave 127.VI contained two whitish-yellow, millet-like glass beads (19a), three black glass beads (19b), three blue glass beads (19c) in addition to a bone bead (19d) and gilded beads which could be made from bone or glass (19e–g).
[922] Three bone or glass gilded beads (19e), three gilded double/twin beads (19f) and four gilded treble beads (19g).
[923] Grave 127.VI contained two whitish-yellow, millet-like glass beads (19a), three black glass beads (19b), three blue glass beads (19c) in addition to a bone bead (19d), three bone or glass gilded beads (19e), three gilded double/twin beads (19f) and four gilded treble beads (19g).

While in the sample of Aquincum there was a variety of beads of different shapes and materials strung into necklaces, the beads (possibly necklaces), in three of the four burials of Carnununtum were faience beads. Faience consists of a glaze covered body of powdered quartz (Higgins 1961: 44). Most of the pieces were rough and somewhat cuboid, except for a few long slim cylindrical beads on the necklace of grave 102. The five fire-damaged faience beads of grave 11 were originally dark green (Pl. 10-44). In the inhumation burials, fifty-five light blue faience beads and six dark blue cylindrical beads were found in grave 102 (Pl. 10-45), while a necklace of twenty-three mall medium-blue faience beads was found in grave 113 (Pl. 10-46). None of these necklaces would have been of great value.

In addition to their function as a fashion accessory, or a sign of status and wealth, beaded necklaces may also have invoked magical and apotropaic properties. Full necklaces buried with children (Gassner 1999: 86), as in grave 127.VI in Aquincum, and grave 113 and possibly grave 102 at Carnuntum may have possessed such properties. Individual stones themselves on necklaces may also have invoked powers. Amber beads were found in two burials, one of which may belong to an adult female and the remains of the other is unknown.[924] Pliny mentions that it is beneficial to infants if they wear amber as an amulet and it held numerous medical (*NH*. 37.12) and electrostatic properties (*NH*. 37.11). Amber was clearly a special stone for a variety of reasons, and it should not be surprising that it may have held greater meaning to mourners than as just a luxurious and sentimental gift to be given to the deceased. Jet, which was the possible material of a bead from the Aquincum sample,[925] also allegedly held certain magical and medicinal powers. As well, beads of this sort could also complement the powers of amuletic pendants that were often found on beaded necklaces. The best example of this is the amber

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[924] Grave 52. I (2) and grave 11. VI (2, 3).
[925] Grave 7. III (7 and possibly 8).

phallic pendant of grave 52.I which is complemented and perhaps enhanced as a charm by the accompaniment of amber beads.

13.14 Isolated Beads

Some burials of Aquincum and Carnuntum held only one or two beads. They too may have been part of other pieces of jewelry, necklaces/bracelets[926] or even accidental deposits, but the phenomenon of a pair or single bead in burials has been noticed in other areas of the western empire (Cool 2004: 390; Allason-Jones 1995: 27; Philpott 1991, 130).[927] In Aquincum, three burials contained one or two beads, one burial from the late third period[928] and two from the fourth period.[929] In two of these, the beads were deposited as primary goods[930] and one was deposited as a secondary gift.[931] In Carnuntum, two graves of the fourth period (third century) contained one or two beads deposited as secondary gifts.[932] It is difficult to discern the sex and age of the individuals buried, but the cremated remains of one individual from Aquincum[933] and one inhumed person from Carnuntum were children.[934]

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[926] The two bone beads of grave 182 (2), found in the area of the right wrist of the child, are thought to have been part of a bracelet.

[927] Scholarly interpretations of beads having amuletic properties, no matter what material it was constructed from, have existed for quite some time. For example, Gustavus Eisen organized and interpreted lotus- and melon-beads from a variety of locales from antiquity to the medieval period and he believed that such beads had amuletic properties based on his own observations, but also on those of other scholars (1930: 21–22). More recently, Lindsay Allason-Jones notes that melon beads of blue glass, which are usually found individually, may have been worn individually for amuletic purposes (1995: 27).

[928] Grave 75.VI contained two bronze beads (13, 14).

[929] Grave 28.VI held two gold beads (13) and grave 146.VI contained on ribbed bead of a pale turquoise-blue vitreous paste (9). This grave was destroyed by the inclusion of grave 139 and by the earth-moving machinery. Only the eastern side was left intact.

[930] Grave 28.VI (13) and grave 75.VI (13, 14).

[931] Grave 75.VI (9).

[932] Grave 178 contained a small, silvery bead in cylindrical form and grave 182, which is an inhumation grave, contained two fragmented, elongated beads of coloured bone.

[933] Grave 28.VI is thought to belong to an infant II female (7–12 years old).

[934] Grave 182 belongs to a child.

Elsewhere in the western empire where one or two beads are found in burials they are thought to have been deposited secondarily, but not always (Philpott 1991: 130). One explanation for this phenomenon is that the bead was lost casually (Cool 2004: 390), but scholars also believe that mourners deposited a few beads from a necklace that may have belonged to the deceased and kept the rest of the necklace as a keepsake. In this way, the deceased received a token amount of the piece, which would stand for the whole (Philpott 1991: 130).

These beads may also have possessed amuletic significance, meaning that the object was supposed to avert harm or bring about good fortune or even have medicinal or magical properties (Philpott 1991: 164; Meaney 1981: 3–4). Allason-Jones mentions that a bead worn around the neck on a leather thong, or a thin wire could have been worn by men or women (Allason-Jones 1995: 27; Crummy *et al*. 2007: 180). If this theory is correct, it is not necessarily valid to assign a female gender to human remains with which a bead or two were found, without further evidence.[935] Scholars believe that the practice of wearing one bead is derived from an earlier La Tène or at least "non-Roman" practice and was continued with bead forms and styles brought in by the Romans (Crummy *et al*. 2007: 180). With the amuletic theory in mind, the ribbed bead (7) of grave 146.VI of Aquincum which was deposited as a secondary gift may have been deposited for that function (Pl. 10-22). If we count beads deposited as primary grave goods, it is possible that the two bronze beads (13 and 14) of grave 75.VI (Pl. 10-21) and the two gold beads (12) of grave 28.VI (Pl. 10-19) may also have served an amuletic function as did likewise the melon-shaped ribbed bead (7) of grave 7.III (Pl. 10-16).

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[935] For example, grave 75.VI, for which no sex was assigned, could belong to a male, even though two bronze beads are present (13 and 14), since there really are not any other gendered personal items in the grave inventory. Three flagons were deposited secondarily (1–3), while the primary grave goods include various ceramics (4–9), a lamp (10), a bronze *as*, and a fragment of a millefiori glass disc (11), which could have gendered connotations.

At Carnuntum, there also were isolated beads that may have served an amuletic function. One small silvery, cylindrical glass bead (7) from grave 178 was placed in the burial secondarily (Pl. 10-47). Two elongated, flat beads of blackened bone (2) from grave 182 were found around the right wrist of a child (2-3), probably as a bracelet (Pl. 10-48). It is possible that the mourners wished to provide the child with a substitute for jet, which as mentioned previously had medicinal and magic properties and was popular during the third century, when this burial was interred (Jilek 1999: 71).

13.15 Amulets

Beads were not the only pieces of jewelry that may have had amuletic significance. Such goods could be sold by specialists or made by individuals for their own purposes. Many objects from knotted strings and ribbons to nails, figurines, and cameos, etc. could be considered amulets (Bendlin "Phylakterion" *BNP*) and although various objects may have held amuletic significance, this section focuses on *bullae*, pendants and *crepundia*, whose main function was amuletic.

Bullae were a type of pendant worn as an amulet and were originally of Etruscan origin but were adopted by the Romans early in their development (Goette 1986: 139–143). From the literary sources focused on Rome and Italy scholars know that sons of freeborn Romans wore a *bulla* as a child along with the *toga praetexta*, until they became adults, when they then donned the *toga virilis* and dedicated the *bulla* to the household gods at the lararium (Binder and Saiko "Age(s): Rome and Italy" *BNP*; Goette 1986: 138). Their main function was to protect young boys from malevolent forces (Milovanović 2018: 217; Facsády 2009: 67; Szilágyi 2005: 161; Jilek 1999: 71; Philpott 1991: 157; Goette 1986: 138), but for much of the Republic, it also

marked the boy as freeborn (Milovanović 2018: 217; Facsády 2009: 67; Stout 1994: 77; Goette 1986: 135–136). Later in the Republic and in the empire when the custom spread, many children and women wore *bullae* for protection, including in Pannonia, where it was found in burials (Milovanoić 2018: 127; Facsády 2009: 67; Szilágyi 2005: 161).

Bullae were often globular capsules usually composed of two pieces with a hollow sphere inside. Expensive *bulla*e were composed of gold and silver but were rare in Pannonia. Most of those that have survived are of bronze (Facsády 2009: 67; Szilágyi 2005: 161) but *bullae* were also made of leather (Goette 1986: 135, 137). The capsule could hold a variety of substances with purported amuletic properties, like magical inscriptions, plant remains such as seeds or thorns (Facsády 2009: 67), hair (Milovanoić 2018: 127), or textile (Szilágyi 2005: 161). The *bullae* were often worn around the neck with a leather strap (Goetter 1986: 135), but a cord (sometimes beaded) was also used (Milovanoić 2018: 127).

In the Bécsi Road cemetery two cremation graves, (one from the first phase,[936] and one the fourth phase[937]) both of graveyard V, contained bronze *bullae*. Both were deposited as secondary gifts. The *bulla* (7) placed in grave 28.V contained a raisin,[938] which must have held amuletic significance (Pl. 10-23). Nothing of the capsule survived in grave 6.V, and only one side of the damaged *bulla* (5) remained (Pl. 10-24). The remains of grave 28.V are thought to belong to an older child or a juvenile and likely a female,[939] based on the grave inventory, while

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[936] Grave 6.V (5).
[937] Grave 28.V (7).
[938] The hinge of the piece is missing.
[939] All the grave goods in this inventory are secondary. A handled flagon (1), the lower half of flagon (2), a small toilet bottle (3), disc shaped glass beads (4), a clod of lilac coloured earth (5), a cast lead cover for glass mirror (6), an earring of bronze wire (8), bronze casket fittings (9+10), fragments of tiny think silver fittings for clothing or diadem (?) (11) a bronze *as* or *dupondius* (12).

the grave 6.V remains are believed to be of an adult female. In both cases the gender and the age of the bearer is not surprising.

The only bronze *bulla* found in the southern cemetery of Carnuntum was located in grave 102, a sarcophagus burial from the third century that held an adult female (25–35), an early juvenile (14–15) and a small child (2–3). The bronze *bulla* featured dovetailed edges and a loop for a lanyard (Pl. 10-49). Just as with the necklace found in the grave; it is difficult without further information to determine to whom this piece belonged.[940]

From the Aquincum sample, the necklace of eight amber beads from grave 51.I held one amber phallic amulet. These sorts of amulets were brought in with the movement of Roman soldiers into the area and are generally associated with military sites (Vass 2016: 67: Crummy and Greep 1983: 139). In the area of Aquincum they were mostly found in the settlements and cemeteries directly around military sites (Vass 2016: 67–70). In addition to being pieces of jewelry, phallic pendants such as this[941] served an apotropaic function to ward off the evil eye (Vass 2016: 63).[942] An evil glance was especially harmful to innocent children (Vass 2016: 63; Meaney 1981: 8; Plut. *Quaest. Conv*. 682F), and evidence shows that many people in Roman society, even emperors, wore one to protect themselves from an envious stare (Dasen 2015: 185; Pliny *NH* 28. 39). In this case the phallus was considered an effective counter because it was obscene and shocking enough to "block, distract and avert" the gaze (Vass 2016: 64; Varro *Ling*. 7. 97[943]). A phallic charm could also bring good luck and as a fertility symbol confer virility

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[940] The *bulla* likely belongs to the child, but possibly also the juvenile. Jilek seems to believe this too as he states that the wearers are boys and girls who received the pendant for protection (1999: 71).

[941] Vass classifies this piece as Type 4 (2016: 66, 67), Cat. No. 14, page. 84.

[942] Plutarch discusses the evil eye in the fifth chapter of "Table-Talk". The evil eye can be caused by strong envy which permeates the mind/soul/spirit (ἡ ψυχὴ) and can assail a person through the eyes which are closely connected to ἡ ψυχὴ (Plut. *Quaest. Conv*. 681E; Dasen 2015: 181).

[943] Varro specifically mentions *turpicula res,* (*Ling*. 7. 97). Kent believes *turpicula res* refers the amulet in the shape of a *membrum virile* (1938: §97 note 'a') as do other scholars (Vass 2016: 64; Dasen 2015; 185–186).

(Vass 2016: 64; Philpott 1991: 161; Crummy and Greep 1983: 139). Whatever the functions of the pendant to the wearer, the fact that the pendant and the beads of the necklace were all made of amber likely enhanced the magical properties of the pendant (Vass 2016: 67). Vass points out that most of the phallic pendants of type 4 from Aquincum were found with women and infants (2016: 67). Nothing is known, however, about the human remains, but since this particular piece was found on a beaded necklace, it may very well belong to a child or woman.

Two further amulets were found in the southern cemetery of Carnuntum; a mounted coin and a *crepundia*. The mounted coin was deposited in the cremation grave 80A of the third phase as a primary good (Pl. 10-50). The silver coin was highly worn and only a crown could be made out on one side (Jilek 1999: 70). Surrounding the edge of the coin was a mounting of gold sheet, on which was soldered a gold loop. Such pendants first appeared in the second century and become popular in the third century (Facsády 2009: 23; 1999/2000: 276; Marshall 1911: XLVII). Most mounted coins were gold and made from propagandist coins distributed by short-reigning emperors of the third century (Facsády 1999/2000: 276; 1977: 97). However, the emperor whose coins appear in the greatest abundance in mounted form is Hadrian. As was the case with the coins deposited in burials, coins of Hadrian and Antonine women were popular for mounting (1999/2000: 276). Usually, the piece was manufactured in such a way that the obverse would be facing out (Facsády 1999/2000: 278–279), with the portrait head emphasized to viewers. The images on the coin as pieces of art possessing decorative and possibly propagandist elements along with the metal (often gold), made it an attractive piece to turn into jewelry (Facsády 1999/2000: 269). As a pendant, the piece also held an amuletic function (Marshall 1911: XLVI–XLVII), in part through the protective power of the emperor depicted (Berg 2002: 60). Although the coin in the specimen from Carnuntum was very worn, it must have held worth as wealth, a

fashion piece and/or an amuletic piece.[944] Females are usually associated with this type of pendant and there is a strong possibility that the individual buried in grave 80A was a female.[945]

The *crepundium* (7) was found in sarcophagus grave 102, the same grave that had a *bulla* (6) and necklace (10). In fact, Jilek suggests that the *crepundium* was worn together with the *bulla* on one of the individuals (1999: 71). *Crepundia* were necklaces composed of various amulets given to children to protect them from malevolent influences (Hurschmann "Crepundia"; Vass 2016: 65, no. 22; Dasen 2003: 179; 182). This piece consisted of a gold wire that was simply tied (Pl. 10-51). On the gold wire hung six pendants; a rounded bead made from quartz, an iron ring with a silver wire knot on it, a strongly entwined thin bronze wire, a small gold wire ring with a red faience bed, a Celtic coin[946] and a gold wire knot (Gordian knot). If this piece with its pendants was worn with the *bulla* it would ostensibly provide the bearer increased protection. It is likely then that the smallest child held this as they needed the most protection from malefic forces (Vass: 2016: 71).[947] *Crepundium* meant "trinket," "rattle" or even "toy," so in addition to holding apotropaic properties, the piece also provided for play for infants (Vass 2016: 65, no. 22; Dasen 2003: 179), and the rattling of such an item may in itself have provided apotropaic properties (Martin-Kilcher 2000: 68). This particular piece may have been expensive to craft, as the necklace itself was made of gold, as were other elements.

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[944] Facsády mentions that worn coins were still mounted (1977: 97).

[945] See pages 285–286 for the discussion on the connection between cups and females in the Carnuntum cemetery.

[946] The publication mentions that the coin is not well preserved (Jilek 1999: 71).

[947] In Plautus they are mentioned as being associated with children and kept in their little caskets (*Cist*. 3.1.5; *Rud*. 4.4.37; Hurschmann "Crepundia" *BNP*).

13.16 Rings and Gems

Rings were a common form of jewelry that served numerous purposes. Unlike some other types of jewelry, rings were associated with both males and females (Facsády 2009: 20). Like other jewelry forms they functioned both as fashion and amuletic pieces, but a major function of many rings was often to hold, highlight and protect an engraved gem (Facsády 2009: 35). The intaglio on a gem was used to make a mark, which was understood to represent the individual who owned the ring. In this way, it acted as a signature (Henig 1978: 17; Marshall 1907: XVI) and proof of a personal identity (Facsády 2009: 35). Because rings served this practical purpose, they were mass produced and widespread (Facsády 2009: 35; Henig 1978: 21). Intaglios were engraved on precious and semi-precious stones as well as glass paste with varying degrees of craftsmanship. The medium used and the quality of the engraving was based on how much money a person spent, so therefore a gem could be an indicator of wealth, and /or status (Facsády 2009: 36).

The material that held the engraving reflected one's position in society. This was especially the case with gold rings which were often highly regulated in Roman society, as only people of certain rank and profession could wear golden rings (Stout 1994: 78; Reinhold 1971: 285–287; Marshall 1907: XVIII-XIX).[948] This did not stop individuals from wearing gilded jewelry or forging gems in order to project higher societal status (Reinhold 1971: 284; Marshall

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[948] According to Pliny, members of the senatorial and equestrian orders could wear gold rings (*NH* 33.4), in fact it was a mark (*annuli aurei*- the wearing of a gold ring) of the equestrian order (*NH* 33. 8). During the Augustan and the Flavian period, though, wealthy freedmen, particularly with Imperial patronage, took up the mantle of Equestrians, taking a gold ring among other trappings (Reinhold 1971: 285–287; Pliny *NH* 33. 8). By the late second century, the *anuli aurei* was separated from the granting of Equestrian status (Reinhold 1971: 287). During the reign of Septimius Severus soldiers were permitted to wear gold rings (Hdn. 3.8.5; Reinhold 1971: 287). Tertullian, who wrote in the late second and first half of the third century, mentions women wearing gold betrothal rings (*Apol.* 6.4). By this time, it seems that the wearing of a gold ring had become open to more segments of the population (Milovanović 2018: 134; Stout 1994: 78). It is also possible that the legal rules about class-based insignia may not have been respected in reality (Berg 2002: 46).

1907: XX). Forged signet rings were certainly an issue in the empire (Marshall 1907: XVII).[949]

The use of gold-plated rings shows that individuals were interested in behaving like Romans of a

certain rank and projecting this idea (Henig 1981: 129).

Besides functioning as an object of fashion, rings might sometimes possess magic

qualities. The material of the ring; in particular the stone, could hold magical amuletic properties

to the owner (Facsády 2009: 35) and the engraved image on the stone could also hold artistic

value and even possess alleged magical properties to protect and give luck to the wearer (Henig

1978: 29; Marshall 1907: XXII). In fact, there is evidence that individuals in the ancient world

collected engraved stones (Plin. *NH* 37.1.5–6; Stout 1994: 78; Marshall 1907: XXV).

In the Aquincum sample only one burial, grave 5.I, contained two rings. The paucity of

rings in the burial record is a bit strange since approximately one third of all jewelry items found

in and around the settlement area of Aquincum were finger rings (Facsády 2008–2009: 993).

This grave that held two bronze rings is an inhumation grave, and contained the remains of a

juvenile/adult male and is dated to the turn of the first and second century.[950] One ring was a

bronze signet ring with an intaglio of blue vitreous paste (4), while the other was a plain bronze

ring (3, Pl. 10-25).[951] The intaglio was quite damaged, but Tamas Gesztelyi suggests the image

may be that of a dolphin, on which sits a Cupid (2008: Cat. 38; Facsády 2009: 93, Cat. 21). This

would then be the only portrayal of Cupid found in Aquincum (Gesztelyi 2013: 94).[952]

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[949] Pliny mentions that may crimes are committed through such rings (*NH* 33.6) and Juvenal provides an image of what one can accomplish with a forged signet ring (Juv. 1.63–68).

[950] Facsády dates this ring, based on its style, type III/b (2009: 36–37), to the end of the second and early third century (2009: 93, Cat. 21). Gesztelyi dates the gem on the ring to the first half of the third century (2008: Cat. 38). This means that the grave is probably of the third century. However, Topál believes that the bronze coin (2) dates to the first or second century and the *olla* (1) dates to the turn of the first and second century (2003a: 70). If Topál is correct in her dating, then this might be one of the first representations of this type of ring (Facsády 2009: 37).

[951] Facsády classifies this ring as Type IX (2009: 41, 100, Cat. 76).

[952] Gesztelyi states that while portrayals of Cupid are common in Intercisa, they are not found in Aquincum (2013: 94).

The rings were discovered on the individual's right hand and the publication picture shows that the rings were located on the fourth (ring) finger and the index finger (Pl. 5.I).[953] According to Pliny, all but the middle finger could be loaded with rings, so therefore a ring being worn on the index or ring finger was not a surprise by his time (*NH* 33.6; Marshall 1907: XXVII). Plutarch states that a signet ring, like find #4, should be worn on the finger next to the middle finger, but does not specify which of the two fingers it is (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 672C, Question 8).

Three ring gems were found in Grave 7.VI, which was of the third phase (Pl. 10-26). Unfortunately, all three were damaged on the pyre and if there were any engravings on them, they were not detectable. One was made of a grey vitreous paste (9), and two of differing sizes were of white opal (10, 11).[954] Since they were placed on the pyre, it is possible that the rings that once held these stones were not collected to be put in the grave. It is also possible that the deceased collected gems, a pastime that Pliny says took place in Rome (*NH* 37. 1, 5–6; Stout 1994: 78; Marshall 1907: XXV). Opals were highly regarded gems (Pliny *NH* 37. 21–22) and several scholars have mentioned that many opals in the Roman Empire likely came from nearby opal mines of Červenica-Dubník in modern Slovakia, although no evidence is given for this claim (Gaucia *et al*. 2012: 2; Rondeau *et al*. 2004: 789; Webster 1983: 233; Leechman 1961: 11–12).[955]

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[953] Gesztelyi mentions that the signet ring was found on the middle finger (2008: Cat. 38).

[954] Grave 11 was smaller.

[955] John Bostock and Henry Thomas Riley mention that opal is found in Hungary, of which Červenica-Dubník was a part when they published the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny in the 1855 (no. 2, 37.21). Several authors in the field of geology say that the Romans got opals from this site but provide no evidence. Peter Semrád, who has extensively studied the history of opal mining from this region, says that there is no reliable information concerning when the first opals were mined. He starts his own history at the turn of the 17th century (Semrád 2015: 376). He does not rule out the possibility that the Romans could have traded for opals with locals in the area or that the stones are not actually opals (Personal Correspondence October 2, 2020).

From Carnuntum, rings were deposited in two undated cremation graves as secondary gifts. Grave 40 which held a child (infant II)/early juvenile (7–15) contained an iron finger ring that held a glass paste intaglio (7) (Pl. 10-52). Unfortunately, the gem was damaged except for one edge, which depicts a wheel, perhaps a symbol of *Fortuna* (Jilek 1999: 70).[956] Grave 179 which held a mature female (41–46) contained a simple bronze finger ring (15) (Pl. 10-53). Both rings were difficult to accurately date because both types of rings were popular for a long period of time (Jilek 1999: 70).

None of the rings found in the sample from either location were likely of great monetary value. Such rings, especially those made of cheaper materials such as bronze, iron and glass, were mass-produced, especially since they were a practical, highly sought product that could be misplaced easily (Facsády 2009: 35; Reinhold 1971: 284; Henig 1978: 21). Facsády speculates that 'bronze'[957] rings could easily be manufactured in a non-specialized workshop from whatever alloy was available (Facsády 2009: 25; 2008–2009: 998). A connected intaglio industry must have existed as well (Henig 1978: 21). It is possible that some types of engraved images were so common that one individual's seal might be confused with that of another (Henig 1978: 18). Even though such items were inexpensive, mass-produced goods, the images on them were still meant to confirm an individual's personal identity (Facsády 2009: 35).

The metal of the ring was also a pertinent factor that could convey information concerning the deceased. For example, only certain, privileged segments of Roman society wore gold rings, but some individuals tried to circumvent these conventions by wearing gilded and

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[956] This ring likely belongs to Facsády's type I, which is a typical 'Roman' type of ring, popular in the second and third centuries (2009: 36).

[957] The term "bronze" in this dissertation is a colloquial term for "copper alloy". The bronze items covered in this project likely composed of a variety of copper alloys that have a varied composition. This composition is not necessarily known until examined in the lab. Annamária Facsády and Anett Verebes examined the alloy composition of copper alloy rings from Aquincum found eight different groups of alloys were used (2008–2009: 996).

plated bronze and iron rings (Reinhold 1971: 284; Marshall 1907: XX, XXXII, XXXV).[958] If any of these four rings was plated with gold, it has since worn off. Brass was also used as a substitute for gold, since of the copper alloys, it most closely resembled gold. Facsády found with testing that brass was the most common copper alloy used to forge the rings from Aquincum. This may indicate that people wished to give the appearance that they were wearing gold (2008–2009: 998).[959] Unfortunately, the content of the bronze rings is not known, so the above interpretation is speculative.

The iron ring found in grave 40 may also carry certain connotations for the young individual (7–15) that was buried with it (7). Pliny mentions that iron rings without stones were the usual betrothal gift to a woman (*NH* 33.4).[960] Since the individual died young it may be a token gift of someone who was betrothed to be married. In this case, the plain bronze ring given to the mature female (41–60) may also have been a ring of this sort. Rings were not necessarily the standard gift of betrothed couples; other gifts were also exchanged (Treggiari 1991: 149). Betrothal rings are difficult to identify in the archaeological record[961] as an iron ring may also be an indicator of a servitude (Marshall 1907: XXXV).[962] Such an interpretation is also a possibility for this individual, who may have carried out tasks that required the seal of a signet ring. In any case, this young, deceased individual as well perhaps as the individual in grave 5.I may have carried enough responsibility to warrant wearing a signet ring.

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[958] Pliny mentions that [very privileged or wealthy?] slaves decorated iron rings with gold, while wearing other objects of pure gold (*NH* 33. 6) and Petronius' character, Trimalchio, a wealthy freedman, wore a large gilt ring and a smaller ring made to look like gold with small iron stars all around it along with a gold bracelet (Petron. *Sat*. 32).

[959] Since she also speculates that many workshops made rings from whatever leftover copper alloy they had (2008–2009: 998), the predominance of brass could merely mean that this was the alloy at hand.

[960] However, Tertullian mentions women wearing gold bridal rings in his day in the late second and early third century (*Apol*. 6. 4).

[961] Rings engraved with busts of a man and a woman facing each other (Henig 1978: 63; Marshall 1907: XXII) or one with clasping hands, could be betrothal rings (D'Ambra 2007: 71, no. 31; Henig 1978: 63).

[962] Apuleius mentions a slave who had to give up his iron signet ring as evidence (*Met*. 10. 9–10). Pliny the Younger contrasts the mismatch of a slave wearing a gold ring and a praetorian wearing an iron ring (*Ep*. 8. 6. 4).

13.17 Earrings

Earrings are usually considered indicative of women, although in some parts of the empire, males also wore them (Facsády 2009: 83). That being said, they are not common in many cemeteries of the northwest empire and women are rarely depicted wearing them on grave stelae (Facsády 2008: 233; Allason-Jones 1995: 25). Earrings, like other forms of jewelry, were a marker of social standing, especially if they were made of gold (Philpott 1991: 152).

Earrings are not considered "Roman" pieces of jewelry even though they were fashionable throughout many parts of the empire. Instead, they were indicative of the Greek-Hellenistic value system to the extent that during the first and second centuries they were generally not found on official representations of the imperial family (Facsády 2008: 22). Still, the trend of wearing them spread to other parts of the empire and like other fashions were often incorporated into native dress regimes (Sáró 2018: 261; Facsády 2008: 233).

Earrings were generally used as adornment pieces for the body and as markers of status (Facsády 2009: 78). They are also the only type of jewelry being discussed that required bodily modification, since in most cases, ears needed to be pierced to wear them. The piercing of ears may have taken place in childhood because children are depicted wearing them and are associated with them in the burial (Facsády 2009: 78; 2008: 236), however, there was a type of "clip-on" earring (Facsády 2009: 83; 2008: 237) and it is possible that the children in depictions were idealized as adults.

Evidence of earrings was found in five graves from the Aquincum sample. One burial of the first phase carried an earring as a primary good.[963] Most of the burials containing earrings are from with fourth phase with four graves of the period each containing one earring, three of which

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[963] Grave 6.VI (5).

were deposited as primary goods[964] and one which was deposited secondarily.[965] Three burials

contained bronze earrings,[966] while two held gold earrings.[967] The remains of all the graves have

been sexed as female; two were children or juveniles[968] and three were adults.[969]

The bronze earrings found in the graves of Aquincum were probably not of great

monetary value. Grave 6.VI contained a common hoop earring (5) with hook-and-eye fastener

which was common in Pannonia and was easy to craft since it was made of one piece of bronze

wire (Facsady 2009: 80; see Pl. 10-27). The earring (6) of grave 11.VI was also of the same

general type, but it was made by doubling the wire and twisting it together (Facsady 2009: 118.

Cat. 257; see Pl. 10-28). Grave 28.V also contained a simple bronze earring, which was an open

hoop earring with no fastener that was popular in the later empire (Facsády 2000: 83; see Pl. 10-

29).

Gold earrings would certainly have been considered items of value because gold was

expensive. The gold earring (12) of grave 28.VI, however, was quite simple and of the same

basic design as the earrings from graves 6.VI and 11.VI (Facsady 2009: 117, Cat. 245; see Pl.

10-30), but the gold earring (19) of grave 34.VI was certainly the most elaborate gold earring

found in either cemetery (Pl. 10-31). It was mainly fashioned in an *opus interrasile* openwork

design (Facsády 2015: 55; 2009: 83), which was very popular in the third and fourth centuries

(Milovanović 2018: 103; Facsády 2015: 55; Stout 1994: 78; Henig 1981: 129). The center of the

piece held a blue bead surrounded by a bezel of gold wire. Gold wiring radiated from the center

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[964] Find # 6 of grave 11.VI, #12 of grave 28.VI and find #19 of grave 34.VI.

[965] Find #8 of grave 28.V.

[966] Grave 28.V held a ring made of thin bronze wire (8). Grave 6.VI contained an earring made of twisted and bent thin bronze wire (5). Grave 11.VI contained an earring twisted from two bronze wires (6).

[967] Grave 28.VI contained a gold earring and grave 34.VI held an open-work gold earring with a greyish-white pearl in the center (19).

[968] Grave 28.V is thought to contain an infant II (7–12 years old) or juvenile and grave 28.VI is believed to hold an infant II 7–12 years old).

[969] Grave 6.VI is thought to contain an adult, while graves 11.VI and 34.VI contain mature adults.

like spokes with each spoke's end curling upon itself to form a small circle and the circles were

symmetrically brazed to a larger round frame to form a wheel like structure. At the bottom of the

framework was a gold bar that supported four loops from which three surviving hooks hung. The

hooks had once carried beads, but they did not survive (Facsády 2015: 52–53; 2009: 83). The

back fastener was a modified 'S' hook, which enabled the wearer to 'clip' the piece on without

need for piercing (Facsády 2009: 78; 83; 2008: 237).

Unlike most other types of jewelry, most of the examples of earrings found in the general

area of Aquincum were made of gold (Facsády 2009: 79).[970] In this sampling, however,

comprised mostly of cremation burials, there were more bronze earrings than might be expected.

Facsády suggests that this is because small bronze earrings do not survive in the harsh soil

conditions in most archaeological contexts (Facsády 2009: 79). If this is the case, burials, being

sealed contexts, may preserve the small pieces more effectively than if they were deposited in

other manners. None of the surviving bronze earrings were elaborate; being comprised mostly of

wire, and even one of the two gold earrings was only made of wire with no other surviving

embellishments.[971]

These earrings were not elaborate, but several of them were found in graves with a

quantity of other grave goods including other personal items.[972] In such cases, the gifts may

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[970] When Facsády wrote her publication in 2009, there were forty-six known earrings of gold, eight of silver and only seven of bronze (79).

[971] Of course, there is the possibility that the two gold beads (13) found in grave 28.VI could have embellished the earring (12), although this is only a guess.

[972] Grave 28.V contained as secondary gifts two flagons (1–2), a clod of lilac earth (5), a fragment of thin silver fitting (11), a coin (12), and what seems to be a toiletry set in a casket (9–10) which contained two other pieces of jewelry, the necklace (4) and *bulla* (7), a lead mirror cover (6) and a small toiletry bottle (3). Grave 6.VI contained as primary goods a necklace (2–6) with some amber beads (2, 3), four hobnails which held wood or leather (7, this indicates that shoes were likely placed on the pyre) and a flagon as a secondary gift (1). Grave 28.VI contained as primary goods an *unguentarium* (11) two gold beads (13) and a coin (14), as well as three jugs (1–3) as secondary gifts. Grave 34.VI, which contained as primary goods the open-work gold earring (19) also held fragments of a casket (14–16) and a hairpin with a red precious stone set in a gold head (18), items which may have been part of a toiletry set, as well as three flagons as secondary gifts (1–3).

reflect some level of wealth on the part of the deceased and/or their loved ones and shows that mourners were comfortable with gifting such property to the deceased. Mourners also gave token gifts, such as coins,[973] lamps and shoes, which indicate that they wished to ensure that the deceased could enter the afterlife comfortably. These mourners may also have displayed their grief by supplying the deceased with goods that they associated with them during life or as a symbol with regards to the unfulfilled potential of the deceased. The inclusion of the earring may also reflect a type of symbolic gesture to the deceased in the afterlife.

It is noticeable that all six cremation burials contained only one earring, whether as a primary or a secondary gift. With regards to the earrings placed on the pyre, the other of the pair may not have made it into the grave. There is also the chance that in life the individual, especially if it was a male, may have only worn one earring. Also plausible is that the deceased only needed a token earring for the afterlife, while the other earring was kept in the world of the living as a memento or a dedication to the gods. Only in the inhumation burial, grave 182, were there two earrings that were likely worn by the deceased. Of course, it is possible that the cremated individuals had once worn two earrings, but this cannot be proven.

A total of three gold earrings were found in two graves from the Carnuntum cemetery. Both burials were from the third century and one burial, a cremation grave, contained one earring,[974] while the other, an inhumation burial, contained two.[975] In both graves they were deposited as secondary goods. In the inhumation burial they were found on either side of the head, which means that the child was probably wearing them when interred. Earrings in this

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[973] Grave 28.V, Grave 11 and grave 28.VI contained a coin, while grave 11 held a lamp and grave 6.VI held hobnails with surviving leather or wood fragments. Shoes may have been provided to the deceased to help them in their journey to the underworld (Philpott 1991: 238; Macdonald 1979: 407).

[974] Grave 117 contained a gold earring with a green glass paste (2).

[975] Grave 182 held two gold earrings which had a small eight petalled rosette attached to the hook (1).

graveyard seem to be associated with children (Jilek 1999: 69), but the remains of only one of the graves is firmly identified as a child.[976] It is likely that both were females.[977]

Both types of gold earrings from Carnuntum were elaborate and probably of significant monetary value. The earring (2) of grave 117 was a hoop earring like those mentioned previously (Pl. 10-54). It featured a hook-and-eye fastener,[978] and was decorated with an emerald-green glass paste inset. The inset was likely designed to imitate emerald which was popular and commonly imitated with other types of stone and glass (Marshall 1911: LIX–LX). The earrings (1) of grave 182 were also hoop earrings like those from grave 117 but feature a disc-shaped extension on which sits a small rosette of eight petals (Pl. 10-55).[979] Unlike the graves of Aquincum, there were few other gifts included in these graves.[980]

Earrings did not come into fashion in Pannonia until the Severan Age (Facsády 2009: 78). While two earrings were found in graves in Aquincum that Topál dated to the first phase, Facsády dated these to the third century based on their style, presenting the possibility that the burials here date to the fourth phase.[981] The increased frequency of earrings in burials during the third century parallels what occurred with products made of beads, which also were more frequently deposited in the third century. Earrings were not originally part of local dress or even Roman dress for that matter, but earrings did become fashionable eventually with the arrival of the Romans. Just like many other types of newly introduced fashion accessories they were

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[976] Grave 182.

[977] Earrings are associated with females most of the time. Grave 117 contains a cup (1) which may indicate the grave belonged to a female. See pages 285–286 for the discussion concerning the connection between cups and females in the Carnuntum cemetery.

[978] This piece is likely Facsády type II/b (2009: 80).

[979] This piece is probably also of Facády type II/b (2009: 80).

[980] Included in grave 117 is a cup (1) and in grave 182 are two coloured bone beads (2).

[981] Facsády dates the bronze earring of grave 11 dates to the first part of the third century (2009: 118, Cat. 257), while the open-work gold earring of grave 34 dates between the late second and first part of the third century (2009: 123, Cat. 284).

incorporated into native dress schemes as shown on tombstones (Sáró 2018: 261; Facsády 2008: 233).

13.18 Conclusion

Evidence shows that jewelry adhered to some of the general trends that other types of grave goods followed in both cemeteries. From the Aquincum sample, most of the jewelry was deposited as primary goods, while from the Carnuntum sample, it was mainly given as secondary gifts. Unlike other items, however, evidence shows that jewelry was most popular in the third century in both cemeteries, with very little provided during the other phases. In Aquincum, it is possible due to dating discrepancies that seven out of the thirteen graves containing jewelry belonged to the fourth phase, [982] while all the datable graves from Carnuntum were of the fourth phase.

Most jewelry seems to be associated with women and children, which is in line with what should be expected. In both cemeteries necklaces and beads were the most popular item, but in Aquincum a variety of beads were present even on the same necklace, while at Carnuntum, most of the beads are faience. The beaded necklaces at Aquincum were mainly associated with females of different ages, while at Carnuntum necklaces were mostly associated with children. Possible amulets, such as individual beads and *bullae* were present in both cemeteries and these items were mainly associated with females and children, including the beads that may not be as gender and age specific. Surprisingly, rings were not common in either cemetery at this time,

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[982] In the breakdown of the phases at the beginning of the section, only five graves are mentioned. However, Facsády believes that earrings, and, therefore, the burials, in graves 6 (5) and 34 (19) should be dated later than what Topál determined. Facsády also indicates that the signet ring (4) might be of the late second and early third century (fourth phase), but she is comfortable with saying that this might be one of the earliest rings of this type in Aquincum (2009: 93, Cat. 21).

given how widespread they were in the settlement. In daily life, rings were typically associated with men, given their practical function as a signet, but only one of the three burials that contained at least one ring can be firmly associated with a male. Earrings were mostly associated with females, both adults and children.

As pointed out, much of the jewelry was not of great monetary value, but the token amount that mourners placed on the pyre or in the grave certainly had meaning. As mentioned previously, some graves that held jewelry also contained evidence of caskets which are also indicative of a toiletry set. In the case of Aquincum, four graves containing jewelry held evidence of caskets, [983] but in Carnuntum there was no correlation between the two items. As mentioned, caskets and the items included in them may indicate a dowry of a marriage and, therefore womanhood, that was perhaps never achieved. Mirrors may also indicate this same sentiment. From Aquincum, one grave containing jewelry that did not include a casket held a mirror,[984] while one grave with jewelry from Carnuntum also contained a mirror.[985] Of course, mirrors can also reflect religious hopes concerning a pleasant afterlife, as did coins and lamps, which were also found in several graves with jewelry from both sites. Seven graves of the Aquincum sample contained a coin,[986] while three of these graves also held lamps.[987] From Carnuntum, three graves contained lamps[988] and one of these also contained a coin.[989] In addition, one grave from each cemetery contained hobnails which may have helped the deceased on their journey into the afterlife.[990] These goods in combination with the amuletic function that

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[983] Grave 28.V (9–10), and grave 7.VI (31–33), grave 34.VI (14–16), and grave 146.VI (10–13).
[984] Grave 6.V (6).
[985] Grave 179 (17).
[986] Grave 5.I (2), grave 6 (11) and grave 28.V (12), and grave 11.VI (7), grave 28.VI (14), grave 75.VI (12) and grave 127.VI (23).
[987] Grave 11.VI (1), grave 75.VI (10) and grave 127.VI (14).
[988] Grave 40 (6), grave 80A (3) and grave 179 (13).
[989] Grave 80A (4).
[990] Grave 6.V (7) from Aquincum and grave 40 (8) of Carnuntum.

some pieces of jewelry purportedly possessed indicate that mourners were invested in making sure that the deceased's soul was protected and could transit into the afterlife comfortably. In any case, token pieces of jewelry may have been emotionally charged symbols when placed in combination with other types of artifacts so as to mark a premature, unexpected death and/or a care for the well-being of the soul in the afterlife. From the Aquincum sample, only two graves[991] did not contain any of the above items with the jewelry in the burial, while at Carnuntum only three graves[992] did not carry such items.

This contrast does not necessarily reflect a sentiment of indifference on the part of the mourners from Carnuntum. The available evidence seems to show that there were many ways that sentiment could be expressed, and such expressions were individualized. It must also be remembered that mourners in Carnuntum appeared to have interred fewer grave goods with their deceased, with the possibility that many goods placed on the pyre did not make it into the burial. In Aquincum, on the other hand, more of these items were included in the grave.

13.19 Hairpins

Hair pins are another personal item typically associated with women (Eckardt 2014: 154; Facsády 2009: 88; Philpott 1991: 131–132; Riha 1990: 94). Generally, they have a thin shaft which tapers to a point at one end, while on the thicker end there is a head which may be separated from the rest of the shaft by a neck (Hrnčiarik 2017: 30; Riha 1990: 93). Generally, they serve a practical purpose and in use, can be hidden from view, but some can be pieces of jewelry, since the heads on them can be quite ornamental (Kovač 2010: 66; Facsády 2009: 88;

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[991] Two of 13 burials, approximately 15%.
[992] Three of nine burials, approximately 33%.

Riha 1990: 93–94). As practical, ornamental pieces, women mainly used them to hold in place complicated hairstyles (Hrnčiarik 2017: 30; 2012: 316; Eckardt 2014: 154; Facsády 2009: 88; Philpott 1991: 131; Riha 1990: 93). For most hairstyles one hair pin sufficed, but in more elaborate arrangements, multiple pins were used (Hrnčiarik 2012: 316; Facsády 2009: 88; Riha 1990: 93, 94).

Scholars speculate that hair pins may have served other purposes as well. In addition to holding hair in place they were used to hold accessories like hairnets, veils and other decorations worn on the hair (Hrnčiarik 2017: 30; Kovač 2010: 66; Facsády 2009: 88; Bíró 1994: 30). Bonnets of local northeastern Pannonian female dress may have been held on to the head with two hair pins.[993] Unfortunately, the evidence of this comes mainly from grave stelae of the second century and the only example from a burial that Ursula Rothe provides in her study is from the early fourth century Brigetio (Rothe 2012: 207). Any evidence we have concerning the way hair pins were used in the grave ceremony tends to come from inhumation graves. In burials hairpins can be found at the back of the skull or even at its side, where it is thought to hold an ornamental fillet in place (Cool 1990: 150; Riha 1990: 94). Hair pins have also been found on the wrist, by feet or around the collar bones (Hrnčiarik 2017: 31; Riha 1990: 94). Based on this and other pieces of evidence, numerous scholars believe that hair pins like fibulae may also have been used to fasten garments (Hrnčiarik 2017: 31, 41; 2012: 316; Philpott 1991: 131; Riha 1990: 94, 112; Crummy 1983: 19).[994] Hairpins may also have been used for personal grooming, for

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[993] Bonnets that formed a circular shape around the head were depicted on grave stelae mostly from the second century in the regions thought to be occupied by the Eravsici and the Azali. On either side of the bonnet, pins are thought to be depicted with rosette and disc-shaped heads. Such bonnets may have been worn by women of the upper class (Rothe 2012: 207).
[994] Scholars do debate this interpretation. Little evidence of this is seen in reliefs, but some scholars suggest it could be poorer individuals who fastened their clothes in this way and therefore would not be depicted on expensive stelae (Rothe 2012: 215). Hillary Cool believes that a pin would slip when holding the gathered folds if it did not have further fastening mechanism, which Roman hairpins do not have. Erik Hrnčiarik mentions that one end of a chain

example in the preparation of hair. Simple hairpins could be used in conjunction with combs for

the parting or straightening of hair, or in the application of hot curlers (Hrnčiarik 2017: 41;

Kovač 2010: 66; Gostenčnik 1996: 117). In addition, they could be utilized in the preparation

and application of cosmetics and perfume (Kovač 2010: 66; Gostenčnik 1996: 117; Riha 1990:

112).[995] As tools during wool working, hair pins could be used to untangle knotted yarn or catch

threads when weaving complex patterns on a loom (Hrnčiarik 2017: 41; Gostenčnik 1996: 117)

and, as was mentioned in the tool section, thicker pins could also be used as awls in crafting

(Jilek 1999: 74; Riha 1990: 112). In the latter cases it is likely that a simpler pin would have been

used as a tool (Kovač 2010: 66; Riha 1990: 112).

Hair pins were be made from numerous materials, but bone and metals, such as copper

alloy, were the two most common (Hrnčiarik 2017: 30; Eckardt 2014: 154; Bartus 2008: 35;

Cool 1990: 149). There are numerous reasons why certain materials might be used over others,

including cost, prestige of material, durability, weight and their functionality. Bone was the

cheapest material because of its abundance and availability. It also did not require any special

material to fashion, only a blade, but a lathe could be used to produce finer, more elaborate

products (Riha 1990: 94; Crummy 1983: 19). Because bone is an easy material to fashion,

craftsmen could carve good imitations of more expensive products (Kovač 2010: 66). In fact,

unique carvings are considered rare, as craftsmen tended to fashion the heads of pins according

to common motifs. It is likely that craftsmen used widespread patterns to make their pieces (Bíró

1994: 33). Simple bone pins could easily be replaced (Bartus 2003: 30; Riha 1990: 94) or

refashioned if the end broke (Crummy 1983: 20). The material was also light compared to metal

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could be placed on the thicker end of the pin and then fastened on the thinner end when used in this way (2017: 30; 2012: 316).

[995] Juvenal mentions a man who applies make up around his eyes with a needle (*acus*) which Riha mentions could be a hairpin needle used in the application of eyeliner (Juv. 2.93–95; Riha 1990: 112).

pins, which may be a reason for the existence of numerous pins comprised of a bone shaft with a head of precious metal, like gold (Bartus 2008: 38). With such a product, if the shaft was damaged, the head could easily be attached to a new shaft (Bartus 2008: 39; 2003: 30). The cheaper bone shaft could either be hidden in the hair (Bartus 2003: 30) or covered in a metal leaf to make it look like a more expensive product. The addition of a gold or silver leaf on a bone or bronze pin made it smoother and, therefore, easier to use (Facsády 2009: 88). Metal pins, like those made of copper alloy, were more costly, since specialized equipment and knowledge was required to produce them, and the material was more expensive (Crummy 1983: 20). They were more durable but were heavier. Elaborate hairstyles that required the use of several metal pins may have therefore been uncomfortable and inconvenient for the individual who wore them (Riha 1990: 94).

13.20 Hairpins: Aquincum

Table 13-13: Aquincum- Burials Containing Hairpins

I- Grave II- Graveyard III- Phase or General Date
IV- Grave Good Type V- Artifact Number

I	II	III	IV	V	Artifact
17	I	1st Phase	S	19	Frag. of bone hairpin w/ pigeon
41	I	1st Phase	P	5	Bone hairpin
34	VI	4th Phase	P	18	Iron hairpin w/ silver covered shaft and gold head w/ red stone

Only three hair pins were found from the Aquincum sample. Two were found in cremation graves of the first phase. One burial contained a hairpin as a primary good while the other contained it as a secondary gift. The other hair pin was unearthed as a primary good in a grave from the fourth phase. All three pins were found with remains thought to be female, two

adults[996] and a possible juvenile.[997] Two of the graves contained other goods that reinforce the

identity of the deceased as a female.[998] In addition, two of the graves contained either lamps or

coins indicating that the mourners wished the deceased a safe journey into the afterlife. As

mentioned previously in other sections concerning personal items, such tokens along with

personal items may signify the emotive sense of loss that mourners felt.

Two hair pins of Aquincum are of bone and have carved figures on their heads. One

features a standing, full-length nude figure, almost certainly Venus,[999] while the other depicts a

pigeon or a dove.[1000] Figures on the heads of pins may have served an amuletic function,

protecting the wearers (Hrnčiarik 2017: 3; Riha 1990: 100). The figure of Venus/Aphrodite was

already a popular ornament on hairpins in the Hellenistic era. Often craftsmen worked them into

shapes reflecting popular images of Aphrodite at the time, including the "Aphrodite of Knidos"

of Praxiteles and the "Aphrodite Anadyonmene" of Apelles (Hrnčiarik 2012: 320; Pettković

1995: 33). Unfortunately, the arms and bust of the Venus figure are missing,[1001] which makes it

difficult to discern what type the figure is (Pl. 10-33);[1002] however, since there is no hand or

cloak carved over the pubic region, chances are, the image was inspired by the Aphrodite

Anadyonmene, whose hands hold hair on either side of the head.[1003] This type of figure has been

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[996] Grave 17.I may have contained a senile female while grave 34.VI may have held a mature female.

[997] Grave 41.I may have contained a juvenile female.

[998] Grave 41.I also held a casket fitting (7) and a needle (4), while grave 34.VI contained casket fittings (14–16) and a good earring (19).

[999] Find #5 from grave 41.I.

[1000] Find # 19 from grave 17.I.

[1001] In the original sketch of Szilágyi only the head was missing, but the piece currently is missing the shoulders and breasts.

[1002] In addition, often the hairstyles of female figures can help date the piece, since the styles of different periods are often identifiable (Bartus 2003: 29; Riha 1990: 98).

[1003] The figure on the harpin stands in a contrapposto position, the same stance of the Aphrodite of Knidos and the Aphrodite Anadyonmene. The British Museum has a hairpin very similar to the one of grave 41. Just like the piece of this sample, the one of the British Museum contains a tree stump which acts as a support on the base of the left leg and there is even a band which seems to go around the waist which is either body folds or possibly a cloth. The head of the British Museum's version is preserved along with the lower half of one arm, which reaches towards the figure's hair (137 fig. 161) in the style of the Aphrodite Anadyonmene. Both pieces also resemble one from

found on hairpins deposited in other cemeteries in Italy, southern Pannonia and southern France (Gostenčnik 1996: 119; Pl. 4. 7). In any case, as discussed previously with regards to mirrors, Aphrodite/Venus was a symbol of societal based feminine qualities (Antal 2012: 96, 97) and could have represented marriage (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78; D'Ambra 2009: 16–17; Martin-Kilcher 2000: 70). Venus may also represent positive views of the afterlife (Tapavički-Ilić and Anđelković Grašar 2017: 78; Milovanović *et al*. 2015: 12).

A fragment of a bone pin (19) featuring a pigeon or dove on the head was found in grave 17.I (Pl. 10-32). On this piece, the back of the dove is carved from the shaft and the piece ends with the head. In general, birds were considered apotropaic symbols (Bíró 1994: 34), but pigeons and doves were associated with Venus and could represent and personify the goddess (Madgearu 2008: 223; Crummy 1983: 145; Green 1976: 20) and her values such as affection, harmony, peace, tranquility, and love (Cyrino 2010: 121), as well as fertility (Bíró 1994: 65).

The third hairpin of Aquincum, from grave 34.VI, was a silver pin[1004] with a spherical head covered in gold leaf (Pl. 10-34). The head features vertical ribbed decoration with a band horizontally encircling the middle of the head. At the very top of the head is a garnet stone (Facsády 2009: 126, Pl. 325). Such pieces composed of a shaft and a head embellished with a

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Magdalensberg, which is also identified with the Aphrodite Anadyomene. Only a fragment of the figure of Venus on this needle survives. Most of the legs are preserved, resembling the piece of grave 41, except it does not have the fully shown tree stump support carved on the side of the left leg. The head and arms are missing, but the tiling of the upper torso and the lack of arms carved over the chest, or the pubic area is a similar posture to that of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. On the back of the piece folds radiate from the left hip indicating that there is a cloth around the waist, that is not obviously visible from the front since the legs are clearly defined. This feature makes it possible that the piece from grave 41, whose back is not shown in the photo, may also be covered. Mária Bíró presents two hairpin heads in her 1994 publication that seem to be based on the Aphrodite of Knidos type in comparison. On one (385), the right arm is placed over her breasts and her left holds the fold of her dress, which falls downwards in the style of a *Venus Pudica* type (like the Aphrodite of Knidos). Unlike the example in from grave 41, the full length of the legs of this piece is not depicted, but only to a bit above the knees (Bíró 1994: 35; Pl. XXXVI. 385). The second example (853) is similar in that one hand is across her breast while the other hand holds a cloth which is wound around her hip (Bíró 1994: 120; Pl. LXXXVII. 853). In this simplified carving, the legs are not shown. Bíró does not have the find from grave 41 in the catalogue.

[1004] Topál mentions that the neck and shaft of the pin is iron foliated with silver sheet (1993: 24).

variety of materials were not uncommon. Often the head, which would be more visible, was made of a more valuable material than the shaft (Facsády 2009: 88; Bartus 2008: 38; 2006: 203; 2003: 29). In this case, the silver base of the piece made it quite a significant sacrifice of wealth for the mourners. Such pieces were often passed on to heirs through wills, but in this instance, mourners wished to offer the deceased at least token pieces of high value accessories, like this piece and the open work, gold earring (19) that were placed on the pyre.

13.21 Hairpins: Carnuntum

Table 13-14: Carnuntum- Burials Containing Hairpins

I- Grave GT- Grave Type III- Phase or General Date
IV- Grave Good Type V- Artifact Number

I	GT	III	IV	V	Artifact
14	I	No Date	S	19	Bone Gouge
38	C	No Date	S	8	Bronze hair pin

Two hairpins come from the Carnuntum sample. One was deposited secondarily in a cremation grave and the other was deposited in a sarcophagus grave. Unfortunately, neither grave is dated precisely. Sarcophagus grave 14 held a female,[1005] while Gassner suspects grave 38 contained a female because of presence of a hairpin (Gassner 1999: 86). A casket (14–16) found in grave 14 supports the identification of the remains as female.

Compared to the hairpins of Aquincum, those of Carnuntum were simpler. The bone pin with a conically shaped head and a long, smooth shaft (19) of grave 14 was discussed already in Chapter 11 as a bone gouge (Pl. 8-25; see pages 415–416). The argument that it is in fact a tool is

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[1005] Late adult to early mature (35–45).

strong since the grave contained two other metal tool points (17 and 18), which may have served a similar purpose. As mentioned previously, this piece could also be a hairpin, which is how it is often identified (Kovač 2010: 25; Facsády 2009: 88; Bartus 2003: 23; Jilek 1999: 77; Gostenčnik 1996: 117; Bíró 1994: 31, Pl. XIV. 135– XV. 151; Riha 1990: 112; Crummy 1983: 20). This simple shape was one of the most common in the Roman Empire (Bartus 2003: 23), and as a simple and cheap bone pin, it may have also been used for many other tasks. Grave 38 contained the profiled head of what had been a more valuable bronze pin (Jilek 1999: 74; see Pl. 10-56). Heads with such profiling composed of beads and cylinders are relatively common (Riha 1990: 111).

14 Summary and Conclusion

By thorough examination of several significant features of cremation burials and the artifacts interred in them based on the data from the published material of the southern cemetery of the civilian city of Carnuntum and the Bécsi Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum, this project isolated patterns of activity that denoted various identities based on ethnicity, gender, age and rank. With each chapter dedicated to the individual elements of the assemblage, patterns of use based on these various identities were explored and where possible trends of practice were traced chronologically in each cemetery. This project has speculated on why such patterns existed and what may have been the meaning and motivation behind such patterns in these communities that buried their deceased in their cemeteries. Where applicable, the findings from other sections of this project were used to inform the interpretation of the practice or material. At the end of every section, the significant results and interpretations found in each cemetery were compared. Such a comparison demonstrated that while similarities existed between the practices in each cemetery, clear differences highlighted that there were distinct processes at play in influencing the funerary ceremony in each cemetery.

One of the principal goals of this project was to recognize and examine several identities and determine through the burial records how they intersected with one another. Identities never exist in isolation, as other identities always inform them, so taking multiple identities into account has the advantage of being able to explore their complexities at a regional, communal and individual level. While the project does explore individual burials in order to highlight how multiple identities intersect and to discuss the possible motivations for why certain identities were marked in the way they were, it is primarily concerned with overarching patterns of behaviour which were acted out, developed and negotiated through these identities. Now that

patterns of normative behaviour have been assessed and related to particular identities, the findings can be tested, modified and applied to future projects. Individual burials can also be examined at a minute level in relation to the trends discussed in this paper.

In the analysis of each significant feature of the assemblage or artifact, the influences behind the practice or item were traced in order to highlight the fact that many of the practices in the funerary ceremony were informed by influences from a variety of places and actors. These influences were part of globalizing processes taking place in Roman provincial societies that created both similarities through homogenizing developments but also differences at a regional, local and individual level. An examination of the varying practices in the burials of both cemeteries highlight this, but the comparisons between both cemeteries give these observations extra weight as it is clear that both sites were affected by varying globalizing influences. This viewpoint places this project into a discourse of Roman provincial archaeology that seeks to explore and explain the mechanism that led to the development of Roman provincial societies and their integration into a wider polity.

In the following summary and conclusion many of the important findings from each chapter are brought together and given significance in relation to each other according to the four major axes of identity. In order to do this, other identities and ways of viewing these identities must be considered to inform the analysis. For example, the concept of ethnicity as discussed in chapter two does not accurately convey the meaning behind collective practices in either cemetery, so other descriptions must be used to accurately describe the collective identities at work in the cemetery. Practices or markings indicating gender, age and status are not often seen in the cemeteries so the motivations for marking them must be explored and other identities must

be discussed in relation to them in order to inform them. Thus, discussing the results in relation to each broad identity variable is not a straightforward endeavor.

14.1 Ethnicity

At first glaze, Romanization seems to be an excellent lens through which to interpret the findings from the Besci Road cemetery of the *canabae* of Aquincum and southern cemetery of the civilian city of Carnuntum. Both cemeteries were located on major roads outside of an urban center founded around a Roman legionary fort and at one point many burials were probably marked with decorated and inscribed stone markers. These cemetery characteristics are considered Roman traits. Although the cremation rite was practiced in the Pannonian area before the Romans arrived, the popularity of the rite and some of the features of it were introduced through Roman influence and although inhumation was also practiced in both cemeteries among the datable graves, cremation was dominant. Many of the goods that people were using in the cemeteries were items that modern scholars consider to be "Roman." Imported *sigillata* found its way into the burials of Carnuntum, while the mourners of Aquincum used fine wares produced in imitation of popular *sigillata* forms. Mourners from Aquincum also extensively used flagons and the tiles that mourners used to line the burial were also products that were introduced from the Mediterranean through Roman influence as were lamps, *tazze* as well as the products burned in them.

Such items can also be said to hold Mediterranean connotations and indicate so-called "Roman" habits. Flagons, a "Roman" good, were used extensively in the cemeteries of Aquincum and although most of them were likely made locally, with them came the connotation of the use of wine, another Mediterranean good. Lamps and the olive oil used in them were both

products of the Mediterranean as well. Such were lamps used in the burial rituals of both cemeteries, and many of them featured manufacturers' stamps such as FORTIS, OCTAVI and FAVOR/F all of which originated in northern Italy. Many lamp types including the so-called factory lamps were popularized in Italy before becoming widespread in the northern provinces. The material evidence also shows that some of the rituals performed in the cemeteries may have been inspired or directly adopted from Roman or Mediterranean "culture." The placement of a coin in a burial was practiced by other peoples of northern Europe, but scholarship has in the past treated it as a manifestation of "Charon's Obol," and therefore a rite of Mediterranean origin. The funerary feasting which is evidenced by the broken and burnt table ware in the grave shows that participants feasted in a similar fashion to Romans and the unburnt material in the fills of the grave demonstrate that mourners came back to the grave periodically to feast. With what appears to be a strong "Roman" presence in these cemeteries, the notion of Romanization as a perspective works to a limited extent when interpreting through the material culture aspects of the funerary habits. A more constructive approach, however, might be to consider such widespread use of "Roman" goods and practices as a part of "homogenizing" processes.

Simplistic viewpoints, whether they arise from a Romanizing or homogenizing perspective, are not adequate when exploring complex processes in which various peoples co-exist in an urban, frontier environment. As mentioned in the third chapter, both settlements were new, so they needed to be populated, which initially included local peoples, immigrants and other transient peoples, such as soldiers, merchants and bureaucrats. Inscriptional evidence indicates that local people settled in the civilian city of Aquincum and from some of the burials found, local peoples certainly settled and were buried in the *canabae*. In Carnuntum, by the time the section of the southern cemetery was used, native peoples were settled in the city. In this

environment, local peoples adapted and integrated into a new environment and a large amount of the population migrated from other parts of the empire. The population of the area included a native contingent from the region, transients, immigrants from elsewhere in the empire and Roman imperial agents, such as soldiers, veterans and bureaucrats.

With such diversity of population, it might be assumed that the cultural backgrounds of individuals could be detected through various material goods or funerary rites, traces of which would exist in the burial assemblage. While some exotic goods were found and variation in the ways the human remains were handled did exist in the sample, such finds cannot necessarily be seen as marking particular ethnic backgrounds. Any grave that is found is the end product of processes that are negotiated through and affected by many factors. Such factors may include the presence and prominence of other cultural identities, the choices within the funerary sphere that may be available in such an urban setting, and even the nature of the evidence as interpreted by the archaeologist. As these factors exert greater influence on the formation of the burial and burial rites than the ethnic traditions of the deceased, many of the graves in each cemetery might display more commonalities than differences.

Ethnicity is difficult to detect in the samples from either cemetery. Few markers and little evidence of practice existed that definitively stood out as indicating that a deceased individual had some clear ethnic association. This finding is not at all surprising since, as discussed in chapter two, ethnicity is always difficult to detect in the archaeological record. Topál, herself, admits she found it difficult to distinguish between burials of local natives and immigrants of the *canabae* in the Bécsi Road cemetery (2007: 144; 2000a: 202) as many graves were of a similar type and contained comparable objects. This project has found that even when indications of a possible group identity are found through some deviation from the known normative behaviour

found in other burials, other identities beyond ethnicity may play a part in how the burial took its form. Further context from the burial must be kept in mind before reaching any clear conclusions on the ethnic affiliations of the decease.

One of the few ethnic markers, the winged brooch paired with a second brooch which is indicative of a native female dress and found in burials in Aquincum, can help to illustrate the complications of attributing an ethnic identity to a burial with an ethnic ascription. Only two burials of the Aquincum sample, both of which date to the early first phase, carried this sort of evidence. In the case of grave 18.I, a winged brooch and a Pannonian single knobbed fibula were found on the chest of the deceased, identified as a female. Not only did the inclusion of two fibulae help to identify the deceased as a possible native woman, but the fact that the body was inhumed, which was the prominent local rite before the Romans arrived, helped to affirm this. Grave 85.I also contained two fibulae, a winged fibula and another of unknown type, but instead of being inhumed, the deceased, whom Topál identified as an adult female based in part on the fibulae, was cremated. Even if both individuals were likely wearing or accompanied by native dress when buried and displayed on the pyre, which strongly indicate a common group affiliation, the differences in the way their bodies and the accompanying grave goods[1006] were treated demonstrate that dynamic influences were at play in the early use of the cemetery which affected the way in which this ethnic affiliation was acted out in ritual. One female was buried in a so-called traditional manner, while the other was cremated,[1007] a rite that became popular in the cemetery of the settlement. It is very clear from these cases that native people migrating into the settlements negotiated their practices in relation to the varied influences of the settlements. As far as can be interpreted, such a negotiation likely took place largely at an individual or familial

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[1006] All of the goods of 85.I were fragmented primary goods, while those of 18.I were deposited whole.
[1007] Unfortunately, this burial was excavated in 1937, so the type of cremation burial is unknown.

level at least within the funerary sphere of the settlement. As Topál notes, a change of practice in the funerary sphere could take place rapidly (2007: 146). As migrants, whether native or from elsewhere, moved into the settlement, they may have been less constrained by tradition and more open to influences. This is a point that is returned to later in this section.

An ethnic affiliation and the negotiation of that identity in the face of globalizing influences in an urban environment is really only one facet of the individual. Additional context is needed to gain insight as to how the ethnic identity intersects with other identities which affects the form it takes in burials. One interesting point is that the deceased just mentioned are both females. That females from this early stage of the settlement are presented in death wearing or at least associated with traditional garb is not unusual as women depicted in native dress are found on tombstones in the second century. Women are often the keepers of tradition in colonized societies and in this case, the project can only say that they were the keepers of tradition in an idealized, symbolically charged funerary ceremony, as it is unknown how they would have dressed in daily life or other symbolically charged rituals.

Native men, who may not carry such obvious ethnic markers, are more difficult to detect in the burial record. In a hypothetical case, an inhumed male who was not of local origin may not have been able to afford to be cremated or the rite may have reflected his views of the afterlife, which are not linked to his ethnicity. If a grave contains a fibula, that may mean it secured a native's rectangular cloak, but it may also have been utilized by a soldier to secure a similar cloak. Males, regardless of being either native, or civilian, or in the military, adopted fibula types developed both domestically and from abroad and in the items included were from the market, so similar burials containing the same items do little to shed light on an ethnic affiliation. In such cases therefore, the clear marking of ethnic affiliation in the burial, without epigraphical or

iconographical evidence, is largely placed within the realm of the female where the evidence may be available.

It is also important to note that while the "native" identification of the two female individuals is almost certain, their specific ethnic affiliation is less obvious. Chances are they were Eraviscan individuals from the region who migrated to the nearby settlement; however, the use in dress of two or more fibulae was common in local societies in the middle Danube region, as was the rite of inhumation. While it is likely that both were "native," it cannot be said for sure if they are Eraviscan without further clues.

The above case study outlines some of the issues that arise when trying to isolate and describe ethnic markers from the burial record. Clear markers are not always present, and when they are, other influences and identities must also be considered to understand the processes that contributed to the formation of the burial. Ethnic identities are difficult to read because of variations in the manifestation of practice in the burial and because markers do not always indicate a collective group identity.

While winged fibulae are one of the few clear ethnic markers found in the cemetery, scholars have also seen burial types as representing ethnic groups. Topál identified the C1 type of burial, in which the sides are not only burnt but also plastered, as being indicative of the Eraviscans since this type of burial was largely confined to the region in which the Eraviscans are believed to have resided. The C2 type of burial, whose edges and even sides are burnt, is common in the area south of Aquincum and in the Danube region to the east and she and other scholars ascribe this type to the Illyrians. Topál sees the C3 type, in which the sides of the burial-pit are neither burnt nor plastered, as reflecting immigrants from the eastern portion of Pannonia. While ascribing ethnic labels to these grave types may be problematic, such grave types might

actually reflect meaningful differences in the funerary ritual. The C3 type of burial is the dominant grave type at Carnuntum which is in the eastern part of Pannonia. In both cemeteries, C2 burial-pits only make up a small minority of burials, which is in line with the general geographic distribution of this type of burial. And in Aquincum, C1 burials are the dominant type. Such differences in the way that the burial-pit was treated before the human remains were deposited may reflect a regional cultural practice. Such regional practices cannot be essentialized as representing an ethnic identity, since, as mentioned, actors of various backgrounds were likely involved in developing and maintaining such practices. Combined with other practices and the meanings behind them, they could represent a particular community, but as broad regional practices on their own, they likely represent common practices brought on and developed through connectedness which could lead to a sense of sameness in some situations. As mentioned in chapter one, the manifestation of identities and what they mean is situational.

Topál's ascriptions seem to work well because they reflect some regional patterns and also because the practices that go into forming each burial type are rather straightforward. Both grave types C1 and C2 are prepared with ritual lustration before the remains are deposited with the C1 type having the additional step of being plastered and lustrated again. The C3 type is just a simple elongated pit, like the other two types, but the sides are not ritually lustrated. While such interpretations and their ascriptions to regional practices are attractive, issues arise when the ritual processes that contribute to the creation of the burial are re-interpreted. As mentioned, some scholars, like Márton, believe that the lustration on the edges of the burials is a result of a cremation taking place over the pit. Once the cremation is complete most of the remains are often removed and discarded and a token amount is kept for burial. Either the same pit used for the cremation is then re-arranged and the token debris deposited, or the remains are deposited in

a new pit. According to this interpretation, lack of evidence of burning on the edges of the pit does not necessarily mean that a pyre was not burnt above it, as either the earth was not subject to enough heat to cause scorching or because the evidence does not survive. This makes it difficult to assign an ethnic or at least a regional significance to a burial, since some of the key pieces of evidence that reflect the practices that might mark such identities may be missing. Even in eastern Pannonia burials did not tend to be lustrated, or the evidence for it in a burial may not survive, which renders it subject to an archaeologist's misinterpretation. What survives archaeologically and an archaeologist's interpretation of the burial therefore can affect how a sense of collective identity is conveyed to an observer.

Even if the burning of the sides of the burial does represent a *bustum*/primary cremation and not a specific ritual burning, the burning of the sides of the grave-pit through the cremation may still serve the same purpose, contributing to ritually sanctifying the grave through lustration. As mentioned, the practices of certain rites and the perception that they convey may have held meaningful ritual significance for a majority of people in certain regions; however, attaching a specific ethnic ascription like "Celtic," "Eraviscan," or "Illyrian" to these practices does not convey an accurate idea as to the collective identities that these burials might represent.

As argued in chapter five, the ritual process that leads to the distinct modification of the sides of the vast majority of the cremation burials of the Aquincum sample and other urban areas of the Eraviscan region in northeastern Pannonia cannot be purely attributed to the Eravisci. Inhumation was the dominant rite before the arrival of the Romans in the area and early in the *canabae*'s existence, it seems that many immigrants and locals were being placed in burials with this feature. It was likely a variety of influences, including ones from northern Italy, in addition to local inhabitants and other migrants who in a short time developed and commonly practiced a

ritual/rituals that led to the modification of the sides of most burials around urban centers of the Eraviscan region. Another common trait of the funerals from the first two phases in Aquicnum includes the practice of funerary drinking and pouring of libations during the cremation ceremony as indicated by the flagon and cup fragments found in the cremation debris. This evidence is prevalent because mourners included the artifact debris in the token amount of material they placed in the burial and, importantly, Topál interpreted the material as primary goods rather than interpreting it as instead of as part of the grave fill. Both of these assumptions may be considered reasonable, but this example demonstrates that archaeologists' interpretations are dependent on their personal perception of the presented evidence which then affects the determinations they reach and, therefore, may conflict with the determinations of other archaeologists.

The emphasis on funerary drinking as evidenced in most burials of Aquincum, along with the practice of modifying the sides of burials, are rites that transcend most cremation burials and provide common unifying practices to burial types that may convey values of the deceased and mourners. Whether burials are *bustum* burials with ledges on the pit sides (C4), organic receptacle burials (C5), urn burials (C6), tile burials (C7) or burials with a stone packing (C8) most feature heavily modified sides and include drinking wares. The variation that is seen with regards to disposing of remains may in itself be significant as it may represent traditional practices or particular views of the afterlife. For example, in the majority of urn burials, only cleaned bones are included in the urn itself. This differs from all the other burial types, where pyre debris is also included. Such a practice may reflect views of the afterlife, the traditions of the deceased/mourners or simply a preference on the part of the participants. Important to note here is that one must look at the material evidence of the burials as being representative of key

aspects of the funerary ceremony. Some practices, such as the funerary drinking and the modification of the sides of burials, indicate normative behaviour, while the choice of how the remains are deposited in the burial creates difference. Each of these factors on their own can tell you something about community members burying their dead in this cemetery but prioritizing and privileging one aspect distorts the complexity of practices, the processes that inform them and what they might meant to mourners.

This project has also highlighted that practices change over time, particularly in the Aquincum cemetery, which was in use for a longer period. Greater numbers of burials from the second phase (middle of the second century) contain items such as flagons, cups and lamps, than burials from the third phase in the (second half of the second century), which hold fewer of these items. Funerary drinking and libations always seem to have been important in the Aquincum cemetery. Greater numbers of cups appear in more burials as primary goods and more burials contain evidence of more than one cup during the fourth phase, while during the third and fourth phase flagons appear more frequently as secondary goods with more graves containing more than one flagon. During the third and fourth phase, it is possible that a shift occurred where more people were taking part in funerals, possibly indicating stronger familial or community involvement in funerary drinking and libations during the cremation ceremony. Interestingly enough, this change takes place in the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century, in the period of the Marcomannic wars and the subsequent era of general prosperity under the Severans, during which the community was likely going through dramatic change. The increase in flagons as secondary goods and their relative scarcity as primary goods compared to earlier phases could reflect new prevalent practices. Flagons were used in funerary drinking, libations or purification ceremonies, and then provided as secondary gifts could have

been a symbol of the piety that mourners demonstrated to the deceased, or simply that there was greater participation concerning the gifting. More than any other good, no matter what phase, flagons seemed to be the vessels of choice for use, but the way that they were deposited changed over time, possibly reflecting a change in practice.

The Carnuntum cemetery also displays a mix of practices that were common to the many varied burial forms. By juxtaposing these findings with what was discussed concerning Aquincum, it is possible to observe that dissimilar processes and influences affected these locales, which helps to highlight the significance of the findings. From the small Carnuntum burial sample and the relatively short amount of time that the cemetery was occupied, this project noted some key aspects of the funerary ceremony and how they changed over time. Generally, the burials of Carnuntum contained fewer grave gifts, and when they were included, often they were deposited as secondary goods. This observation may reflect the practices of the mourners and/or how the excavators decided to categorize the artifacts. Excavators may have employed stricter criteria for what they would consider a primary grave gift and what was considered fill. In any case, the quality of the excavation, the interpretation of the results and the presentation in the catalogue and in any discussion pertaining to the burials certainly impacts the way a reader makes sense of the findings for their own purposes.

From the Carnuntum sample, not as many clear and distinct trends are seen as occurring in the majority of burials; however, some noticeable practices are present. As in Aquincum, most burials are pit burials containing a token amount of the remains of the cremation ceremony. This is even the case concerning urn burials, some of which contain pyre debris. Many graves feature some sort of tile covering which is a characteristic that is more common in eastern Pannonia and Noricum and rare in the Aquincum sample. Still, at the Carnuntum cemetery, burials reinforced

with either tiles or stones make up approximately 45% of burials, less than half. It is a prominent trend, but not as widespread as the heavy modification of the burial-pit as seen in the Aquincum sample. Just like the heavily modified sides of the Aquincum burials, pits containing tile or stone reinforcement may have contributed to sanctifying and ritually sealing the burial. This feature also transcends different burial types, such as the *Brandgrubengrab, Brandshüttungsgrab* and *bustum* types. The only other distinct practice common to the majority of burials seems to have been the inclusion of a token amount of debris into the burial-pit. The inclusion of tiles or to a lesser extent stone packing is prominent, but not as widely practiced as the inclusion of debris in the grave-pit.

While no grave goods related to food or drink consumption predominated, as no clear preference for funerary drinking or eating at the cemetery existed, some other items seemed to have played a larger role in the Carnuntum cemetery than that of the Aquincum cemetery. *Tazze* were found more frequently and there seems to have been a correlation between the use of *tazze* and lamps. This may be indicative of a desire on the part of attendees for fragrance and lighting during the funerary service, although the presence of lamps may only have been a symbolic gesture as evidence shows that many of the lamps were never lit. When fine wares were used in the Carnuntum cemetery, imported wares from middle Gaul predominated, while at Aquincum domestically produced fine wares inspired by these imports are most common. In both cemeteries fine wares were often used during the cremation ceremony, as they are found as primary goods in both cemeteries. The use of this imported fine wares during the cremation ceremony, possibly to carry goods for display and banqueting, may be part of the spectacle of the display and cremation of the body.

In Carnuntum, a higher percentage of burials contain items such as cups and lamps, but fewer burials contain them in the fourth phase, while in that same phase more burials contain at least one bowl or plate. It is hard to say whether these observations reflect an actual change in the funerary ritual, since the sample is so small. The most significant change between the third and fourth phase in Carnuntum is the lack of lamps included in the fourth phase. During the third phase, lamps are one of the most popular grave gifts, but in the fourth phase, only two burials contain them. This lack of lamps very much highlights how processes taking place away from an area affects local practice, as under the Severans it is possible that less olive oil, the fuel for lamps, was being shipped to areas of the middle Danube area. With the lack of fuel, fewer lamps were produced and, therefore, used in the funerary ceremony. If this process affected Aquincum, the results are not noticeable in funerary practice as the percentage of burials containing lamps from this period is similar to what was found in the first phase and the third phase.

Ethnicity does not need to be linked to such notable trends in either ceremony, although, as has been discussed, ethnic and regional influences that affect goods and practices do exist. The practices of urn burials and *bustum* burials, which often leave traces of burning on the sides of burial-pits, may have come from northern Italy with soldiers and migrants. The deposition of a coin and lamp with a burial certainly comes from the Mediterranean, as does the consumption of wine, which is evidenced through the deposition of flagons and cups. As discussed, the modification of the walls of a grave-pit, whether that be through lustration or the inclusion of tile reinforcement, might represent regional trends. Some of these trends that occurred in both cemeteries could very well represent, foreign, ethnic or regional practices of the deceased or the mourners who interred them and might be worth exploring further, but enough cross-cutting trends transpired that essentializing a particular grave with an ethnic label does not necessarily

capture other influences that may have affected the burial rituals that contributed to forming the burial.

A good example of the complexity of influences that contribute to a burial is found with grave 7.VI, a casket burial, which Topál interprets as a product of Italian rites (2000a: 203; see Pl. 2-19). Topál could be right in her ascription, but other aspects of the burial place it firmly in what should be expected of a burial from Aquincum based on the findings of this project. A few features of the burial are distinct, as it includes metal vessels[1008] and gemstones.[1009] Notable also is the size and embellishment of the casket, but as mentioned, caskets are prominent in Pannonia, as there seemed to be a thriving industry, so its inclusion as a receptacle for the remains and grave gifts is not surprising. These features could represent the wealth invested in the burial, which is distinctive compared to most other burials in the sample for this project, but they may not necessarily express ethnicity. The burial still includes a modified flagon (3)[1010] and an amphora (1), which is also used for the storing and serving of liquids. Since the burial is dated to the very end of the third phase, it is not surprising that the liquid serving vessels are deposited as secondary gifts, a practice that is quite common at this time. The casket burial (C5) also featured the same modification of the sides of the grave as was found in 83% of other burials in the cemetery. Despite the possibility that the deceased may be of Italian heritage and the fact that a greater degree of wealth was deposited in the grave than found in most other burials of the cemetery, some of the same significant features are present that represent common practices of many in the community.

[1008] A bronze flagon (28 a–c) and bronze bucket fragments (29)
[1009] Finds # 9–11.
[1010] The rim and handle were taken off and an iron band was fitted in two small grooves on the neck. Soldered to this was a bronze stopper cut from the base of another vessel (Topál 1993: 10).

What we see in both communities is that despite the varied origins of many of the deceased and the mourners who buried them, funerary practices prominent in each cemetery intersect with other distinct practices. As discussed in chapter one, this phenomenon is not surprising, as other scholars have noticed that colonial sites could develop in distinctive ways because of the variation in circumstances, and local practices and identities, therefore, develop over time. Especially, in the case of Aquincum, it seems that a regional identity in the territory of the Eravisci developed at least in the urban areas, but the practices that occurred in the cemetery at Carnuntum certainly followed noted regional trends. These common trends did not just develop and remain static, but over time practices changed.

A diverse set of practices and goods that are interspersed with or even independent of some of these normative ones is to be expected. Several of these practices and items like those discussed in grave 18.I and 7.VI may reflect the ethnicity or region of the deceased and/or mourners. In urban centers whose population was comprised in some part of migrants and transient people, this is to be expected. However, as discussed in chapter one, urban centers like Aquincum and Carnuntum were also open to dynamic globalizing influences that offer inhabitants choice that could reflect beliefs and interests. The cosmopolitan, globalizing nature of these urban centers, therefore, plays a role in influencing the practices and goods included in the funerary ceremony, at the same time that local and regional trends are developed and modified. As mentioned previously, migrants might largely be freed from the constraints of local traditions, and therefore unconstrained to adopt traditional practices in urban centers, and even take up and contribute to local habits, including those in the funerary sphere.

The above discussion highlights that, although ethnicity is an important variable to look for, burials should not be necessarily essentialized based on the possible ethnicity of the

deceased. Intersecting global, regional and local developments that might not have an ethnic basis may contribute to the practices and goods that are part of the funerary ceremony. Especially in the case of Aquincum, where evidence shows that a few distinct practices were prevalent, mourners appear to have been acting out and negotiating a local regional identity when they took part in the funerary ceremony.

As discussed in chapter one, identity is a product of social action, such as funerary rituals, during which commonality is emphasized through participation and observation of symbolically charged activities representing common values. The normatively significant aspects of the rituals help develop, maintain, and negotiate a sense of commonality between participants. Bringing mourners together to participate in such important rituals also serves to socially bring together people, which promotes a sense of connectedness. Both of these factors contribute to a sense of groupness or belonging to a collective identity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 19–21). Various significant types of groupness may be cultivated in funerary rituals at the same time, in the same way that intersecting group identities may be emphasized in the burial, but based on the above evidence, the one that should be highlighted here is a sense of locality, or what it means to be part of the community in the *canabae* in Aquincum or the civilian city in Carnuntum. Members of the community, and even more transient individuals, commemorate the deceased in the funerary ceremony through similar rituals, which, in addition to other symbolically charged rituals and daily practices, contributes to developing and maintaining a sense of community.

At the same time that local actions take place in the community that strengthen a sense of groupness as acted out and developed through common rituals, processes at a regional and supra-regional level take place that can also provide a sense of sameness, connectedness and groupness between areas separated by distance. As mentioned previously, many practices that are followed

and goods that are used are similar to what takes place in other areas in the region, the empire and likely even outside of it. These homogenizing practices have been discussed as "romanization" before, but there is no need to use the term here to describe the processes and the effects of them at work. Common practices, and the goods used for these activities, even if they are modified at the regional and local level and are transected by other varied practices, likely help to provide a sense of commonality and relatability for people of different communities. Where differences exist, homogenizing practices may even help observers and participants communicate and understand differences at the regional, local and the neighborhood level. The funerary rituals, then, are part of dynamic glocalizing processes taking place at the local level but are affected by and contribute to homogenizing processes taking place over a wider area.

Ethnicity is just one collective identity, and a difficult one to identify in the burial records of both cemeteries. While it is significant in several instances, as illustrated through a few case studies, it is not the collective identity that necessarily carried the greatest weight in most of the burials. Identities formed through practices developed at the local and regional level seem to be a more fruitful approach in an attempt to understand how mourners and the deceased acted out a sense of groupness.

14.2 Gender

Gender is another variable that is difficult to isolate in a burial. When a gender can be attributed to an assemblage with confidence, it is usually because scholars can use the sex of the skeleton, as determined by an osteological examination, to gender aspects of the assemblage and find patterns between the burials based on these findings and/or rely on certain items that carry gendered connotations. This study used these approaches, but it has found that when additional

appropriate context is available greater meaning can be given to the gender and other important identities that transect it. While some of the items that may denote gender were ceramic vessels, most artifacts that can be assigned to a particular gender are personal items that are assumed to have been associated with the deceased during life, or if they were not, then at least served to mark sentimental and idealized aspects of the deceased in death. Unfortunately, very few burials contain personal items. However, of those items that were deposited, a variety of types do appear. Although the majority of the types of personal items were detailed in this project, a small number were not, as the focus was kept to the principal categories.

Several reasons exist for why gender may not have been marked in a particular assemblage. Conceptions of how the spirit of the deceased transitions from the world of the living may differ according to the beliefs of the mourners, but in general terms, the funeral and subsequent ceremonies are part a process through which the deceased, who is in a liminal state, transitions from the world of the living into the afterlife as an ancestor or *manes* divinities (Pearce 2017: 7; Sheid 2005: 186–187). As the deceased is assimilated into an anonymous collective of ancestors, markers of identity prevalent in the world of the living are not seen as necessary (Pearce 2017: 17). When the body lay in state or even on the pyre, personal goods may have accompanied them, but as they transitioned from the world of the living to the afterlife, it became less important to include these. If they were included on the funerary pyre, they may have been destroyed or not included in the cremation debris that was deposited in the grave.

This notion of how the deceased transitioned into the afterlife may be valid in some cases, but not all conceptions of the afterlife are the same. It is reasonable that in some cases such goods are considered necessary. For example, peoples in the Danube region did seem to

think that the deceased needed such provisions in the afterlife which is why quite a few intact grave goods often accompany the deceased (Mráv 2004: 4).

Conceptions of the afterlife and the needs of the deceased once transitioned are not the only reasons why personal items do or do not accompany the deceased. As mentioned in chapter four, parts of the funerary rite like the cremation ceremony and even the burial can be treated as spectacles, in which the deceased or the remains are featured with important personal items. Emotive reasons for the inclusion of certain items are also important to consider. Personal items associated with the deceased may hold sentimental value to the mourners, who may want to include them in the ceremony. In this case the inclusion of personal items is very individualized, which is why in the few burials that carried personal items, such a variety of goods could be present.

Most gendered items are associated with females, while few are directly associated with males. Many such items concern a woman's toiletry set that might include a casket,[1011] mirror, phials and bottles which hold such things as perfumes and makeup, and grooming implements, such as ear scoops and tweezers although some of these items on their own may not indicate the presence of a female. For example, grooming tools can certainly be included with a male, as is likely the case of the bronze spoon (14) from grave 79.VI of Aquincum, the human remains of which were identified as an elderly male.[1012] Phials are also found interred with males, but they were also used in parts of the funerary ritual, so the inclusion of a phial does not necessarily imply the presence of a toiletry set. Clearly then, context is needed before determining if a good

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[1011] Not necessarily one in which the remains are deposited (C5 type burials). The remains of males and female can be interred in these.

[1012] As mentioned before in numerous places, it is difficult to sex cremated remains, so any identification is speculative. The only other personal item included in the burial was a bone die (12), which may support the sex of the individual as male.

indicates the gender of the deceased. The greater the numbers of gendered items that appear in the burial, the clearer the identification and the easier it might be to interpret the use and meaning behind other personal items. Other items usually associated with females outside of the toiletry set also appear in some burials. Such items include spindle whorls, items of personal adornment like hairpins and many types of jewelry.

All these personal items can represent feminine values or stages of life at least in an idealized form. Caskets can contain a dowry and/or a toiletry set. The dowry can represent the aspirational potential of the deceased who never married, or the dowry of a deceased married woman might be interred with her. Often large amounts of valuable goods, like jewelry that could be included in the dowry or a woman's dress kit, are passed on to heirs as a form of wealth rather than interred, so it is possible that only a token amount is included in the burial. The toiletry set can symbolize female grooming habits and beauty, while the spindle whorl can represent ideal feminine qualities of a matron or a maiden about to be married, while a mirror might represent feminine values as embodied by Venus, who can also act as a protective deity in the afterlife. All these interpretations are quite standard and general, so they should be taken with caution as such goods may represent something else to the participants.

Of the personal items discussed in this project, evidence of a belt is one of the few relatively firm indicators of male gender. In most cases, belts did not just carry masculine connotations, but military ones as well, particularly with belts such as the *cingulum* which were popular in the military. In many cases the deceased might either be an active soldier or veteran, and the belt could be viewed as a token part of the military kit. The inclusion of fibulae with a belt may also strengthen the identification of an individual as member of the military, as fibulae were also commonly worn by military members as part of their kit. As discussed in chapter

twelve, civilians could also wear such items, but in a symbolically charged ritual in militarized frontier setting, it is likely that belts and fibulae suggest a military background.

Further context can inform the identities that transect the gender of the deceased. Aging of the skeletal remains in a burial that contains a belt could help identify the individual as a soldier or a veteran. This was the case concerning graves 130 and 174B of Carnuntum where the deceased were aged as older individuals, and thus considered as probable veterans. In the Carnuntum cemetery, grave 26 and 174B contained elaborately worked belts which may indicate that the deceased held higher ranks in the military. Further context from the burial can help to determine the stage of the life and many other interesting identities of who passed away. Graves 26 and 174B were richly furnished, and the latter was particularly so as it contained a gilded bronze headpiece, possibly indicating that the deceased was a priest of some sort. If both were veterans, the evidence shows that they enjoyed success after their service and factors such as grave evidence and the aging of the remains contribute to defining them. In short, the more context, the more facets of the individual that can be identified.

While ascribing gender to specific artifacts can be a useful starting point for examining the identities of a burial, clear pitfalls exist in this approach. As mentioned, most belts seem to be associated with men in the samples, but women can also wear belts. In the sample, grave 23 of Carnuntum carried belt pendants from a type of belt often associated with a male, but the burial also contains a mirror which is usually associated with females and a knife which in the Carnuntum cemetery has a strong association with females. An analogy from an inhumation burial from the mid fourth century carrying a female with similar pendants, and the realization that the pendants may have been attached to the endings of a cord belt which women certainly wore, indicate that the burial likely contained a female. Still, such as an example confirms that as

many variables as possible need to be considered before assigning a gender to the deceased based on the artifacts.

Fibulae are one of the clearest examples of an accessory that can certainly contribute to conveying the gender and other identities of an individual, but most fibulae on their own are rather ambiguous in their meaning. In the sample, the only the winged fibula can be firmly associated with a gender, as it was an accessory of the traditional dress of women from the middle Danube region. In the Aquincum cemetery, the two examples found were always paired with another type of fibula, but only one, a single knobbed Pannonian fibula of grave 18.I, could be identified. Scholars associate this type of fibula with men, both civilians and soldiers, but this type along with other types associated with men, such as the *Distelfibel*, could be found with females. Most types of fibulae, many of which were popularized by the military, were worn by civilians, men and women alike. Fibulae could be associated with the dress of a certain gender, ethnicity and occupation, but most of them on their own are ambiguous so therefore as much context as possible is needed in order to interpret them.

Personal items are one of the key variables in determining how gender was marked in burials and how it informed other identities projected through the assemblage. This project has found that some ceramic goods, which may or may not be personal items, also may have marked the gender of the deceased. One conspicuous finding of this study from the cemetery of Carnuntum was that it seemed that several burials likely belonging to females included a cup. Only 41% of burials containing a cup in the Carnuntum sample, mostly inhumations, were sexed and contained items that could be associated with females such as jewelry or knives, so the results of this finding are not conclusive but are worth exploring in the future. Certainly not all females were buried with a cup and the meaning of a single cup to the deceased and mourners

cannot be known without a larger sample and analogies of similar occurrences that will contribute to any interpretation. The project found a similar occurrence at Aquincum, where it seems that mugs were associated with remains sexed as female. This finding is also tentative, but again, the finding is a result worth exploring further.

Furthermore, the project also found an association between coins depicting female members of the Imperial family and/or the goddess Juno with some of the women and children of the Carnuntum cemetery, particularly between the second half of the second century and the beginning of the third century. As with other items typically gendered as female, coins featuring these images may convey significant feminine aspects that mourners wished to highlight for the deceased, as the empresses and Juno represented idealized facets of femininity. In addition, mourners seem to have intentionally selected coins that depict particular personifications of members of the imperial household, as these images held amuletic value or they conveyed a wish that the deceased enjoy a happy afterlife.

Several items can mark the gender of the deceased and serve to illuminate how gender was constructed, at least in an idealized form. This is not surprising given that individuals living in urban centers close to legionary bases, like the *canabae* of Aquincum and the civilian city of Carnuntum, had access to various products from the region and other parts of the empire, and were subject to globalizing influences that spread ideas and different ways of performing and giving meaning to gender.

As stated at the beginning of this section, gender was not a necessary identity that it was necessary to express in the burial assemblage, as many burials did not have gender markers. The lack of evidence may be in part because much of the material from the pyre, where the body could have been displayed with personal items, was destroyed, and did not make it into the

burial. Fewer graves carried personal items as secondary gifts as they may not have been seen as essential for the spirit to have as an offering in the burial. Still, although some of the results are tentative, gender could be marked in numerous ways. It is through finding patterns of practice that relates to firmly gendered goods and the sexed skeleton, testing those results in other samples and then exploring what significance those patterns may have through analogies that such associations and the meaning behind them can be isolated and explored. The more context available in the grave assemblage, the stronger and the richer the interpretation. Gender also transects and contributes to an understanding of other identities such as occupation as discussed with belts many of which were associated with males serving in the military.

From the evidence explored in this project, many of the goods such as belts, token amounts of jewelry, spindle whorls and coins served as idealized symbols of values or aspects of the deceased that mourners wished to commemorate. The reasons for commemorating such aspects seem personal and individualized, though the cultural background and conventions of some may come to play as well. Some of the gifts like mirrors and coins evoked certain deities, like Venus, Juno and the empresses who might provide protection and happiness in the afterlife.

14.3 Age

As with other major identities, those based on age are not easily found in the burial record and when they are found, the interpretation of them is often not straightforward. At least a rough estimate of the age of the human remains is required in order to achieve a comprehensive interpretation of the artifacts and how they relate to the deceased. Unlike gendered artifacts, very few goods carry any obvious connotations that imply the stage in the life cycle that the deceased

occupied. In addition, very few individual items or assemblages convey the life stage of an individual without other identities being evoked at the same time.

In most cases it is helpful to know the age of the deceased to provide context when examining the relationship between the artifacts and the deceased. Interestingly, this project found that numerous items that would normally imply particular aspects of the identity and age were sometimes placed with individuals at other stages of life. For example, a belt and fibula could be placed with a young soldier or an older veteran as a symbol of their service. But in fact, such items have been found with children in the cemetery. A spindle whorl, mirror or casket could be placed with an older female, which might indicate her married and matronly status and values, while when interred with a younger female the same items could represent feminine qualities that she embodied as a maiden and her potential for marriage. Whether it be in burials or on grave stelae, scholars have noticed that young individuals may be idealized as little adults, representing a status that was aspired to but never fulfilled in life.

The project also noticed that numerous items associated with females could also be associated with children seemingly regardless of their sex. Part of this is because the sex of a child is impossible to determine osteologically, so the gender cannot be assumed, but it is possible that some of these items may have been buried with only females. Items such as *bullae*, phallic pendants and beaded necklaces/bracelets could be associated with children of both sexes, but also with women. In addition, coins depicting empresses and Juno that have an association with women also have association with children. Aspects of matronly qualities conveyed by these female effigies such as those that convey motherhood are appropriate for children, as well. Children were considered especially vulnerable to malevolent forces while alive and in the grave, so such items and others, like beads, that may possess similar properties, were important to inter

with children. These amulets convey protective powers applicable to women and children, which may convey a conceptual link between them in society. A few goods given to children seem to be mostly specific to them[1013] and likely also carry amuletic properties. A *crepundia* and bells both likely served as toys for small children, but also served to protect them from malevolent threats. *Infundibula* or feeding bottles may also imply amuletic properties.

Age was not often marked in the burial assemblage in an obvious way, with the exception of a few goods specific to children. Many goods associated with the young are those that are also associated with adults and often, but not always, carry gendered connotations. These gifts most often commemorate the early death of an individual who had not reached a key stage in life. In order to interpret how age is marked, other identities such as gender and occupation have to be taken into account. Just like gender, the commemoration of an age status, whether actualized or idealized, was very personal and individualized as a variety of items were used in the marking of age. Emotive factors such as grief and a sense of loss likely played a key motivating factor in providing the deceased particularly the young with gifts. Many of the items seem to commemorate an unachieved status in life and many held amuletic powers which served to protect the child in the afterlife.

[1013] One of the three burials containing feeding bottles was found in grave 146.VI of Aquincum, the remains of which were not aged or sexed. However, the burial contained many items associated with females, including evidence of a casket, phials which were possibly part of a toiletry set and a mug. It is possible that the individual was very young and did not achieve a key status in life such as marriage and motherhood, which is represented by the feeding bottle. She may have even died in childbirth or been interred with an infant whose remains no longer survive. Unfortunately, without further information, the reasons for the inclusion of the feeding bottle can only be guessed.

14.4 Wealth and Rank/Status

Very few items or practices seemed to indicate a high amount of wealth or rank in burials of either cemetery. As discussed in chapter two, rank is a variable that can a difficult to investigate in a cemetery. Varying motivations and actions on the part of the deceased and mourners might affect the amount of wealth put into the grave assemblage. Emphasis in commemorating the deceased may not have even been directed towards the burial assemblage. The status of most of the individuals is difficult to gauge, but the majority of people interred in these two cemeteries had the means to be cremated, which might be cost-prohibitive to some without the help of a patron or burial association. At the very least, cremated individuals or their families had enough wealth to pay for cremation or had the sponsors to provide for it. As with any other identity discussed so far, context matters when evaluating the potential rank or status of the individual in the community or how much wealth was invested in the burial.

Very few of the graves contain an obvious large expenditure of wealth. Most of the cremation burials are composed of simple pits, and even with modifications to the pit, presumably it would be a reasonable expenditure. The fuel for the cremation and any specialized assistance for managing it might be expensive enough to be cost-prohibitive for the very poor who had no patron to sponsor them. Most of the graves contained ceramic goods, but they were likely inexpensive. Items used for the holding of goods used during the funerary ceremony, like flagons and phials, may have held expensive and exotic goods and the resins burned in *tazze* may been costly, but evidence of these organics is now lost, so little can be said about them. The amount and quality of goods that made it into the burial at either site may not actually reflect the wealth of the deceased, but instead may reflect the expenditure of the patrons or burial clubs (*collegia*) that sponsored the funeral. The number of fragmented vessels deposited as primary

grave goods may somewhat reflect the level of participation in funerary banqueting during the cremation ceremony, and the number of goods deposited as secondary vessels may also have been a form of gifting to the deceased from those who were present. For the majority of burials examined in the cemetery, it may be a fruitful approach to view the number of goods as a reflection of the type and number of individuals who took part in the cemetery. In the cemetery of Aquincum during the fourth phase, more burials contained multiple cups as primary goods and multiple flagons as secondary goods, which may indicate stronger social and kin networks participating in the funerary ceremony, or that the ceremony was open to the larger community. The majority of the fourth phase takes place during the Severan era, a generally prosperous time along the *limes* of Pannonia. The approach of equating the number of gifts in burials to the level of participation may not work for Carnuntum, however, as very few of those burials even contain multiple gifts. Various factors contribute to the amount of goods and the type of goods placed in the grave at any given time.

The goods that mourners deposit in burials may provide an indication of the level of wealth offered in the funerary ceremony. In Carnuntum many imported fine ware plates and bowls were used during the cremation ceremony, which indicates that mourners wished to utilize quality vessels of higher cost to contribute to the spectacle of the cremation or to enhance the reverence of the ceremony. In Aquincum, fine wares were also used mostly in the cremation ceremony, but the majority of the fine wares used were produced domestically. Imported fine wares may have cost more than cheaper locally produced pieces, but they would not have cost as much as goods made of glass or metal. Usually, most burials have evidence of one piece of fine ware, so the cost was probably not prohibitive for many.

In both cemeteries glass wares, such as liquid serving vessels, flasks and cups, were a more expensive substitute for their ceramic equivalents. This observation is supported by the rarity of glass vessels in the graves of either cemetery. Generally, glass vessels were deposited in burials that also contained other expensive gifts. From the Carnuntum sample, a burial that contained a glass vessel usually also contained at least one other grave good. Most Carnuntum burials contained few goods, so this indicates that this vessel was part of a more substantial investment in the grave offering. In Aquincum, glass vessels are also often part of a larger investment in the grave inventory, except in the case of grave 79.VI, which contained a glass jug with a handle which was broken in antiquity. This burial did not hold any other gifts of value but did contain some personal items and drinking vessels as secondary gifts.[1014] In this case, the glass jug (despite its broken handle) may have been deposited for sentimental reasons on the part of the mourners who seemed to have done much to commemorate his death and their memory of the deceased man. Further context from the burial is important in determining what the vessel might mean in relation to the deceased and what motivated the mourners to deposit it.

Personal items such as belts and jewelry may imply a level of wealth on the part of the deceased or highlight the wealth that mourners wished to deposit with them. Jewelry was certainly an indicator of wealth and one's position in society in many parts of the Roman Empire. Most of the jewelry of Carnuntum and Aquincum was composed of cheaper materials like glass, bronze and faience. Some of this material likely imitated more expensive wares. A handful of burials in Aqincum contained polychromic necklaces which were in style during the Severan era. Luxury necklaces of this type would be made of several types of expensive gems

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[1014] The remains supposedly belonged to a mature-senile male. In addition to the glass jug, a flagon (1), two cups (3–4), a bone die (12) and a small bronze spoon were offered all as secondary goods which may indicate the mourners wished the deceased to enjoy such gifts in the burial. The dice might indicate that the deceased enjoyed playing games.

and other materials, while the cheaper ones of the cemetery were mostly composed of materials like glass and bone that imitated more expensive materials. Gold as a material was a symbol of the elite and in general was a luxurious good of great monetary value; however, brass was used to imitate gold and was found in the form of items such as rings. Bronze, another commonly used metal, was formed into rings featuring intaglio made of glass paste that were crafted in imitation of rings made of more expensive materials. People who could not afford expensive goods but still wanted to look stylish or project a veneer of having wealth could do so.

Some more valuable examples of jewelry were found in the burials of both Aquincum and Carnuntum and were interred with females. Gold earrings were found in four burials from both sites. The two from Aquincum only contained one earring and both contained evidence of caskets, which may convey an urban middle-class status.[1015] The inclusion of one earring may represent a token amount of wealth that the deceased or their family members possessed. As mentioned earlier, expensive jewelry may have been passed down through inheritance as a form of wealth.

Luxury goods like gold earrings are not always indicative of a higher status with regards to the deceased, but they may possibly convey the sentiment or meaning that the goods held for the deceased, or they may simply signify the wealth that mourners were willing to expend to commemorate them. Several burials contained few other goods besides the few pieces of jewelry. Grave 117 only contained one gold earring and a ceramic cup, while grave 182 contained two gold earrings and two beads of coloured bone as grave gifts. Again, the mourners likely deposited these pieces for sentimental reasons, but the pieces may also represent a token amount of wealth that the deceased and/or mourners possessed. This idea is supported by the

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[1015] Graves 28.VI and 34.VI.

evidence of a necklace composed of amber beads and a phallic pendant from grave 52.I of Aquincum which was only accompanied in the burial by a ceramic cup. Such a necklace may not have held great monetary value, since Aquincum was on the Amber Road, where such a stone is traded; still, the piece likely represented a fair amount of luxury in a burial in which little other wealth was invested. It is likely that this piece served an additional function as an amulet through the properties of the amber and the phallic pendant, which offered the deceased protection from malevolent forces.

For males, the elaborate belt fittings and the fibulae of graves 26 and 174B may indicate that the deceased were veterans, possibly former officers. Both graves are in a stone grave enclosure, burials which would have been more costly, and the elaborate inventories they held may indicate that they enjoyed continued success in civilian life. Of all the burials examined in this study, the elderly male buried in 174B was certainly of the highest status, which was marked in several ways. The cist grave was surrounded by a grave enclosure, which denoted wealth, but the monument was notably visible in the cemetery, which projected the status of the deceased. All the vessels in the grave were of glass, which as mentioned denotes a higher expenditure of wealth. In addition, several objects such as pieces of a supposed gilded bronze diadem, a key and modified goose egg may indicate that the individual was a priest of a cult (Gassner 1999: 86–87). In any case, the deceased was likely a wealthy veteran and religious official of a high standing in various aspects of the community. The only item that was made of a cheap material was a ceramic lamp. Even the coin deposited was of silver. This is an exceptional burial from the late fourth phase. Most other burials in this area resembling it were likely plundered and the grave enclosures dismantled. Unfortunately, this is the fate of many visible, high-status burials, which makes it difficult to study the upper echelon of society through burials.

The example of grave 174B is an exceptional burial and although several other burials contain goods of significant value, they likely do not reflect the upper-class status that is represented in 174B. Because many of the deceased buried in these cemeteries were likely from the same strata of society, firm status markers were difficult to isolate. Even when such markers can be found, further context is needed to gain more insight into why certain items were included in the burial and what they meant to the deceased.

14.5 Factors Contributing to the Commemoration of Identity

Identities based on the four major axes, ethnicity, gender, age and status were certainly present in both cemeteries but not prevalent. The marking of such facets of individuals was likely quite personal and individualized, but not necessary. Several factors have been mentioned in the above discussion concerning motivations for commemorating the deceased in an individualized way. The traditions of the deceased or the mourners commemorating them could be one motivation for memorializing certain aspects of the individual. Mourners or the deceased may have wished to emphasize the funeral as a spectacle in order to influence the way people would perceive them in the community, and therefore they expended more wealth to achieve this end. In the case of the individual buried in grave 174B, this status was projected through a distinct, monumentalized grave enclosure.

Emotive reasons concerning the grief and sense of loss of the mourners for the deceased may also have played a role in commemorating aspects of the deceased. One manifestation of this was with some young individuals whom mourners sometimes commemorated and idealized with artifacts that reflect a stage in life that the deceased never achieved. Artifacts that held some sentimental values such as, pieces of jewelry, gaming pieces certain types of tools, etc. might

also reflect aspects of the deceased that elicited feeling of fondness in the mourners who wished to commemorate to mark their loss. Some gifted them as they wished the deceased to have such a token to take into the afterlife. Items with amuletic or apotropaic properties such as beads, some coins, lead mirrors and knives, as well as goods like lamps, coins and keys, convey a sense that they wished the spirit a pleasant journey to the afterlife. However, such gifts could also serve to appease the spirit and ensure that it did not disturb the world of the living.

Emotive reasons beyond the wish to commemorate their relatively high social standing may have even contributed to the decision to deposit a significant amount of wealth with the deceased. This project has found that most of the burials containing expensive goods such as jewelry and glass also contained a bronze coin and/or a cheap pottery lamp. It is possible that it was the convention to use these cheaper items as a well-wish for the deceased travelling to the underworld, but their inclusion in burials that otherwise contained costly gifts is striking. Such an expenditure may not just reflect the wealth of the deceased and/or their loved ones but allows for the fulfillment of the wish that the deceased have these things to carry into the afterlife and serves as a commemoration to mark their loss and grief. These cheaper items that were supposed to help the deceased in the afterlife emphasize mourners' sense of loss and their well-wish to the deceased in the afterlife.

14.6 Final Thoughts

Using broad identity categories as a lens through which to examine and give meaning to the material of a cemetery is not a straightforward endeavor. During the process of examination and analysis of the features and items of a burial, the researcher must endeavor to narrow these larger identity categories by isolating other lesser identities that will inform the broader

categories and help to provide meaning to them. A search for as much context as possible is necessary, since substantiated context strengthens interpretations and provides meaning to practices and goods that might otherwise have little or varied significance. The first step in the process is, of course a thorough examination of the burial assemblages which becomes a starting point from which nuanced meaning may be given to the patterns of practices found in a cemetery.

This project relied on the work of other scholars as a basis to interpret the meanings behind practices and items. Their works were informed by ancient literary sources, the art historical records, archaeological findings, and ethnographies. Many of these viewpoints have become widespread and relatively standardized interpretations of the material record of the Roman provinces. While these interpretations were undoubtedly beneficial in providing a well-informed basis for the interpretation and the findings, they contribute to homogenizing views of various aspects of the Roman world. It is possible that a diverse range of meanings may be constrained by such perspectives. At the very least, then, this project was able to contribute to discussion concerning how identity could be manifested through the burial assemblage, but not necessarily any certain meaning.

Once the meanings tied to the major identities are garnered and understood, it is then necessary to explore the ways that mourners commemorated the deceased and what motivated their practices. While not all the features of burials nor all of the items were explored in this paper, the project did succeed in isolating significant patterns of practice, relating them to specific identities, exploring the meaning behind them and speculating on the motivations for commemorating them. By exploring multiple identities, the interpretations of these analyses

became richer, which demonstrates the complexity of factors that contribute to the form the burial takes.

From the analysis it appears that local, regional and global influences informed general trends of practice in both cemeteries. From the evidence found in this project, the practices that were common to a variety of types of cremation and some inhumation burials from each cemetery seemed to promote a collective identity amongst the mourners of each locale. Participation in relatively normalized, symbolically charged rituals must have fostered a sense of commonality amongst the inhabitants of each community and the transients who participated. Not only were these practices relatively common, but such communal practices in symbolically charged events and even ones in daily life promoted connectedness which serves to build relational ties between individuals. Both the commonality promoted by the practices and the relational connectedness that they provide foster a sense of groupness among members of a community. Undoubtedly, this sense of groupness was promoted within other groups, such as familial groups, the military community, *collegia*, etc. which were within the societies of both settlements; however, the common burial practices seem to have applied to the settlement populations overall. Presumably, a sense of community groupness promoted through ritual events and in daily life helped communities coalesce, but it cannot be said how much it promoted a conscious and understood internalization of sameness in the community. For example, did individuals participating in the community of either settlement see their membership of the community as significant in their daily lives?

Notable funerary practices and items that were used in them were fit into regional patterns and supra-regional practices common to a large area. The same processes of identity formation, maintenance and negotiation at work at the settlement level could also provide a sense

of sameness and connectedness with others in each region and over a wider area because of these common practices. These widely spread practices are part of homogenizing processes. In the funerary sphere of the cemetery, these widespread practices represent small ways in which people of the empire participated in a larger community and gave them shared, familiar customs, the practice of which helped to make the empire more than just a political entity held together by alliances, the bureaucracy and the threat of martial action if inhabitants did not comply with the will of imperial officials.

Individuals and communities were actors in developing, adapting and negotiating a system of ideas, values and norms that structured their behaviour and thought. At the beginning of the settlement numerous influences from a variety of origins contributed to the development of common funerary practices at either site. This development did not just coalesce and remain unchanged, since ongoing globalizing influences continued to affect communities. The funerary sphere was one part of society when all who participated actively developed, negotiated and maintained communal and personal identities in response to these influences.

While homogenizing practices promoted a sense of groupness in the society of the settlements and at regional and supra-regional levels, heterogenizing influences fostered difference at local, communal and individual levels. Living in major settlements along important trade routes with a steady flow of transient individuals gave inhabitants the opportunity to experience a variety of influences and goods. Migrants moving into the city likely were not constrained by the customs of their places of origin and were free to explore what a relatively cosmopolitan center could offer.

In the cemetery these heterogenizing processes at an individual level were manifested by way of the very personal and individualized ways that people commemorated the deceased. In

the majority of burials, identities based on specific ethnic backgrounds, gender, age and status were not often marked in obvious ways. When they were, mourners often conveyed these identities in symbolic and idealized ways, reflecting identities of their gender, occupation, status in the life cycle, cultural background and wealth. If the deceased did not achieve an expected life status or occupation in life, some mourners sought to mark their loss by presenting them in an idealized form as if they had reached those expectations. Motivations behind why certain identities were commemorated differed as did the various ways for protecting the dead and ensuring a good after life.

The processes from which these practices emerge against the backdrop of a wide-ranging process is called glocalization. As with the modern concepts of globalization, in and around areas of the Roman Empire, practices did not just become gradually homogenized. At the same time these commonalities were developing, disseminating and being negotiated, the on-going creation and negotiation of local identities was taking place. Globalization, which was caused by the expansion and consolidation of the Roman Empire and led to the greater exchange of ideas, goods and people, also helped to create difference. Presumably because of the homogenizing processes at work, differences might be more easily communicated, through a common language, common practices, similar experiences and instruments which enable those practices and experiences. In other words, differences between globalized areas were able to be effectively communicated and understood.

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Plates

1 Maps

1-1 Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior ("Pannonia02.png" *Wikimedia Commons*)

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1-2 Map of Pannonia Showing Known Pre-Roman Groups, including the Boii and Eravisci (Topál 2000a: 198, Fig. 20.1)

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1-3 Map showing the Civilian Town, Legionary Camp and *Canabae* of Carnuntum (Decker, *et al*. 2006: Fig. 3). The red circle represents the approximate area of excavation on either side of the by-pass road (9- Hainburger Straß).
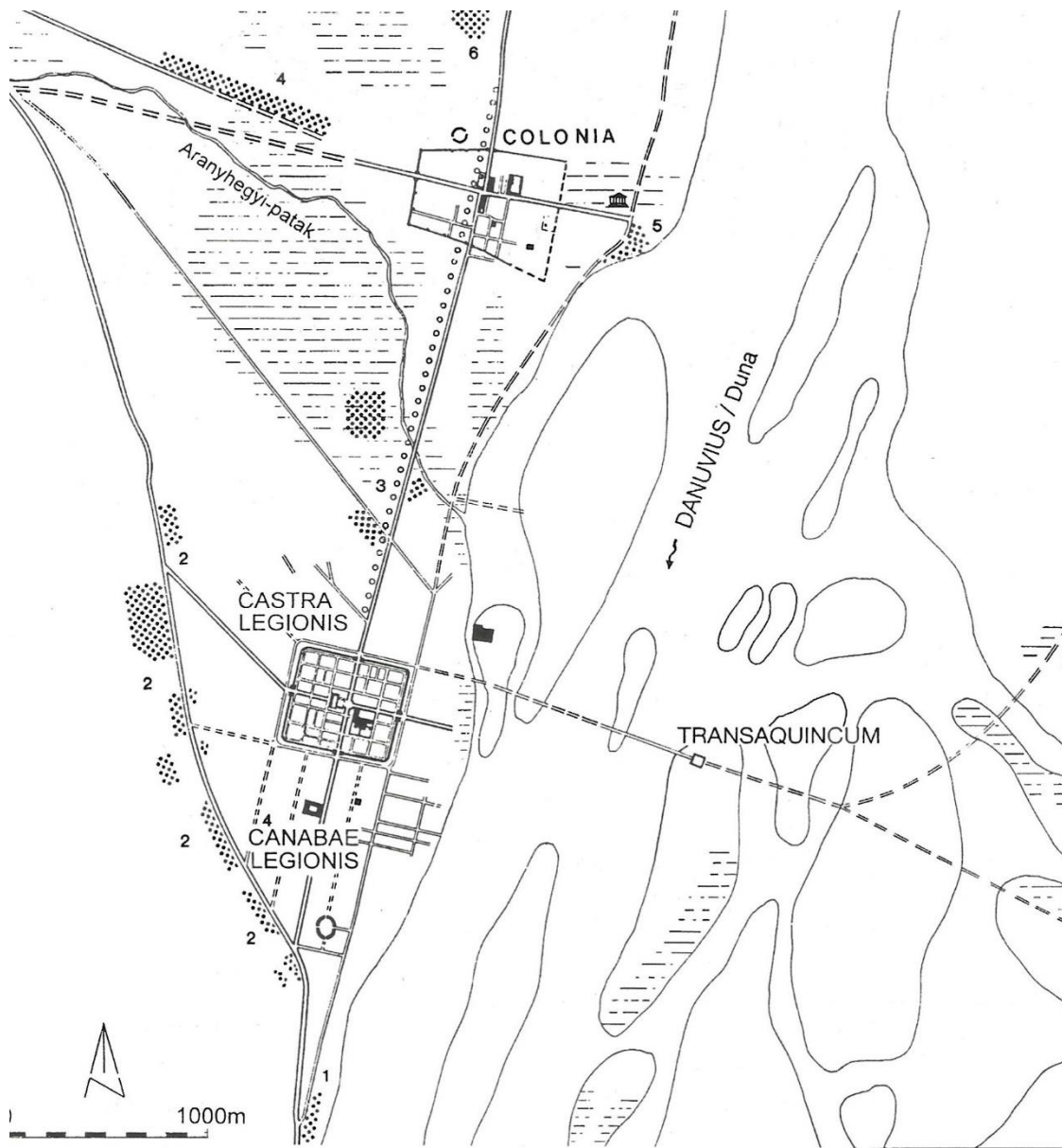
1-4 Cemeteries of Aquincum. Area #2 is the Bécsi Road Cemetery (Topál 2003a: 118, fig. 2. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)

1-5 Cemeteries of Aquincum and the Graveyards of the Bécsi Road Cemetery. Area #2 is the Bécsi Road Cemetery and the Roman Numerals are Graveyards I–VII (Topál 2003a: 119, fig. 3. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)

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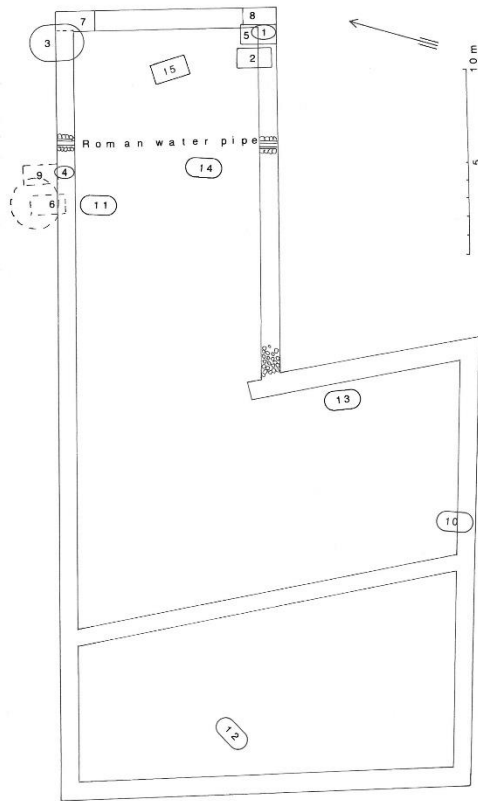
1-6 Aquincum, Graveyard I
Graves 1–15 (Topál 2003a: 124, fig. 8).
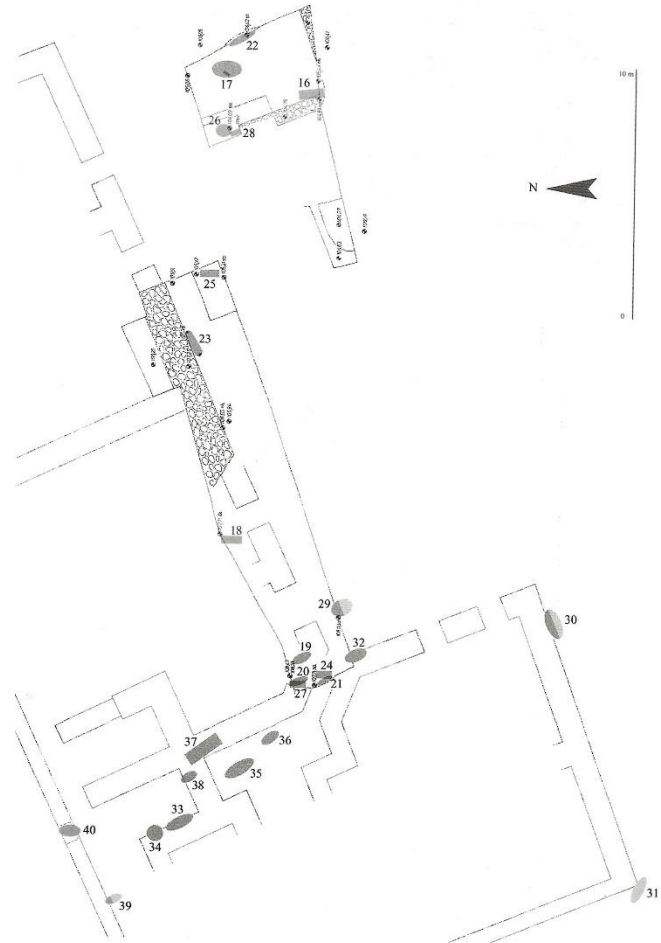
1-7 Aquincum, Graveyard I Graves 16–40
(Topál 2003a: 125, fig. 9).
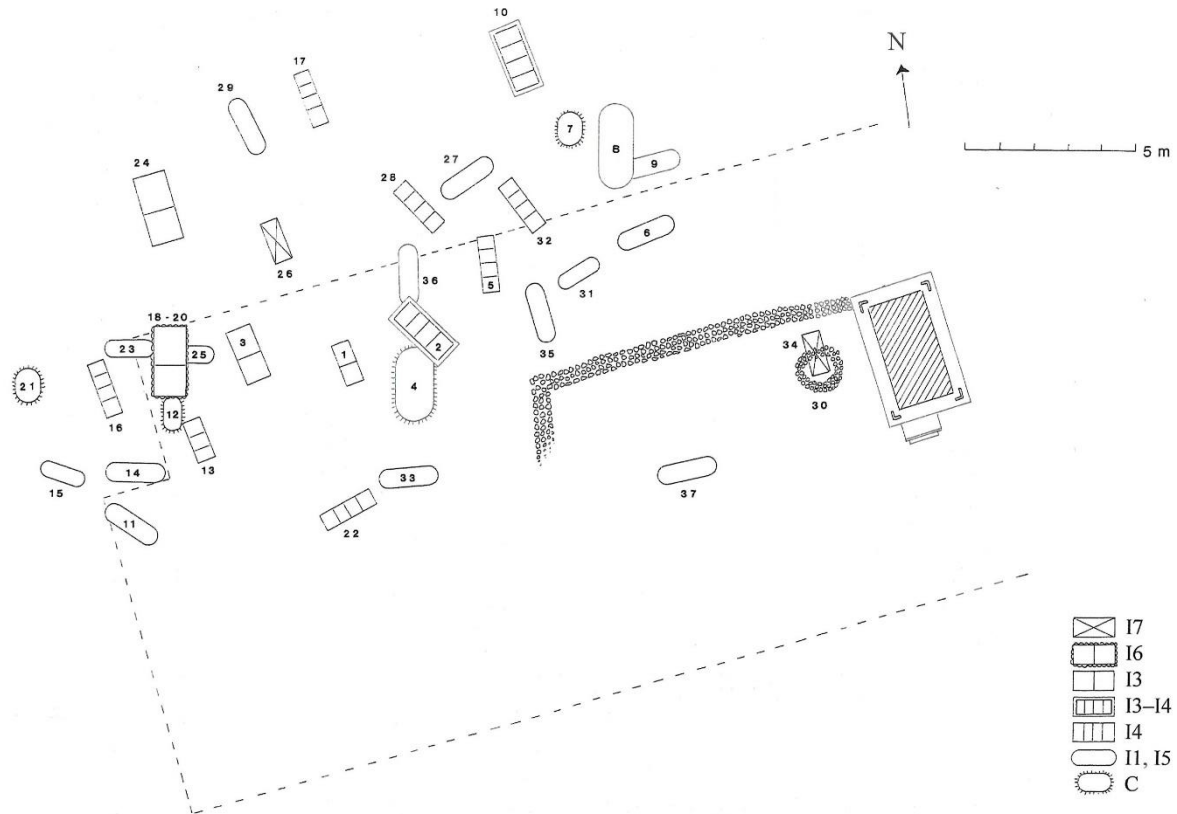
1-8 Aquincum, Graveyard III (Topál 2003a: 122, fig. 6)
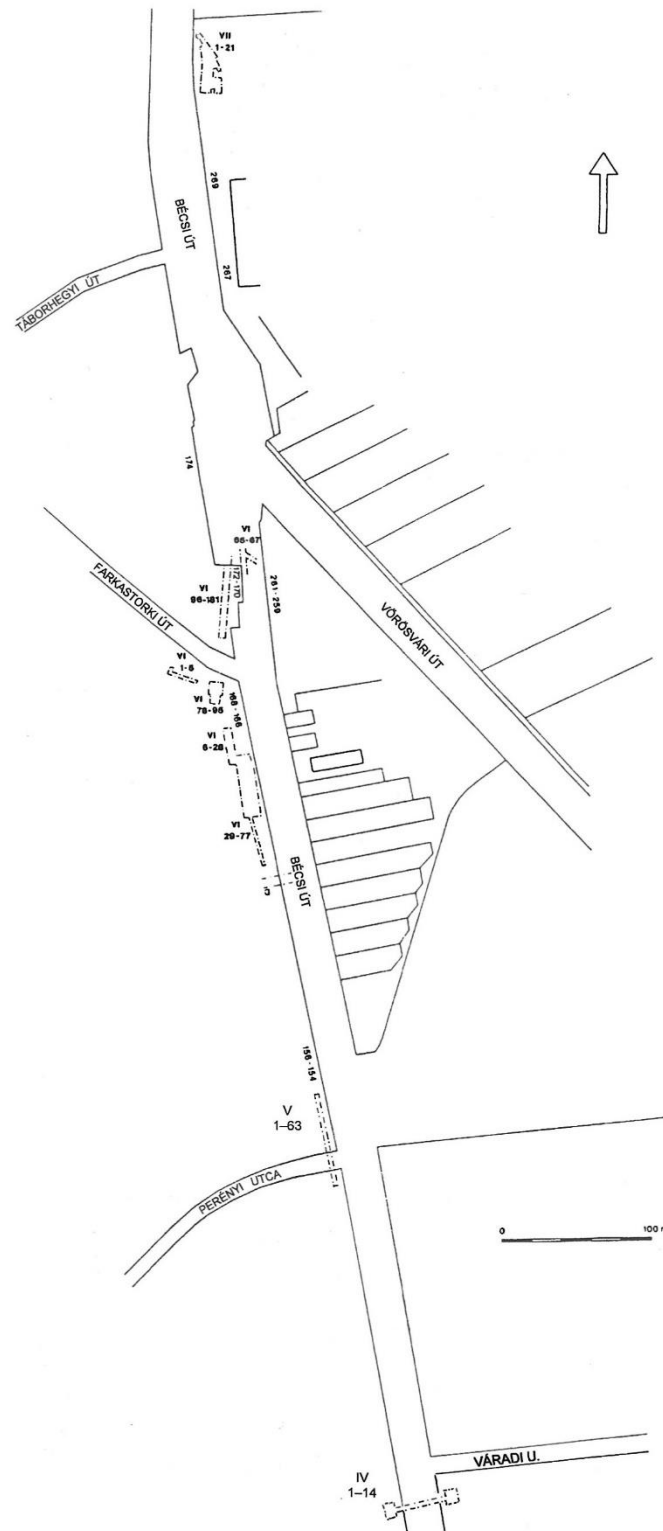
1-9 Aquincum, Graveyards V, VI and VII (Topál 2003a: 120, fig. 4)
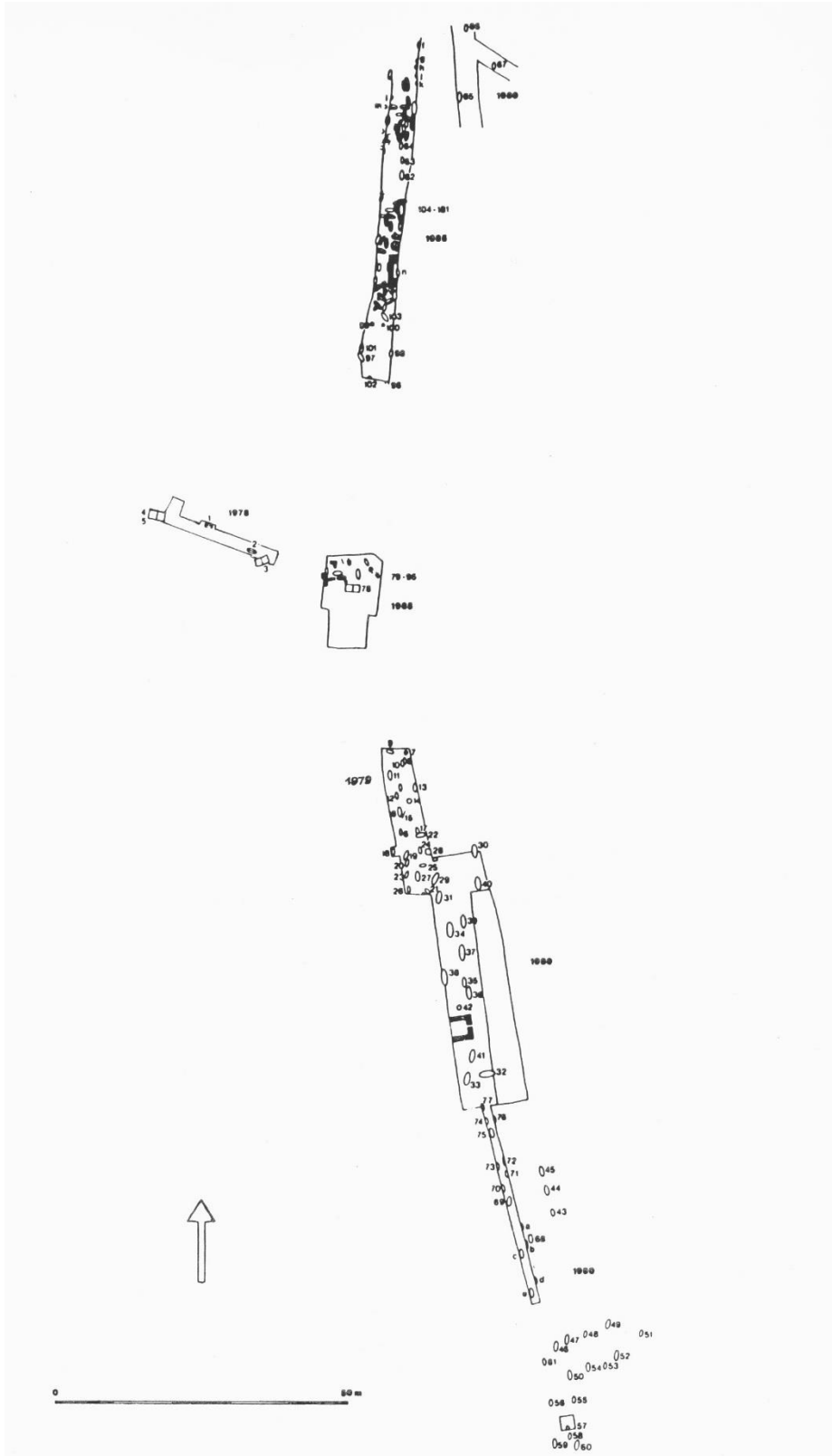
1-10 Aquincum, Graveyard VI (Topál 1993a: 103, Map 3)
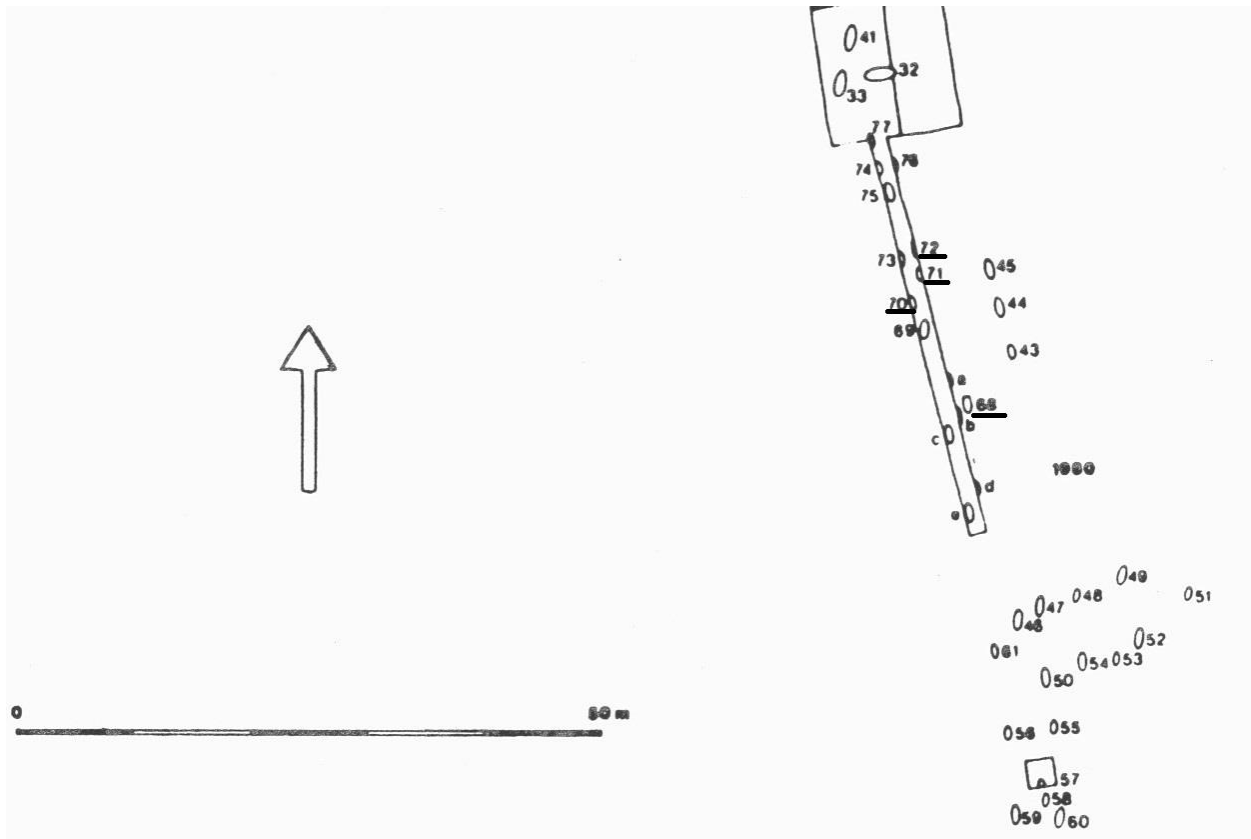
1-11 Bécsi Road Cemetery, Graveyard VI, Showing C5 Burials 68, 70, 71 and 72 (Topál 1993: 103, Map 3)
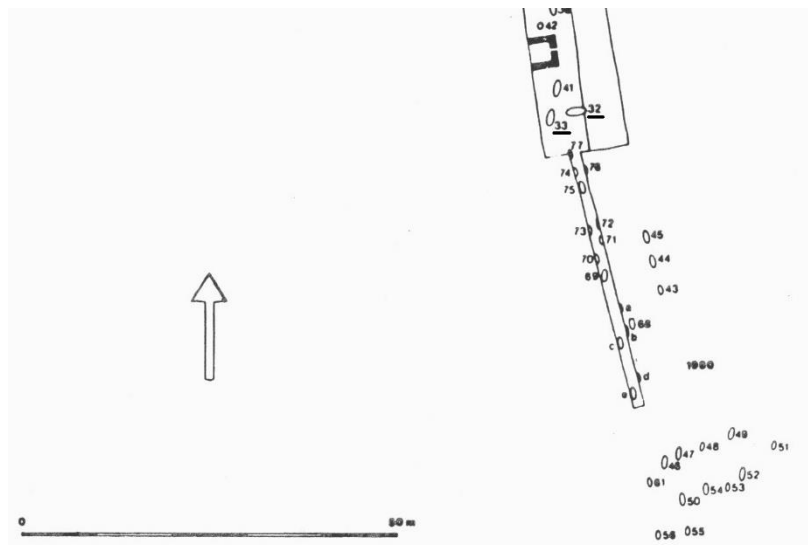
1-12 Aquincum, Graveyard VI, Showing C8 burials 32 and 33 (Topál 1993: 103, Map 3)

2 Burials

2.1 Burials of Aquincum

Key to the drawings

	side of the grave-pit burnt red
	charcoal stripe
	plaster-lining burnt red
	plaster-lining burnt grey
	charcoal
	calc. human bones
	mortar
	colour-coated ware
	coarse fabrics
	Samian ware
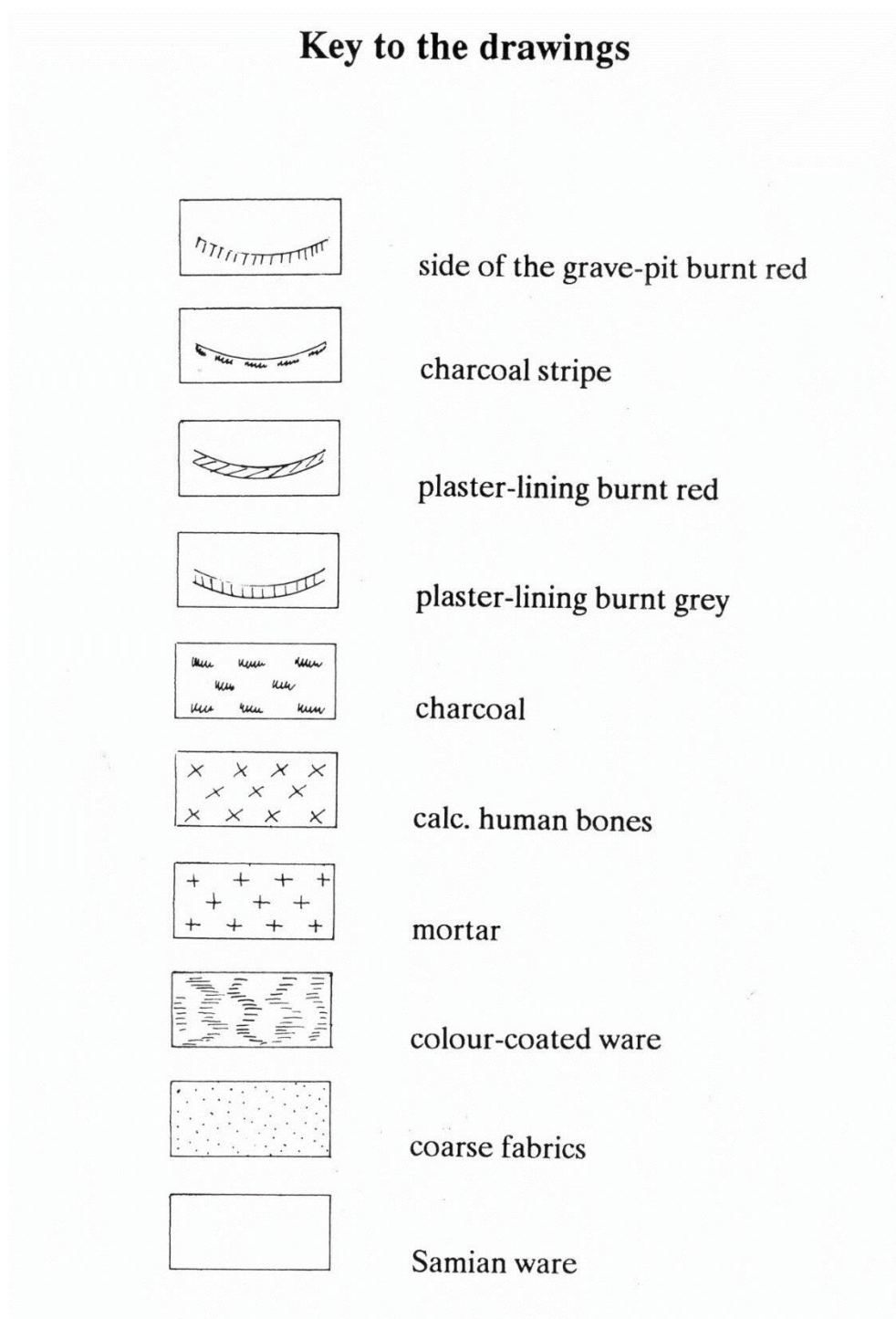
2-1 Key to the Drawings (Topál 1993: 106)
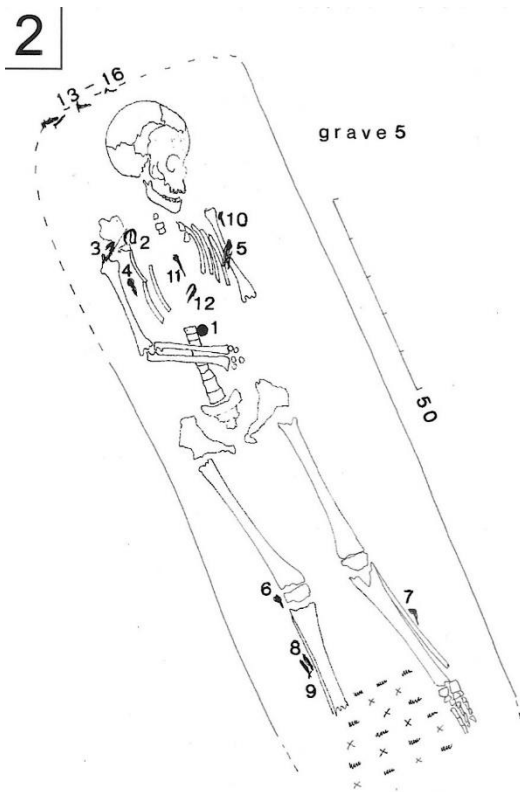
2-2 Grave 2.I (Topál 2003a: 198, Pl. 72)   2-3 Grave 3.I (Topál 2003a: 199, Pl. 73)
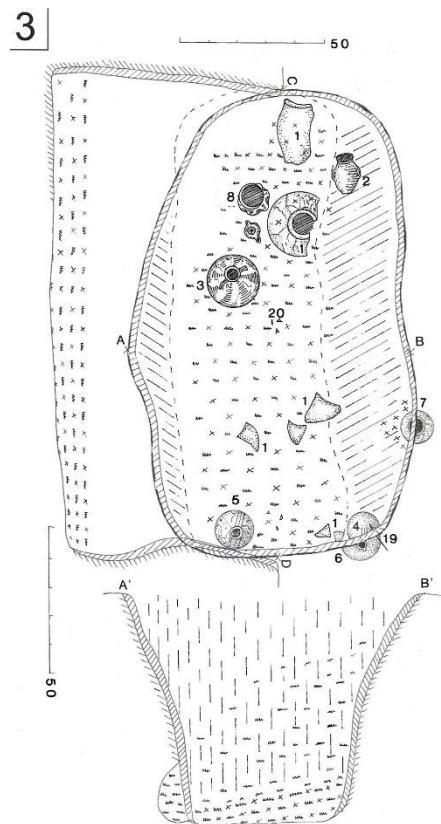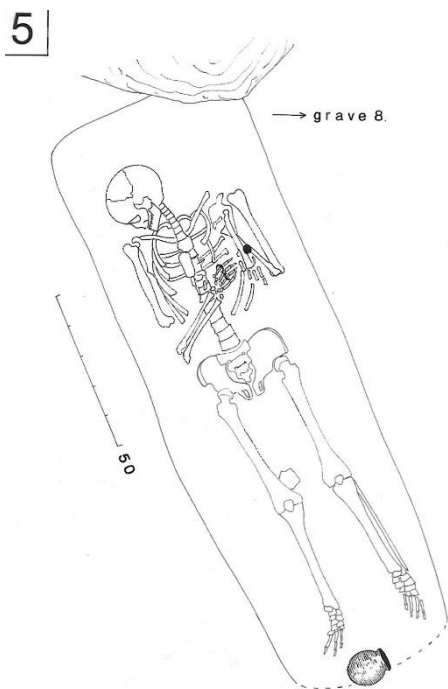
2-4 Grave 5.I (Topál 2003a: 203, Pl. 77)
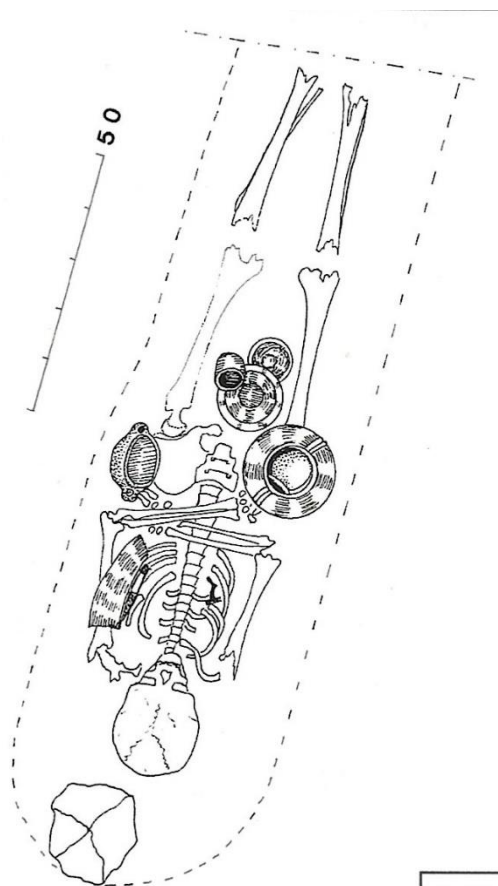
2-6 Grave 18.I (Topál 2003a: 210, Pl. 84)
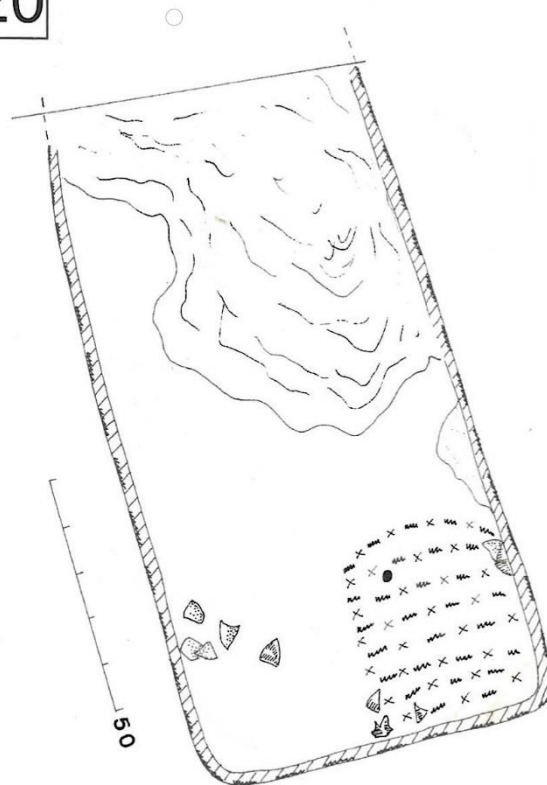
2-5 Grave 20.I (Topál 2003a: 212, Pl. 86)
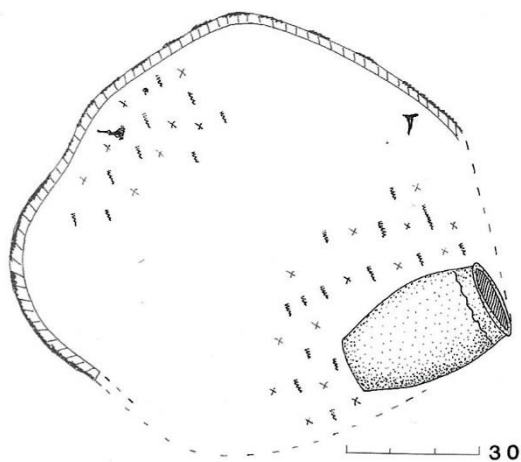
2-7 Grave 34.I (Topál 2003a: 220, Pl. 94)
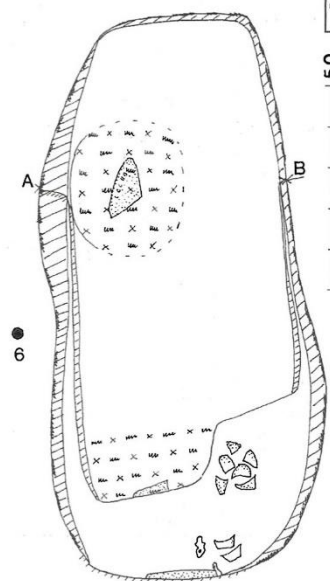
2-8 Grave 40.I (Topál 2003a: 223, Pl. 97)
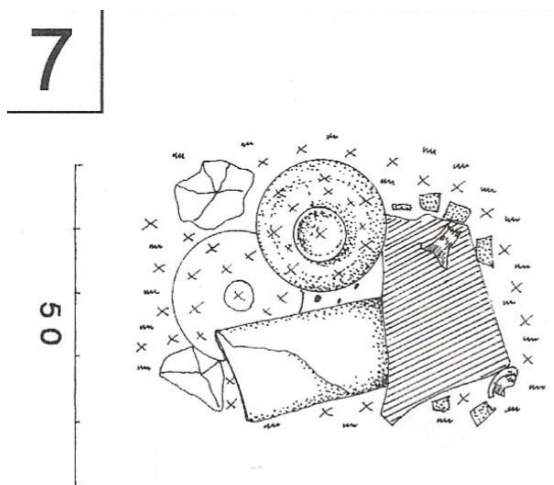
2-9 Grave 7.III (Topál 2003a: 167, Pl. 41)
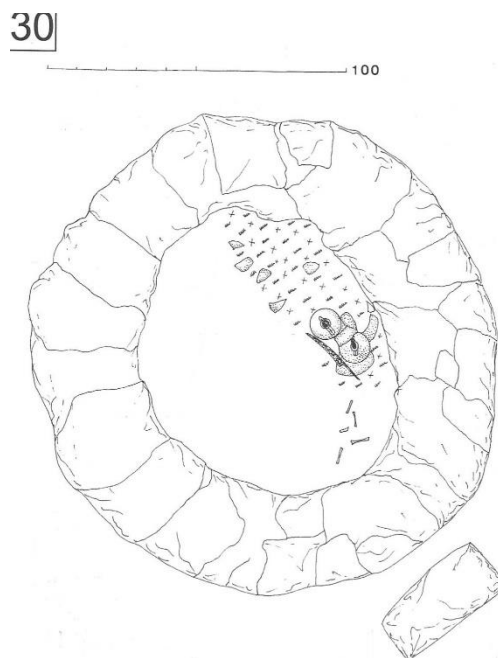
2-10 Grave 30.III (Topál 2003a: 186, Pl.60)
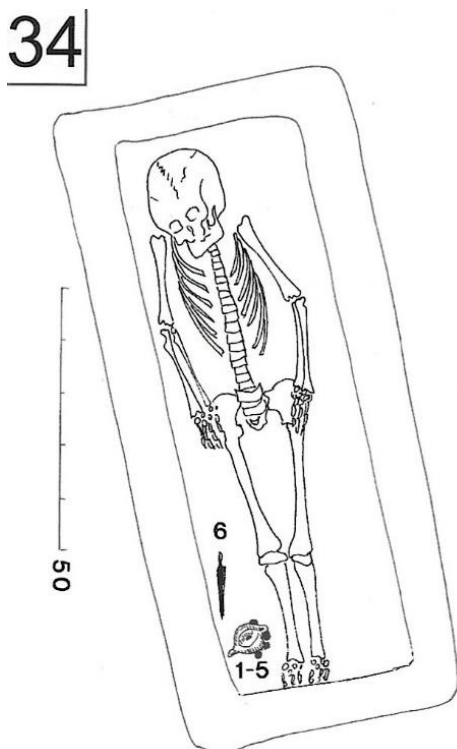
2-11 Grave 34.III (Topál 2003a: 190, Pl. 64)
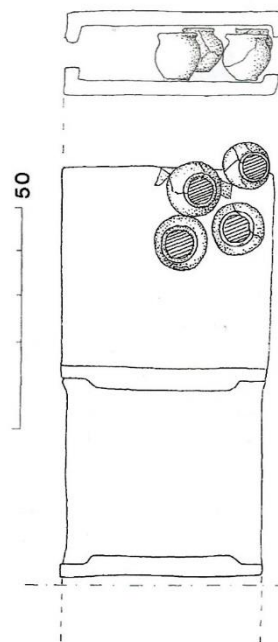
2-12 Grave 13.IV (Topál 2003a: 161, Pl. 35)
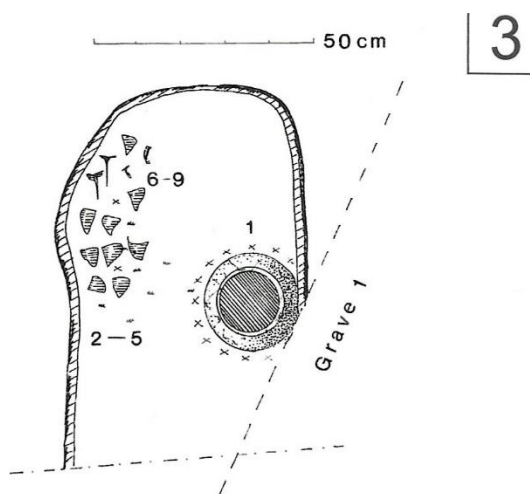
2-13 Grave 3.V (Topál 2003a: 127, Pl. 1)
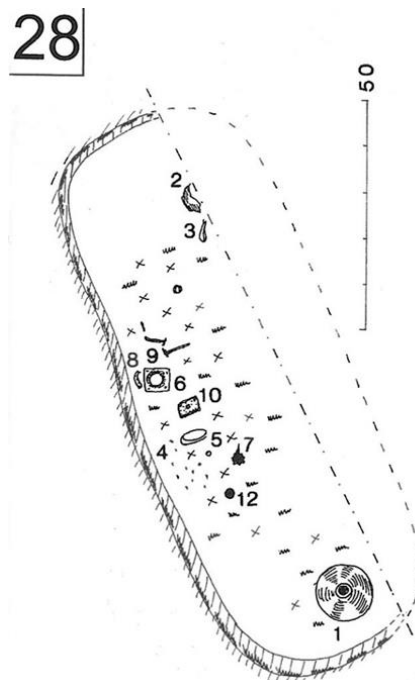
2-14 Grave 28.V (Topál 2003a: 138, Pl. 12)
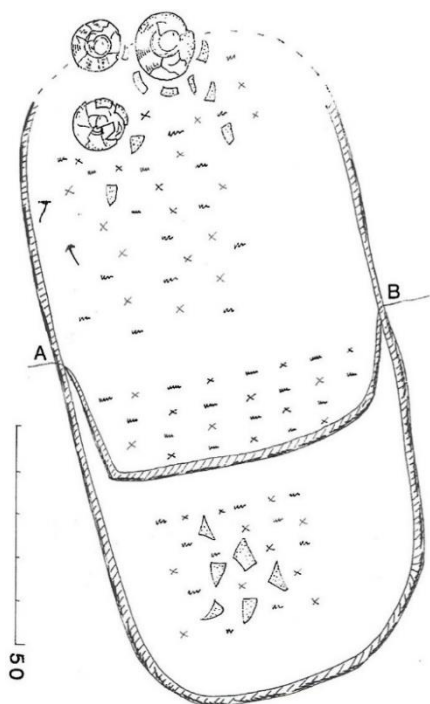
2-15 Grave 49.V (Topál 2003a: 148, Pl. 22)
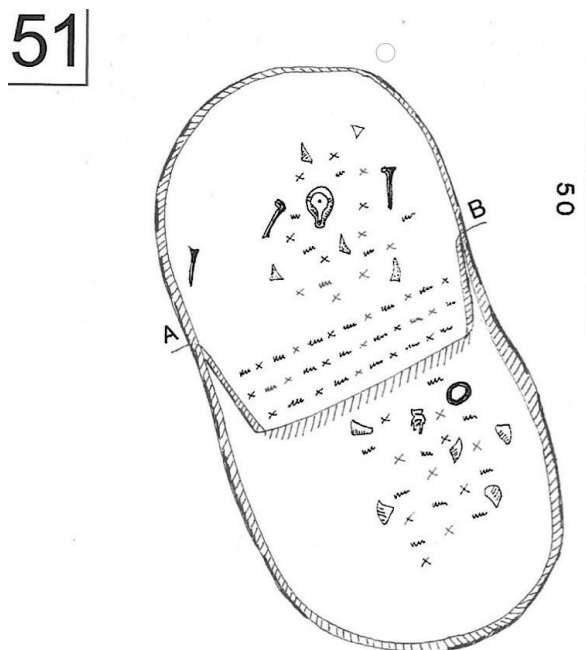
2-16 Grave 51.V (Topál 2003a: 150, Pl. 24)
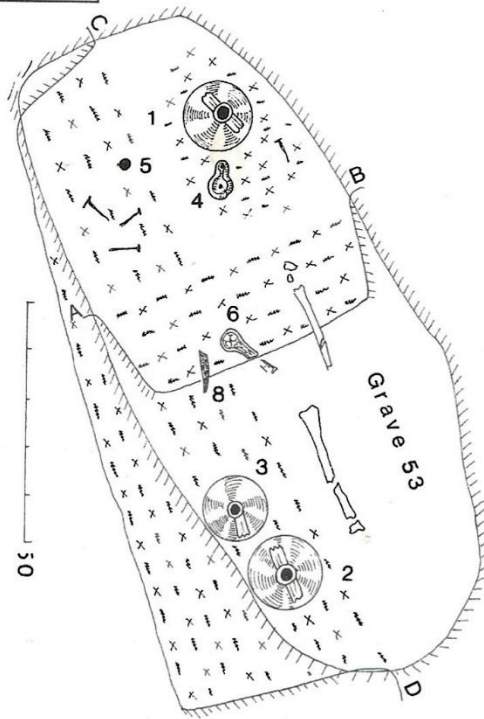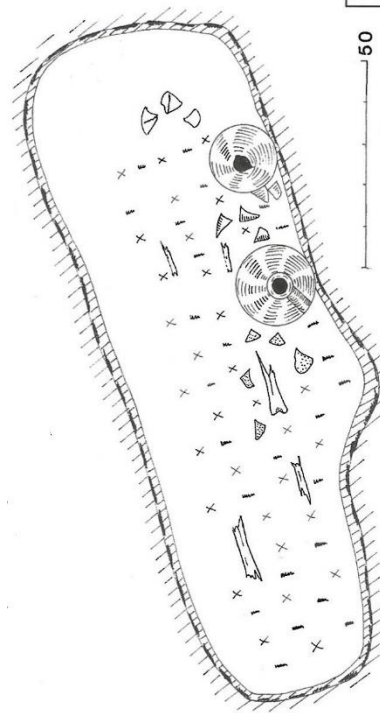
2-17 Grave 52/3.V (Topál 2003a: 151, Pl. 25)

2-18 Grave 61.V (Topál 2003a: 154, Pl. 28)
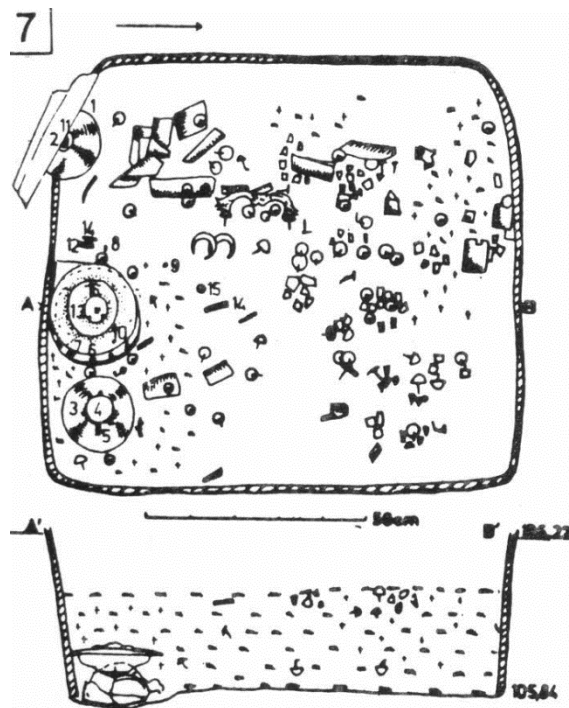
2-19 Grave 7.VI (Topál 1993: 109, Pl. 3)
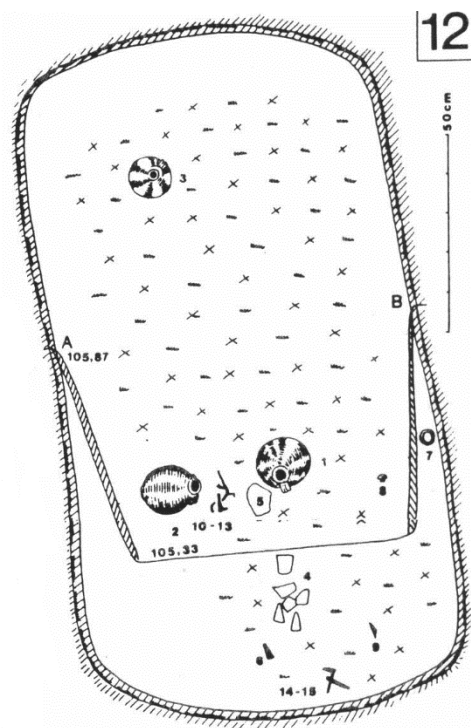
2-20 Grave 12.VI (Topál 1993: 115, Pl. 9)
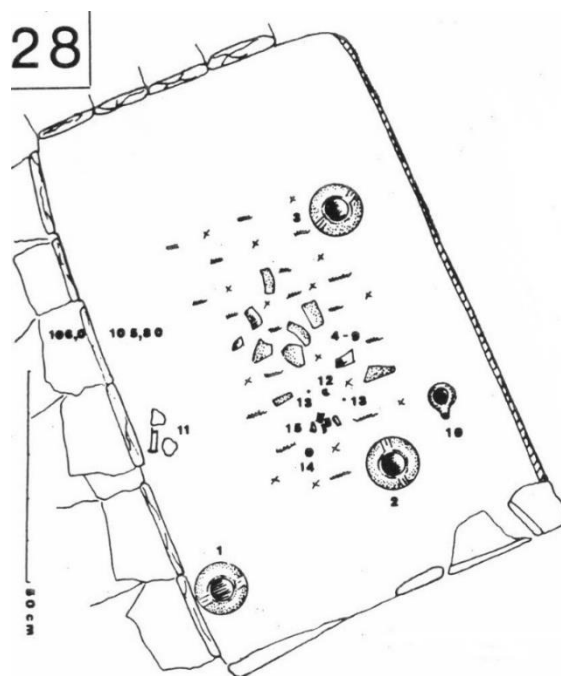
2-21 Grave 28.VI (Topál 1993: 129, Pl. 23)
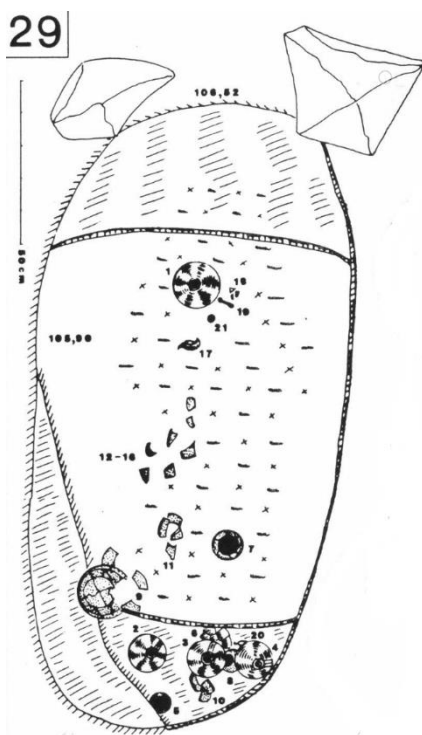
2-22 Grave 29.VI (Topál 1993: 130, Pl. 24)
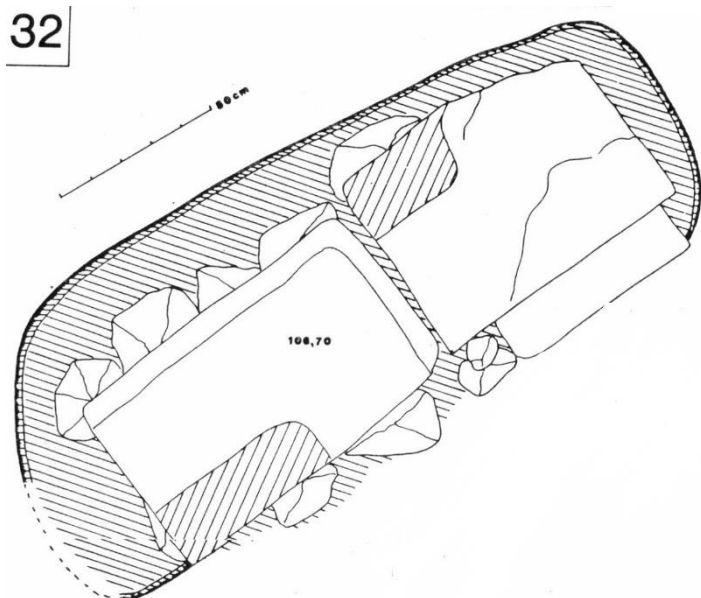
2-23 Grave 32.VI- Shown covered with re-used stone (Topál 1993: 132, Pl. 26)
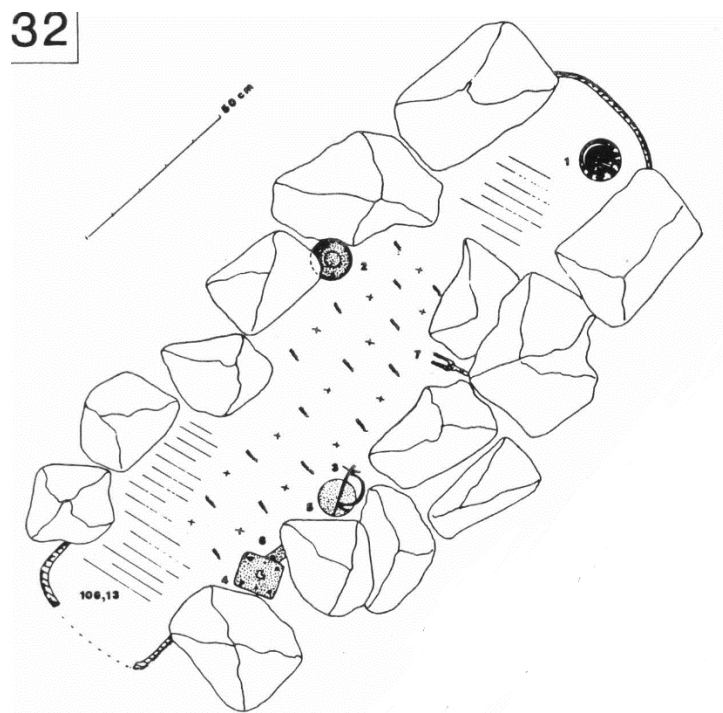
2-24 Grave 32.VI- Shows the uncovered grave surrounded by stone packing (Topál 1993: 133, Pl. 27)
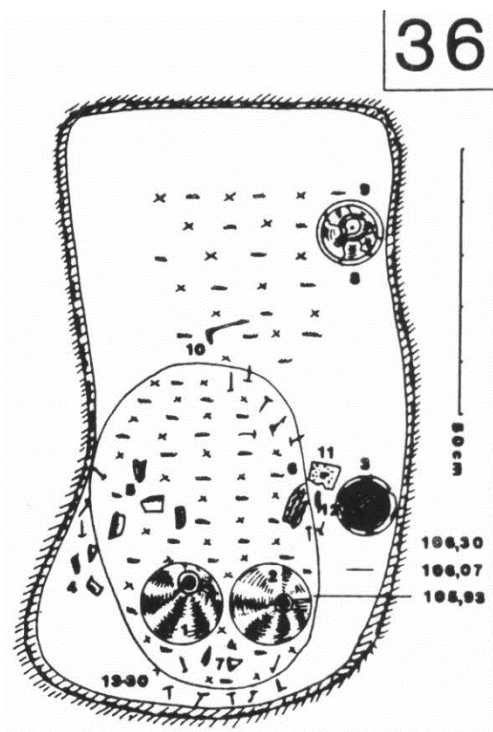
2-25 Grave 36.VI (Topál 1993: 138, Pl. 32)
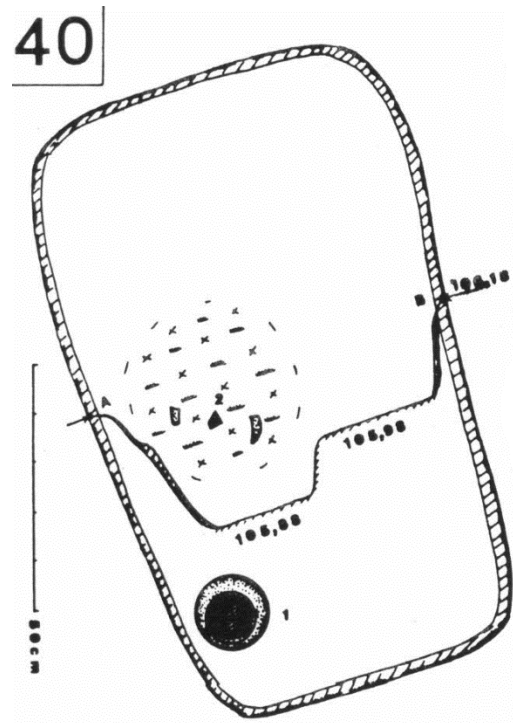
2-26 Grave 40.VI (Topál 1993: 141, Pl. 35)
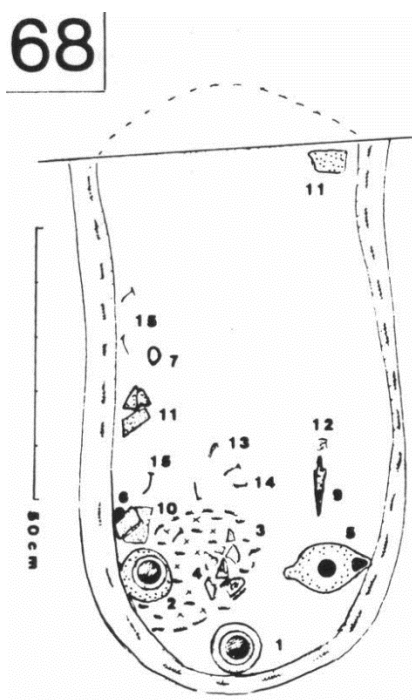
2-27 Grave 68.VI (Topál 1993: 152, Pl. 46)
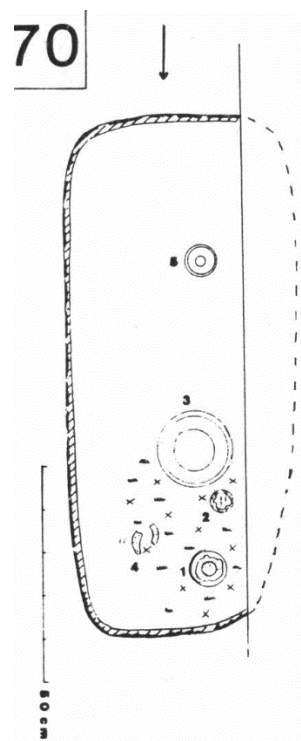
2-28 Grave 70.VI (Topál 1993: 154, Pl. 48)
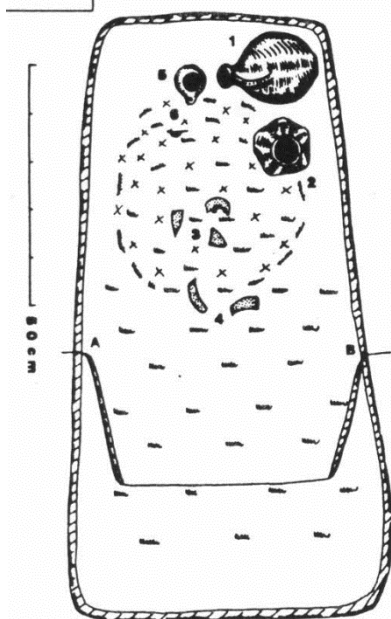
2-29 Grave 71.VI (Topál 1993: 155, Pl. 49)
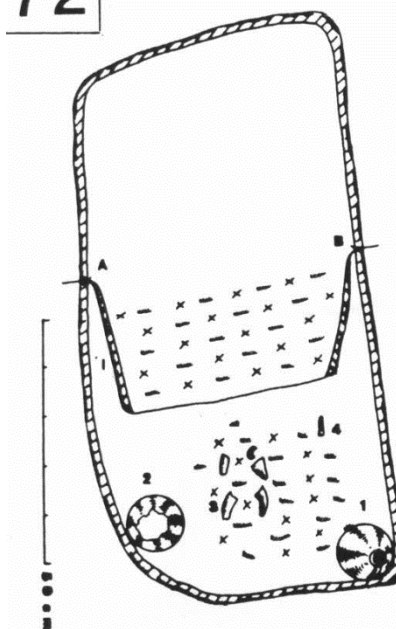
2-30 Grave 72.VI (Topál 1993: 156, Pl. 50)
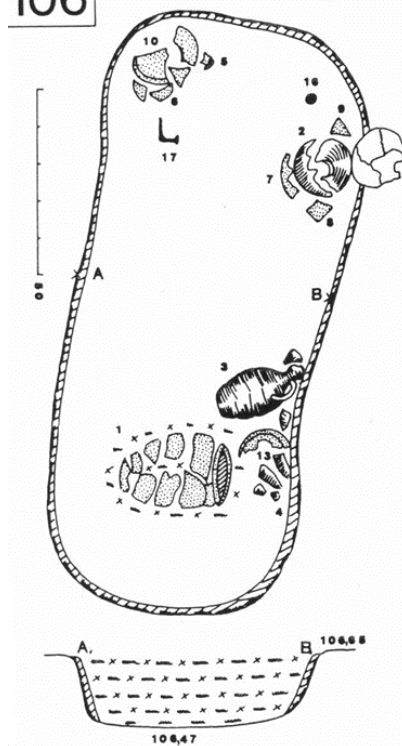
2-31 Grave 106.VI (Topál 1993: 172, Pl. 66)
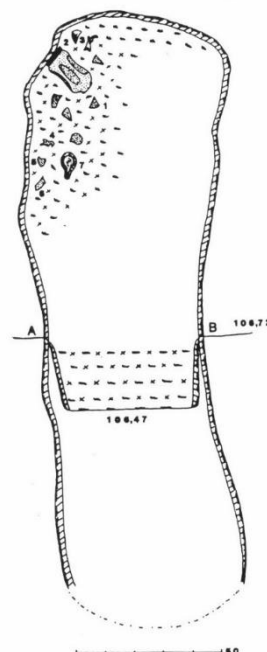
2-32, Grave 120.VI (Topál 1993: 177, Pl. 71)
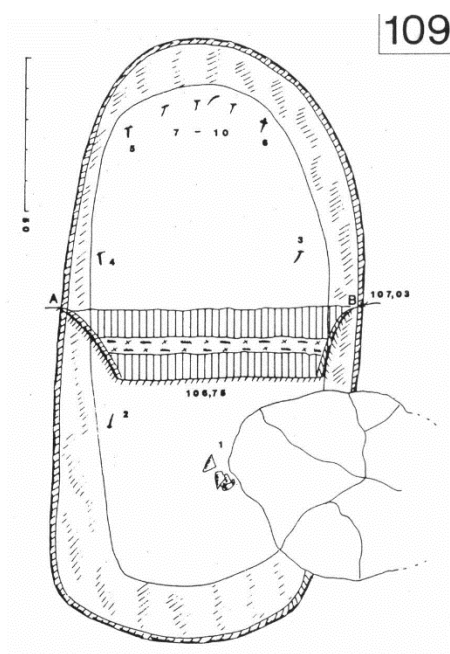
2-34 Grave 109.VI (Topál 1993: 173, Pl. 67)
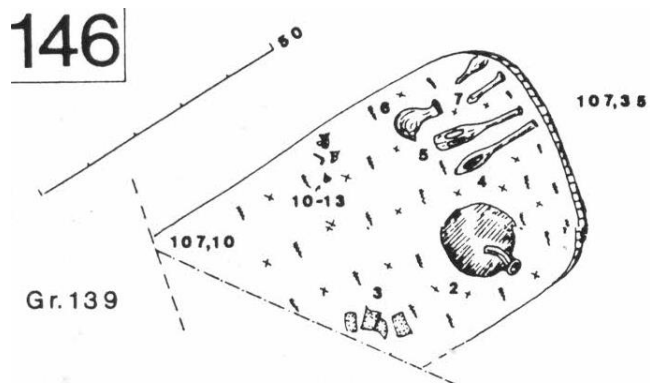
2-33 Grave 146.VI (Topál 1993: 186, Pl. 80)
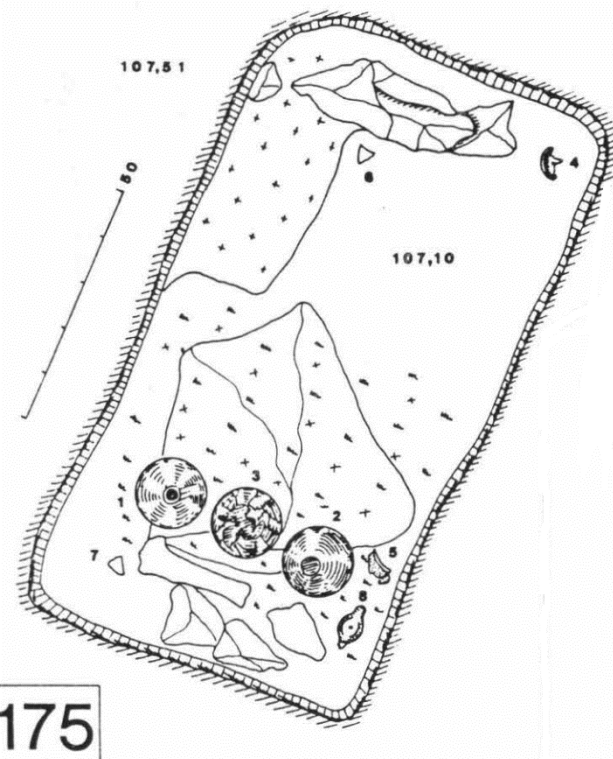
2-35 Grave 175.VI (Topál 1993: 192, Pl. 86)
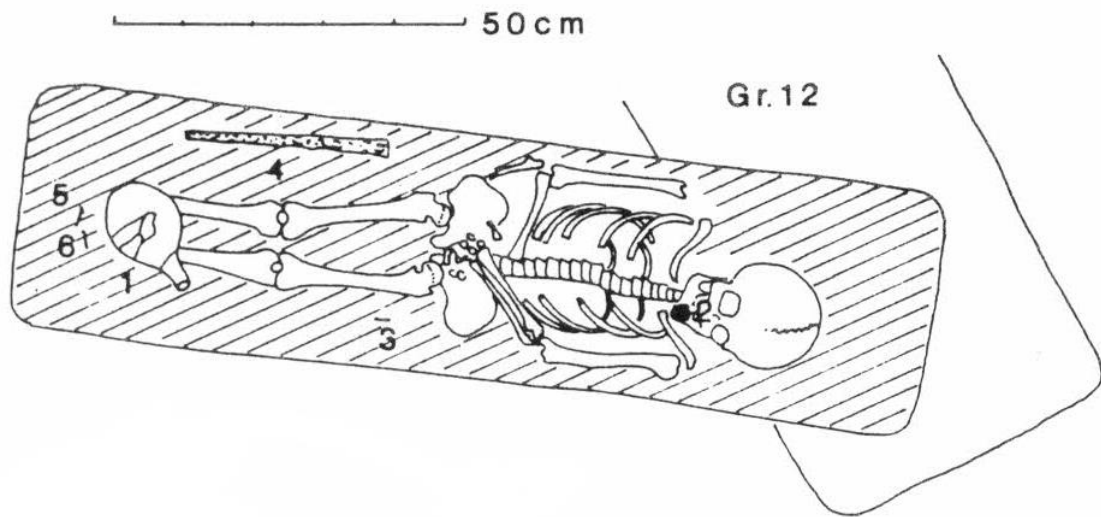
2-36 Grave 13.VII (Topál 1993: 201, Pl. 95)
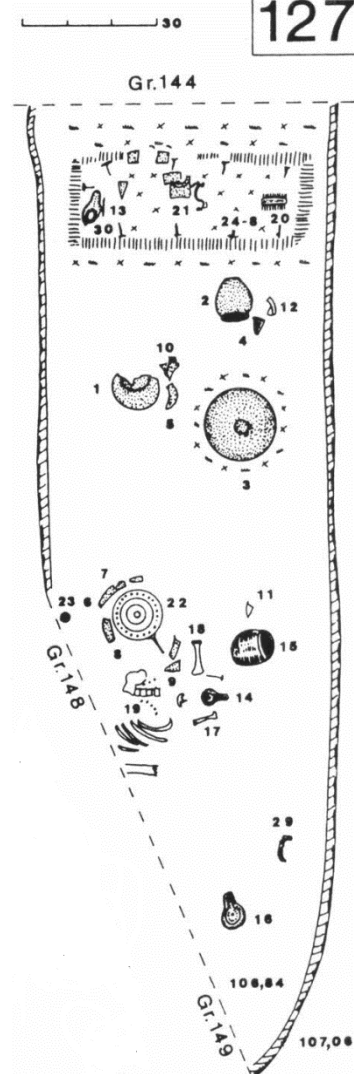
2-37 Grave 127.VI (Topál 1993: 180, Pl. 74)

2.2 **Burials of Carnuntum** (Plates 2-37–2-46 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

2-37 Grave 26 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 15)

2-38 Grave 43 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 2)   2-39 Grave 44 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 3)

2-40 Grave 49 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 3)   2-41 Grave 52 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 3)

2-42 Grave 53 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 1)   2-43 Grave 89 (Ertel et al. 1999: Pl. 2)

2-44 Grave 130 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 11)   2-45 Grave 184 (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 4)

2-46 Grave 174B (Ertel *et al*. 1999: Pl. 18)

3 Liquid Holding Vessels

3.1 Liquid Holding Vessels of Aquincum (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
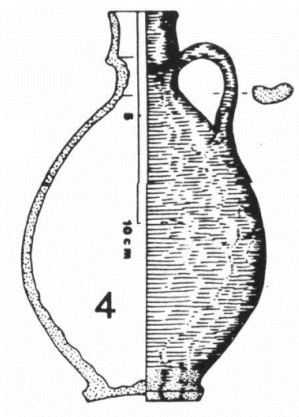
3-1 #4 of Grave 29.VI (1993: 130, Pl. 24)
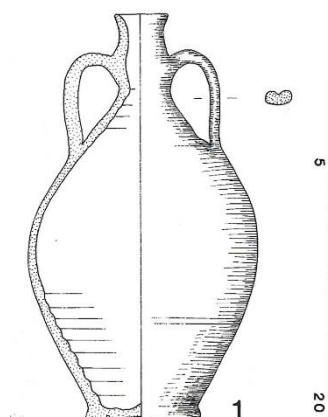
3-2 #1 of Grave 34.V (2003a: 141, Pl. 15)
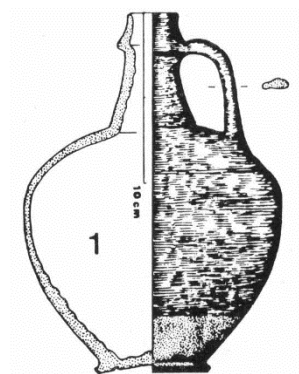
3-3 #1 of Grave 23.VI (1993: 125, Pl. 19)
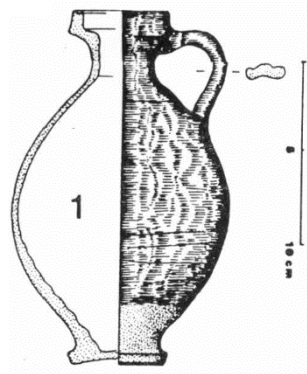
3-4 #1 of Grave 46.VI (1993: 143, Pl. 37)
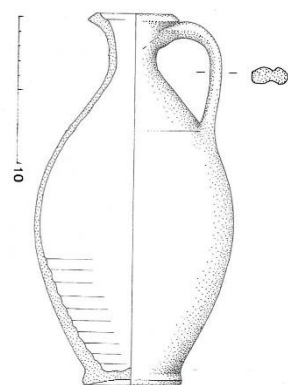
3-5 #1 of Grave 25.V (2003a: 137, Pl. 11)
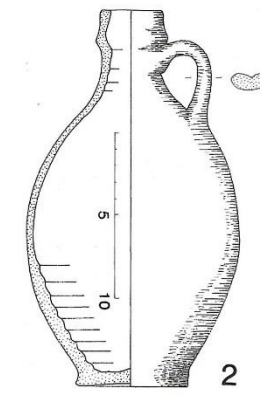
3-6 #2 of Grave 26.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)
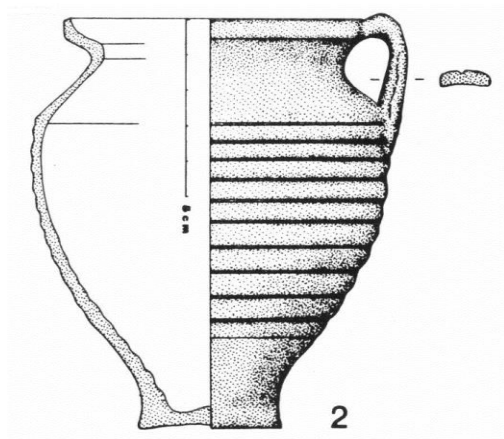
3-7 #2 of Grave 51.VI (1993: 145, Pl. 39)
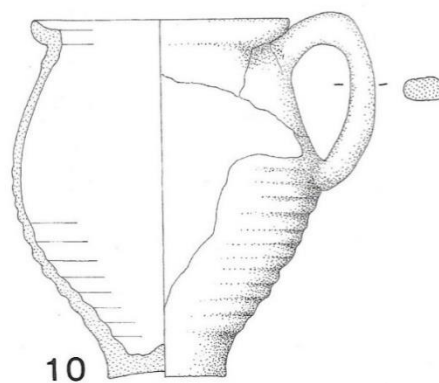
3-8 #10 of Grave 30.III (2003a: 187, Pl. 61)
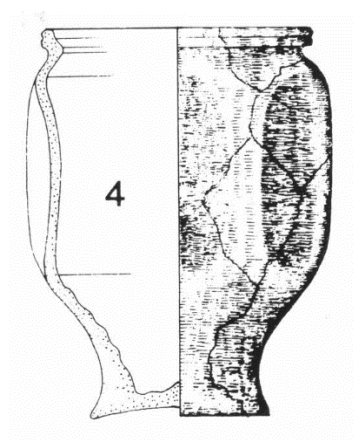
3-9 #4 of Grave 68.VI (1993: 152, Pl. 46)
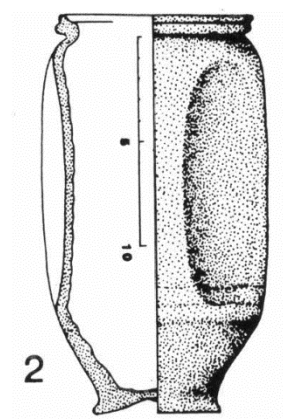
3-10 #2 of Grave 120.VI (1993: 178, Pl. 72)
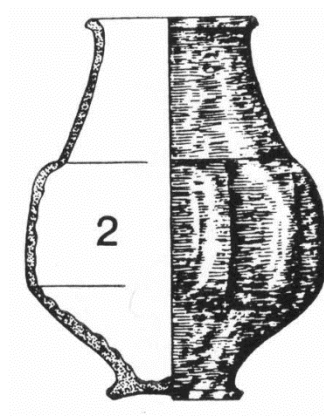
3-11 #2 of Grave 14.VI (1993: 116, Pl. 10)
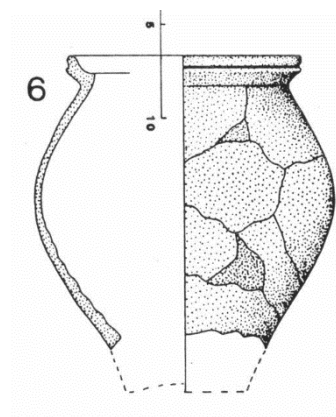
3-12 #6 of Grave 106.VI (1993: 172, Pl. 66)
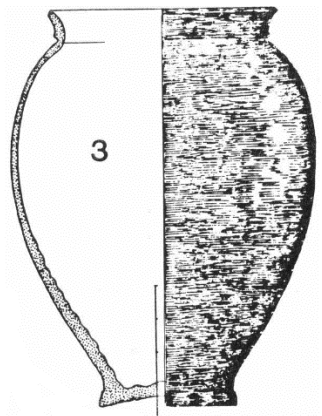
3-13 #3 of Grave 23.VI (1993: 125, Pl. 19)
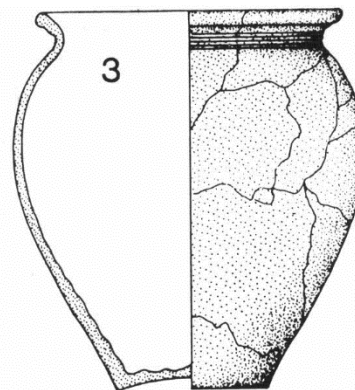
3-14 #3 of Grave 79.VI (1993: 160, Pl. 54)
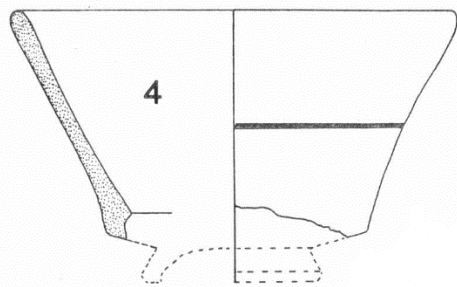
3-15 #4 of Grave 12.VI (1993: 115, Pl. 9)
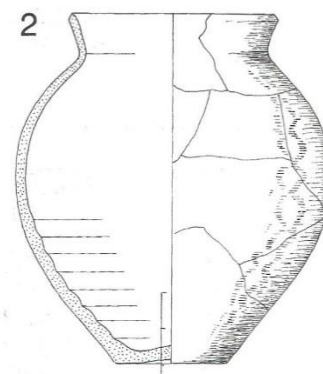
3-16 #2 of Grave 38.I (2003a: 222, Pl. 96)
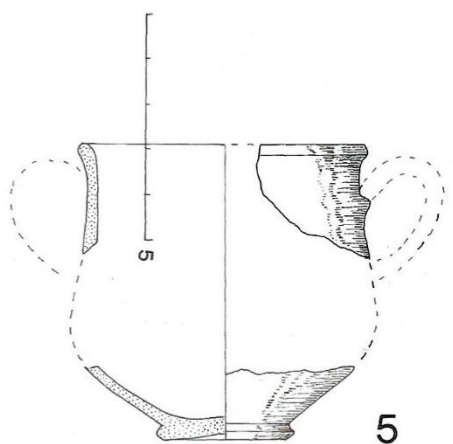
3-17 #5 of Grave 38.I (2003a: 222, Pl. 96)
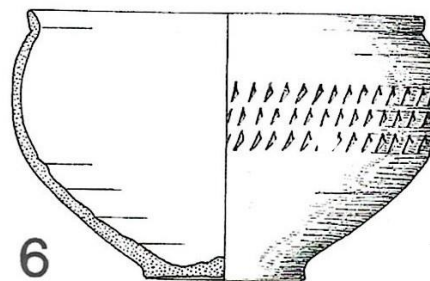
3-18 #6 of Grave 22.V (2003a: 134, Pl. 8)

3.2 Liquid Holding Vessels of Carnuntum (Plates 3-19–3-26 from Ertel *et al.* 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

3-19 #2 of Grave 93 (1999: Pl. 81)   3-20 #1 of Grave 188 (1999: Pl. 82)

3-21 #1 of Grave 193 (1999: Pl. 82)   3-22 #1 of Grave 174C (1999: Pl. 76)

3-23 #2 of Grave 112 (1999: Pl. 54)

3-24 #1 of Grave 98 (1999: Pl. 51)   3-25 #5 of Grave 127 (1999: Pl. 58)

3-26 #1 of Grave 117 (1999: Pl. 56)

4 Vessels Used for the Consumption of Solid Foods

## 4.1 Aquincum Pots (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
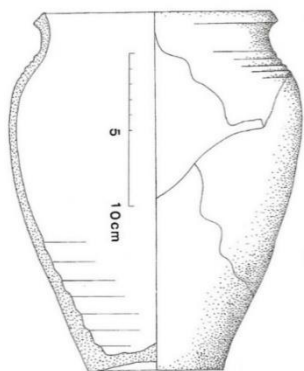
4-1 #1 of Grave 3.V (2003a: 127, Pl. 1)
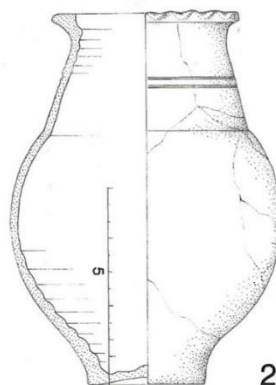
4-2 #2 of Grave 49.V (2003a: 149, Pl. 23)
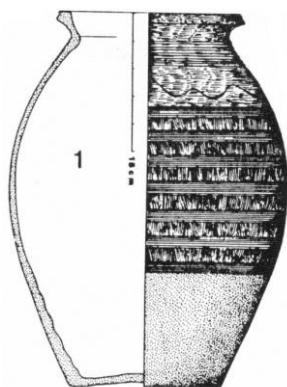
4-3 #1 of Grave 48.VI (1993:143, Pl. 37)
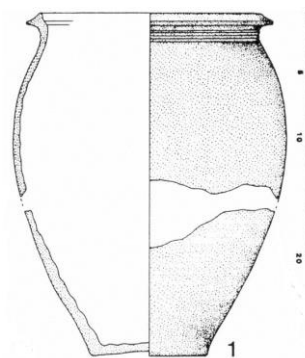
4-4 #1 of Grave 178.VI (1993: 193, Pl. 87)
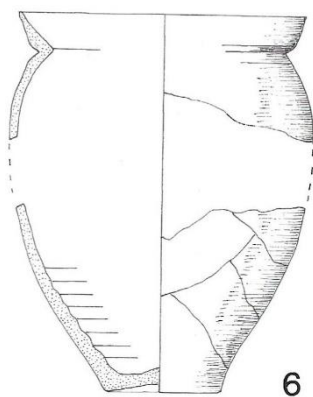
4-5 #6 of Grave 1.I (2003a: 196, Pl. 70)

4.2 Carnuntum Pots (Plates 4-6–4-9 from Ertel *et al.* 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

4-6 #9 of Grave 78 (1999: Pl. 44)   4-7 #5 of Grave 132 (1999: Pl. 60)

4-8 #2 of Grave 138 (1999: Pl. 61)   4-9 #2 of Grave 189 (1999: Pl. 82)

4.3 Aquincum Bowls (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
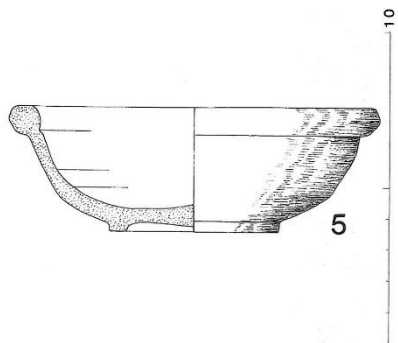
4-10 #5 of Grave 18.I (2003a: 211, Pl. 85)
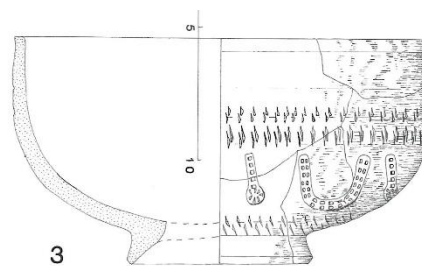
4-11 #3 of Grave 29.I (2003a: 217, Pl. 91)
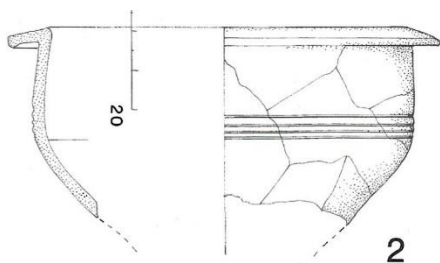
4-12 #2 of Grave 50.V (2003a: 150, Pl. 24)
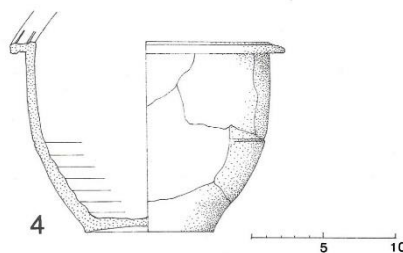
4-13 #4 of Grave 62.V (2003a: 155, Pl. 29)
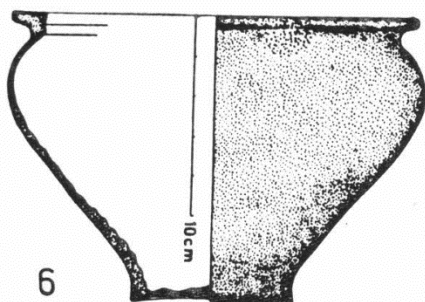
4-14 #6 of Grave 7.VI (1993: 109, Pl. 3)
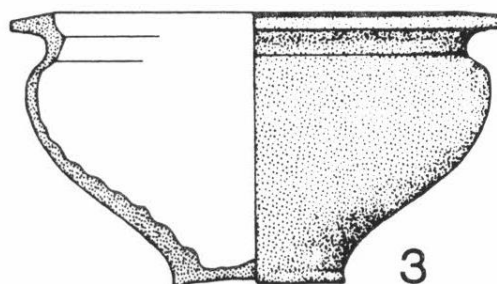
4-15 #3 of Grave 150.VI (1993: 187, Pl. 81)

4.4 Aquincum Plates (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
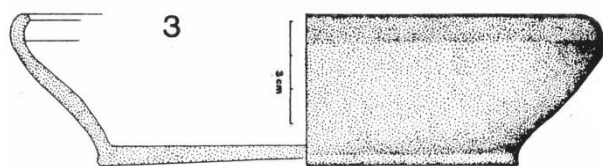
4-16 #3 of Grave 25.VI (1993: 126, Pl. 20)


4-17 #5 of Grave #10.VI (1993: 114, Pl. 8)
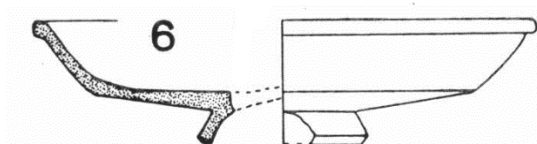
4-18 #6 of Grave 27.VI (1993: 129, Pl. 22)
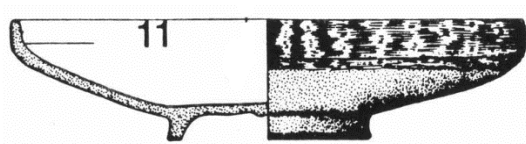
4-19 #11 of Grave 14.VI (1993: 117, Pl. 11)

4.5 Carnuntum Bowls and Plates (Plates 4-20–4-25 from Ertel *et al*. 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

4-20 #3 of Grave 171 (1999: Pl. 72)

4-21 #3 of Grave 112 (1999: Pl. 54)

4-22 #8 of Grave 141 (1999: Pl. 62)

4-23 #1 of Grave 44 (1999: Pl. 33)

4-24 #1 of Grave 78 (1999: Pl. 43)

4-25 #2 of Grave 78 (1999: Pl. 43)

5 Incense Bowls and Lamps

5.1 Aquincum Incense Bowls and Lamps (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
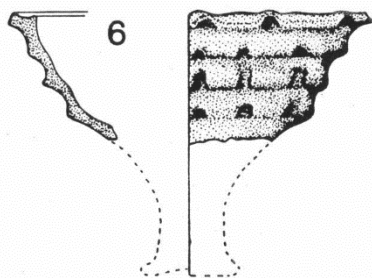
5-1 #6 of Grave 36.VI (1993: 138, Pl. 32)
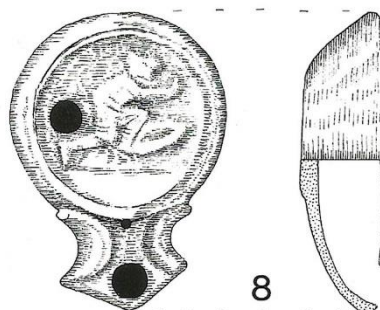
5-2 #8 of Grave 22.V (2003a: 135, Pl. 9)
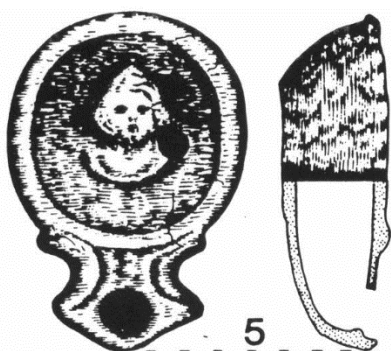
5-3 #5 of Grave 74.VI (1993: 157, Pl. 51)
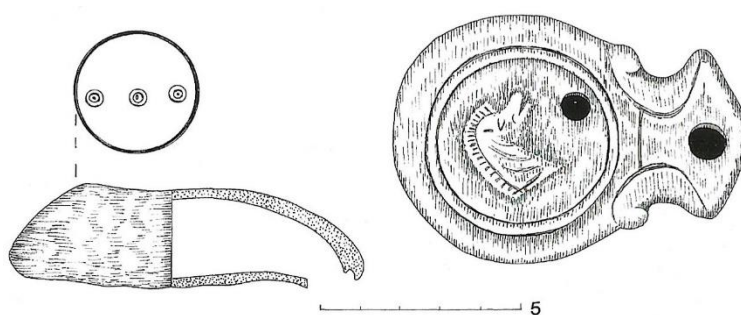
5-4 #2 of Grave 34.I (2003a: 221, Pl. 95)

5-5 #7 of Grave 58.I (2003a: 334, Pl. 208)
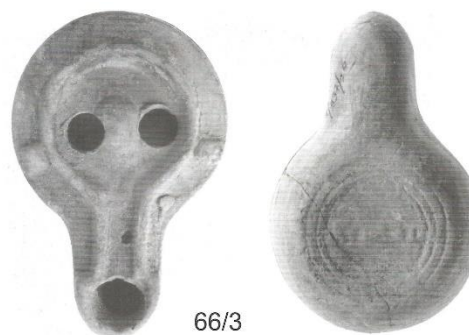
5-6 #3 of Grave 66.I (2003a: 340, Pl. 214)
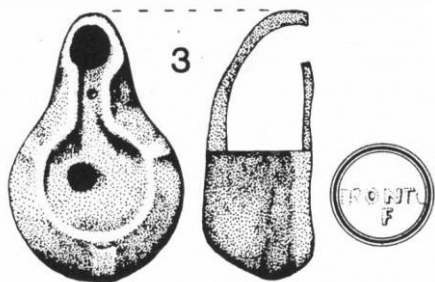
5-7 #3 of Grave 17.VI (1993: 120, Pl. 14)
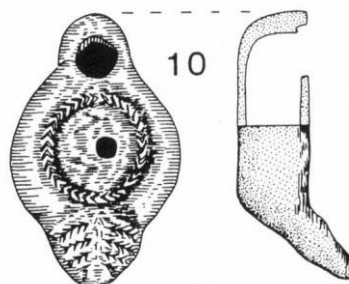
5-8 #10 of Grave 140.VI (1993: 185, Pl. 79)
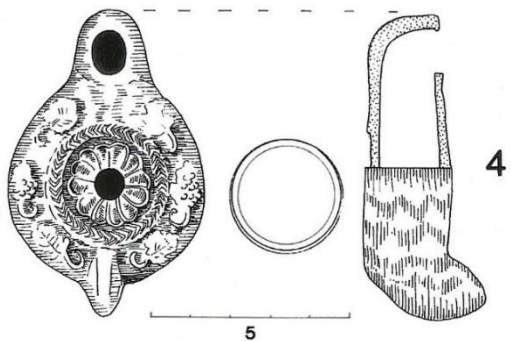
5-9 #4 of Grave 48.V (2003a: 148, Pl. 22)
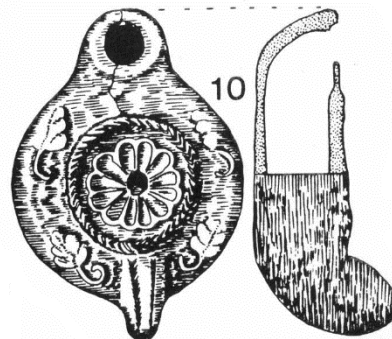
5-10 #10 of Grave 28.VI (1993: 129, Pl. 23)
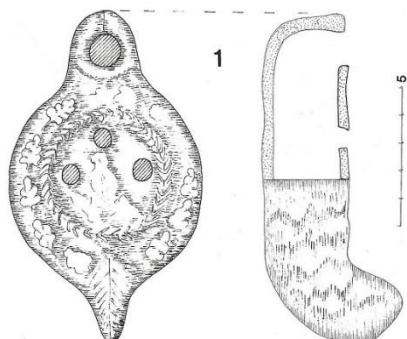
5-11 #1 of Grave 34.III (2003a: 190, Pl. 64)
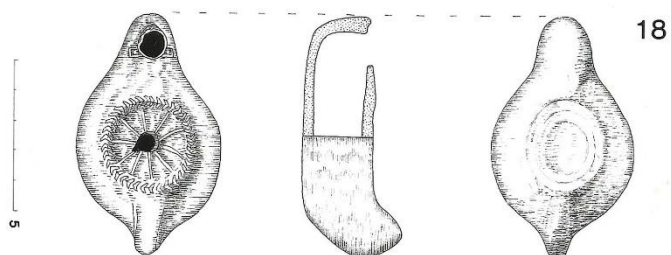
5-12 #18 of Grave 3.I (2003a: 201, Pl. 75)
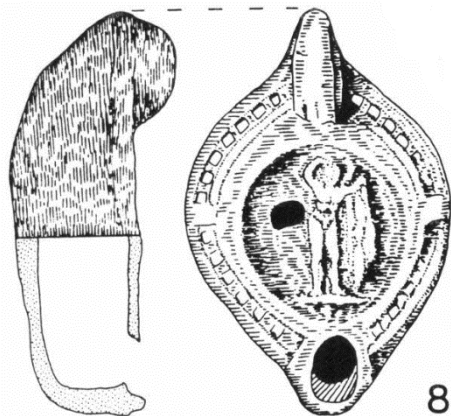
5-13 #8 of Grave 175.VI (1993: 193, Pl. 87)

5.2   Carnuntum Incense Bowls and Lamps (Plates 5-14–5-18 from Ertel *et al*. 1999 have been removed due to copyright restriction)

5-14 #3 of Grave 98 (1999: Pl. 51)   5-15 #2 of Grave 168 (1999: Pl. 70)

5-16 #1 of Grave 30 (1999: Pl. 26)   5-17 #2 of Grave 26 (1999: Pl. 25)

5-18 #1 of Grave 77 (1999: Pl. 42)

6 Glassware

6.1 Aquincum Glassware (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
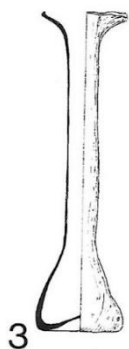
6-1 #3 of Grave 34.I (2003a: 221, Pl. 95)
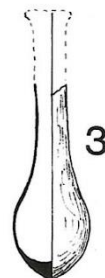
6-2 #3 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)
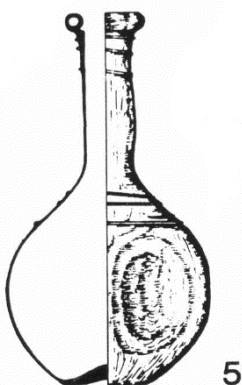
6-3 #5 of Grave 23.VI (1993: 126, Pl. 20)
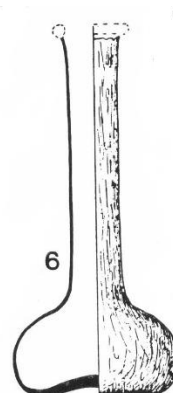
6-4 #6 of Grave 26.VI (1993: 128, Pl. 22)
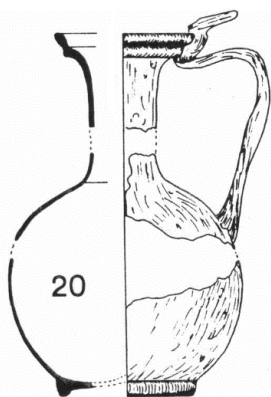
6-5 #20 of Grave 14.VI (1993: 117, Pl. 11)
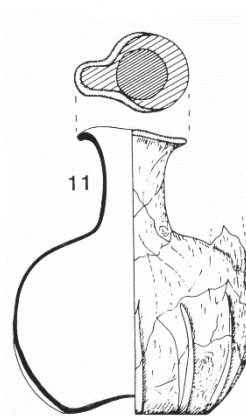
6-6 #11 of Grave 79.VI (1993: 160, Pl. 54)
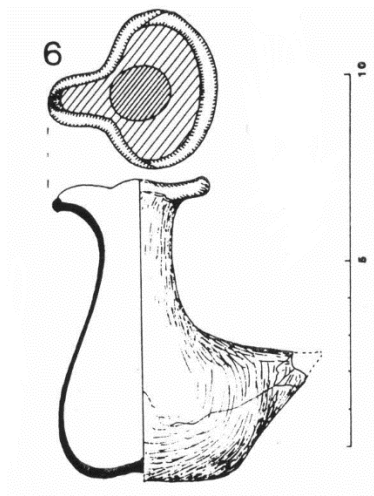
6-7 #6 of Grave 146.VI (1993: 186, Pl. 80)

6.2 Carnuntum Glassware (Plates 6-8–6-15 from Ertel *et al*. 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

6-8 #2 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 76)   6-9 #1 of Grave 150 (1999: Pl. 65)

6-10 #3 of Grave 26 (1999: Pl. 25)

6-11 #2 of Grave 80A (1999: Pl. 45)

6-12 #5 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 77)

6-13 #6 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 77)

6-14 #4 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 76)

6-15 #3 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 76)

7 Coins

7.1 Aquincum Coins (Plates 7-1–7-9 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

7-1 *As* of Hadrian with Salus on the Reverse
(AD 125–128), RIC II, 678
(Găzdac 2014: 108, no. 34)
#13 of Grave 79.VI

7-2 *As* of Hadrian with Salus on the Reverse
(AD 125–128), RIC II 679
(Găzdac 2014: 107, no. 28)
#2 of Grave 125.VI

7-3 *As* of Hadrian with a Gally on the Reverse
(AD 125–128), RIC II 673
(Găzdac 2014: 112, no. 55)
#18 of Grave 22.VI

7.2 Carnuntum Coins

7-4 *As* of Antoninus Pius with the Emperor
Sacrificing on the Reverse, AD 147–148,
RIC III 852a (Găzdac 2014: 111, no. 53)
#2 of Grave 77

7-5 *As* of Antoninus Pius with his Genius
Sacrificing on the Reverse, AD 160–161,
RIC III 1052 (Găzdac 2014: 112, no. 54)
#8 of Grave 98

7-6 *As* of Antoninus Pius with Securitas
on the Reverse, AD 145–161, RIC II 828
(Găzdac 2014: 111, no. 48)
#3 of Grave 23

7-7 *As* of Faustina II with Juno on the
Reverse, AD 145–161, RIC III 1398
(Găzdac 2014: 106, no. 20)
#4 of Grave 15

7-8 *As* of Diva Faustina with Aeternitas on the
Reverse, Post AD 141, RIC III 817
(Găzdac 2014: 103, no. 1)
#6 of Grave 131

7-9 *As* of Lucilla with Juno on the Reverse,
AD 161–181, RIC III 1752
(Găzdac 2014: 106, no. 21)
#1 Grave 110

8   Tools

8.1   Aquincum Tools (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
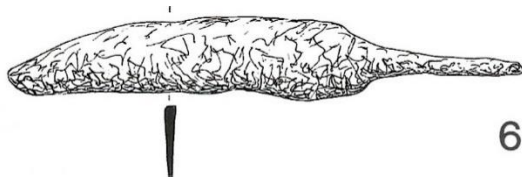
8-1 #6 of Grave 34.III (2003a: 190, Pl. 64)
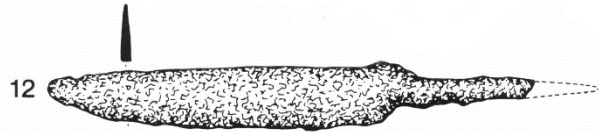
8-2 #12 of Grave 41.VI (1993: 142, Pl. 36)
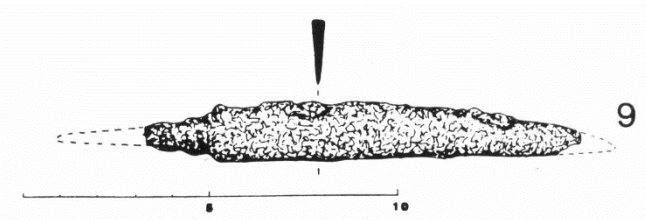
8-3 #9 of Grave 68.VI (1993: 152, Pl. 46)

8-4 #12 of Grave 68.VI (1993: 153, Pl. 47)

8-5 #13, 14 of Grave 41.VI (1993: 142, Pl. 36)

8-6 #6-8 of Grave 52.V (2003a: 152, Pl. 26)
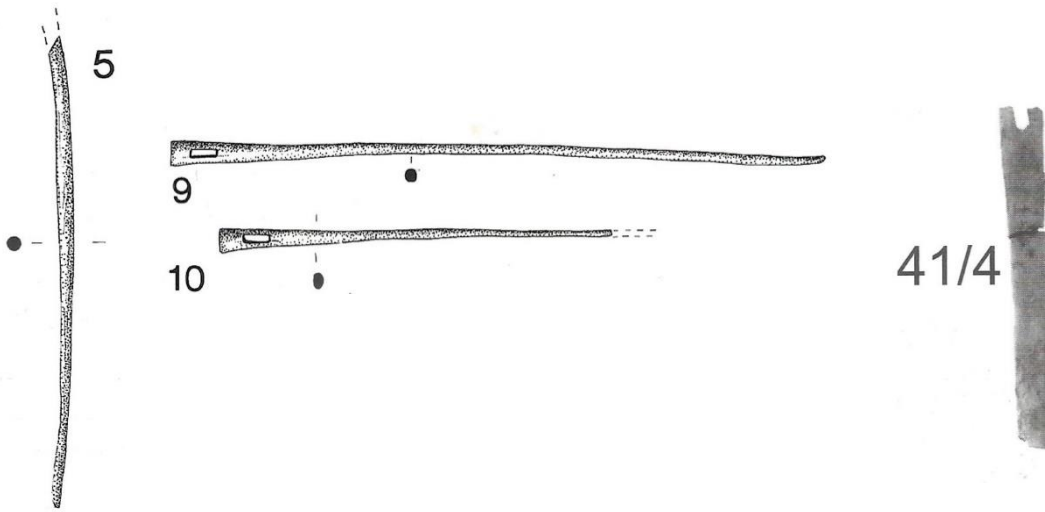
8-7 #5, 9, 10 of Grave 6.V (2003a: 130, Pl. 4)

8-8 #4 of Grave 41.I (2003a: 323, Pl. 197)
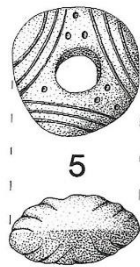
8-9 #5 of Grave 12.I (2003a: 206, Pl. 80)
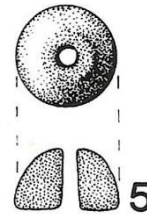
8-10 #5 of Grave 31.V (2003a: 140, Pl. 14)
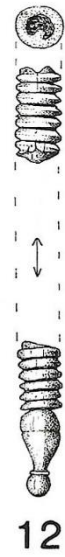
8-11 #12 of Grave 4.V (2003a: 128, Pl. 2)
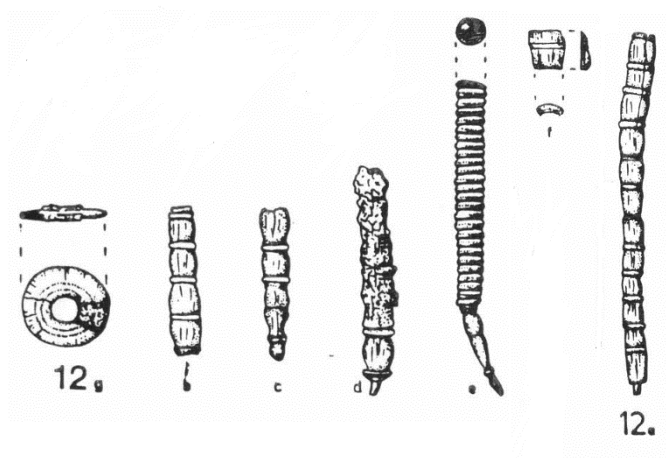
8-12 #12a-g of Grave 7.VI (1993: 109, Pl. 3)

8-13 #19 of Grave 3.I (2003a: 201, Pl. 75)
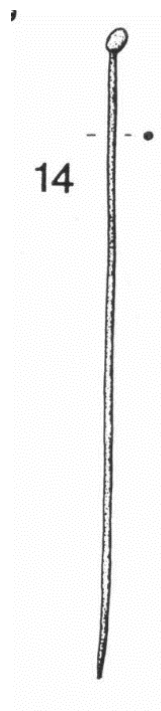
8-14 #19, 20 of Grave 29.VI (1993: 131, Pl. 25)   8-15 #14 of Grave 79.VI (1993: 160, Pl. 54)

8.2   Carnuntum Tools (Plates 8-16–8-25 from Ertel *et al*. 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

8-16 #5 of Grave 25 (1999: Pl. 25)   8-17 #10 of Grave 132 (1999: Pl. 60)

8-18 #8 of Grave 161 (1999: Pl. 68)   8-19 #16 of Grave 177 (1999: Pl. 79)

8-20 #6, 7 of Grave 23 (1999: Pl. 68)   8-21 #15 of Grave 177 (1999: Pl. 79)

8-22 #16 of Grave 179 (1999: Pl. 81)   8-23 #5 of Grave 15 (1999: Pl. 12)

8-24 #13 of Grave 190 (1999: Pl. 83)

8-25 #17–19 of Grave 14 (1999: Pl. 22)

9 Caskets, Keys and Mirrors

9.1 Aquincum Caskets, Keys and Mirrors (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
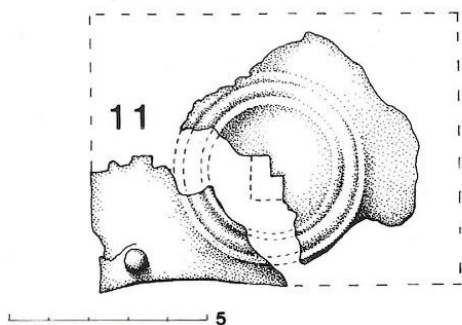
9-1 #11 of Grave 29.V (2003a: 140, Pl. 14)
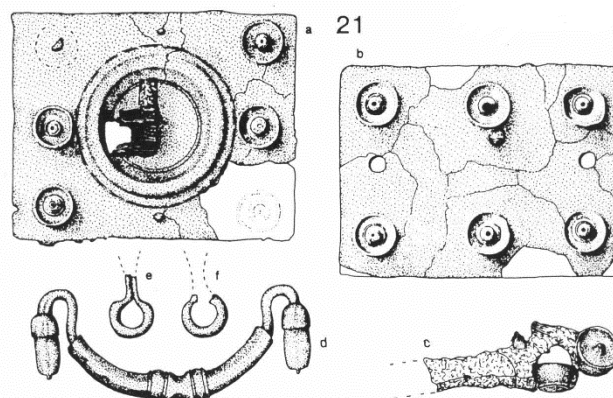
9-2 #21a–f of Grave 127.VI (1993: 181, Pl. 75)
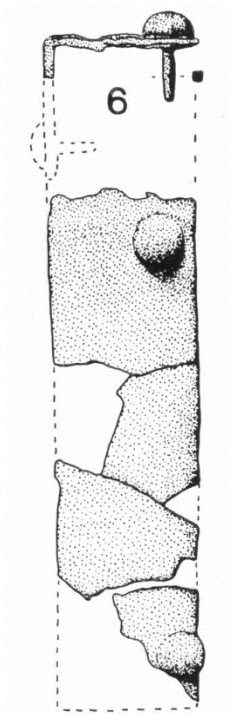
9-3 #6 of Grave 32.VI (1993: 133, Pl. 27)
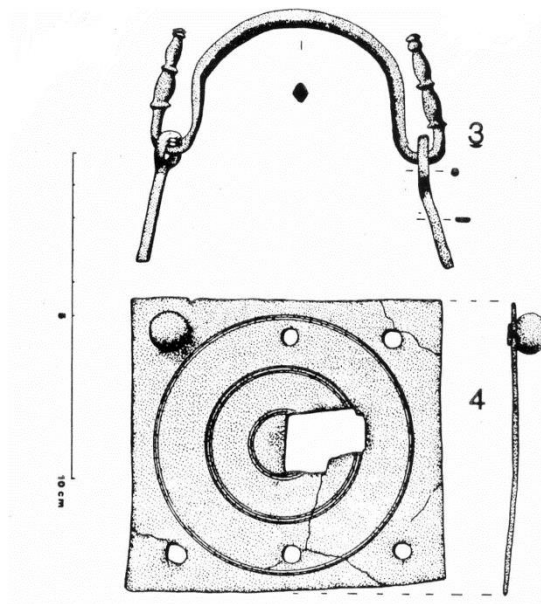
9-4 #3, 4 of Grave 32.VI (1993: 132, Pl. 26)
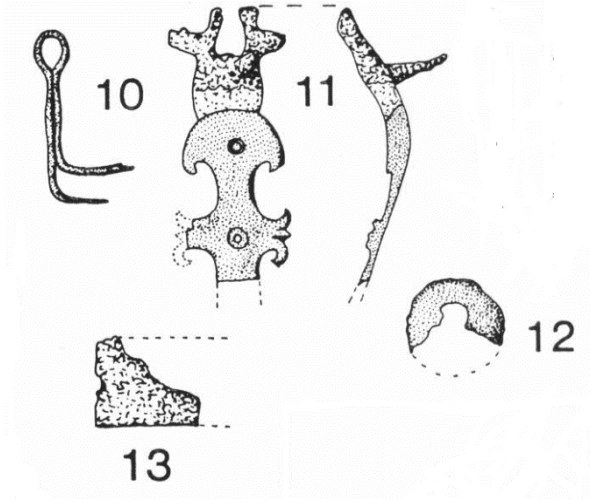
9-5 #10–13 Grave 146.VI (1993: 186, Pl. 80) 13)
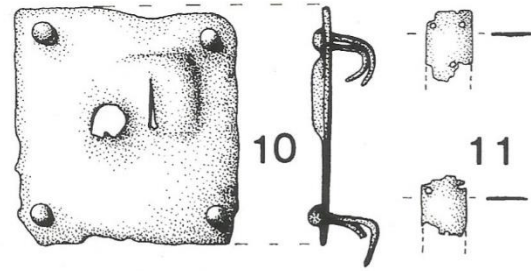
9-6 #10, 11 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 139, Pl. 13)

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9-7 #5 of Grave 57.I (2003a: 333, Pl. 207)

9-8 #25 of Grave 7.VI (1993: 111, Pl. 5)
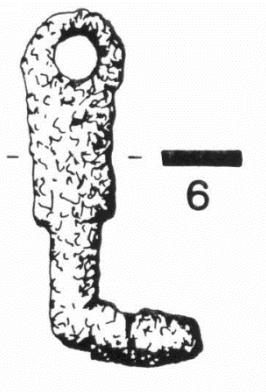
9-9 #6 of Grave 17.VI (1993: 121, Pl. 15)
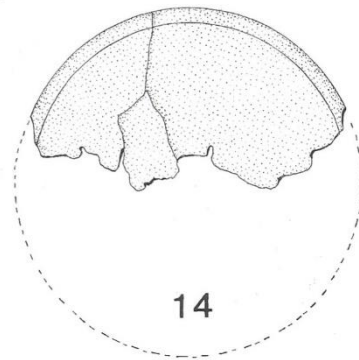
9-10 #14 of Grave 11.I (2003: 205, Pl. 79)
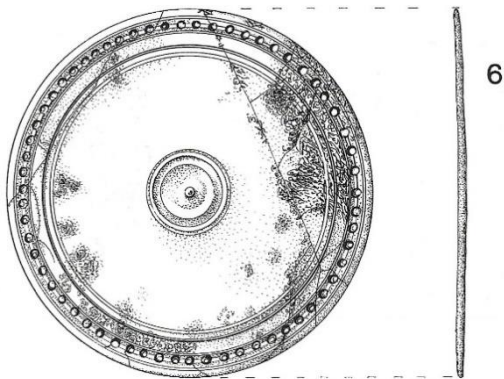
9-11 #6 of Grave 6.V (2003a: 139, Pl. 4)
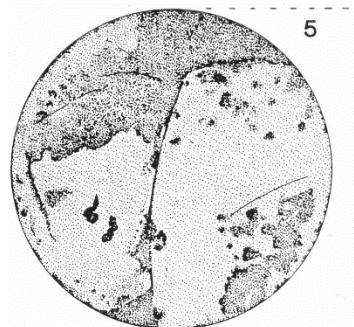
9-12 #5 of Grave 32.VI (1993: 133, Pl. 27)
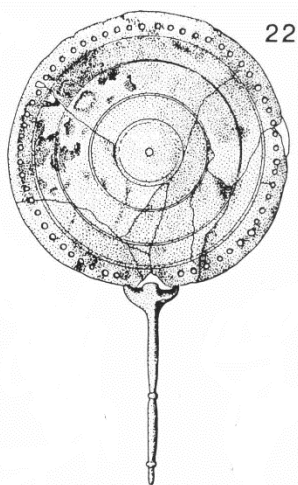
9-13 #22 of Grave 127.VI (1993: 181, Pl. 75)
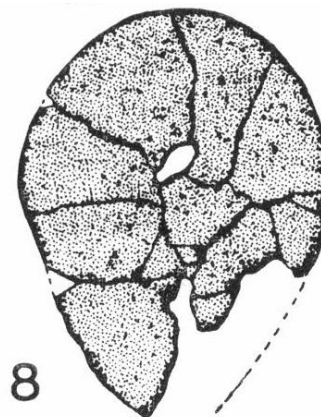
9-14 #8 of Grave 22.VI (1993: 125, Pl. 19)
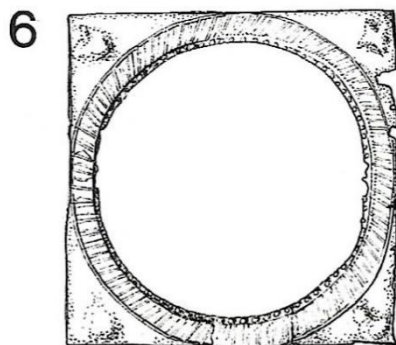
9-15 #6 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)

9.2 Carnuntum Caskets, Keys and Mirrors (Plates 9-16–9-25 from Ertel *et al.* 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

9-16 #4–6 Grave 53 (1999: Pl. 36)

9-17 #5 of Grave 65 (1999: Pl. 39)   9-18 #10 of Grave 190 (1999: Pl. 83)

9-19 #14–16 of Grave 14 (1999: Pl. 22)   9-20 #4 of Grave 64 (1999: Pl. 77)

9-21 #13 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 77)   9-22 #11 of Grave 190 (1999: Pl. 83)

9-23 #4 of Grave 23 (1999: Pl. 24)   9-24 #3 of Grave 53 (1999: Pl. 36)

9-25 #17 of Grave 179 (1999: Pl. 81)

10 Bodily Accoutrements

10.1 Aquincum Bodily Accoutrements (Images from Topál 1993 and 2003a. Reproduced with permission from Judit Topál)
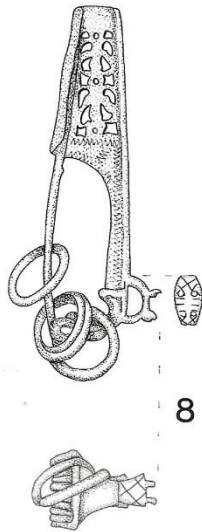
10-1 #8 of Grave 18.I (2003a: 212, Pl. 86)
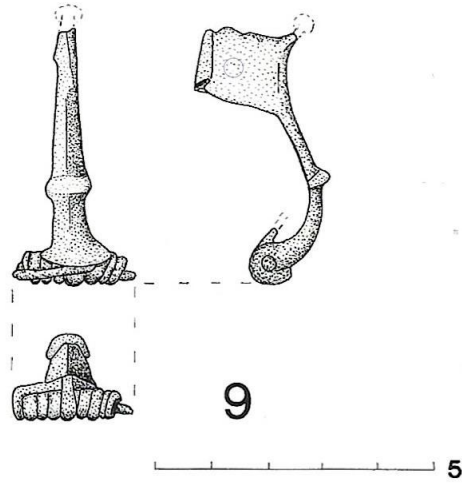
10-2 #9 of Grave 18.I (2003a: 212, Pl. 86)
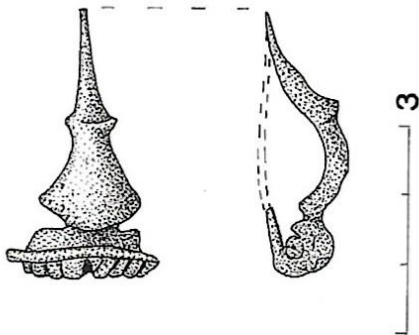
10-3 Grave 34.I (2003a: 220, Pl. 94)
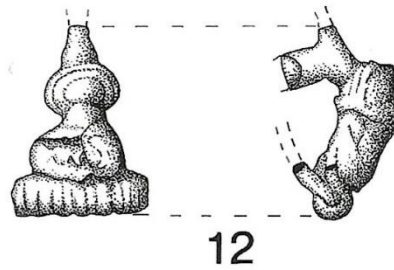
10-4 #12 of Grave 6.V (2003a: 130, Pl. 4)
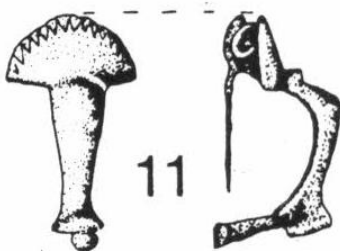
10-5 #11 of Grave 101.VI (1993: 170, Pl. 64)

10-6 #4 of Grave 61 (1993: 337, Pl. 211)
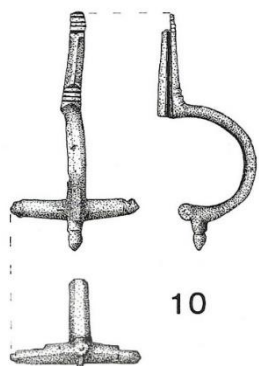
10-7 #10 of Grave 7.III (2003a: 168, Pl. 42)
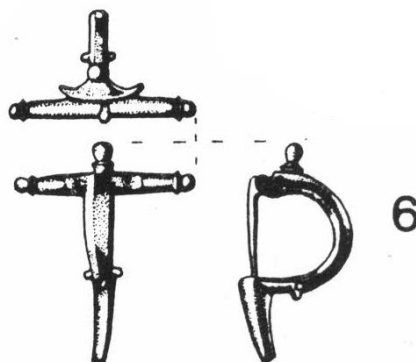
10-8 #6 of Grave 71.VI (1993: 155, Pl. 49)
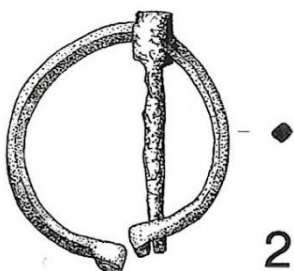
10-9 #2 of Grave 2.I (2003a: 197, Pl. 71)
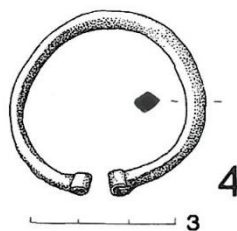
10-10 #4 of Grave 35.I (2003a: 221, Pl. 95)
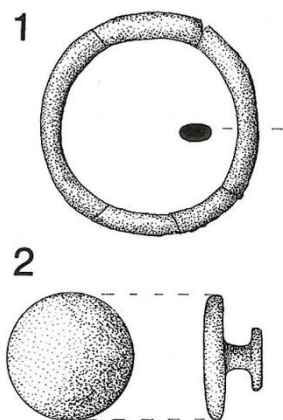
10-11 #1, 2 of Grave 27.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)
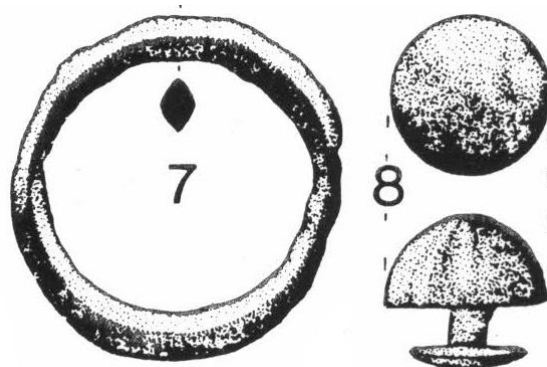
10-12 #7, 8 of Grave 12.VI (1993: 115, Pl. 9)
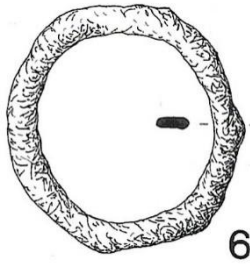
10-13 #6 of Grave 51.V (2003a: 151, Pl. 25)
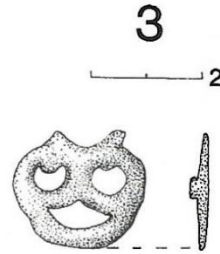
10-14 #3 of Grave 16.V (2003a: 132, Pl. 6)
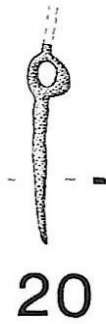
10-15 #20 of Grave 3.I (2003a: 201, Pl. 75)
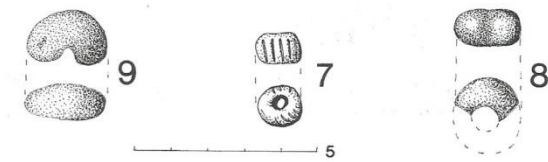
10-16 #7–9 of Grave 7.III (2003a: 167, Pl. 41)
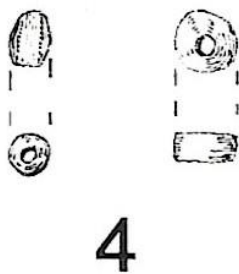
10-17 #4 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)
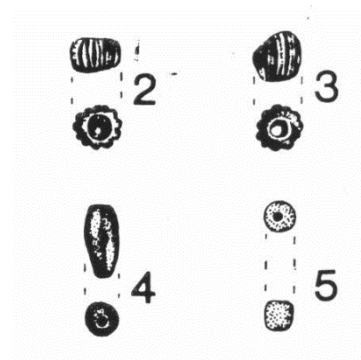
10-18 #2–5 of Grave 11.VI (1993: 115, Pl. 9)

10-19 #13 of Grave 28.VI
(1993: 129, Pl. 23)

10-20 #19a–g of Grave 127.VI (1993: 181, Pl. 75)
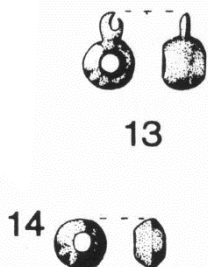
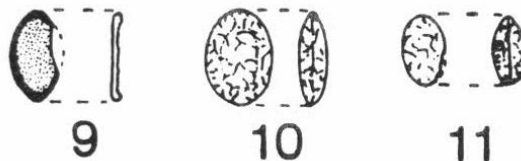10-21 #13, 14 of Grave 75.VI (1993: 158, Pl. 52)   10-22 #9 of Grave 146.VI (1993: 186, Pl. 80)
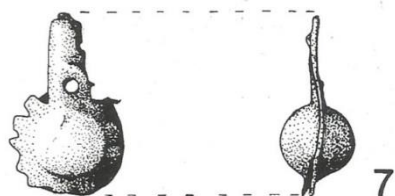
10-23 #7 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 139, Pl. 13)   10-24 #7 of Grave 6.V (2003a: 130, Pl. 4)
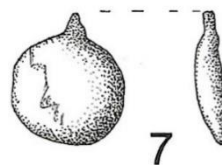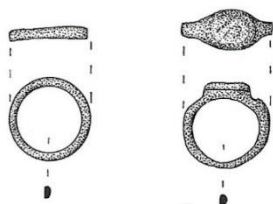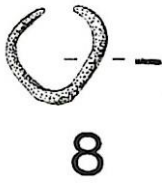
10-25 #3, 4 of Grave 5.I (2003a: 203, Pl. 77)   10-26 #9–11 of Grave 7.VI (1993: 109, Pl. 3)

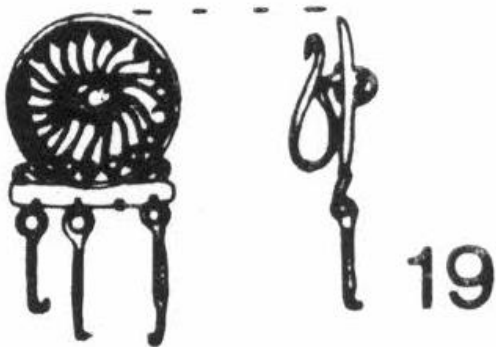10-27 #5 of Grave 6.VI (1993: 108, Pl. 2)

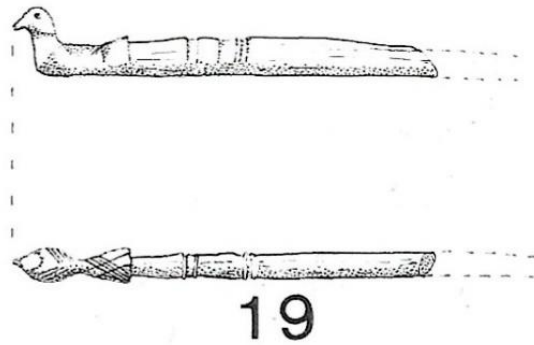10-28 #6 of Grave 11.VI (1993: 115, Pl. 9)

10-29 #8 of Grave 28.V (2003a: 138, Pl. 12)

10-30 #12 of Grave 28.VI (1993: 129, Pl. 23)

10-31 #19 of Grave 34.VI (1993: 137, Pl. 31)

10-32 #19 of Grave 17.I (2003a: 209, Pl. 83)

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10-33 #5 of Grave 41.I (2003a: 323, Pl. 197)   10-34 #18 of Grave 34.VI (1993: 137, Pl. 31)

10.2 Carnuntum Bodily Accoutrements (Plates 10-25–10-56 from Ertel *et al*. 1999 have been removed due to copyright restrictions)

10-35 #16 Grave 144 (1999: Pl. 64)   10-36 #6 of Grave 26 (1999: Pl. 25)

10-37 #7 of Grave 80A (1999: Pl. 45)   10-38 #4 of Grave 46 (1999: Pl. 33)

10-39 #1–4 of Grave 130 (1999: Pl. 59)   10-40 #17 of Grave 144 (1999: Pl. 64)

10-41 #7–12 of Grave 26 (1999: Pl. 25)   10-42 #9–11 of Grave 174B (1999: Pl. 77)

10-43 #5 of Grave 23 (1999: Pl. 24)   10-44 #2 of Grave 11 (1999: Pl. 19)

10-45 #10 of Grave 102 (1999: Pl. 52)   10-46 #3 of Grave 113 (1999: Pl. 54)

10-47 #7 of Grave 178 (1999: Pl. 80)   10-48 #2 of Grave 182 (1999: Pl. 81)

10-49 #6 of Grave 102 (1999: Pl. 52)   10-50 #6 of Grave 80A (1999: Pl. 45)

10-51 #7 of Grave 102 (1999: Pl. 52)   10-52 #7 of Grave 40 (1999: Pl. 40)

10-53 #15 of Grave 179 (1999: Pl. 81)   10-54 #2 of Grave 117 (1999: Pl. 56)

10-55 #1 of Grave 182 (1999: Pl. 81)   10-56 #8 of Grave 38 (1999: Pl. 29)