Bonus Nuntium
A Koszta József Múzeum tudományos, muzeológiai, művészeti és művelődési online folyóirata

Rita Hergott-Rácz
PhD-student. University of Szeged Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Doctoral School of History.

Rita Hergott-Rácz[1]

An everyday object or an amulet? - A re-evaluation of the function of some finds in female costume from the Carpathian Basin from 6th century AD.

In the 6th century AD, the former province of Pannonia was one of the last stations of the Lombards, a Germanic people who had a major influence on the political, economic and ethnic landscape of early medieval Europe. From the end of the 5th century AD onwards, Lombards burial grounds can be found in northern Lower Austria and the Moravian Basin, and around the first third of the 6th century AD they extended their kingdom to the former Roman province.[2] In a broader context, the row cemeteries attributed to the Lombards in the Central Danube Basin, which were opened at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century AD, were located on the eastern side of the Merovingian culture in Western Europe. The latter refers to the common spiritual and material culture of the peoples of the former Roman Empire, divided into different Germanic kingdoms, between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. Similar or identical cultural characteristics also manifest themselves in a shared world of religion and beliefs, including not only the relevant artefacts but also the burial rites.[3] To the east of the Lombards' kingdom in Transdanubia, the Byzantine-influenced Gepid territory, which formed the periphery of the Merovingian circle, extended as far as Transylvania.[4]

[1] The original Hungarian version of the study was published in the 2023/3 issue of *Bonus Nuntium* (pp. 5–29).
[2] Their history is summarised in the literature below, among others: Bóna 1971, 45–74; Jarnut 1982; Bóna 1993, 102–115; Pohl 1994, 375–405; Pohl 2008, 1–12; Bóna 2009, 169–178; Galamb 2012, 9–50.
[3] Vida 2018, 19–20. First name of the culture group: Brenner 1912, 253–346.
[4] Werner referred to the Lombard settlement area of the Central Danube Basin as the eastern part of Merovingian row cemeteries together with the Thuringians of central Germany (Werner 1962, 91).

The archaeological study of the religion and beliefs of the period is difficult at this time. Although some written sources may help to understand certain aspects of the 'pagan' Germanic belief system,[5] no finds from the period have been found that are specifically related to religion. However, this religion and belief system is expressed in their funerary customs: a significant part of the Lombards in Pannonia and the first few generations in Italy also held on to their ancient beliefs, which were expressed in the practice of pagan customs such as rich afterlife offerings, food and drink offerings.[6] This world of beliefs may be reflected in the objects found in burials, i.e. amulets, which are endowed with various protective and trouble-averting functions.

An amulet is any object made of organic or inorganic material, or an item of clothing, which is worn, carried or kept in some way near the body for magical or religious reasons: to cure illness, to bring good luck, to provide general protection or to ward off danger. Their use is almost universal and has been common since the beginning of civilisation.[7] Amulets were most often buried with children and women, as they were the ones most in need of protection in their mundane and afterlife.

Early medieval amulets have an extensive literature in both Hungarian and international research.[8] In the Lombard period and in the western part of the Merovingian culture, one of the main "collecting points" for these apotropaic types of objects was a distinctive element of female dress: the so-called belt-loop, which can be associated with the wearing of the new clothing, the “tunic” (*tunica*), which became widespread in Europe in the 5th century AD. At the beginning of the Merovingian period, the western Germanic peoples abandoned the “peplum” (*peplos*), a costume with a two-shouldered closure, in favour of the Mediterranean-style tunic. Unlike the peplos, the tunic's sewn construction no longer required brooches for closure at the shoulders. As a result, these brooches were repurposed, shifting to the lower half of the body, where they served both ornamental and practical functions. Positioned along the textile or leather straps hanging from the waist belt, these elements are known as belt-loops.[9]

Objects associated with the belt can generally be grouped into the following categories: tools (such as knives, antler combs, iron scissors, tweezers), jewellery (such as precious or semi-

[5] Description of written resources: Kiss 2016, 161–163.
[6] Vida 2016, 98.
[7] Freire-Marreco 1908, 392; Tharne 1973, 268–269.
[8] Female amulets in the Merovingian period, with a general overview: Arends 1978; Dübner-Manthey 1987; Dübner-Manthey 1990. Lombards: Rácz 2017, 61–84; Rácz 2019, 119–126. Gepids: Haraszti 2011; Kiss 2016, 161–170; Kiss 2019, 369–407.
[9] Clauss 1989, 491–603; Martin 1994, 541–582; Martin 1995, 629–681; Martin 1997, 349–371.

precious beads, silver clasps) and amulets. Some semi-precious stones, such as rock crystal or amber, some bone or antler objects, or so-called 'old' artefacts ("*Altstücke"*) collected from an earlier period (e.g. Celtic or Roman jewellery) might be treated as amulets.[10] Some theories propose that Merovingian women could have regarded any object as an amulet if they believed it possessed magical properties.[11] The composition of these assemblages varied regionally and temporally, and within certain cemeteries, personalized variations can be observed, reflecting the individual preferences and beliefs of the wearer.[12]

A key objective of archaeological interpretation is to contextualize and analyze these objects, considering factors such as their production, life cycle, cultural interactions, and the intentions behind their use and deposition. In this study, I aim to determine the function of two types of objects found on female belt-loops that have remained unidentified or under-researched in Hungarian scholarship.

1. Convex Bronze Plate (Mödling Grave 2)

The cemetery of Mödling, located south of the Danube in Lower Austria, near Vienna, has been recognized as a Lombard site since the early 20th century. The discovery of an armored male grave in 1907 first brought attention to the site.[13] In 1977, Peter Stadler excavated an additional four undisturbed burials, forming an isolated group, which he subsequently published in 1979.[14]

Grave 2 contained the undisturbed remains of a 30-year-old female. The burial pit, measuring 320 cm in depth, 270 cm in length and 140 cm in width, was oriented W-E and has a rectangular shape with rounded corners and a bank along both long sides. The skeleton was found in a supine position, interred in a log coffin. The skeletal remains and associated grave goods were found in situ. Given the quantity and quality of the artifacts, Grave 2 can be classified as a richly furnished burial. On the upper and lower part of the chest, on the right side of the vertebrae, there was a disc-shaped brooch with inlays (so-called *Vielitz type C*[15]). The excavators recovered 12 glass beads from the chest area and the right upper arm and a bronze ring from the necklace. On the right pelvic bone was a massive, oval-ringed silver buckle with a shield-shaped thorn, which had three drop-shaped belt buckles with semicircular notches on the both sides, the latter being used to attach the leather strap to the buckle. On the outer left

[10] Rácz 2017, 61–84; Rácz 2019, 119–126.
[11] Dübner-Manthey 1990, 68.
[12] Losert – Pleterski 2003, 233–234.
[13] Dated to Roman period: Münsterberg 1908, 41, Abb. 1–2.
[14] Stadler 1979, 31–47.
[15] Vielitz 2003, 243, Abb. 107. 1137.

side of the pelvis were artefacts from the former left girdle or purse, including an iron hook and three iron knives. The two-sided antler comb on the inner side of the left thigh may have been connected to this girdle. In this context, the pair of gilded silver bow brooch (the so-called *Montale-Weimar* type[16]) was located between the two thighs, in the upper third of the right femur. The brooches, one under the other, lay with their head plates facing towards the end of the pit. An irregularly shaped amber bead and a disc-shaped opaque white glass bead, once found in the knees, may have hung at the end of the central belt-loop. Another artefact of unknown function, a heavily corroded bronze plate, 4.3-4.7 cm in diameter, round, convex, fragmentary, heavily corroded, was also found among the knees [Table 1: 1, 2].[17]

The convex bronze plate can be considered a unique object type, unknown so far in the Lombard settlement area of the Central Danube Basin. Its analogy is known from the Lombard (?) period, from the Merovingian context from the Czech Basin, from the cemetery Čelákovice–Záluží grave 17/XII (Czech Republic). A fragmentary round bronze plate with rim was found near the left femur of the skeleton of unknown sex.[18] Another example of this type of find is known from the Carpathian Basin, from the territory of the former Gepidic Kingdom from Magyarcsanád–Bökény grave 12 (e). The grave contained a skeleton identified as a female. In the centre of the pelvis, on the last vertebra, lay an oval-shaped bronze plate, 5.7x5.2 cm in diameter, 1 cm high, with a high curved rim and a small bulge on one side. The inner side is corroded with a piece of fabric, folded in several layers, about 1 cm^2.[19] The remains of an adult female were found in grave VII/21 of the Szolnok–Zagyva part, Alcsi (Gepidic) cemetery. Near the knees, between the lower leg bones, there was also a bronze plate with a bent rim, 4.6 cm in diameter [Table 1: 6–8].[20]

The function of similar objects in the Merovingian culture is interpreted in two ways:

Margit Nagy identified the object in the Magyarcsanád cemetery as an amulet capsule.[21] The wearing of disc-shaped amulet capsules crafted from various materials—including metal or organic substances with metal ornamentation—can be traced back to late antique Byzantine traditions. During the early Middle Ages, women from the northern Caucasus to the Rhine and Castile wore such capsules either at the waist or around the neck and chest. The early medieval

[16] Werner 1962, 69, 169, Fundliste 4:5; Haseloff 1981, 638–643; Bierbrauer 1993, 122; Nagy 2007, 62.
[17] For a description of the grave, see Stadler 1979, 34–35, Abb. 3–5.
[18] Svoboda 1965, 285, Taf. XC. 5.
[19] Nagy 2005b, 100.
[20] Cseh 2005, 25.
[21] Nagy 2005b, 113.

custom of suspending capsules from the belt emerged alongside the practice of wearing belt-loops.[22] These capsules typically contained objects believed to possess magical properties or secondary relics associated with saints, such as dust, earth, lamp oil, candle wax, plant fragments, or textile remnants..[23] Among the Gepids, the amulet capsules that can actually be reconstructed (e.g. Szentes–Nagyhegy grave 84,[24] Mezőbánd graves XII and XXXIV[25]) were worn on the belt-loops. Most of these objects likely gained popularity during the Early Avar period, particularly among surviving Gepid populations. Tivadar Vida proposed that the increased presence of capsules in this period can be attributed to the close interactions between the Avars and both Mediterranean and Frankish-Alamanic regions, from which they may have adopted this artifact type.[26]

Based on its form, material, placement (pelvic region), the sex of the deceased (female), and the presence of corroded, folded textile remains, Margit Nagy classified the Magyarcsanád find within the group of amulet capsules, specifically among the disc-shaped specimens of Vida's typology (Group II B). The bronze plate likely constituted the lower part of the capsule.[27] László Haraszti[28] and Attila P. Kiss[29] similarly identified this object type as an amulet capsule in their respective studies. The distribution map compiled by Tivadar Vida indicates that these disc-shaped capsules were widespread across Ostrogothic and Visigothic territories, from the Dalmatian coast to Castile.[30]

However, one argument against their interpretation as amulet capsules is that these objects consistently feature a metal front and back, a suspension loop or hole, and a closure mechanism.[31] Although some examples may lack a backplate—potentially made from an organic material—the repeated absence of suspension and/or locking features raises questions about prior classifications. Comparable bent-rim bronze plates are more frequently found in Merovingian row cemeteries along the Upper Danube and in the Rhineland [Figure 1].[32] Hans Losert, in his analysis of the Altenerding cemetery, categorized these artifacts as late antique,

[22] Vida 1995, 257–258.
[23] Vida 2004, 238.
[24] Csallány 1941, 127–161; Csallány 1961, 59–64; Bóna 1974, 76; Gallina 1999, 101–103; Magnus 2007, 186; Bollók 2017, 434.
[25] Kovács 1913, 298–314; Csallány 1961, 17–19; Vida 1995, 237–238, Abb. 12.
[26] Vida 1995, 260.
[27] Vida 1995, 223; Nagy 2005b, 113.
[28] Haraszti 2011, 31–33.
[29] Kiss 2019, 390, Fig. 10.
[30] Vida 1995, 277, Abb. 35; Nagy 2005b, 113.
[31] Vida 1995, 222–223.
[32] Losert – Pleterski 2003, 248–249, Verbreitungskarte 22.

beauty-related personal objects, akin to combs, tweezers, or scissors. These small bronze plates were originally used for mixing or preparing powder, make-up or ointment, a function supported by the presence of a small bronze spatula in the Straubing grave 70a find.[33]

Despite their functional similarities to amulet capsules, such objects—along with other personal items—were typically suspended from a belt-loop or stored in a bag attached to the lower body.[34] The plates are rarely documented as being worn on the middle belt-strap, though this practice is known from Mödling grave 2. Such variations likely reflect regional costume differences rather than fundamental changes in the function or wearing style of these objects. In the absence of a metal front or backplate, the bronze plate may have been stored in a pouch and used as a utensil or small metal vessel

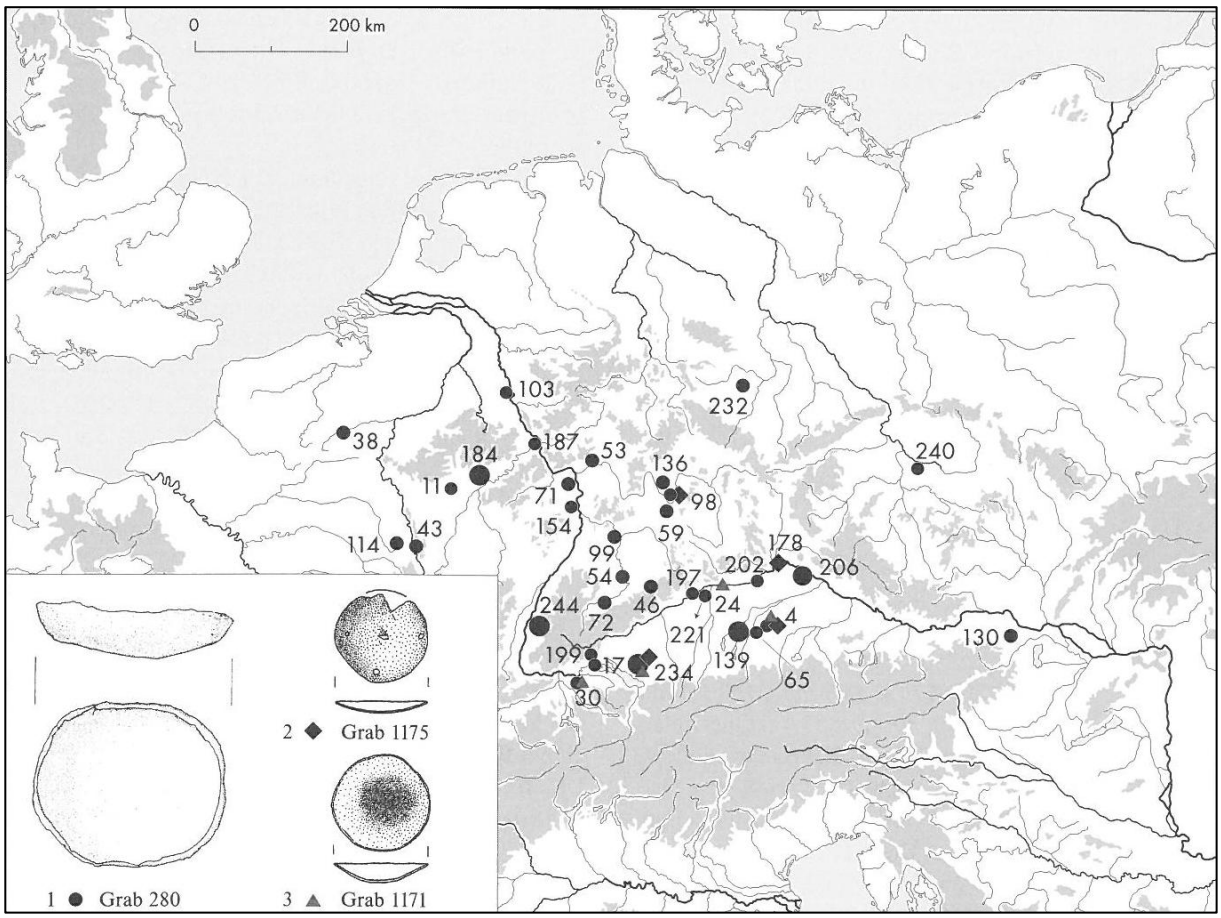

Figure 1: Geographical distribution of convex bronze plates, based on the collection of Hans Losert (ld. Losert - Pleterski 2003, 248, Verbreitungskarte 22.)

[33] Fischer 1993, 189, Taf. 29. 2.
[34] Losert – Pleterski 2003, 247–249.

This latter interpretation does not exclude the possibility that the single-sided metal vessel may have contained an apotropaic substances and were, in effect, used as capsules. In such cases, the open side may have been sealed with an organic material, allowing them to be worn on a belt-strap or carried in a bag.

The interpretation of amulet capsules is often linked to religious syncretism between pagan and Christian traditions. The Gepids, who inhabited the eastern Carpathian Basin, were influenced by diverse cultural and religious forces, leading to distinct material cultures and costume practices compared to the Lombards.[35] For Gepids who persisted into the Early Avar period, Byzantine interaction played a crucial role. Byzantine sources suggest that while some Gepids converted to Christianity, others retained their pagan beliefs—an ambiguity reflected in material culture, including the amulet capsules.[36] However, it is uncertain whether the objects in discussion would be finds representing religious syncretism in the relatively early cemeteries of the Gepidic cemeteries of Magyarcsanád and Szolnok, which were opened in the last third of the 5th century AD and used until the first quarter to the middle of the 6th century AD. Even so, they may still have been used as amulet capsules containing some kind of protective substance. In my view, within a Lombard context, these objects should be interpreted differently—not as containers of secondary relics, but within a broader, culturally specific framework of personal adornment and ritual practice.[37]

2. Bone or Antler Tubes

Nikitsch grave 1

Nikitsch, located in present-day Burgenland, Austrua, lies southwest of Lake Fertő. Excavations conducted between 1925 and 1930 by Josef Bayer and Viktor Lebzelter, and further discoveries in 1936, uncovered 23 burials associated with the local Lombard population.[38] While the site gained scholarly attention in the 1930s through regional publications by Eduard Beninger,[39] a comprehensive analysis was only undertaken by Joachim Werner (1962)[40] and Herbert Mitscha-Märheim (1970)[41].[42]

[35] For the latest summary of the topic: Koncz 2019, 409–419.
[36] Kiss 2016, 168.
[37] In the case of religious syncretism, only a few exceptional, isolated finds are known. See Vida 2016, 98–99.
[38] Werner 1962, 151.
[39] Beninger 1934, 115; Beninger 1940, Taf. 362–364.
[40] Werner 1962.
[41] Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 3–47.
[42] In the further context of the so-called Hegykő Group: Bóna 1993, 148–149.

Grave 1 contained a skeleton of unknown sex, though the presence of gender-specific grave goods suggests a female burial. In the 160 cm deep grave pit, oriented SW-NE, the deceased was buried in a supine position. The burial pit, measuring 160 cm in depth and oriented southwest-northeast, featured a supine interment. The grave appears to have been reopened, with the skull found face-down and the upper body disarticulated, while the lower skeleton remained in situ. Beads recovered from beneath the skull and around the neck likely formed part of a necklace. The chest featured a pair of silver-gilded bow brooches (so-called *Kühn 86. Nikitsch type 1*[43]), which may have originally been placed at the pelvis or upper thighs.[44] A collection of silver and bronze gilded belt-hangers, decorated with hinged plates, extended from the pelvis to the knees. These objects consisted of round bronze chain links, each affixed with a riveted silver plate at one end, forming a strap catch adorned with punched decoration. The belt likely terminated near the knees, as indicated by associated finds: a disc-shaped amber pendant, a fragment of an iron knife, and a sheath or tube made of antler. The antler tube, measuring 9.2 cm in length and 2.6–2 cm in diameter, features straight-cut ends and engraved geometric patterns. The rim contains small circular perforations, with two additional horizontal holes on the convex side [Table 2: 1–3].[45]

Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő Grave 9.

The Lombard-period cemetery at Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő, with seven burials, was excavated by János Gömöri in 1971 and brought to scholarly attention in 1980 by Péter Tomka.[46] The site, located in present-day Győr-Moson-Sopron County, lies southeast of Lake Fertő, approximately 20 km from Nikitsch site.

Grave 9 contained a skeleton of unknown sex, but gender-specific grave goods suggest a female burial. The burial was richly furnished, featuring a rectangular pit with rounded corners oriented west-east. The deceased, placed in a coffin, lay in a supine position. The grave may have been reopened, as the upper body was found disturbed, while the lower portion remained in anatomical order. A necklace of 25 beads, likely an element of the costume, was discovered around the neck.[47] Additionally, silver chain rings accompanied the necklace. The upper part of the chest displayed a gilded silver S-shaped brooch (so-called *Nikitsch–Kranj*[48] type), while the

[43] Werner 1962, 167, Fundliste 3:2; Kühn 1974, 1087, Karte 66.
[44] Bóna 1993, 148–149.
[45] Description of the grave: Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 11–12, 22–23, Taf. 2.
[46] Tomka 1980, 5–30.
[47] Horváth 2012, 220, 224; Heinrich-Tamáska – Horváth – Bendő 2018, 321, Fig. 8.
[48] Brather-Walter 2009, 90, L.5.20; Hergott-Rácz 2023, 60.

pair of gilded silver bow brooches (so-called *Podbaba–Schwechat*[49] type) was positioned on the left side of the pelvis, one on the inside of the left pelvis, the other below. The former belt-loop between the legs was decorated with a thin rectangular silver plates with punched motifs, 14 in total, running from the pelvis to the centre of the lower leg. At the end of one of the girdle bands, one of the lower leg bones has revealed an iron knife, once mounted on the belt-strap in a leather harness with a silver U-shaped scabbard and silver strap. Between the thighs was a barrel-shaped chalcedony bead, which might also have decorated the end of the belt. On the outer half of the left femur were corroded hooked iron rods. One was an iron bar, 21 cm long, rectangular in section, bent into a semicircular hook at both ends, and the other was a circular in section iron bar, 13 cm long, with a small hook at one end, and a fragmentary iron bar, tapering in the middle. The finds were placed side by side on the outside of the left thigh, parallel to each other. A few centimetres below the two iron rods lay a disarticulated bone tube. Two of the surviving fragments of the hollow bone fragment have a slightly curved body, with a dense pattern of incised fish bones and traces of metal corrosion. One fragment measures 9 cm long and 2.8 cm wide, the other 7.6 cm and 2.3 cm, and the third 6.4 cm and 1.4 cm [Table 2: 4–9].[50]

Analogies and interpretation

From the western part of the Merovingian culture, the type of find was first noticed by Ursula Koch, who in 1968 was the first to publish a bone tube from the female grave 22 of Barbing–Irlmauth (Germany) from the Upper Danube region. The tube is octagonal, curved like the Nikitsch find, with three and two holes on opposite sides. It measures 7 cm in length, is undecorated on the surface and, like the Pannonian finds, was also suspended between the thighs [Table 3: 2]. Ursula Koch described three further parallels of the artefact type, from grave 20 in Friedberg, Engers and Mainz (Germany).[51] grave 47 at Pleidelsheim (Germany) was analysed in the context of the same type of artefact and five additional finds were added (Heilbronn,[52] Hemmingen grave 33,[53] Wenigumstadt grave 231;[54] from male graves: Bittenbrunn grave 13[55] and Heilfingen grave 540[56]). These bone or antler tubes have a hexagonal or octagonal polished surface, are undecorated or decorated with dotted circles and

[49] Werner 1962, 168, Fundliste 4: 2; Tejral 2002, 339, 341.
[50] Description of the grave: Tomka 1980, 11–16, Abb. 7., Abb. 8., Abb. 9., Abb. 10: 5–6., Abb. 12–16.
[51] Koch 1968, 104, Taf. 37. 16.
[52] Veeck 1931, 216 – 217, Taf. 9 B.
[53] Müller 1976, 62, Taf. 9 B.
[54] Jahreis – Wamser 1982, 120–122, Abb. 103.
[55] Christlein 1967, 97, Abb. 10. 7.
[56] Stoll 1939, 74, Taf. 22. 24.

geometric lines. They are either unperforated (Wenigumstadt grave 231) or, like the Irlmauth find, have one or more holes in the two opposite sides. They are between 2,8 and 7 cm long.[57]

Another known analogy of this type of find was discovered in grave 131 of the Mengen cemetery published by Susanne Walter. Two circular perforations 0.3 cm in diameter are observed in the central vertical axis of the octagonal tube, which is 9 cm long. The surface is decorated with diagonal lines forming diamond-shaped motifs. The object was placed next to the skeleton of an adult female (adultus), on the outer half of the left femur, in line with it, in a vertical direction [Table 3: 3–4].[58] This find is the best parallel to the Nikitsch grave 1 find, both in terms of the holes and the carved decoration.

An ornate antler tube was unearthed from the burial of an individual buried in Merovingian costume at Keszthely–Fenéki Street grave 2, which is exceptionally well furnished. In the re-opened grave of the 16-18 year old woman, the 7.4 cm long tube is composed of ten rectangular plates made of deer antlers, forming a decagonal-shaped object. Each of the tiles is decorated with geometric motifs. One of the sheets of the tube can be moved by means of a sliding mechanism, which allows it to be opened. The two ends were probably closed [Table 3: 1].[59]

Unique finds in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin are the bone tubes from graves 232 and 506 of the Tiszaug–Országúti bevágás cemetery. The find from grave 232 is a cylindrical bone tube, 6.8 cm long and 3 cm in diameter, the entire surface of which is covered with a dot pattern. The bone tube may have been associated with a belt-loop running along the left thigh in the burial of 5-6 years old (infans I), and was recovered from a vertical position close to the femur [Table 3: 5]. In grave 506, an individual aged 14-15 years (infans II-juvenis) lay with an undecorated bone tube 8.1 cm long and 3.5-2.2 cm in diameter, drilled through in two places on its vertical axis, lying between the shin bones, below the knees. The find was also in a vertical position [for their distribution see Figure 2].[60]

[57] Koch 2001, 214–215.
[58] Walter 2008, 278, Taf. 38. B: 5.
[59] Heinrich-Tamáska 2008, 303–305, Kat. 108. Antler tube: Kat. 108/4.
[60] The two findings were brought to my attention by Dr. Ágnes B. Tóth. I am grateful to her for making the material of the two burials available to me. For the bone cylinder of grave 232 see. Crossings 2022, 171, Cat. 159.

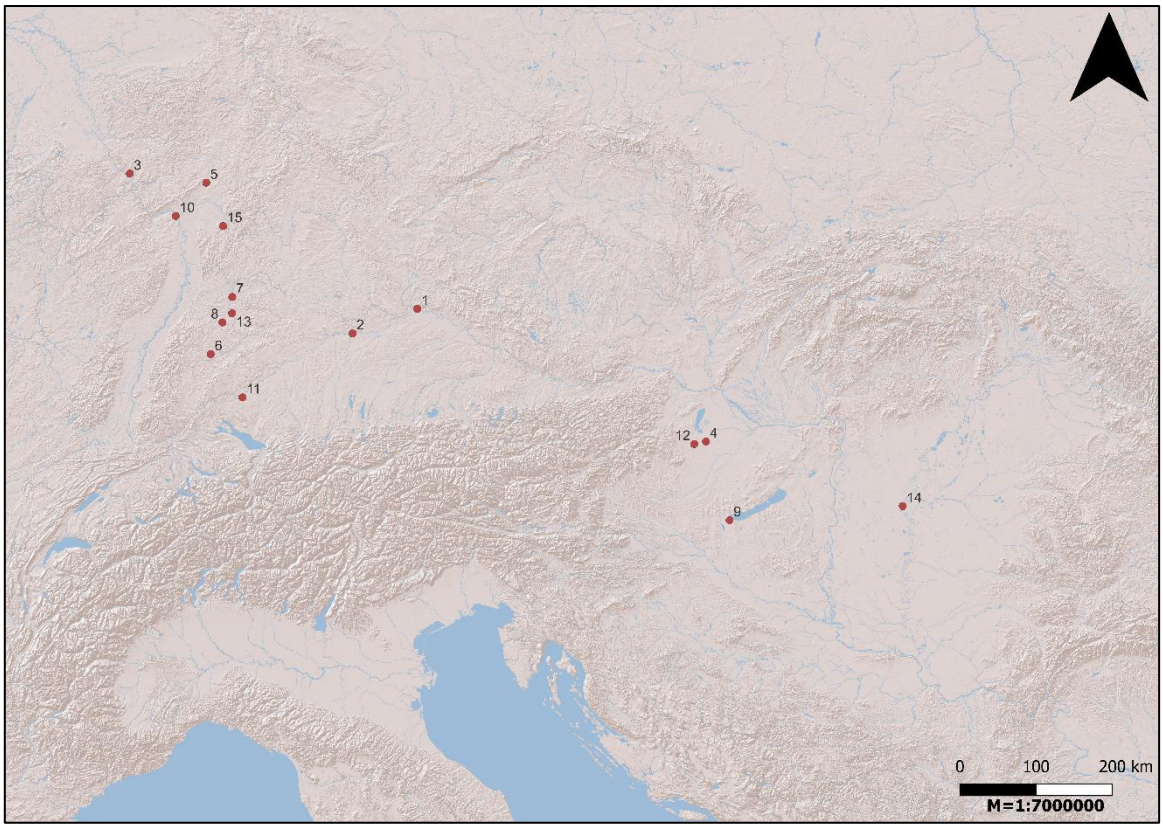

Figure 2. *Bone or antler tubes in the Merovingian age*. 1. Barbing-Irlmauth grave 22; 2. Bittenbrunn grave 13; 3. Engers; 4. Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9; 5. Friedberg grave 20; 6. Hailfingen grave 540; 7. Heilbronn; 8. Hemmingen grave 33; 9. Keszhtely-Fenéki Street grave 2; 10. Mainz; 11. Mengen grave 131; 12. Nikitsch grave 1; 13. Pleidelsheim grave 47; 14. Tiszaug–Országúti bevágás grave 232 and grave 506; 15. Wenigumstadt grave 231.

Their presumed method of wearing appears consistent across all burials, with the objects typically found near the thighs or the left thigh, in the presumed area of the girdle. In the Wenigumstadt burial, dated to the mid-5th century AD, the deceased may have worn the bone tube directly on his belt, alongside with the filtering spoon and keys.[61] In grave 131 at Mengen, the surface near one of the two central holes exhibits significant wear, suggesting prolonged use. This has led to the hypothesis that the object was suspended vertically from the belt for an extended period during the individual's lifetime. A similar method suspension has been observed in the burials at Tiszaug. Notably, these bone or antler tubes are rarely accompanied by additional grave goods in their immediate surroundings. In the case of Lombard finds, the tube from Nikitsch grave 1 was positioned between the knees, hanging from the belt. Similarly,

[61] Koch 2001, 214–215.

the find from grave 9 at Fertőszentmiklós was discovered on the outer left thigh, adjacent to iron hangers of various sizes with hooked constructions, potentially linked to the belt.

The function of these tubes remains a subject of debate. Ursula Koch suggested that the holes in the tube might indicate its use as a musical instrument. However, if both ends were sealed, it could have functioned as a pyxis.[62] The latter interpretation is more plausible, given the prevalence of amulets and amulet-like objects in the period.[63] Supporting this hypothesis, Susanne Walter's detailed analysis of grave 131 at Mengen proposed that the bone tube may have been closed at both ends with organic material, as indicated by the presence of bone pins or needles on either side.[64] A similar function may be suggested for the two small holes at either end of the Nikitsch find, possibly used to secure a lid. Further evidence supporting the storage function comes from the find at Keszthely, where an antler plate could be slid to open the bone tube. While structurally distinct, this object shares similarities in function, shape, decoration, suspension method, and association with the deceased's gender, reinforcing its classification within the same artifact type. The absence of associated finds in their immediate vicinity suggests that these bone or antler tubes may have contained perishable organic substances, possibly plant material or powdered substances.[65]

Context and Dating of Amulet-Like Finds

Convex bronze plates, functioning as capsules for apotropaic material, appear in western Merovingian contexts from the late 5th to the late 6th century AD.[66] No other artefacts of dating value were found in grave 17 at Záluží in the Bohemian Basin, and Eduard Droberjar dated the cemetery from the last third of the 5th century to the middle of the 6th century AD.[67] Similarly, Gepidic cemeteries such as Magyarcsanád–Bökény (grave 12) and Szolnok–Zagyva-part (grave 21) yielded no additional datable objects. Margit Nagy placed the former burial between the last third of the 5th century and the mid-6th century AD,[68] while János Cseh dated the latter

[62] Koch 2001, 215.
[63] E.g. amulet capsules: Vida 1995, 219–290.
[64] Walter 2008, 27
[65] More distant in space and time, but similar types of artefacts appeared in the Carpathian Basin in the Avar period. The function of perforated bone objects with geometric decoration (bone tube/bone socket) has also raised a number of questions in the field of Avar age research; see. László 1942, 16–24; László 1946, 67–79; Csallány 1968, 61–70. The bone object found in grave 102 of the Avar cemetery of Homokmégy–Halom was identified by Gyula László as an ointment container (László 1942, 16). Later he reconstructed the closure and the way of wearing the bone cylinder of the cemetery of Mokrin (Homokrév, Serbia). He also deduced the use of the Mokrin find from the use of a jar holding some kind of ointment (László 1946, 67–70).
[66] Losert – Pleterski 2003, 249.
[67] It is a continuous cemetery between the E1 (480-530) and E2 (530-560/70) phases (Droberjar 2008, 15).
[68] Nagy 2005, 114.

from the final quarter of the 5th century to the first quarter of the 6th century AD.[69] In Mödling, grave 2 represents a relatively late occurrence of this find type. The deceased woman, dressed in a four-brooch costume and a belt-loop, aligns closely with the Lombard female burial horizon of the mid-6th century AD. The disc-shaped brooches with garnet and/or glass inlays found in the grave are a common feature from the first third to the late 6th century AD.[70] The shield-shaped belt buckle, belonging to the Pannonian group of narrow-shielded types with undecorated bases, is typologically dated to after the first third of the 6th century AD.[71] The grave's chronology is further supported by the bow brooch, a *Montale–Weimar* type with a rectangular head plate, oval foot plate, and ribbon decoration, indicating a burial date in the latter half of the 6th century AD [Table 1: 3–5].[72] Regarding the burial age of the deceased, it is important to note that Max Martin's 1987 hypothesis—that women received their brooch sets as grave goods upon reaching adulthood (juvenis, juvenis-adultus)[73] — remains unproven.[74]

Antler and bone tubes with carved decoration exhibit similarly broad dating parameters. The earliest examples date to the early Merovingian period. Ursula Koch dated grave 22 at Barbing–Irlmauth, which contained a bird-shaped brooch, to the late 5th to early 6th century AD, as she did for grave 47 at Pleidelsheim.[75] Susanne Walter assigned grave 131 at Mengen to phase 4 of the South German (SD) chronology (510–530 AD).[76] A more advanced variant appears in grave 2 at Keszthely–Fenéki Street, likely buried in the final third of the 6th century AD, during the Early Avar period of the Carpathian Basin.[77]

The Nikitsch grave 1 tube is dated based on the associated bow brooch (*Nikitsch 1* type), which features a trapezoidal footplate and a semicircular headplate with buttons [Table 2: 2]. This brooch type appears across both the northern and southern Alps, including former Bavarian regions, the Kranj cemetery, and Italy.[78] Ursula Koch dated similar brooches from the Schretzheim cemetery to the first horizon of the cemetery, to the second quarter of the 6th century AD (Stufe I, 525–545/550),[79] and later dated the nine-buttoned pieces from the first

[69] Cseh 2005, 27.
[70] Vielitz 2003, 72–73.
[71] Koch 2001, 76, Abb. 15. X69; Losert – Pleterski 2003, 208 (*schmalem länglich achterförmigem Schild*); Friedrich 2016, 101–102, Abb. 50.
[72] Haseloff 1981, 643; Tejral 2002, 342–343; Tejral 2011, 54.
[73] Martin 1987, 269–280.
[74] Most recently, see. Sorg 2022. in particular: pp. 209 –236.
[75] SD 1–3, 430–510 (Koch 2001, 71, Abb. 12. F27).
[76] Walter 2008, 31.
[77] Heinrich-Tamáska – Horváth – Bendő 2018, 313–350.
[78] With references see Werner 1962, 167, Fundliste 3:2; Kühn 1974, 1087, Karte 66.
[79] Koch 1977, 36, Abb. 8A.

third to the last third of the 6th century AD in her chronology for the southern German region (SD 5–6, 530–580).[80] An exact parallel was found in grave 11/3 at Kranj, in the Pre-Alps.[81] A further special feature of the former grave is that – like grave 1 at Nikitsch – it also contained an uncommon type of artefact in the Lombard area, the so-called girdle-hangers decorated with hinged plates [Table 2: 3]. These were usually found in the very well-equipped burials of adult women in Gepid and Early Avar cemeteries. Alpár Dobos suggested that their presence indicates high social status at a local level.[82] These artifacts appear in Central Tisza Gepidic cemeteries from the late 5th to early 6th century AD, with later Avar-period specimens recorded in the eastern Danube region from the late 6th to 7th centuries AD.[83] Ursula Koch dated the relevant finds from the western Merovingian region to the period after the first third of the 6th century AD (SD 5, 530–555).[84] Consequently, Nikitsch grave 1 can be dated to the second third of the 6th century AD, and the combination of brooches, silver plates, and the antler tube suggests connections with western Merovingian, Upper Danube, and southern German regions.

Grave 9 at Fertőszentmiklós contained a pair of Podbaba–Schwechat type bow brooches, datable to around the mid-6th century AD and associated with Danubian Lombard goldsmithing [Table 2: 8].[85] The bird-style pendant set with garnet and glass inlays [Table 2: 6] could be used – based on the Thuringian female burials in Central Germany – from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century AD.[86] Jaroslav Tejral dated the assemblage of grave 46 from the Lužice[87] cemetery in the Moravian Basin (Czech Republic), including the bird-decorated pendants, to a much later date, the mid-6th century AD (MDo 5–6, 540v600).[88] The appearance of S-shaped brooch type *Nikitsch–Kranj* could be dated relatively early, in the first third of the 6th century AD [Table 2: 7].[89] Although the assemblage consists of typical artefacts from Pannonian and Central Danube region, based on the brooch set and the silver plates decorating the belt-loop, the bird pendants and the bone tube are closely related to the Middle

[80] Koch 2001, 76, Abb. 15. F22.
[81] Stare – Vinski 1980, 52, Taf. 9–10.
[82] Dobos 2012, 50–51.
[83] Dobos 2012, 51.
[84] Koch 2001, 204–205.
[85] MDo 5, 540–560, ld. Tejral 2002, 339.
[86] Based on Schmidt (Gruppe IIb, 480–525) and Hansen (MD 3–4, 470/80–560/70): Schmidt 1961, 137; Hansen 2004, 60.
[87] Klanica – Klanicová 2011, 381, Taf. 48. 21–23.
[88] Tejral 2005, 188, Abb. 13. C: 15–17. Based on the grave 9 at Fertőszenmiklós, their Pannonian date is also mid-6th century. For a recent analysis of this object type see. Heinrich-Tamáska – Horváth – Bendő 2018, 321, Fig. 8.
[89] Hergott-Rácz 2023, 73.

German/Thuringian and South German artefacts. The find assemblage was probably deposited in the ground in the mid-6th century AD at the latest.

The increased presence of western Merovingian find types in the north-western region of Pannonia, in the Lombard period row cemeteries around Lake Fertő, is not unusual.[90] The brooches mentioned as imports in the research, and possibly other types of finds indicating foreign relations, are also found in the Bezenye–Paprét, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő, Gyirmót–Homokdomb, Hegykő–Mező utca and Schwechat sites in the affected region.[91] This clustering of find types can be explained on the one hand by the proximity of the Danube and the trade on the Danube, and on the other hand by the expansion of the Merovingian culture in the early 6th century AD.[92] The two types of artefacts discussed in this article might be an imprint of this system of relations, which could be supported by some additional elements of the containing find assemblages (see disc-shaped brooches, buckle with shield-shaped thorns, bird-shaped pendant, bow brooch type *Nikitsch 1*, multi-piece belt buckles).

Summary

The bronze plate from Mödling grave 2 was discovered in a Lombard age row cemetery dating to the second half of the 6th century AD, and is a unique find in this area. The date of the object type is not relevant in the period, since its appearance can be assumed as early as the 5th century AD, and its spread is trans-regional. As in all the other known cases, it was recovered from the burial of a well-furnished adult female, from the characteristic position of the belt-loop, between the knees. It cannot be ruled out that the amulet capsule containing some kind of organic substance with a protective role could have been placed in the grave, but considering the period and the region, it could have been a kind of make-up jar or storage container.

The antler/bone tubes from Nikitsch grave 1 and Fertőszentmiklós grave 9 were found in the Lombard period Pannonian row cemeteries alongside other finds from western Meroving, Upper Danube, southern and Central Germany. An increased clustering of the find type can be observed in the southern German, Frankish-Alemannic and Bavarians, their appearance in this region can be assumed from the end of the 5th century AD, beginning of the 6th century AD. In Pannonia, they could only be recorded from around the second third to the middle of the 6th century AD, and like the bronze plates, they were found in the burials of wealthy females in the

[90] Bóna 1993, 148–149.
[91] Summary: Friedrich 2002, 175–190; Quast 2008, 363–375.
[92] On the character of the contacts, see Quast 2008, 363–375.

surrounding of the belt-loop. For the neighboring western Merovingian and Gepidic burials, this context is not clear, partly because the finds there come either from re-opened graves or from early excavations that are not fully published or poorly documented. As for the function of the bone tube, it might have been used as a storage vessel, which may have been combined with its function as an amulet, and thus as a container for some kind of protective material.

The two find type extend the range of known amulet-like objects in the Lombard and Gepid horizons and may be traces of westward foreign relations and cultural influences in the 6th century AD Carpathian Basin. A further significance of the antler/bone tubes is that they add a new link to the very poorly connected Lombard-Gepidic assemblage.

Bibliography

Arends 1978 = U. Arends: *Augewählte Gegenstände des Frühmittelalters mit Amulettcharakter*. Inagural-Diss. Heidelberg 1978.

Beninger 1934 = E. Beninger: *Die Germanenzeit in Niederösterreich Von Marbod Bis Zu Den Babenbergern. Ergebnisse Der Bodenforschung*. Wien 1934.

Beninger 1940 = E. Beninger: *Die germanischen Bodenfunde in der Slowakei.* [Anstalt für sudetendeutsche Heimatforschung. Vorgeschichtliche Abteilung. Heft 8.] Leipzig 1937.

Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970 = E. Beninger – H. Mitscha-Märheim: Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Nikitsch, Burgenland. *Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland* 43 (1970) 3–47.

Bierbrauer 1993 = V. Bierbrauer: Die Landnahme der Langobarden in Italien aus archäologischer Sicht. In: *Ausgewählte Probleme europäischer Landnahmen des Früh- und Hochmittelalters I*. Hrsg.: Müller-Wille, M. – Schneider, R. Sigmaringen 1993, 103–172.

Bollók 2017 = Bollók, Á.: Christians, Christianity and the ‘Northern Barbarians’ in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In: *Dalle steppe al Mediterraneo. Popoli, culture, integrazione.* (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi «Fondazione e rituali delle aristocrazie germaniche nel contesto mediterraneo» Cimitile-Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 18-19 giugno 2015.) Ed.: C. Ebanista – M. Rotili. Napoli 2017, 423–442.

Bóna 1971 = Bóna, I.: Langobarden in Ungarn. *Arheološki Vestnik* 21/22 (1970/1971) 45–74.

Bóna 1974 = Bóna, I.: *A középkor hajnala. A gepidák és langobardok a Kárpát-medencében*. Budapest 1974.

Bóna 1993 = Bóna, I.: Langobardok. Hegykő-csoport. In: Bóna I. – Cseh J. – Nagy M. – Tomka P. – Tóth Á.: Hunok – Gepidák – Langobardok. Történeti régészeti tézisek és címszavak. [Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 6.] Ed.: Zimonyi, I. Szeged 1993, 102–115, 148–149.

Bóna 2009 = Bóna, I.: Die Geschichte und die Archäologischen Zeugnisse der Langobarden. In: Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 169–217.

Bóna – B. Horváth 2009 = Bóna, I. – B. Horváth, J.: *Langobardische Gräberfelder in West-Ungarn*. [Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 6.] Eds.: Garam, É. – Vida, T. Budapest 2009.

Brather-Walter 2009 = Brather-Walter, S.: Schlange – Seewesen – Raubvogel? : Die S-förmigen Kleinfibeln der älteren Merowingerzeit. In: *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* Bd. 37 (2009) 47–110.

Brenner 1912 = E. Brenner: Der Stand der Forschung über die Kultur der Merowingerzeit. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 7 (1912) 253–346.

Christlein 1967 = R. Christlein: Ausgrabung eines Gräberfeldes des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts bei Bittenbrunn, Lkrs. Neuburg a. d. Donau. *Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 8/9 (1967/68) 87–103.

Clauss 1989 = G. Clauß: Die Tragsitte von Bügelfibeln. Eine Untersuchung zur Frauentracht in frühen Mittelalter. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 34/2 (1989) 491–603.

Crossings 2022 = F. Kovács, P. (Ed.) *Crossings to the afterworld. Two Gepidic cemetery along the Middle Tisza / Átkelők a túlvilágra. Két gepida temető a Közép-Tisza mentén* [Archaeological Papers of Szolnok / Szolnoki Régészeti Tanulmányok 3.]. Szolnok 2022.

Csallány 1941 = Csallány D.: A szentes-nagyhegyi gepida sírlelet (1939) és régészeti kapcsolatai. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* III. f./II. k. (1941), 127–161.

Csallány 1961 = Csallány, D.: *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken (454–568 u. Z.)* [Archaeologia Hungarica, Series nova 38.]. Budapest 1961.

Csallány 1968 = Csallány D.: Sámáneszköz volt-e az avarkori „ír-tartó csonttégely". *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1966-1967 [1968]) 61–72.

Cseh 2005 = Cseh, J.: Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi. In: Cseh et al. 2005, 18–33.

Cseh et al. 2005 = Cseh, J. – Istvánovits, E. – Lovász, E. – Mesterházy K. – Nagy, M. – Nepper, I. M. – Simonyi, E.: *Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theissgebiet II.* [Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 2. Monumenta Gepidica.] Red.: Bóna, I. – Garam, É. – Vida, T. Budapest 2002.

Dobos 2012 = Dobos, A.: Girdle-hangers decorated with hinged plates from the Gepidic and Early Avar Period in the Carpathian Basin. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 137 (2012) 27–56.

Droberjar 2008 = E. Droberjar: Thüringische und langobardische Funde und Befunde in Böhmen. In: *Kulturwandel* 2008, 1–20.

Dübner-Manthey 1987 = B. Dübner-Manthey: *Die Gürtelgehänge als Träger von Kleingeräten, Amuletten und Anhängern symbolischer Bedeutung im Rahmen der frühmittelalterlichen Frauentracht: Archäologische Untersuchungen zu einem charakteristischen Bestandteil der weiblichen Tracht.* Diss. FU Berlin 1985. Berlin 1987.

Dübner-Manthey 1990 = B. Dübner-Manthey: Zum Amulettbrauchtum in frühmittelalterlichen Frauen- und Kindergräbern. In: *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Lebensbedingungen – Lebensnormen – Lebensformen. Beiträge zu einer internationalen Tagung am Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin 18. bis 21. Februar 1987*. Hrsg.: W. Affeldt. Sigmaringen 1990, 65–87.

Fischer 1993 = T. Fischer: *Das Bajuwarische Reihengräberfeld von Staubing. Studien zur Frühgeschichte im bayerischen Donauraum.* [Kataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung Nr. 26.] Kallmünz 1993.

Freire-Marreco 1908 = B. Freire-Marreco: Charms and amulets (Introductury and Primitive). In: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume III. Ed.: J. Hastings. New York 1908, 392–472.

Friedrich 2002 = R. Friedrich: Fränkische Funde im langobardischen Pannonien – Ein chronologischer Vergleich. *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 34 (2002) 175–190.

Friedrich 2016 = M. Friedrich: *Archäologische Chronologie und historische Interpretation. Die Merowingerzeit in Süddeutschland*. [Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Bd. 96.] Hrsg.: Beck, H. et al. Berlin/Boston 2016.

Galamb 2012 = Galamb, Gy.: Hagyományok vonzásában. Paulus kora, művei, emlékezete. In: *Paulus Diaconus: A langobardok története. Gombos F. Albin fordítását felhasználva közreadja Galamb György*. [Medievalia]. Ed.: Horváth, E. Budapest 2012, 9–50.

Gallina 1999 = Gallina, Zs.: A gepidák hitvilága. In: *A gepidák. Kora középkori germán királyság az Alföldön*. [Gyulai Katalógusok 7.]. Ed.: Havassy, P. Gyula 1999, 91–106.

Hansen 2004 = Ch. Hansen: *Frauengräber im Thüringerreich: Zur Chronologie des 5.und 6. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* [Basler Hefte zur Archäologie 2.] Basel 2004.

Haraszti 2011 = Haraszti, L.: *Gepida amulettek a Kárpát-medencében.* Thesis, University of Szeged, Faculty of Humanities. Szeged 2011.

Haseloff 1981 = G. Haseloff: *Die germanische Tierornamentik der Völkerwanderungszeit. Studien zu Salin's Stil I.* [Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 17, 1–3.] Hrsg.: H. Jankuhn. Berlin 1981.

Heinrich-Tamáska 2008 = Heinrich-Tamáska, O.: Keszthely–Fenékpuszta, Komitat Zala. In: *Die Langobarden. Das Ende der Völkerwanderung (Katalogteil)*. Hrgs.: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Darmstadt 2008, 291–307.

Heinrich-Tamáska – Horváth – Bendő 2018 = Heinrich-Tamáska, O. – Horváth, E. – Bendő Zs.: Before or after AD 568? Technological observations on the gold objects from Grave 2 at Keszthely-Fenéki Street In: *Über den Glanz des Goldes und die Polychromie. Technische Vielfalt und kulturelle Bedeutung vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Metallarbeiten. Akten des 2. und. 3. Workshops des Netzwerks Archäologisch-Historisches Metallhandwerk in Frankfurt am Main, 24.–27. Oktober 2013, und in Berlin, 11.–12. Mai 2017.* [Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Bd 24.] Hrsg.: Heidemarie Eilbracht, H. et al. Bonn 2018, 313–349.

Hergott-Rácz 2023 = Hergott-Rácz R.: S-fibulák a Közép–Duna-vidék langobard korában, II. rész (Kr. u. 6. sz.). *Bonus Nuntium* 2023/2, 58–97.

Horváth 2012 = Horváth, E.: Cloisonné jewellery from the Langobardic Pannonia: Technological evidence of workshop practice. In: *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration.* Eds.: V. Ivanišević – M. Kazanski. Paris – Beograd 2012, 207–242.

Jahreis – Wamser 1982 = B. Jahreis – L. Wamser: Die Ausgrabungen 1982 im Reihengräberfeld von Wenigumstadt, Markt Großostheim, Landkreis Aschaffenburg, Unterfranken. *Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern* 1982, 120–122.

Jarnut 1982 = J. Jarnut: *Geschichte der Langobarden*. Stuttgart, Berlin, Mainz, Köln 1982.

Kiss 2016 = Kiss, A. P.: A germán hiedelemvilág nyomai a Kárpát-medencében. In: *Szent Márton és Pannónia.* Eds.: Tóth, E. et al. Pannonhalma – Szombathely 2016, 161–170.

Kiss 2019 = Kiss, A. P.: Between Wotan and Christ? Deconstruction of the Gepidic belief system based on the written and archaeological sources. In: *Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuität. Gepiden nach dem Untergang des Hunnenreiches. Collapse – Reorganization – Continuity. Gepids after the fall of the Hun Empire.* Hrsg./Eds: T. Vida et al. Budapest 2019, 369–407.

Klanica – Klanicová 2011 = Z. Klanica – S. Klanicová: Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Lužice (Bez. Hodonín). In: *Langobardische Gräberfelder in Mähren* I. Hrsg.: J. Tejral. Brno 2011, 225–312.

Koch 1968 = U. Koch: *Die Grabfunde der Merowingerzeit aus dem Donautal um Regensburg*. [Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit Ser. A. Bd. X.] Berlin 1968.

Koch 1977 = U. Koch: *Das Reihengräberfeld bei Schretzheim*. [Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit Ser. A. Bd.13.] Berlin 1977.

Koch 2001 = U. Koch: *Das alamannisch-fränkische Gräberfeld bei Pleidelsheim.* [Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 60.] Stuttgart 2001.

Koncz 2019 = Koncz, I.: Action and interaction between the Gepids and the Langobards in the sixth century. In: *Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuität. Gepiden nach dem Untergang des Hunnenreiches. Collapse – Reorganization – Continuity. Gepids after the fall of the Hun Empire*. Hrsg./Eds: T. Vida et al. Budapest 2019, 409–429.

Kovács 1913 = Kovács, I.: A mezőbándi ásatások. Őskori telepnyomok és temető, La Téne izlésű temetkezés, népvándorláskori temető. *Dolgozatok* IV. (1913) 265–389.

Kulturwandel 2008 = Hrsg.: J. Bemmann – M. Schmauder: *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa: Langobarden – Awaren – Slawen* (Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 25. bis 28. Februar 2008.) [Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11.]. Bonn 2008.

Kühn 1974 = H. Kühn: *Die Germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in Süddeutschland.* [Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit 11.] Graz 1974.

László 1942 = László, Gy.: Adatok az avarság néprajzához. In: *Emlékkönyv Gerevich Tibor születésének 60-ik évfordulójára*. Budapest 1942, 16–24.

László 1946 = László, Gy: *A népvándorlás lovasnépeinek ősvallása.* Budapest 1946.

Losert – Pleterski 2003 = H. Losert – A. Pleterski: *Altenerding in Oberbayern. Struktur des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes und "Ethnogenese" der Bajuwaren*. Berlin – Bamberg – Ljubljana 2003.

Magnus 2007 = B. Magnus: Die Frau aus Grab 84 von Szentes-Nagyhegy und die gleicharmigen Relieffbibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit. *Communicationes archaeologicae Hungariae* (2007) 175–193.

Martin 1987 = M. Martin: Beobachtungen an den frühmittelalterlichen Bügelfibeln von Altenerding (Oberbayern). *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 52 (1987) 269–280.

Martin 1994 = M. Martin: [Fibel und Fibeltracht]. K. Späte Völkerwanderungszeit und Merowingerzeit auf dem Kontinent. In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde,* Bd. 8. Berlin 1994, 541–582.

Martin 1995 = M. Martin: Tradition und Wandel der fibelgeschmückten frühmittelalterlichen Frauenkleidung. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 38/2 (1995) 629–681.

Martin 1997 = M. Martin: Kleider machen Leute. In: K. Fuchs (Hrsg.): *Die Alamannen*. Stuttgart 1997, 349–356.

Müller 1976 = H. F. Müller: *Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Hemmingen*. [Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 7.] Stuttgart 1976.

Münsterberg 1908 = R. Münsterberg: Römergrab in Mödling. *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 2 (1908) 41.

Nagy 2005 = Nagy, M.: Magyarcsanád–Bökény. In: Cseh et al. 2005, 97–116.

Nagy 2007 = Nagy, M.: *Állatábrázolások és az I. germán állatstílus a Közép-Duna-vidéken (Kr. u. 3–6. század)/ Tierdarstellungen und der germanische Tierstil I im gebiet der Mittleren Donau (3.-6. Jahrhundert n. Ch.)* [Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 5]. Eds.: Garam, É. – Vida, T. Budapest 2007.

Pohl 1994 = W. Pohl: Paulus Diaconus und die „Historia Langobardorum": Text und Tradition. In: *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter. Zwettler Symposion 1993.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32.] Hrsg.: A. Scharer – G. Scheibelreiter. Wien, München 1994, 375–405.

Pohl 2008 = W. Pohl: Migration und Ethnogenesen der Langobarden aus Sicht der Schriftquellen. In: *Kulturwandel* 2008, 1–12.

Quast 2008 = D. Quast: Funde aus dem fränkisch-alamannischen Gebiet im langobardzeitlichen Pannonien. In: *Kulturwandel* 2008, 363–375.

Rácz 2017 = Rácz, R.: Az övcsüngős női sírok amulettjei a pannoniai langobard kori temetőkben/ Amulets of the female pendant-belts in the Pannonian Lombard cemeteries. In: *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis – Acta Iuvenum, Sectio Archaeologica Tomus III.* Eds.: Pintér-Nagy, K. – Bíró, Gy. – Takács, M. Szeged 2017, 61–84.

Rácz 2019 = Rácz, R.: A hit- és a hiedelemvilág régészeti lenyomata a Kárpát-medence nyugati felében élő germán népek területén (Kr. u. 6. század)/Archaeological traces of the religion and the belief of German peoples of the Carpathian Basin (6th century AD). *Létünk* (2019) 109–126.

Schmidt 1961 = B. Schmidt: *Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland.* [Veröff. Landesmus. Vorgesch. Halle 18.] Berlin 1961.

Sorg 2022 = M. Sorg: *Fibelausstattung und Lebensalter in der Merowingerzeit. Studien zu Abnutzung und Gebrauch frühmittelalterlicher Fibeln*. [Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Bd. 129.] Hrsg.: S. Brather et al. Berlin/Boston 2022.

Stadler 1979 = P. Stadler: Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Mödling, Niederösterreich. *Archaeologica Austriaca* 63 (1979) 31–47.

Stare – Vinski 1980 = V. Stare – Z. Vinski: *Kranj. Nekropola iz časa preseljevanja ljudstev* [Katalogi in Monografije 18.] Ljubljana 1980.

Stoll 1939 = H. Stoll: *Die Alamannengräber von Hailfingen in Württemberg.* [Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit 4.] Berlin 1939.

Svoboda 1965 = B. Svoboda: *Čechy v době stěhování národů*. [Monumenta Archaeologica 13.] Praha 1965.

Tejral 2002 = J. Tejral: Beiträge zur Chronologie des frühmerowingischen Fundstoffes nördlich der mittleren Donau. In: *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. [Grundprobleme der Frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mittleren Donauraum 11.] Hrsg.: J. Tejral. Brno 2002, 313–358.

Tejral 2005 = J. Tejral: Zur Unterscheidung des vorlangobardischen und elbgermanisch Iangobardischen Nachlasses. In: *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität.* [Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 9.] Hrsg.: W. Pohl – P. Erhard. Wien 2005, 103–200.

Tejral 2011 = J. Tejral: Zum Stand der Langobardenforschung im Norddanubischen Raum. In: *Langobardische Gräberfelder in Mähren* I. Hrsg.: J. Tejral. Brno 2011, 11–73.

Tharne 1973 = H. Tharne: Amulett. In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Band 1.* Hrsg.: H. Jankuhn – H. Beck – K. Ranke – R. Wenskus. Berlin – New York 1973, 268–269.

Tomka 1980 = P. Tomka: Das germanische Gräberfeld aus dem 6. Jahrhundert in Fertőszentmiklós. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980), 5–30.

Veeck 1931 = W. Veeck: *Die Alamannen in Württemberg.* [Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit 1.] Berlin 1931.

Vida 1995 = T. Vida: Frühmittelalterliche scheiben- und kugelförmige Amulettkapseln zwischen Kaukasus, Kastilien und Picardie. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 76 (1995) 219–290.

Vida 2004 = T. Vida: Pogányság, kereszténység és szinkretisztikus világkép a kora középkorban (Régészeti megfigyelések a kora avar kori ember hitvilágáról). In: *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról.* Ed.: Neumann T. Piliscsaba 2004, 327–349.

Vida 2016 = Vida, T.: Kereszténység a Kárpát-medencében a népvándorlás korában (Kr. u. 5–8. század). In: *Szent Márton és Pannónia.* Ed.: Tóth E. et al. Pannonhalma – Szombathely 2016, 93–106.

Vida 2018 = Vida, T.: *A sztyeppei, a bizánci és a Meroving birodalmak között. Kulturális változások a Kárpát-medence nyugati felén a 6-7. században*. Akadémiai doktori értekezés-Budapest 2018.

Vielitz 2003 = K. Vielitz: *Die Granatscheibenfibeln der Merowingerzeit*. [Europe médiévale 3.] Montagnac 2003.

Walter 2008 = S. Walter: *Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Mengen (Kr. Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald).* [Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München]. München 2008.

Werner 1962 = J. Werner: *Die Langobarden in Pannonien. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der langobardischen Bodenfunde vor 568*. München 1962.

Tables

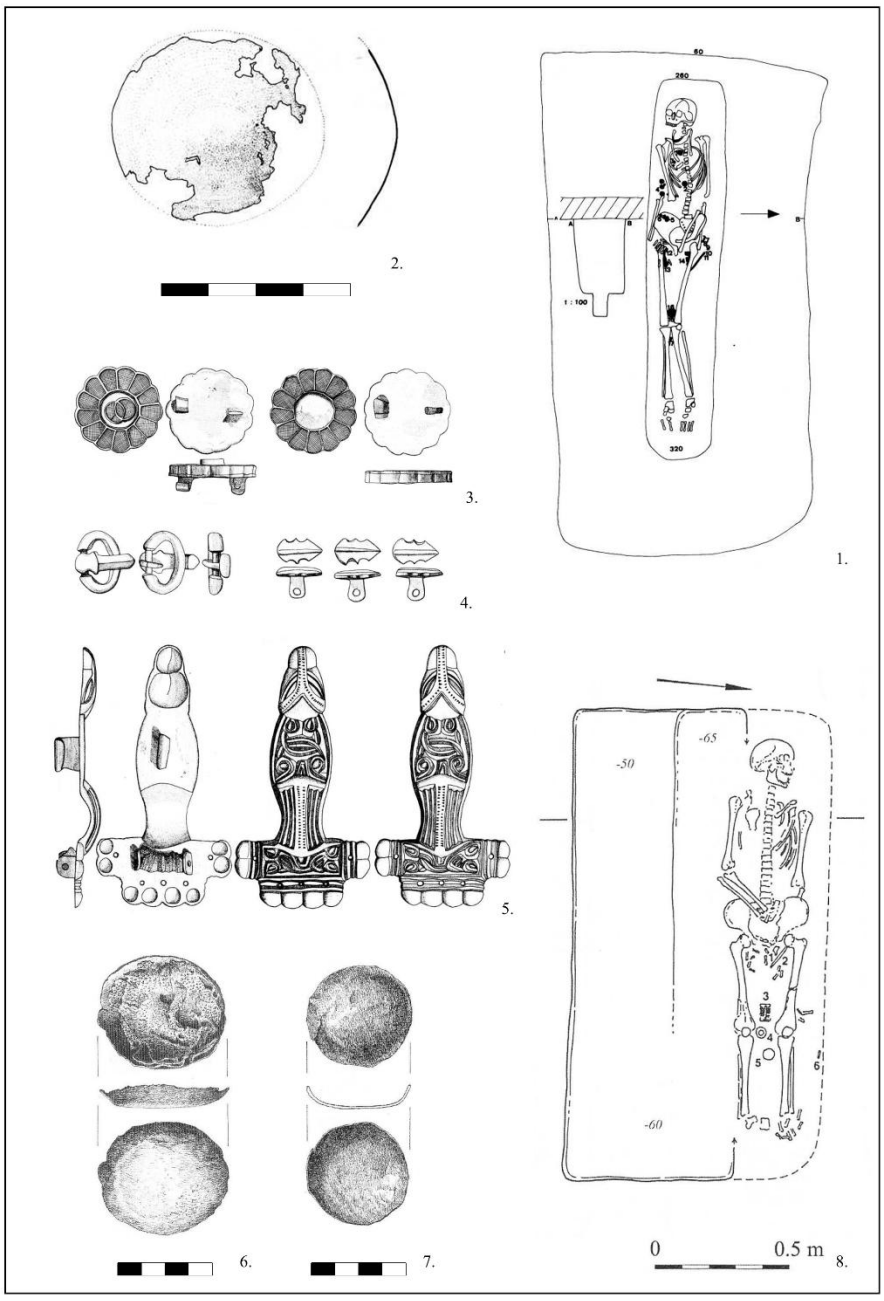

Table 1. Convex bronze plates: 1. Mödling grave 2 (Stadler 1979, 37, Abb. 3:2.) . 2. Convex bronze plate, Mödling grave 2 (Stadler 1979, 39, Abb 4:215). 3. Disc-shaped brooch, Mödling grave 2 (Stadler 1979, 39, Abb 4:201-202). 4. Buckle with shield-shaped thorn, Mödling grave 2 (Stadler 1979, 39, 40, Abb 4:205, Abb 5:206). 5. Bow brooches, Mödling grave 2 (Stadler 1979, 40, Abb 5:212-213). 6. Convex bronze plate, Magyarcsanád–Bökény grave 12(Cseh et al. 2005, 252, Taf. 22:12:1). 7. Convex bronze plate, Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi grave VII/21 (Cseh et al. 2005, 270, Taf. 40:21:4). 8. Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi grave VII/21 (Cseh 2005, 24, Abb. 5:21).

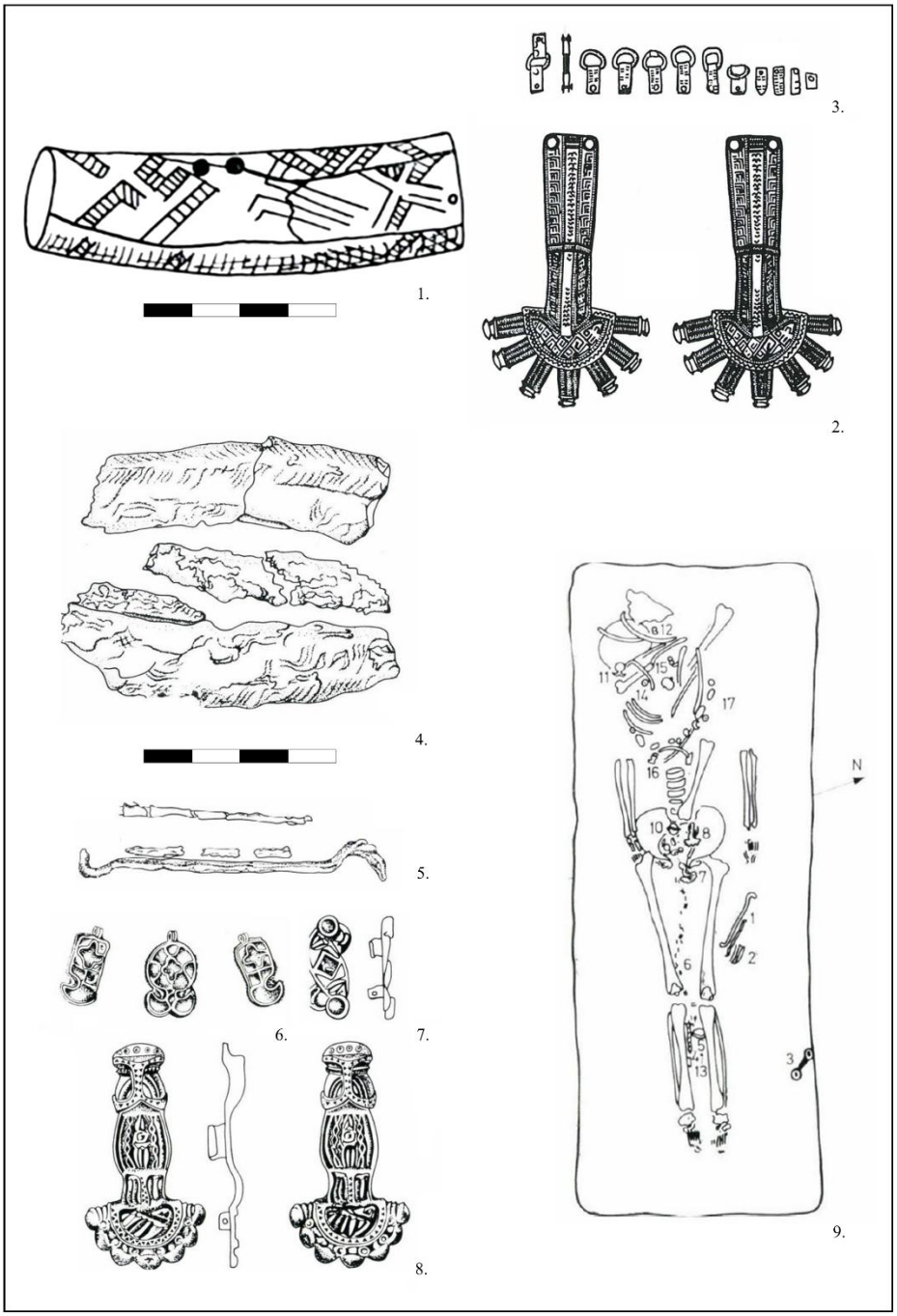

Table 2. Bone or antler tubes: 1. Antler tube, Nikitsch grave 1 (Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 36, Taf. 2). 2. Bow brooches, Nikitsch grave 1 (Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 36, Taf. 2). 3. Girdle hangers decorated with hinged plates, Nikitsch grave 1 (Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 36, Taf. 2). 4. Bone tube, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 15, Abb. 9:6). 5. Iron hooks, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 15, Abb. 9:7–8). 6. Pendants, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 12, Abb. 8:3–5). 7. S-shaped brooch, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 12, Abb. 8:7). 8. Bow-brooches, Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 12, Abb. 8:9–10). 9. Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 11, Abb. 7).

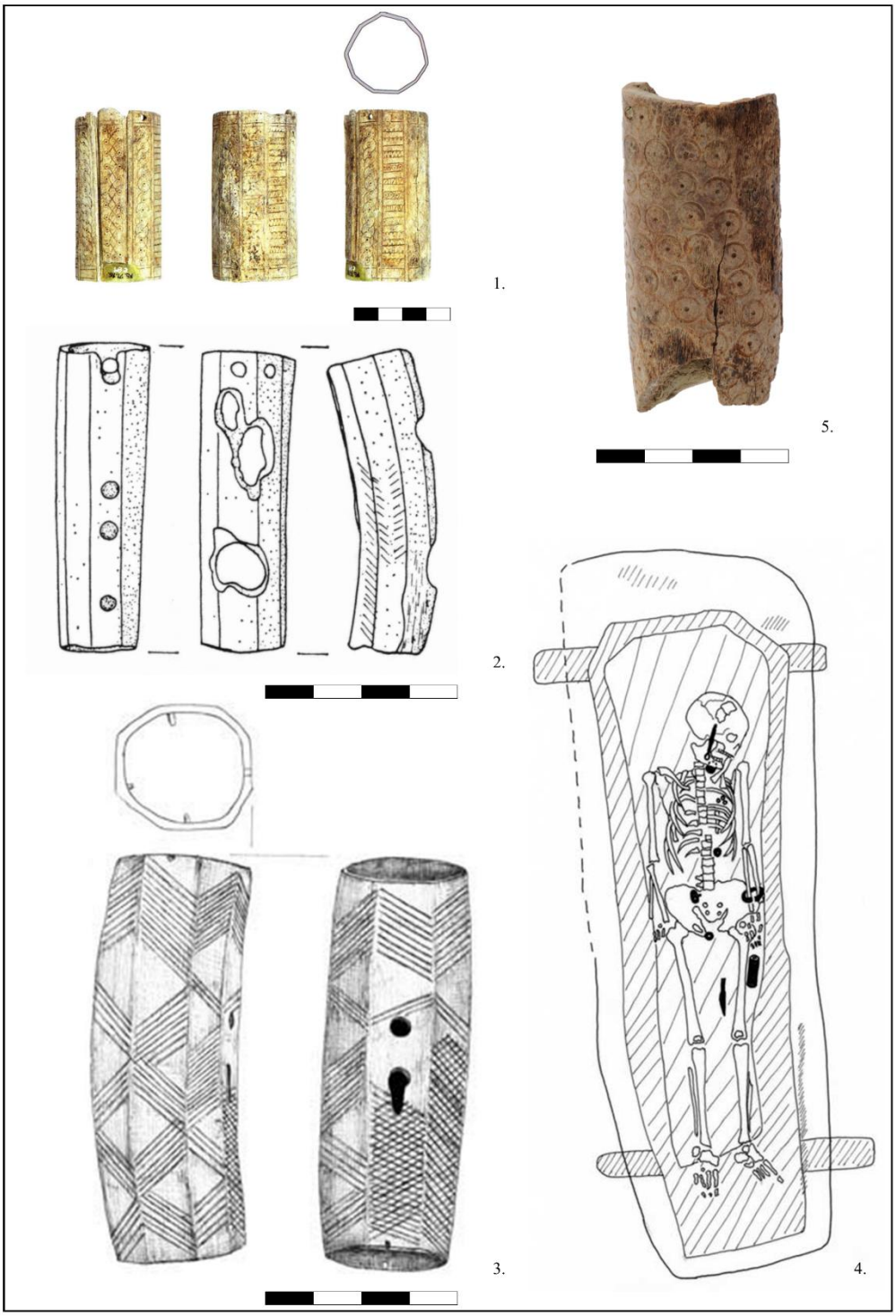

Table 3.Bone or antler tubes and their positions in Merovingian graves: 1. Keszthely–Fenéki Street grave 2 (Heinrich-Tamáska 2008, 305, Cat. 108/4.). 2. Barbing–Irlmauth grave 22 (Koch 1968, Taf. 37:16). 3. Mengen grave 131 (Walter 2008, 278, Taf. 38. B: 5). 4. Mengen grave 131 (Walter 2008, 278, Taf. 38. B). 5. Tiszaug–Országúti bevágás grave 232 (Crossings 2022, 171, Cat. 159.)