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S-shaped brooches from the Lombard age from the Middle Danube, Part II (6th c. AD)

The female costume of the people of the Merovingian era is now well outlined by archaeological and costume reconstruction research. However, as far as the Lombard settlement area, especially the former province of Pannonia, is concerned, both the studies on costume and the typochronology of individual costume elements are insufficient. Despite its frequent occurrence and chronological value, a complete collection and detailed analysis of Pannonian brooches is still lacking in Hungarian archaeological research.

In this paper, I have attempted to describe the S-shaped brooches typical of the Lombard age cemeteries in the Middle Danube Basin, which could later be an important element in the chronology of the European Lombard age, and in the observation of changes in female costume. In the first part of my paper,² I discussed the method of research, the geographical and temporal framework, the grouping and number of small brooches, which will not be repeated in this paper.

One new type of jewellery that appeared in the last third of the 5th century AD were the S-shaped brooches with a carved decoration. The earliest examples probably began to develop in central Germany, south-western Germany and north-eastern France.³ Goldsmith products from Thuringian and North-Danubian roots, such as *Stössen-Záluží* and *Poysdorf* type S-shaped brooches, date to the end of the 5th century AD, so for chronological reasons they were only distributed in the early Lombard settlement area, the Czech-Moravian Basin and Northern

¹ The original Hungarian version of the study was published in the 2023/2 issue of *Bonus Nuntium* (pp. 58–97).

² Rácz 2020, 249–271.

³ Trier 2002, 39–40.

Lower Austria.⁴ After the migration of the Lombards to Pannonia, S-shaped brooches became the most widespread and variable product of their local art of goldsmithing. Jaroslav Tejral drew attention to the difficulties of dating the types of brooches that were widespread in Pannonia in the second half of the 6th century AD in developing the absolute chronology of the Moravian region.⁵ In the case of the S-shaped brooches, although Susanne Brather-Walter⁶ has examined the types in detail in a broader context, a regional analysis of these could be essential for both dating and typological development. The first step of the research is to understand the context of the finds and their certain formal features. Based on these aspects, I will discuss the characteristics and internal chronology of the S-shaped brooches found in the Transdanubian region, with particular emphasis on the comparison with their parallels from the North Danube region.

The S-shaped brooches could be classified into four main typological (I-IV) groups of development, which suggests that on the one hand, a temporal divergence between them can be recorded, and on the other hand, they developed along different styles. Their common characteristic is that – unlike the earliest types – they are made in the so called 'bird-style', with the S-shaped body terminating in a hooked beak bird of prey head.⁷

(For references to the discussed brooches of the Lombard age, see the catalogue: Tables 1–3. For references to the accompanying finds, see the catalogue: Tables 4–8. For a typological guide with a summary of groups, types and variants, see Table 4).

Group I

The long-oval shaped, small, compact brooches with a barely curved body can be classified in the same developmental group (I) (Table 4). Common characteristics include a right-rotating body, silver or copper alloy material and a gold-plated surface. The depiction of a bird of prey is made up of a round head or eye, which can be decorated with stone inlays or simple, protruding from the corpus, and a beak that starts from this and is deepened by chip carving. The latter is small, describes a semicircle and rejoins the body below the head. The body of the brooches is divided into three parts, which may have been decorated by different techniques (cloisonné, chip carving), thus distinguishing three subgroups:

⁴ Rác 2020, 251–256.

⁵ Tejral 2011, 69.

⁶ Brather-Walter 2009, 47–110.

⁷ Brather-Walter 2009, 56. For more on 'bird-style' see Haimel 1998, 90–105; Haimel 1999, 343–346.

(1.) These features describe the so-called *Nikitsch–Kranj* type (Table 4: 1–4; Catalogue 1–4).⁸ From the Pannonian Lombard age, three burials (Fertőszentmiklós–Szeret-dűlő grave 9 and Nikitsch graves 11 and 24) and one sporadic find (Sopron/Scarbantia, Forum) have been excavated. A rectangular stone inlay was placed in the middle of the brooch (Fertőszentmiklós grave 9, Nikitsch grave 11 and grave 24), the space between the bird's head and the central field was either deepened in a wedge shape (Fertőszentmiklós grave 9, Nikitsch grave 24) or decorated with horizontal ribs (Nikitsch grave 11). The decoration of the sporadic find from the former Forum Scarbatiae differs from the typical type: a rectangular field with cross incision protruding from the body imitating the stone inlay (*cloisonné*) technique. The two fields around the centre are filled with horizontal ribs and an engraved wedge-shaped pattern.

The *Nikitsch–Kranj* type from the Lombard age have so far been found only in Pannonia. Tina Milavec cited them from three graves from the Kranj–Lajh (Slovenia) cemetery.⁹ Other parallels, five in all, have been found from the Frankish-Alemannic region of the Upper Danube and from the Bavarians' cemetery at Altenerding (Germany).¹⁰

(2.) The so-called *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci* type (Table 4: 5–6; Catalogue 5–6)¹¹ was found only at the two sites with the same name. The body of the brooch is divided into three fields, the middle field is decorated with a single S-shaped spiral pattern that fills one third of the body, the two outer fields are decorated with horizontal ribs.

From Slovenia, Tina Milavec gave two analogues, one from grave 104 of Kranj–Lajh cemetery¹² and the other from Sveti Lambert^{13, 14}. The type has not yet been found in the Lombard age cemeteries north of the Danube and in Italy. Similarly smaller numbers of pieces identical to the two Pannonian brooches were found in the Bavarian and Alamannic cemeteries, and one was also found in the Frankish settlement area in the Upper Rhine.¹⁵

Joachim Werner was the first to attempt to group these objects, classifying the single spiral patterned ones as *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci*, and the diagonally oriented ones with double

⁸ Werner 1962, 78, Fundliste 6.1.

⁹ Milavec 2007, 339.

¹⁰ Brather-Walter 2009, 90, Liste 5.20.

¹¹ Werner 1962, 76, Fundliste 6.1.

¹² Stare – Vinski 1980, 109, Taf. 39.

¹³ Bitenc – Knific 2001, 81, Kat. 262.

¹⁴ Milavec 2007, 339.

¹⁵ Koch 2001, 554–555.

spirals as *Kipfenberg–Anhausen* variants.¹⁶ Ursula Koch associated the type *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci* in her typology with the variant "simple, single-rolled, diagonally oriented spiral ornamented pieces".¹⁷ Hans Losert has distinguished two variants, the 1, "brooches with spiral and ribbed ornamentation" includes the Pannonian specimens.¹⁸ Susanne Brather-Walter has also created two variants based on decoration, the two Pannonian find meet the requirements of her variant 2, the group of "brooches with diagonal ribs and spiral pattern".¹⁹

Chronology (Group I. Type 1, 2). J. Werner: Pannonian phase, 526/7–568.²⁰ T. Milavec: MDo 5, 540–560.²¹ H. Losert: *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci* type is first quarter of the 6th century AD (500–525),²² *Nikitsch–Kranj* type is first third, half of the 6th century AD (500 to c. 530–540).²³ U. Koch: *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci* type is SD 5, 530–555.²⁴

Regarding the accompanying finds with chronological value (Table 4: 10–12), a *Poysdorf* type S-shaped brooch, which came into fashion in the early 6th century AD, was found in grave 11 at Nikitsch.²⁵ A disc-shaped brooch (type *Nikitsch–Hegykö, Böhner C11*) similarly dated to the first half of the 6th century AD which came to light from grave 24 at Nikitsch.²⁶ Grave 34 in *Várpalota* contained a *Kajdacs 37.–Cividale-Cella/Kranj* type S-shaped brooch which I discuss below. The finds from Fertőszentmiklós grave 9²⁷ might help in the dating of Group I. The find from grave 9 was accompanied by a pair of bow brooches of the so-called *Podbaba–Schwechat*, which can be dated to around the middle of the 6th century AD.²⁸ The deceased also wore a necklace with pendants in the so-called 'bird-style'. Berthold Schmidt (Gruppe IIb, 480–525)²⁹ and Christina Hansen (MD 3–4, 470/80–560/70)³⁰ dated these type of pendants from the late 5th to the mid-6th century AD in Thuringian burials in Central Germany.

¹⁶ Werner 1962, 79.

¹⁷ Koch 2001, 555, Liste 12. 12.5.

¹⁸ Losert – Pleterski 2003, 167–168, Liste A150. 1–2.

¹⁹ Brather-Walter 2009, 87.

²⁰ Werner 1962, 78.

²¹ Milavec 2007, 350.

²² Losert – Pleterski 2003, 167.

²³ Losert – Pleterski 2003, 169.

²⁴ Koch 2001, 76, 218, Abb.15, F15.

²⁵ Rácz 2020, 256.

²⁶ Böhner 1958, 96–97; Friedrich 2002, 178. Chronology see Friedrich 2016, 86, Abb. 42.

²⁷ Brooches from early Merovingian period were found in the cemetery: in the grave „A” is *Kühn 9 type.*, in the grave 4 is *Kühn 6. type* (Kühn 1974, 639–648, 684–689).

²⁸ MDo 5, 540–560, Id. Tejral 2002, 339.

²⁹ Schmidt 1961, 137.

³⁰ Hansen 2004, 60.

Jaroslav Tejral dated the bird-shaped pendants to the middle of the 6th century AD (MDo 5–6, 540–600).³¹

(3.) The brooch of grave 20 of Vörs–Tótok dombja cemetery is related to the shape of the first two types (Group I. Type 1 and 2) (Table 4: 7; Catalogue 7). The body is left-rotating, very wide, hardly curved, without a perforated surface. The round eye, filled with a red stone inlay, and the beak, which is deepened by a wedge, are very small and slightly curved and tapering back in the upper third of the body. The body is decorated with a meander-shaped ornamentation.

The brooch was classified by Susanne Brather-Walter as one of the earliest type, the so-called *Merdingen*,³² but the proportions of the body (broad, barely curved, small head and beak) associated with the similar *Güttingen*³³ type. The latter type spread in the Lombard age in north of the Danube, in Klučov–Český Brod grave 22 (Czech Republic) and Borotice grave 10/VIII (Czech Republic) (Table 4: 8–9; Catalogue 8–9). The brooch from Rifnik grave 57³⁴ from present-day Slovenia could be also listed here.³⁵ Additionally, eight more parallels of the *Güttingen* type known from the Frankish, Alamannic and Bavarian cemeteries, and one example has also been found on the western side of the Rhine in the northern part of present-day France.³⁶

Chronology (Group I. Type 3). S. Brather-Walter listed the type in an early development group (480–550).³⁷ No other finds with chronological value are known from the grave of 40–45 year old female.³⁸

Group II

Group II (Tables 5–7) includes brooches with different characteristics from those of Group I, both in terms of proportions and body structure. The bird of prey depiction in the so-called

³¹ Tejral 2005, 188, Abb. 13. C: 15–17. Their Pannonian dating, based on grave 9 in Fertőszénmiklós, can also be dated to the middle of the 6th century AD. The most recent analysis of the object type see Heinrich-Tamáska – Horváth – Bendő 2018, 321, Fig. 8.

³² Brather-Walter 2009, 89, Liste 5. 18.41.

³³ Brather-Walter 2009, 54, Abb. 2.

³⁴ Bolta 1981, 34, T. 10: 57.

³⁵ Brather-Walter 2009, 86, Liste 5. 10.11.

³⁶ Brather-Walter 2009, 86, Liste 5. 10.

³⁷ Brather-Walter 2009, 60, Abb. 5.

³⁸ I would like to thank Sándor Évinger and Zsolt Bernert for making the age data related to the Vörs cemetery available to me. Their related study: Bernert – Évinger 2006, 31–39.

‘bird-style’ is similar because of the rounded eye and the carved, deepened beak. Although, the latter is heavily curved than on Group I – with a larger arch and frequently with a bulge between the head and the beak (*Nasenwulst*). The body always had the same width, curved like a ribbon, with a large oval-shaped break and with perforations between the head-body-beak. The motifs are symmetrically arranged. These were implemented by various techniques, such as chip carving, cloisonné technique, rarely niello decoration. Their bodies are right- and rarely left-rotating, their material is a silver or copper-based alloy, and their surface is gilded. These features characterized both Pannonian and later Italian goldsmith products. A total of five types belong to this group:

(1.) The body of the *Kajdacs 37.–Cividale Cella*³⁹ or *Kranj*⁴⁰ type (Table 5: 1–5) generally consists of three fields: in the middle of the body, a series of wedge-shaped triangles (10 pieces) is bordered on both sides by longitudinal ribs (3–4 pieces).

Susanne Brather-Walter did not determine the typological antecedent of the type.

The brooches from Pannonia, from *Kajdacs* grave 37 and from *Szentendre* grave 43 are complement the basic shape (Variant 1) (Table 5: 1, 2; Catalogue 10–11). A closely identical piece with a more curved beak, with a left-rotating body and with a triangle decoration on the whole body (Variant 2) came to light from *Várpalota* grave 34 (Table 4: 3; Catalogue 12).

This type did not appear in the cemeteries north of the Danube, the only similar brooch with triangle motif was found in grave 102 in *Lužice* (Table 4: 4; Catalogue 13). Several similar brooches are known from the western European cemeteries, some of these associated with the Lombards: three graves from *Kranj*⁴¹ and grave 12⁴² in *Cividale–Cella* in Italy. From the western Merovingian culture, there is only one site so far, in Bavaria, from the grave 195B *Pocking–Inzing* (Germany).⁴³

Chronology (Group II. Type 1) T. Milavec: MDo 5, 540–560.⁴⁴ U. Koch: SD 5–6, 530–580.⁴⁵

³⁹ Bierbrauer 1993, 132.

⁴⁰ Brather-Walter 2009, 66, 88, Liste 5. 15.

⁴¹ *Kranj–Lajh* grave 133., grave 349. and an unknown grave (*Stare – Vinski* 1980, Taf. 47. 4–5., Taf. 105. 13., Taf. 135. 11).

⁴² Fuchs – Werner 1950, Taf. 32. B1.

⁴³ Brather-Walter 2009, 88, Liste 5. 15:3.

⁴⁴ Milavec 2007, 349–350.

⁴⁵ Koch 2001, 76, Abb. 15. F64.

Tina Milavec classified the type as one of the earliest forms⁴⁶ of S-shaped brooches with chip carving because of the simple triangular motif, but associated its form and the type of animal head with the later *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* type (Group II. Type 3).⁴⁷ Ágnes B. Tóth pointed out that in the cases we know, the type was worn by remarkably older women (Szentendre 65-75 years old, Várpalota 50-59 years old, Lužice around 50 years old). This may suggest that these jewels may have been worn over several decades.⁴⁸ However, in the light of current research, no such correlation between the age of the deceased and the time of wearing can be established.⁴⁹ The Kajdacs find assemblage cannot be dated with other finds. Ágnes B. Tóth dated the Szentendre find to the middle of the 6th century AD.⁵⁰

The brooch pair unearthed from Tamási–Csikólegelő grave 23 differs from above two variants (Table 5: 5; Catalogue 14). The body is left-rotated, wider and larger. The characteristic bird of prey depiction can be observed on the lower head, with the upper beak/tail broken sharply in a right angle. The animal's head with a right-angled orifice, has a semicircular appendage in the lower third of the body, representing a foot or fin. The series of triangles visible all over the body is enclosed by two longitudinal ribs, one decorated with a so called 'wolf-tooth' motif and the other with horizontal parallel notches. Its long-term use is evidenced by the fact that it is heavily worn, especially one example with missing stone inlays and completely worn edges of the cell walls.

The S-shaped brooch is closely related to the find from grave 57⁵¹ of the Rifnik cemetery. One of its closest parallel is a less elaborate sporadic brooch of poorer quality found in the village of Grad Stalać (Serbia), in the fortress of Ukosa on the eastern bank of the South Morava (Table 5: 6).⁵² The animal depiction is most akin to so-called *Herpes* type animal-shaped brooch, which bend in an S-shape to depict a sea creature with a gaping mouth, pointed ears, thinning tail and fins. These were widespread in the Merovingian culture from the end of the 5th to the first third of the 6th century AD⁵³ and a type was found in grave 54 in Lužice (Table

⁴⁶ See footnote 2.

⁴⁷ Milavec 2007, 349–350.

⁴⁸ B. Tóth 2018, 501.

⁴⁹ See Sorg 2022, especially pp. 251–257.

⁵⁰ B. Tóth 2018, 510.

⁵¹ Bolta 1981, 34, Taf. 10. 57.

⁵² A pincer bow brooch was also found in the area of the fortress. According to Ivanišević and Bugarski, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Germanic foederati and/or their wives who settled in the area may have included persons of Lombard origin (Ivanišević – Bugarski 2019, 296–297).

⁵³ Koch 2001, 74, Abb. 14: X24.

5: 9).⁵⁴ Associated with this form and decoration is the later S-shaped brooch type with cloisonné decoration on the entire body (Group IV), consisting of a combination of two animals from graves Tamási 52 and Kranj 170 (Table 5: 7–8).

Other accompanying finds from grave 23 of Tamási connect the burial to Thuringian Central Germany and north of the Danube. The S-shaped brooch was unearthed together with a pair of so-called pincer brooch (“*Zangenfibel*”) dating back to the 5th century AD.⁵⁵ The latter – like the find under discussion – is heavily worn and shows a long period of use. The assemblage also included a 'raised' pot with a depressed belly and a biconical pot which are also associated with the pottery of the Thuringian and North Danube region. These were predominantly prevalent in the region from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century AD (Table 5: 10).⁵⁶

(2.) The body of the S-shaped brooches from graves 2 and 3 of the Mohács–Farostlemezgyár víztározója cemetery is divided into three parts: the body is decorated with horizontal ribs in a rectangular field in the middle and longitudinal ribs on both sides (Table 5: 11–12; Catalogue 15–16). The heads of the birds from grave 2 is decorated with red stone inlays, while the heads from grave 3 is protruding from the corpus. These were described by Volker Bierbrauer as a separate type, *Mohács 2.,3.–Cividale-San Giovanni 166*.⁵⁷ The S-shaped brooch of grave 17 of Vörs–Tótok dombja cemetery has a slightly wider oval shape, the body is divided into three parts, with a rectangular stone inlay set in the middle (Table 5: 14; Catalogue 17). The body is ribbed lengthwise, similar to the Mohács brooches, with a decorative line filled with niello running along the middle rib. The beak is connected to the center line of the stone inlay. Susanne Brather-Walter classified the Vörs find as a *Mohács* type.⁵⁸

The typological classification of the three brooches and their parallels is not uniform in the archaeological literature.

Volker Bierbrauer classified both the brooches with stone inlays and those with a central rib as *Mohács 2.,3.–Cividale-San Giovanni 166*. type.

⁵⁴ Similar animal figures on *Cléry A-C* type S-shaped brooches, common east of the Rhine, these are later than the *Herpes*-type see Koch 2001, 250, Abb. 104.

⁵⁵ MDo 3–4, 470/80–540/550, see Tejral 2005, 185, Abb. 10.

⁵⁶ Hansen 2004, 131, 133, Abb. 136–137; Tejral 2005, 185, Abb. 10. C.

⁵⁷ Bierbrauer 1993, 130.

⁵⁸ Brather-Walter 2009, 90, Liste 5. 14: 19.

Susanne Brather-Walter assigned only those with a stone inlay in the centre to the type she called *Mohács* – although this decoration could not be found among the finds from Mohács cemetery.

Despite the combination of different goldsmithing techniques (Mohács: chip carving, cloisonné; Vörs: chip carving, cloisonné, niello), for the purpose of easier handling, I have defined the three brooches as two variants of one type (hereinafter: *Mohács* type).

The parallel of the brooches from Mohács cemetery (Variant 1) was found in the Moravian Basin, in grave 61 of Lužice, which body was ribbed along its length, the location of the stone inlays was delimited by cutting across the longitudinal strips, with a double rib decoration (Table 5: 13; Catalogue 18). A fragment identical to the Mohács one was found in Italy, at the Cividale–San Giovanni site.⁵⁹

The decoration of the Vörs find (Variant 2) and the composition of the decorative elements could be compared with the brooches of the southern German region. According to the distribution maps of Hans Losert and Susanne Brather-Walter, these are mainly grouped in the Alamannic settlement area, infrequently near the Bavarians and around the upper Rhine.⁶⁰ A brooch made in the same composition as the Vörs find is known from Vranovice in the Bohemian Basin. The shape of the two brooches, the head-body-beak proportions are identical (Table 5: 15; Catalogue 19). A similar piece, without niello inlay, was discovered in Slovenia, from grave 160⁶¹ of Kranj–Lajh.

Chronology (Group II. Type 2). J. Tejral: MDo 4, 510/520–540/550.⁶² U. Koch: SD 5–6, 530–580.⁶³ H. Losert: from the first third of the 6th century to the middle of the century (525–550).⁶⁴

The dating value of the accompanying finds is decisive in the case of grave 2 in Mohács, in which the remains of a young female (15-16 years old) were found. A vessel with stamped decoration typical of the second half of the 6th century AD was found in the grave.⁶⁵ The bow

⁵⁹ Bierbrauer 1993, Taf. 9. 5.

⁶⁰ Losert – Pleterski 2003, 170, Verbreitungskarte 18; Brather-Walter 2009, 88, Liste 5.17.

⁶¹ Stare – Vinski 1980, Taf. 54. 160: 6–7.

⁶² Tejral 2005, 186, Abb. 11. C: 1.

⁶³ Koch 2001, 76, Abb. 15. X7.

⁶⁴ Losert – Pleterski 2003, 169, 174.

⁶⁵ MDo 5–6, 540–600, ld. Tejral 2005, 188, Abb.13. B: 10.

brooch of so-called *Harmignies–Mohács* 2. type with the depiction of Animal style I⁶⁶ and with the meander braid were probably made after the middle of the 6th century AD.⁶⁷ The brooch of the elderly female (63-72 years old) is much simpler and heavily worn, additionally no other finds with a chronological value were found in the burial (Table 5: 16). The S-shaped brooch from Vörs grave 17 (female aged 40-45) was paired with a bird-shaped brooch with a chip carving decoration. The latter find could be dated from the mid-5th to mid-6th centuries (450–550) AD, based on Michael Friedrich’s chronology.⁶⁸ The S-shaped brooch is less worn, while the bird-shaped shows evidence of a longer period of wear. The find assemblage is dated to the second half of the 6th century AD by a vessel with stamped decoration (Table 5: 17).⁶⁹

(3.) In Pannonia, one of the leading forms of S-shaped brooches is the so-called *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* type⁷⁰ (Table 6: 1–12; Catalogue 20–33). The characteristic ribbon-like body is divided into seven parts. A square cell is formed in the center of the body, with a triangular cell on either side, with a red stone inlay. Between the stone inlays the body is decorated with four longitudinal ribs. I have listed other brooches, which could probably derived from the basic form.

Susanne Brather-Walter considers it to be a further development of the *Nikitsch–Kranj* type.⁷¹

Based on the excavations so far, a total of 11 burials from Pannonia have been unearthed, and one additional pair of brooch is known from the former Delhaes-collection (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest). A basic type with a left-rotated body is also known from Pannonia, from grave 32 of Keszthely–Fenékpuszta–Horreum cemetery.⁷²

Brooches from only two burials be distinguished from the basic type (Gyirmót–Homokdomb grave 24, Tamási–Csikólegelő grave 50; Table 6: 2, 8). The triangular cells with inlays of the former can be replaced by multiple triangular ribs, and a characteristic stone inlay

⁶⁶ Nagy 2007, 63.

⁶⁷ The formal features (ribbed knobs with a rectangular headplate, rectangular animal-head shaped footplate) are associated with the western Merovingian brooches, especially from Rhineland, like *Kühn type 33* (Kühn 1974, 1018). Margit Nagy considers the Animal style I decoration to be a local influence (see footnote 66). U. Koch dates it to the decades around the middle of the 6th century AD and after (Koch 1998, 287-288).

⁶⁸ Friedrich 2002, 138. Earlier „mit stark gebogenem Schnabel und scharf ausgeprägtem kerbschnitt”, see Thiry 1939, 138.

⁶⁹ See footnote 66.

⁷⁰ Werner 1962, 76, Fundliste 6.2.

⁷¹ Brather-Walter 2009, 60, Abb 5.

⁷² Peters et al. 2014, 351, Abb. 8.

decorated the middle of the body. The head of the bird protrudes from the corpus instead of the stone inlay and is decorated with point-shaped punched ornament. The brooch from Tamási decorated by horizontal ribs on the original locations of the stone inlays.

The cited type is not common north of the Danube. It found from Lužice grave 55, which could be classified as a subtype or a typologically further developed piece (Table 5: 13; Catalogue 32). A difference is visible in the zigzag lines bordering the central stone inlay. In addition to the brooches that were once identifiable as items of costume, a bronze brooch model or moulding sample from grave 3 in Mušov is noteworthy, which Jaroslav Tejral believes suggests that the type was produced locally (Table 6: 14; Catalogue 33).⁷³ The *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* type came to light from 11 graves from territory of Slovenia.⁷⁴ Furthermore, these were also transported to Italy during the migration and was sporadically found in the burials of the first generation. In the “new homeland” they were probably no longer made locally, other S-shaped brooches were in fashion.⁷⁵ They are known from a large number of Frankish, Alamannian and Bavarian row cemeteries, 26 in all,⁷⁶ and might have been made by local workshops and/or craftsmen. A relatively large number of sub-types that can be compared with the Gyirmót (grave 24) find have been found in present-day Slovenia.⁷⁷ A further one or two pieces were spread in the southern German region, in the Elbe region and west of the Elbe.⁷⁸ Susanne Brather-Walter has given the *Schretzheim 587* type name to brooches like the Tamási find, which can be counted as imitations in the Pannonian milieu. They were not widespread in the Lombard area, being mostly concentrated between the Elbe and the Rhine and east of the Rhine.⁷⁹

Chronology (Group II, Type 3). J. Werner: Pannonian phase (526/27–568).⁸⁰ J. Tejral: MDo 5, 540–560.⁸¹ Ch. Grünwald: Stufe 2–3 (545–590/600).⁸² U. Koch: SD 6, occasionally SD 7, 555–580.⁸³ S. Brather-Walter: after the middle of the 6th century AD.⁸⁴

⁷³ Tejral 2011, 59.

⁷⁴ Milavec 2007, 339.

⁷⁵ See Bierbrauer 1993, 129.

⁷⁶ Brather-Walter 2009, 96–97, Liste 5. 37.

⁷⁷ The ornamentation is identical to the brooch of Zidani Gaber, see Bitenc – Knific 2001, 44, Kat. 263.

⁷⁸ See Brather-Walter 2009, 97, 107, Liste 5. 37. Variante 2, Karte 4.

⁷⁹ Brather-Walter 2009, 60, Abb. 5. 107, Karte 4.

⁸⁰ Werner 1962, 43.

⁸¹ Tejral 2005, 188, Abb. 13. B: 5.

⁸² Grünwald 1988, 70, 200.

⁸³ Koch 2001, 78, Abb. 16. X33.

⁸⁴ Brather-Walter 2009, 60, Abb. 5.

In Pannonia, the find assemblages with the *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* type represent a variety of time horizons:⁸⁵

The motif (spiral pattern turning in two directions, rhombus with four segments), the design and the structure (chip carving, buttons mounted separately on the head plate, plastic two-part animal head with almond-shaped eyes) of the bow brooch found in Szentendre grave 85 are related to the Middle Danube region and the interacting Thuringian Central Germany. The so-called *Oberwerschen* type bow brooch was found in the grave next to female aged about 50-60 years (Table 6: 15). Christina Hansen dated the type from the last third of the 5th century to the first third of the 6th century AD (MD 3, 470/80-530), but extended their use to the last third of the 6th century AD (MD 3, 530–560/70).⁸⁶

Of the two bow brooches from grave 33 in Szentendre (female aged 35-45), one is a rhombic footplate with a horizontal spiral decoration, common among the Gepids⁸⁷ of the Carpathian Basin and the Ostrogoths⁸⁸ of Italy (hereinafter: *Grottmare–Pavia–Szentes–Brigetio* type), dating from the second half of the 5th century AD to the 500s AD. The other specimen is a so-called *Rácalmás 2.–Keszthely*⁸⁹ type with a square head plate, an oval foot plate, decorated with a square braid pattern, which is typical in Pannonia from the middle of the 6th century AD (Table 6: 16).⁹⁰

The discussed S-shaped brooches together with the geometric ornamented, meander braided, multi-buttoned bow brooches – latest types in Pannonia – could be dated to the second half of the 6th century AD (Bezenye grave 20, Várpalota grave 1; Table 6: 17, 18).⁹¹

(4.) The S-shaped brooch type developed from *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* is the so-called *Várpalota 19*. They have the same body structure but different ornamentation. The

⁸⁵ Most of the find assemblages contain common types of artefacts (spindle knobs, combs, iron knives, ornamental pendants, etc.), which do not have an independent dating value due to their long use.

⁸⁶ Hansen 2004, 32–33.

⁸⁷ István Koncz linked the Lombard brooch to the Tisza region of the late 5th and 6th century AD. In his analysis of Lombard-Gepidic relations he described the Gepidic parallels, see. Koncz 2019, 411.

⁸⁸ A larger series of this type of brooches is known not only from the Gepidic but also from the East Gothic environment of northern Italy (Bierbrauer 1975, 108–114). Another specimen of the same type as the Szentendre brooch was found in Pannonia in the area of Brigetio (Kiss 1981, 206-207, Fig. 7.1).

⁸⁹ Werner 1962, 66, 168, Fundliste 4.1.

⁹⁰ MDo 5, 540–560 (see Tejral 2011, 54). In South Germany: Koch 1998, 286–287, 706, Karte 20. Fundliste 20.

⁹¹ Bezenye–Papréti grave 20: together with *Várpalota 17.–Bezenye 20.* type or *Várpalota 17.–Cividale-Cella* type (Tejral 2002, 345; Bierbrauer 1993, 126). *Várpalota–Unió homokbánya* grave 1: together with *Várpalota 1.–Castel Trosino G* type (Bierbrauer 1993, 126). For more on dating see: Bierbrauer 1993, 126; Rupp 1995, 74, Textabb. 7; Tejral 2002, 345.

latter is not decorated with ribs, but with elements of the Animal style I (animal thighs, claws). Variant 1 of the *Várpalota 19.* type spread after the second half of the 6th century AD, and Variant 2 in the last third of the century.⁹²

(5.) The brooches came to light from Bezenye–Papréti grave 73 and Hegykő–Mező Street grave 65 were made in the same design (hereafter *Bezenye 73.–Hegykő 65.* type) (Table 7: 1, 2; Catalogue 34–35). While the shape of the Bezenye find is reminiscent of the characteristic ribbon-like body, the Hegykő find has a slightly wider oval shape, similar to the later cloisonné ornamented examples (Group IV). The entire surface of the body is filled with a carved pattern in the Animal style I, except for the stone inlay of the head and the deepened beak. The brooch from Hegykő is decorated with depictions of multiple animal thighs facing the bird-shaped head, which connected in the middle by several vertical ribs (body/claws?). The brooch pair from Bezenye shows ribbon-like details suggestive of the looped decoration of Style I.⁹³

The ribbon-like animal figures also appeared on the S-shaped brooches of the *Várpalota 19.*, *Várpalota 17.*, *Schwarzrheindorf*, *Unterlauchringen* and *Schleithelm–Hebsack* types (Table 7: 3–5).⁹⁴ The latter four types were the products of goldsmithing of late 6th century with much larger in size, decorated with stone and niello inlays in several places.⁹⁵ The closest parallel to the Bezenye find is the S-shaped brooch from grave 786 in Straubing,⁹⁶ which has the same shape as that of Group II, an elongated, ribbon-like body depicting a bird of prey (Table 7: 6). The loops on the body of the brooch are twisted like a braid, which may form a transition to the ribbon braid depictions of the Animal style II. The find assemblage can be dated to the last decades of the 6th century AD.⁹⁷

Overall, the bearers of the Animal style I composition appeared in Pannonia in the second half of the 6th century AD, so the appearance of the type can be assumed to be in this time as well. The accompanying finds do not specify the dating the Bezenye grave. However,

⁹² I will not describe the type and the date. These have been previously described in two papers together with the relevant data: Rácz 2022, 250–255, 2–5. kép; Rácz – Hergott 2022, 82–87.

⁹³ Similar motifs are known from the *Várpalota 19* types: some parts of the animals can be observed on the animals of the bow brooches from Nordendorf (Germany), Straubing grave 76 (Germany) and Bopfingen grave 129 (Germany) and on brooches made in the Lombard Animal style I. See Haseloff 1981, Abb. 371, 382.

⁹⁴ Brather-Walter 2009, Liste 5. 31, 36, 43, 44.

⁹⁵ Brather-Walter 60, Abb. 5.

⁹⁶ Geisler 1998, Taf. 291. 786: 3.

⁹⁷ Dating based on the Animal style II and the bow brooch. The latter has an analogy in the South German region that can be dated to the end of the century (SD 7, 580–600. See Koch 2001, 79, Abb. 17. X63).

it should be noted that the condition of the brooch is a heavily worn and broken. A bow brooch with trapezoidal footplate was discovered in the Hegykő grave (Table 7: 7), which can be dated to the early Merovingian period, from the end of the 5th century to the first third of the 6th century AD.⁹⁸ The dating of the bird-shaped brooch paired with the S-shaped one cannot be specified within the 6th century AD.⁹⁹ A bronze buckle with shield-shaped base and punched decoration was also found in the burial, which is typical of the western Merovingian culture from the second third of the 6th century AD.¹⁰⁰

Group III

(1.) Group III includes one type, the so-called *Sarching*¹⁰¹ (Table 7). The body consists of two drop-shaped members, connected in the middle by two ribs or a square-shaped cell with stone/garnet inlay. The drop-shaped part of the body is decorated with triangular wedge-shaped carvings and horizontal ribs. The lower beak, starting from a round head filled with stone inlay, bends onto the middle element, while the upper beak bends onto the drop-shaped element. Their material is a silver- or copper-based alloy, their surface is gilded, and their body is almost always turned to the left.

The centre of a brooch from Gyöng-Vásártér Street grave 5 is decorated with a rectangular cell (Table 7: 8; Catalogue 36). A sporadic find from the Lombard cemetery of Velké Pavlovice, Moravia, has two parallel ribs in the centre (Table 7: 9; Catalogue 37).

Two brooches from Slovenia belong to this type, known from burials 292¹⁰² and 336¹⁰³ at Kranj-Lajh. It was also found in the burials of the immigrant generation in the Lombard period in Italy:¹⁰⁴ three specimens from an unknown site in Cividale,¹⁰⁵ and one each from the tombs of Cividale-Gallo 4.¹⁰⁶ and Cividale-San Giovanni 154.¹⁰⁷ According to Susanne Brather-Walter's research, the type was also found in Frankish, Bavarian and Alemannic

⁹⁸ Kühn 6. type (Kühn 1974, 683–686). For the dating see Losert – Pleterski 2003, 127.

⁹⁹ The bird depicted in flight, from the front, has its formal antecedents in the eagle-shaped brooches common in Italy, southern France and the Iberian Peninsula. Their 6th-century Germanic variants are most common in the northern part of present-day France (Thiry 1939, 56–57).

¹⁰⁰ Koch 2001, 76, Abb 15. X69.

¹⁰¹ Werner 1962, 78.

¹⁰² Stare – Vinski 1980, Taf. 88. 292: 6.

¹⁰³ Stare – Vinski 1980, Taf. 102. 336: 2.

¹⁰⁴ Keim 2007, 90.

¹⁰⁵ Fuchs – Werner 1950, Taf. 32. B9–11.

¹⁰⁶ Bierbrauer 1993, 132.

¹⁰⁷ Brather-Walter 2009, 93–94, Liste 5. 29.

cemeteries, in about 34 burials. Although some researchers have suggested that the type is of Lombard origin,¹⁰⁸ but its greatest concentration is recorded in the cemeteries of the Upper Danube region in southern Germany.¹⁰⁹

Chronology (Group III. Type 1). J. Werner: Pannonian phase (526/27–568).¹¹⁰ U. Koch: Stufe III, 565–590/600;¹¹¹ SD 6, 555–580.¹¹² S. Brather-Walter: Second half of the 6th century AD.¹¹³ J. Tejral: MDo 5–6, 540–600.¹¹⁴

Regarding the dating value of the accompanying finds, it is not negligible that all of the Lombard burials found next to the early Avar graves¹¹⁵ in Gyöngk cemetery. These Lombard graves could be dated to the second half or last third of the 6th century AD. From grave 1 a bow brooch made in the Animal style I, the so-called *Cividale-Cella-Gyöngk I.* type¹¹⁶ has a chronological value. From grave 2 and grave 5 vessels with stamped decorations¹¹⁷ could be dated to the second half of the century (Table 7: 10). The Velké Pavlovice deposit has no context, but it should be pointed out that the cemetery is one of the latest sites in the Moravian Basin, which was in use in the second half of the 6th century AD.¹¹⁸

Group IV

The S-shaped brooches with cloisonné decoration on their entire body, forming Group IV, were grouped and analyzed in detail by Eszter Horváth, therefore I will not discuss them in current paper.¹¹⁹

From a chronological point of view, it should be noted that the *Tamási 52.–Kranj 170.* (1.) (Table 7: 11; Catalogue 38), the *Rácalmás 2., 20.–Cividale-Gallo 9.* (2.)¹²⁰ (Table 7: 12–14; Catalogue 39–41), the *Rácalmás 16.–Cividale-Cella* (3.)¹²¹ (Table 7: 15; Catalogue 42), the so-called *paragraph-shaped* brooches (4.) (Table 7: 16–17; Catalogue 43–44) and the *Keszthely*

¹⁰⁸ Koch 1977, 65.

¹⁰⁹ Keim 2007, 90.

¹¹⁰ Werner 1962, 78.

¹¹¹ Koch 1977, 36, Abb. 8A.

¹¹² Koch 2001, 78, Abb. 16. X34.

¹¹³ Brather-Walter 2009, 60. Abb. 5.

¹¹⁴ Tejral 2005, 188, Abb. 13. B: 4.

¹¹⁵ Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 26.

¹¹⁶ See more: Nagy 2007, 65; Bierbrauer 1993, 121.

¹¹⁷ Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 237, Taf. 2. 2.

¹¹⁸ Grave 9, see Werner 1962, Taf. 18. 4. For dating see footnote 66.

¹¹⁹ Horváth 2012, 207–272.

¹²⁰ Bierbrauer 1993, 146; Keim 2007, 93.

¹²¹ Bierbrauer 1993, 145.

17.–Vörs 21. (5.) (Table 7: 18; Catalogue 45) type specimens could all be dated from the second half of the 6th century AD.¹²²

Among them, the *Rácalmás 16.–Cividale-Cella*, the *paragraph-shaped* and the *Keszthely 17.–Vörs 21.* type specimens could be dated from the last third of the 6th century AD, and are the latest Lombard age finds in the region.¹²³ This group includes the most elaborate works of Pannonian Lombard cloisonné art, and is also the final stage in the development of S-shaped brooches.

Although previous research has discussed the characteristics of the group in detail, their chronology is also supplemented and confirmed by accompanying finds:

The *Tamási 52.–Kranj 170.* type was found together with a pair of shoe buckles with shield-shaped base and rectangular belt buckles from the Tamási–Csikólegelő grave 52 (Table 8: 1). Based on western Merovingian analogies the type dates from the second third to the middle of the 6th century AD.¹²⁴

The *Rácalmás 2., 20.–Cividale-Gallo 9.* type was unearthed from the Rácalmás–Újtelep grave 2 with a *Rácalmás 2.–Keszthely* type bow brooch, which can be dated to the second half of the 6th century AD in the region (Table 8: 2).¹²⁵

A vessel with stamped decoration was discovered in grave 5 of the Mohács–Farostlemezgyár cemetery which could be dated above to the second half of the 6th century AD (Table 8: 3).¹²⁶

The Rácalmás–Újtelep grave 16, contained a four-brooch set with *Rácalmás 16.–Cividale-Cella* type S-shaped brooch and a pair of bow brooches with unique design (hereinafter: *Rácalmás 16.*), which bears stylistic features typical of the second half and last

¹²² Brather-Walter 60, Abb. 5. Slovenia: MDo 6, 555–600, see Milavec 2007, 350. Italy: Zeitstufe II, 590–610, see Rupp 1995, 75, Textabb. 7. Southern Germany: SD 6, 555–580, see Koch 2001, 76, Abb. 15. X35.

¹²³ Dating see *Rácalmás 16.–Cividale-Cella*: Keim 2007, 91–92; Brather-Walter 2009, 60, Abb. 5. *Paragraph*: Brather-Walter 2009, 60. *Keszthely 17.–Vörs 21.*: Heinrich-Tamácska 2004, 173; Brather-Walter 2009, 50, 60, Abb. 5.

¹²⁴ Shoe buckles with triangular belt fasteners and a shield base appeared in the second half of the century, see Koch 2001, 46, 78, Fig. 16 X81; Friedrich 2016, 102–103, Fig. 51. The rectangular strap fastener with simple buckles appeared in the western Merovingian circle after the first third of the 6th century AD, and in female costume they were mainly used as shoe buckles. See Koch 1977, 14, 37, 77–79, Fig 8B. 16; Friedrich 2016, 121, Fig. 61.

¹²⁵ See footnote 92.

¹²⁶ See footnote 67.

third of the 6th century AD and widespread in the Upper Danube region and northern Italy (Table 8: 4).¹²⁷

The set of *paragraph-shaped* brooches from Kajdacs–Homokbánya grave 2 was completed by a filigree-decorated disc-shaped brooch¹²⁸ and a pair of bow brooch made in the Animal style I (Table 8: 5). The latter, dating from the second half of the 6th century AD, bears Pannonian stylistic features.¹²⁹

From Vörs–Tótok dombja grave 32 a spherical shaped glass pendant was discovered with herringbone decoration, which probably only appeared north of the Alps around 540/550 AD, in Alamannic, Frankish, Bavarian, Lombard and Thuringian graves (Table 8: 6).¹³⁰

From grave 21 of Vörs–Tótok dombja cemetery, a *Várpalota 19.* type S-shaped brooch accompanied the *Keszthely 17.–Vörs 21.* type S-shaped brooch, dating to the second half of the 6th century AD (Group II, Type 4) (Table 8: 7).

Internal chronology, regional differences

Summarizing the chronological assessments, we can conclude that the brooches from *Group I* (*Nikitsch–Kranj, Várpalota 34. –Vinkovci*) may have appeared relatively early, in the first third of the 6th century AD. These might have been the earliest S-shaped brooches of the Pannonian Lombard's, along with early *Poysdorf* type. The period of their use could be dated to around the middle of the 6th century AD, on the basis of the grave 9 at Fertőszentmiklós.

The origin of the group is questionable: although Type 1 (*Nikitsch–Kranj*) did not appear in large numbers in the western Merovingian circle, Type 2 (*Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci*) was concentrated in Frankish and Alamannic cemeteries. Their insignificant number in the Lombard

¹²⁷ The type of animal head that closes the footplate has western Merovingian origin, see *Kühn 37*, so-called *Andernach–Kent* type, second half of the 6th century AD (*Kühn 1974*, 985–988, pl. 292. See *Gundersheim* (ibid. 37,1), *Andernach* (ibid. 37,5), *Kärlich* (ibid. 37,6), *Löhnberg a. d. Lahn* (ibid. 37,7); *Koch 1998*, 308). For a head plate parallel see. *Klepsau tomb 33*, mid-6th century, 6th or 7th decades (*Koch 1990*, 151–154); similarly in the South German chronological phases: *SD 6*, 555–580 (*Koch 2001*, 78, fig. 16. X58). The floral composition of the footplate is closest to the axially symmetrical arrangement of volute decorative images surrounding and facing geometric (circular and rhombic) figures in Lombard period Italian brooches, see *Fig. Cividale*, *Fuchs – Werner 1950*, Taf. 4. A22, A23.

¹²⁸ It is closest to *Vielitz D6* and *D8*. Their dating starts from the first third of the 6th century AD, while more complex filigree works similar to the Kajdacs are typical of the Merovingian material until the end of the century (*Vielitz 2003*, 75–76).

¹²⁹ So called *Bezenye 8.–Kajdacs 2.–Tamási 6.* (*Tejral 2002*, 345). See more *Bierbrauer 1993*, 119–121; *Haseloff 1981*, 679–688; *Nagy 2007*, 74.

¹³⁰ *Trier 2002*, 72; *Losert – Pleterski 2003*, 257. See more: *Sasse – Theune 1996*, 195, 221.

age cemeteries suggests that they may not be local products. Not only the quantity, but also the variability and wide distribution of the other brooches (Group II) with ribbon-like bodies, which are found in relatively large numbers, raise questions about the local production of these types. Their typological ancestry cannot be traced in the row cemeteries from the territory of the former Lombard Kingdom, in the Bohemian and Moravian Basin. These brooches formed a group with independent formal features, so the small number in Pannonia cannot necessarily be explained by their early dating.

The Danube-related trade and connections between the western Merovingian and Lombard areas was already emphasized by Joachim Werner and has been analyzed in further work over the last 20 years.¹³¹ The local production of these brooches remains an open question, which cannot necessarily be answered by a typological work.

The *Güttingen* type (Type 3) from Vörs grave 20 is an individual specimen which, in my opinion, can be regarded as an import.

Variants 1 and 2 of Type 1 of *Group II* (*Kranj* type) were probably in use at the same time as Group I after the first third of the 6th century AD. The find assemblages after the middle of the 6th century AD no longer contained them.

The S-shaped brooch from grave 23 of Tamási–Csikólegelő (Group II, Type 1, Variant 3) differs to some extent from both the Group II and Variants 1 and 2 of the type, representing an independent developmental direction with its unique animal figures. These animal depictions with pointed ears, fins and sometimes a snout were shown on the western Merovingian animal-shaped brooches, (e.g. *Herpes* type), but they also appeared on the later Pannonian S-shaped brooches with cloisonné decoration (see Tamási grave 52). It is questionable whether it appeared as an independent, internal development or as a recurrent, external, western Merovingian influence. The other finds of the burial (pincer brooch and ‘Thuringian’ type vessels) are related to the horizon of the North-Danubian row cemeteries starting from the last third of the 5th century AD. It is uncertain when the costume was put together and when it can be dated. Due to the animal depiction itself and the early nature of the find assemblage, the Tamási find should be dated to the period before the middle of the 6th century AD, to the second third of it.

¹³¹ Werner 1962, 60–63; Keim 2007, 145–158; Quast 2008, 363–375.

The so-called *Mohács* type (Group II, Type 2) is dated to the second third of the 6th century AD based on analogies. Regarding Pannonia, based on the evidence of two graves (Mohács grave 2, Vörs grave 17), we can also assume a later date, around the middle of the century.

One of the best represented period of Lombard settlement in Pannonia is the second half of the 6th century AD. This is also the period when the S-shaped brooches of so-called *Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye* type were produced, which were the most numerous of all types in Pannonia (Group II, Type 3). The predominant majority of specimens from neighbouring areas did not correspond to the basic form (Lužice grave 55, Slovenia), and can be treated either as imitations or as typologically more advanced variants. In Pannonia, they appeared in assemblages of finds dating back to the mid-6th century AD and in burials containing the latest bow brooches. Although their period of use seems to be enduring, they were most commonly worn in Pannonia around the middle of the century, and were replaced in the second half of the century by the *Várpalota 19.* type (Group II, Type 4).

Some types of the S-shaped brooches with cloisonné decoration (Group IV, Types 1–2) and *Bezenye 73.–Hegykö 65.* type (Group II, Type 5) with Animal style I also came into a fashion in the second half of the century. The earliest appearance of these types can be assumed to be at the same time as the *Várpalota 19.* Variant 1 and the bow brooches of Animal style I.

Presumably, the *Sarching* type (*Group III*, Type 1) of Upper Danube origin can also be dated to this horizon, based on both external comparison and local finds.

The last Pannonian find assemblages contained the *Várpalota 19.* type Variant 2 (Group II, Type 4) and the other cloisonné decorated S-shaped brooches (Group IV, Types 3–5), which could be dated from the last third of the 6th century AD.

The Wearing of S-shaped Brooches in the Lombard Age

The position of the brooches could be known from undisturbed graves and from those that had not disturbed in the chest area. The paper included 28 graves (Tables 1–3), except only 15 prove

to be undisturbed around the upper body (Table 9).¹³² In this paper I would not discuss the role of brooches, as already published in Part I of current study.¹³³

In almost all cases, S-shaped brooches were worn in pairs – either of the same type – or in some cases in combination with a different type¹³⁴ of small brooch. Based on the number and combination of small and bow brooches, the following wearing patterns can be distinguished in Pannonia (Table 9):

1. Costume with a single or pair of small brooch(es) occurred in three undisturbed burials (Table 8: 9). Furthermore, for four re-opened burials the opening was observed only in the area of the thighs, in the presumed location of the bow brooches. Five more burials of unknown disturbance could be listed here, from which two small brooches occurred.¹³⁵

Although the bow brooch(es) was not found, the belt-loop could be observed in almost all cases.¹³⁶

The age of death could be determined in two cases, one burial contained the remains of an adult (Mohács grave 5) and the other a senile (Szentendre grave 43) female.

This type of costume is already dated by the earliest small brooches of Group II, which emerged after the first third of the 6th century AD, and by the brooches of the Group IV, which emerged in the second half of the 6th century AD.

2. In Hegykő grave 65 a pair small brooches and a single bow brooch occurred. The bow brooch on the pelvis is a striking phenomenon in the cemeteries of NW Pannonia (Table 8: 10).¹³⁷ The adult (adultus) female could have been buried in the middle of the 6th century AD at the earliest, based on the S-shaped brooch.

¹³² Of the 28 cemeteries concerned, they are found to be disturbed: Bezenye grave 73 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 19–20, Abb. 4); Borotice grave 10/VIII. (Stuchlík 2011, 102–103, Abb. 11. 8); Fertőszentmiklós grave 9. (Tomka 1980, 11–16, Abb. 7); Kajdacs grave 37. (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 74–75, Abb. 46); Lužice grave 55., grave 61., grave 102. (Klanica–Klanicová 2011, 259–260, 263–265, 292–293, Abb. 26., Abb. 28., Abb. 44.); Mohács grave 2., grave 3. (Kiss – Nemeskéri 1964, 98–108, Abb. 3., Abb. 4.); Vörs grave 17., grave 20., grave 21., grave 32. (SÁGI 1964, 371–373, 375–378, 385, Abb. 15–16., Abb. 22–23., Abb. 31.)

¹³³ Rác 2020, 256–257.

¹³⁴ More rarely, a combination of two different small brooches may occur: .Cat. 2., 3., 5., 12., 17., 35.

¹³⁵ Nikitsch grave 11. (Cat. 2); Nikitsch grave 24. (Cat. 3); Várpalota grave 4/b. (Cat. 29); Várpalota grave 34. (Cat. 5, 12); Vörs grave 17. (Cat. 17).

¹³⁶ With the exception of Nikitsch grave 11 (Cat. 2). For two brooch costumes see. Strauss 1992, 91–141.

¹³⁷ István Bóna explained the costume he attributed to the „Hegykő group” by the different ethnic character of the local groups and/or the different type of clothing (short skirts) (Bóna 1993, 128). For more on the problem of the Hegykő group, see. Koncz 2014, 71–98; Tomka 2016, 185–190. There may have been chronological reasons for the existence of this type of clothing. The costume with two small brooches and a single bow brooch dating back to the second half of the 5th century AD and typical of the early Merovingian period (Strauss 1992, 119–121). A bird-shaped one and a bow brooch dated from the early Merovingian period in grave 65 at Hegykő also indicates

3. A set of four brooches (so-called four-brooch costume, two small and two bow brooches) was observed in nine burials.¹³⁸ The bow brooches were always placed one under the other with the head plate facing downwards, and they closed or decorated the clothes and/or the belt-loops between the thighs (Table 8: 11).¹³⁹

The four-brooch costume was found in the case of females of the ages of juvenil (Mohács grave 2), adult-mature (Szentendre grave 83) and mature (Szentendre grave 85).

This costume occurs in burials dating from the second third of the 6th century AD, but is predominantly characteristic of the mid-6th century AD.

Some cemeteries are either lack of documentation or have outdated grave descriptions, e.g. from early 20th century excavations. Grave 20 in Bezenye is of unknown disturbance, revealing a pair of bow brooches and a single small brooch (Cat. 20).¹⁴⁰ Várpalota grave 29 was similarly of unknown disturbance, contained only a single S-shaped brooch (Cat. 30). A piece of S-shaped brooch was discovered from the inner side of the left thigh in grave 5 in Gyöng, but due to re-opening the grave it cannot be evaluated as a type of costume (Table 8: 8). In the case of the burials cited from the Moravian Basin, the original position of the brooches cannot be observed.

In almost all of the cases the pair of small brooches were worn on the upper part of the body, around the neck and the chest. The upper one was positioned around the cervical vertebrae or the mandible, centred, possibly slightly offset to the right or left direction. The lower was placed on the chest, in the upper or middle third of it, rarely in the lower third. These also show a slight shift in both directions. Despite the small displacements, the position of the small brooches suggests a uniform cape or upper garment fixed high on the chin and high on the

this. The early nature of the costume is not affected by the fact that an S-shaped brooch in Animal style I, dating from around the second half of the 6th century AD, was also (probably later) included in the brooch set. The individual brooches were not necessarily worn at the same time, and the methods of acquisition are discussed in detail in Sorg 2022, 254–257.

¹³⁸ In addition to the documented and/or undisturbed burials, this category also includes grave 9 at Fertőszentmiklós, grave 2 at Mohács and grave 1 at Várpalota cemeteries (Cat. 1, 15, 28). For more information on the four-brooch costume see. Schach-Dörries 2005, 349–357.

¹³⁹ There was previously no consensus in research on their function, and this is still largely unclear. It is debated whether they had an actual role as a garment fastener or whether they were worn as a belt hanging ornament with representational value, or perhaps in combination with these functions to emphasise ethnicity. For related literature see. Clauss 1989, 491–515; Martin 1991; Martin 1994, 545, 549, 551; Koch 1998 (especially Koch 1998, 515).

¹⁴⁰ Sőtér 1893, 210–222.

chest.¹⁴¹ The garment was closed either vertically or horizontally by the S-shaped brooch(es).¹⁴² This type of costume is also observed in the earliest and latest types (Groups II–IV).¹⁴³

In recent years, careful restoration of the finds and textile archaeology have brought new insights into the type and closure of the garments, making many details of the reconstruction more concrete.¹⁴⁴ In several cases, a textile strap was found on the back of the brooches and eyelets sewn into the edge of the dress. Brooches were therefore not passed directly through the fabric, but through eyelets to protect the textile and the jewellery. The brooches were further secured by knotted leather bands running around the needle. In addition, it was observed that the pearl necklaces were covered with a fine textile, which was also corroded on the bottom of the small brooches. This fine textile, which functioned as an outer garment, also appeared repeatedly on the upper side of the bow brooches from the same grave. These finds suggest the reconstruction of an open, light-weight cloak, at least knee-length, closed at the neck and chest by a small brooch.¹⁴⁵

The comparison of the ages of death indicated in Tables 1 to 3 does not give a representative picture, as few values are available. The brooches are distributed between juvenile and senile ages and the outliers of adult and mature ages should be highlighted (Table 9). This is in line with the proportions observed in the western Merovingian region, especially for the four-brooch costume.¹⁴⁶

Summary

The Lombard chronology of the former province of Pannonia, i.e. the western part of present-day Hungary, can be developed using other typochronologies, such as the Middle Danube Basin or the western Merovingian. This can be achieved by a detailed analysis of the best dated group of finds, the brooches. The S-shaped brooches were one of the most popular garment-closing jewellery of the Lombard age, as is shown by the number and variety of finds and their well-observed typological and chronological development.

¹⁴¹ Martin 1991, 643; Martin 1994, 544–545.

¹⁴² They were usually in a vertical direction, in three cases clearly oriented horizontally: grave 33 in Szentendre, grave 18 in Tamási and grave 30 in Tamási. In some cases, the possible displacement of the textile makes the method of closure unclear.

¹⁴³ The same is true for the late 5th and early 6th century AD *Stößen-Záluží* and *Poysdorf* type S-shaped brooches (Rácz 2020, 257–258).

¹⁴⁴ Sorg 2022, 84.

¹⁴⁵ Bartel 2005, 36; Gutschmiedl-Schümann 2010, 90; Sorg 2022, 85.

¹⁴⁶ Stauch 2008, 275–296.

Some of the S-shaped brooches that developed after the first third of the 6th century AD in the so-called ‘bird-style’ can be interpreted either as imports (*Güttingen*, perhaps *Várpalota 34.–Vinkovci*) or as local types (*Mohács*, *Kranj*, perhaps *Nikitsch–Kranj*). However, from around the middle of the 6th century AD onwards, the majority of small Pannonian brooches are of types that were the product of local goldsmiths (*Schwechat–Pallersdorf/Bezenye*, *Várpalota 19.*, some types of cloisonné decorated specimens). The probably non-local finds and certain formal features suggest a strong connection with the Upper Danube area, not only due to the transfer of goods, but also to the many cultural contacts.¹⁴⁷

Their attire conforms to the contemporary Merovingian fashion, a uniformed model that emerged at the end of the 5th century AD, which refers to a cloak or outer garment fastened under the chin and on the chest. This was sometimes supplemented with bow brooch(es) on the lower part of the body. The model could be traced up to the end of the 6th century AD in Pannonia and later in Slovenia and northern Italy. Based on the chronological classification of the finds, the characteristic four-brooch costume appeared in Pannonia from the second third of the 6th century AD, but most find assemblages containing four brooches could be dated from the middle of the 6th century AD.

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¹⁴⁷ See Quast 2008, 363–375.

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Tables

| Catalogue | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------|----------------|------------------------|------|-----|--|---|--|
| Nm. | Cemetery, grave nm. | age | Code (Gr. Ty.) | Type | L | W | Accompanying find | Chronology | Bibliography |
| 1 | Fertőszentmiklós-Szeret dűlői h.b. 9. | x | I.1. | Nikitsch-Kranj | 2,6 | 1,2 | Podbaba-Schwechat Cloisonné pendants | 2nd half of the 6th c. MD 3-4, MDo 5-6 | Tomka 1980, 12, Abb. 8. 7. |
| 2 | Nikitsch 11. | x | I.1. | Nikitsch-Kranj | 2,4 | 1,3 | Poysdorf | MDo 4 | Beninger - Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 38, Taf. 4. 8.156. |
| 3 | Nikitsch 24. | x | I.1. | Nikitsch-Kranj | 2,4 | 1,4 | Nikitsch-Hegykö | AM Ib-II | Beninger - Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 39, Taf. 5. 68.182-183. |
| 4 | Scarbantia, Forum, spor. | x | I.1. | Nikitsch-Kranj | x | x | x | x | Gömöri 1986, 364, Abb. 20. |
| 5 | Várpalota-Unió homokbánya 34. | | I.2. | Várpalota 34.-Vinkovci | x | x | Várpalota 34.-Kranj | In the paper | Bóna 1956, 191, Taf. XXIX. 5. |
| 6 | Vinkovci, spor. | x | I.2. | Várpalota 34.-Vinkovci | x | x | x | x | Werner 1962, 159, Taf. 36. 33. |
| 7 | Vörs-Tótok dombja 20. | 40-45 | I.3. | Güttingen | 2,5 | 1,4 | x | x | Sági 1963, 47, 24. kép 7-8. |
| 8 | Ključov-Český Brod 22. | 25 | I.3. | Güttingen | x | x | x | x | Kudrnáč 1953, Obr. 213; Droberjar 2008, 17, Abb. 11. 7. |
| 9 | Borotice 10/VIII. | x | I.3. | Güttingen | 2,75 | 1,5 | x | x | Stuchlík 2011, Taf. 3. 10/VIII:1. |
| 10 | Kajdacs-Homokbánya 37. | x | II.1.1. | Kranj | 2,4 | 1,8 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 262, Taf. 27. 37: 2. |
| 11 | Szentendre-Pannoniatelep 43. | 65-75 | II.1.1. | Kranj | 2,3 | x | Vessel, stamped decor. | 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 280, Taf. 45. 43: 2., 7. |
| 12 | Várpalota-Unió homokbánya 34. | x | II.1.2. | Kranj | x | x | Várpalota 34.-Vinkovci | In the paper | Bóna 1956, Taf. XXIX. 6. |
| 13 | Lužice 102. | kb. 50 | II.1. | Kranj | 2,3 | 1,8 | x | x | Klanica - Klanicová 2011, 416, Taf. 76. 102: 1. |
| 14 | Tamási-Csikólegelő 23. | x | II.1.3. | Kranj | 3 | 2,2 | Pincer brooch Vessel | MDo 3-4 MDo 3-4 | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 300, Taf. 65. 23: 4., 5. |
| 15 | Mohács-Farostlemezgyár v.t. 2. | 15-16 | II.2.1. | Mohács | 2,3 | 2,1 | Harmignies-Mohács 2. Vessel, stamped decor. | 550/60-600 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Kiss - Nemeskéri 1964, Abb. 5. 1. |
| 16 | Mohács-Farostlemezgyár v.t. 3. | 63-72 | II.2.1. | Mohács | 2,2 | 2,4 | x | x | Kiss - Nemeskéri 1964, Abb. 8. 8a-b. |
| 17 | Vörs-Tótok dombja 17. | 40-45 | II.2.2. | Mohács | 2,5 | 1,4 | Bird-sh. brooch Vessel, stamped decor. | 450-550 MDo 5-6 | Sági 1963, 47, 24. kép 3-4. |
| 18 | Lužice 61. | 30-40 | II.2.1. | Mohács | 2,9 | 2,2 | x | x | Klanica - Klanicová 2011, 390, Taf. 57. 61: 2. |
| 19 | Vranovice, spor. | x | II.2.2. | Mohács | 3,5 | 2,4 | x | x | Matoušková 2015, 217-219, Obr. 8., 9. |

Table 1: Catalogue.

| Catalogue | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------------------|------|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Nm. | Cemetery, grave nm. | age | Code (Gr. Ty.) | Type | L | W | Accompanying find | Chronology | Bibliography |
| 20 | Bezenye-Papré 20. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 3 | 2,5 | Várpalota 17.-Bezenye 20. | MDo 6 | Bóna 1956, 192, Taf. XLV. 1. |
| 21 | Gyirmót-Homokdomb 27. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | x | x | x | x | Tomka 2005, 262, Abb. 7. 2. |
| 22 | Schwechat 2. | 30-50 | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,5 | 1,7 | x | x | Seracsin 1936, 528-529, Abb. 8. |
| 23 | Szentendre-Pannoniatelep 33. | 35-45 | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 3,5 | 3,1 5 | Rhombic foot-pl, spiral decor. | 2nd half of the 5th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 277, Taf. 42. 33: 8., 9. |
| | | | | | | | Rácalmás 2.-Keszthely | MDo 5 | |
| 24 | Szentendre-Pannoniatelep 85. | 50-60 | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,9 | 2,3 | Oberwerschen | MD 3-4 | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 292, Taf. 57. 85: 11., 12. |
| 25 | Tamási-Csikólegelő 18. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 3,1 | 2,2 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 298, Taf. 63. 18: 4., 5. |
| 26 | Tamási-Csikólegelő 30. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,9 | 2,5 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 306, Taf. 71. 30: 4., 5. |
| 27 | Tamási-Csikólegelő 50. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,75 | 2,3 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 313, Taf. 78. 50: 1., 2. |
| 28 | Várpalota-Unió homokbánya 1. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | x | x | Várpalota 1.-Castel Trosino G. | MDo 6 | Bóna 1956, Taf. XXVII. 3, 4. |
| 29 | Várpalota-Unió homokbánya 4/b. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,7 | 2,3 | x | x | Bóna 1956, Taf. XXIII. 1, 2. |
| 30 | Várpalota-Unió homokbánya 29. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,9 | 2,4 | x | x | Bóna 1956, Taf. XXV. 10. |
| 31 | MNM, Delhaes Collection | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | x | x | x | x | Bóna 1956, Taf. LII. 6, 7. |
| 32 | Lužice 55. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | 2,4 | 2,3 | x | x | Klanica - Klanicová 2011, 388, Taf. 55. 55: 33. |
| 33 | Mušov-Roviny 3. | x | II.3. | Schwechat-Pallersdorf | x | x | x | x | Tejral 2011, 61, Abb. 26. 2. |
| 34 | Bezenye-Papré 73. | x | II.5. | Bezenye 73.-Hegykő 65. | 2,7 | 1,9 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 313, Taf. 78. 50: 1., 2. |
| 35 | Hegykő-Mező u. 65. | x | II.5. | Bezenye 73.-Hegykő 65. | 2,2 | 1,8 | Kühn 6. | End of the 5th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 250, Taf. 15. 65:3. |
| | | | | | | | Bird-sh. brooch | 6th cent. | |
| 36 | Gyöng-Vásártér u. 5. | „teenager” | III.1. | Sarching | 2,7 | 2,3 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 237, Taf. 2. 5: 5. |
| 37 | Velké Pavlovice, spor. | x | III.1. | Sarching | x | x | x | x | Tejral 1976, 87, Abb. 28. 9, Taf. VIII. 7. |

Table 2: Catalogue.

| Catalogue | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-------|----------------|------------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Nm. | Cemetery, grave nm. | age | Code (Gr. Ty.) | Type | L | W | Accompanying find | Chronology | Bibliography |
| 38. | Tamási-Csikólegelő 52. | x | IV.1. | Tamási 52.-Kranj 170. | 3,5 | 2,2 | Shoe buckle | 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 314, Taf. 79. 4., 5. |
| 39. | Mohács-Farostlemezgyár v.t. 5. | 23-28 | IV.2. | Rácalmás 2., 20.-Cividale-Gallo 9. | 2,5 | 2,7 | Vessel, stamped decor. | 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Kiss - Nemeskéri 1964, 112, Abb. 10. 1., 2. |
| 40. | Rácalmás-Újtelep 2. | x | IV.2. | Rácalmás 2., 20.-Cividale-Gallo 9. | 2,5 | 2 | Rácalmás 2.-Keszthely | MDo 5 | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 267, Taf. 32. 2: 5. |
| 41. | Rácalmás-Újtelep 20. | x | IV.2. | Rácalmás 2., 20.-Cividale-Gallo 9. | 2,5 | 2 | x | x | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 271, Taf. 36. 20: 2., 3. |
| 42. | Rácalmás-Újtelep 16. | x | IV.3. | Rácalmás 16.-Cividale-Cella | 3,8 | 3,1 | Rácalmás 16. | Middle and the last 3rd of the 6th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 269, Taf. 34. 16: 3. |
| 43. | Kajdacs-Homokbánya 2. | x | IV.4. | Paragraph | 3,2 | 2,6 | Bezenye 8.-Kajdacs 2.-Tamási 6. | 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Bóna - B. Horváth 2009, 255, Taf. 20. 2: 4. |
| 44. | Vörs-Tótok dombja 32. | 35-40 | IV.4. | Paragraph | 3,4 | 2,6 | Glass bead, heringbone pattern | After 540/550 | Sági 1963, 62, 51/b. kép |
| 45. | Vörs-Tótok dombja 21. | 40-45 | IV.5. | Keszthely 17.-Vörs 21. | 2,8 | 2 | Type Várpalota 19 Varant 1 | 2nd half of the 6th cent. | Sági 1963, 51, 32. kép |

Table 3: Catalogue.

| Typology | | |
|----------|---|---|
| Groups | Types | Variants |
| I | 1. Nikitsch-Kranj | x |
| | 2. Várpalota 34.-Vinkovci | Werner: <i>Várpalota 34.-Vinkovci</i> Koch: <i>simple, single-wound, diagonal spiral</i> Losert: <i>Variant 1 with spiral and ribs</i> Brather-Walter: <i>Vaiant 2 with diagonal ribs and spiral</i> |
| | 3. Güttingen | x |
| II | 1. Kajdacs 37.-Cividale-Cella/Kranj | 1: triangulars between ribs 2: triangle rows 3: quadrupeds/reptiles and birds of prey, with a triangular row on the body |
| | 2. Mohács 2.,3.-Cividale-San Giovanni 166./Mohács | 1: carving with ribs 2: carving with ribs, stone inlay |
| | 3. Schwechat-Pallersdorf | x |
| | 4. Várpalota 19. | 1: spiral decoration 2: complex motifs |
| | 5. Bezenye 73.-Hegykő 65. | x |
| III | 1. Sarching | x |
| IV | 1. Tamási 52.-Kranj 170. | x |
| | 2. Rácalmás 2., 20.-Cividale Gallo | x |
| | 3. Rácalmás 16.-Cividale Cella | x |
| | 4. Paragraph-shaped | x |
| | 5. Keszthely 17.-Vörs 21. | x |

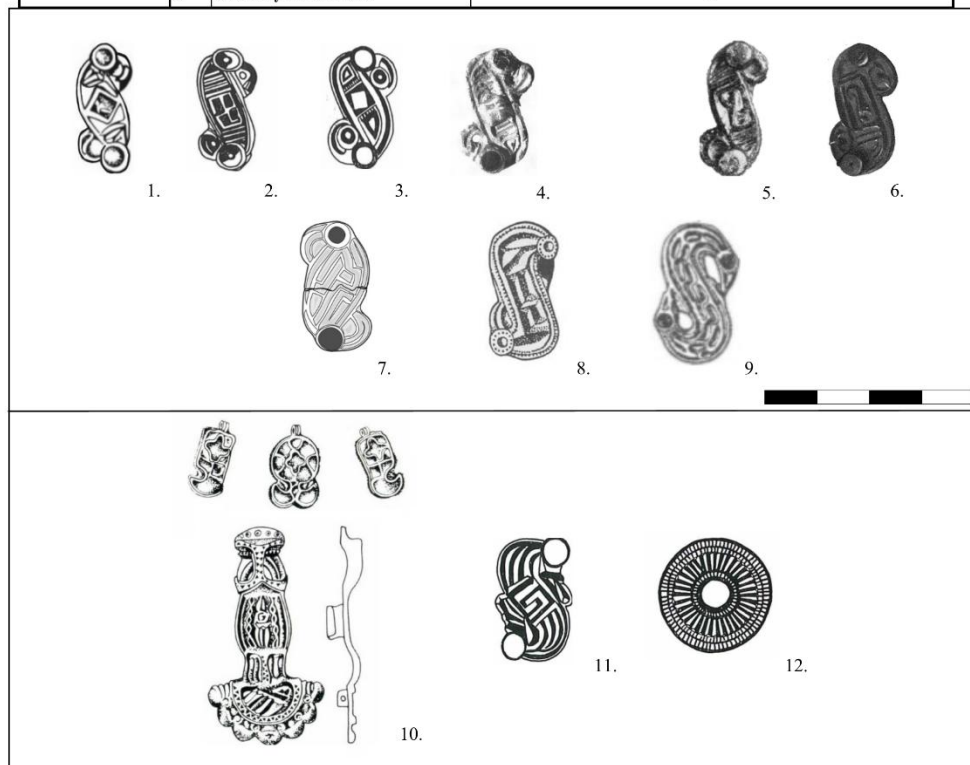


Table 4. The typology of S-shaped brooches in Lombard age, Pannonia. 1–12: Group I and accompanying finds of chronological value. 1. Fertőszentmiklós grave 9 (Cat. 1); 2. Nikitsch grave 11 (Cat. 2); 3. Nikitsch grave 24 (Cat. 3); 4. Scarbantia, Forum (Cat. 4); 5. Várpalota grave 34 (Cat. 5); 6. Vinkovci (Cat. 6); 7. Vörs grave 20 (Cat. 7, Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 2004.1.1.); 8. Klučov grave 22 (Cat. 8); 9. Borotice grave 10/VIII (Cat. 9); 10. Fertőszentmiklós grave 9 (Tomka 1980, 12, Abb. 8. 3–5, 9, 10); 11. Nikitsch grave 11 (Beninger–Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 38, Taf. 4. 8.155); 12. Nikitsch grave 24 (Beninger – Mitscha-Märheim 1970, 39, Taf. 5. 68.184).

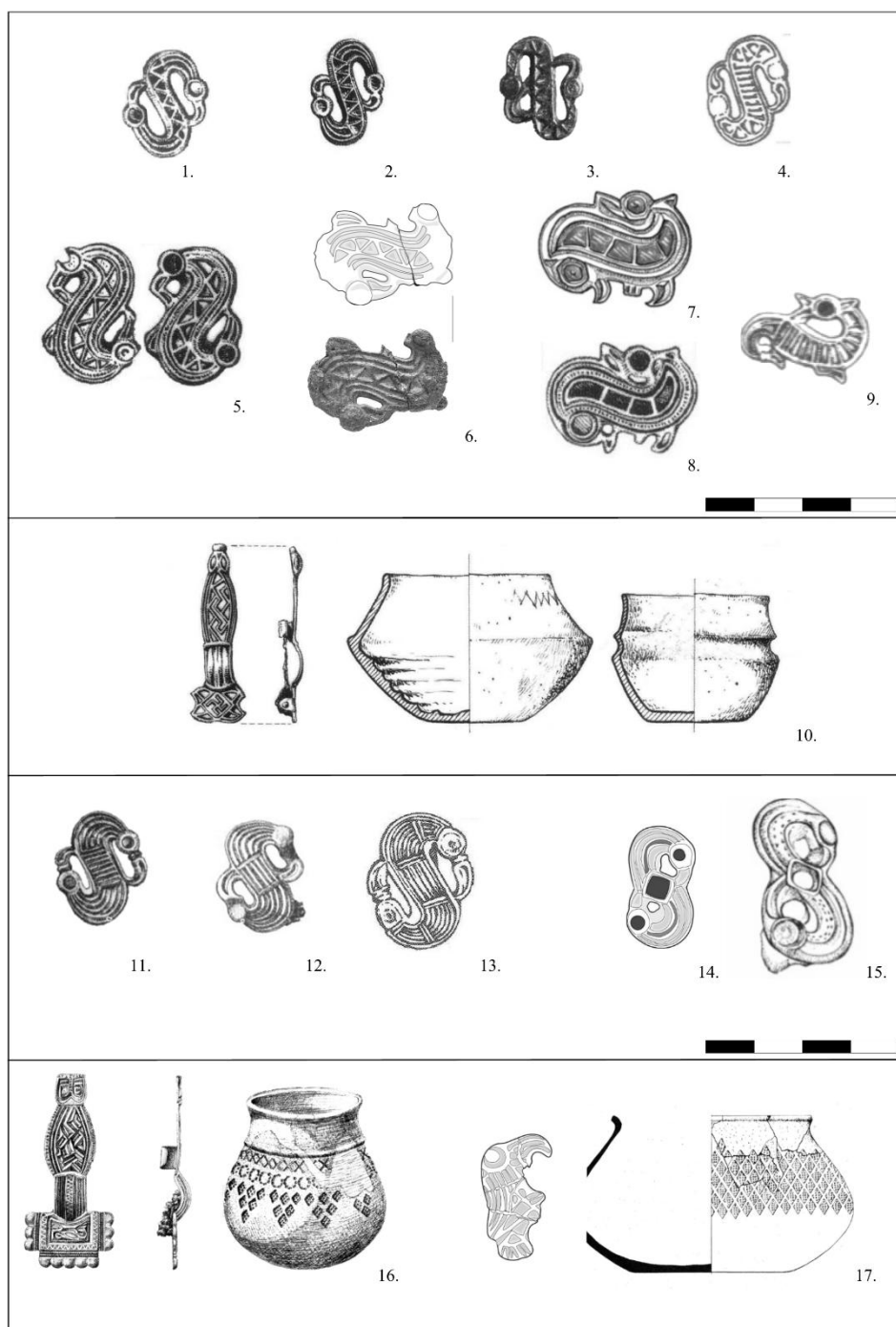


Table 5. Group II, Type 1 and 2 and accompanying finds of chronological value. 1. Kajdacs grave 37. (Cat. 10); 2. Szentendre grave 43 (Cat. 11); 3. Várpalota grave 34 (Cat. 12); 4. Lužice grave 102 (Cat. 13); 5. Tamási grave 23 (Cat. 14); 6. Grad Stalać (Рашковић 2016, 290, Т. III. 6a); 7. Kranj–Lajh grave 170 (Milavec 2007, 354, Т. 2:14); 8. Tamási grave 52 (Cat. 38); 9. Lužice grave 54 (Klanica – Klanicová 2011, 386, Taf. 53. 54:1); 10. Tamási grave 23 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 300, Taf. 56. 10:1–2, 10); 11. Mohács grave 2 (Cat. 15); 12. Mohács grave 3 (Cat. 16); 13. Lužice grave 61. (Cat. 18); 14. Vörs grave 17 (Cat. 17, Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 87.6.5.); 15. Vranovice (Cat. 19); 16. Mohács grave 2. (Kiss – Nemeskéri 1964, Abb. 6:1, Abb. 11. 1); 17. Vörs grave 17 (Sági 1963, 47, 24. kép: 1–2; 25. kép, Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 87.6.6.).

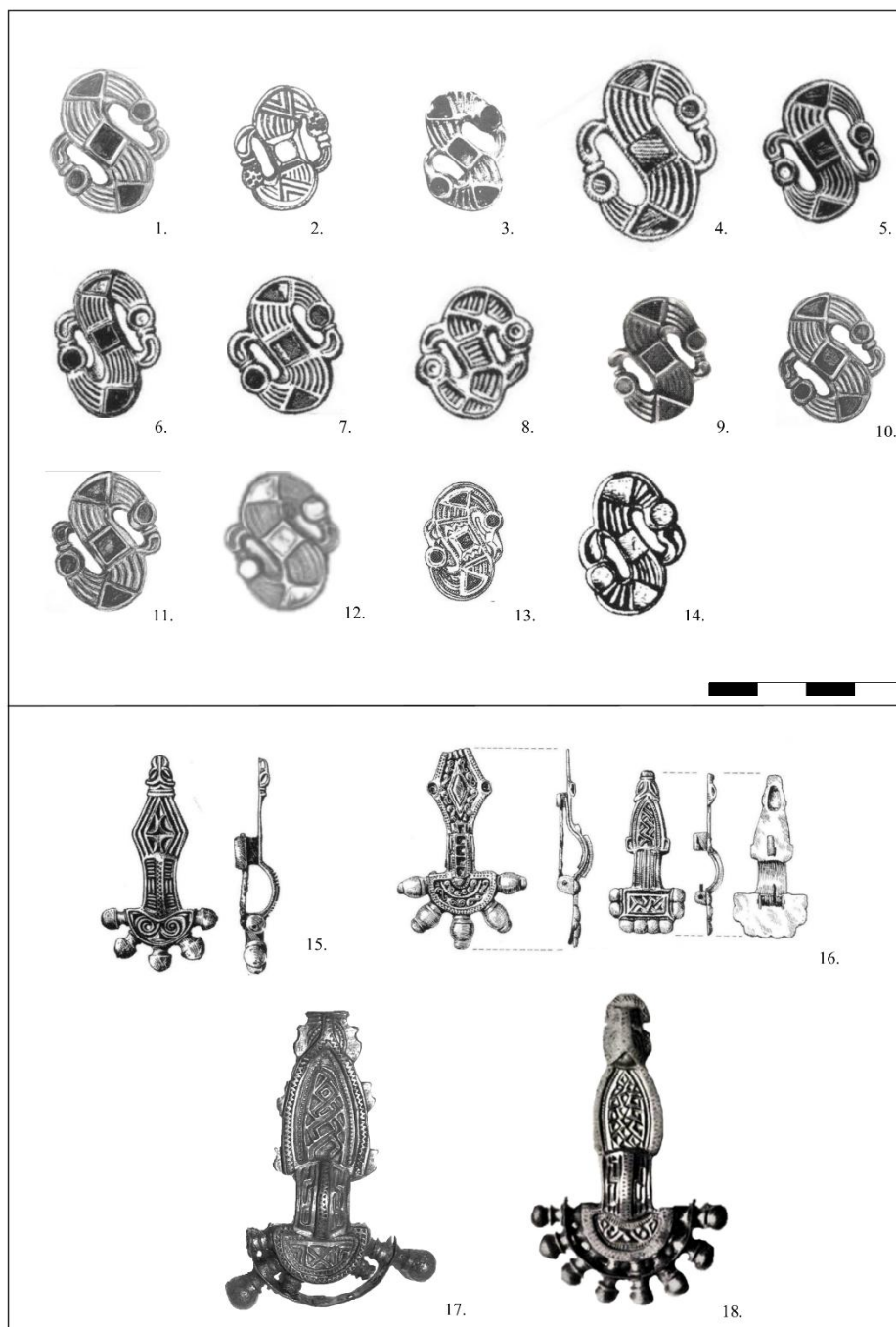


Table 6. Group II Type 3 and accompanying finds of chronological value. 1. Bezenye grave 20 (Cat. 20, Hansági Múzeum – cat. num. 58.296.3.); 2. Gyirmót grave 27 (Cat. 21); 3. Schwechat grave 2 (Cat. 22); 4. Szentendre grave 33 (Cat. 23); 5. Szentendre grave 85 (Cat. 24); 6. Tamási grave 18 (Cat. 25); 7. Tamási grave 30. (Cat. 26); 8. Tamási grave 50 (Cat. 27); 9. Várpalota grave 1 (Cat. 28); 10. Várpalota grave 4/b (Cat. 29, Laczkó Dezső Múzeum – cat. num. 56.7.114.); 11. Várpalota cat. 29. sír (Cat. 30, Laczkó Dezső Múzeum – cat. num. 61.17.46.); 12. Collection of Delhaes (Cat. 31); 13. Lužice grave 55 (Cat. 32); 14. Mušov–Roviny grave 3 (Cat. 33); 15. Szentendre grave 85 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 292, Taf. 57. 85: 11, 12); 16. Szentendre grave 33 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 277, Taf. 42. 33: 8, 9); 17. Bezenye grave 20 (Hansági Múzeum – cat. num. 58.296.1.); 18. Várpalota grave 1 (Bóna 1956, Taf. XV. 1, 2).

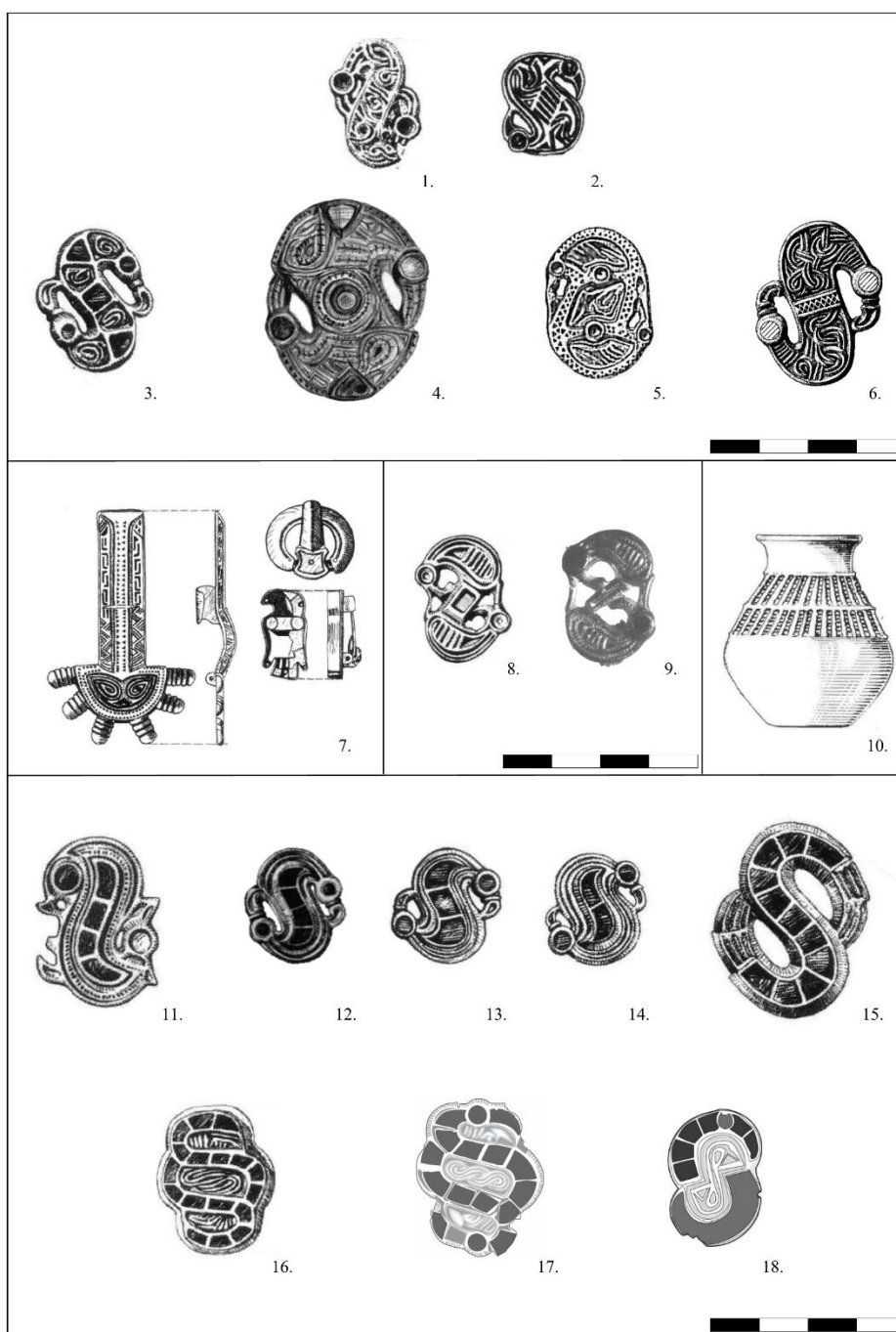


Table 7. Group II Type 5, Group III Type 1 and Group IV and accompanying finds of chronological value. 1. Bezenye grave 73 (Cat. 34); 2. Hegykő grave 65 (Cat. 35); 3. Type Várpalota 19.: Szentendre grave 56 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 285, Taf. 50. 56: 7., 8); 4. Várpalota grave 17. (Laczkó Dezső Múzeum – cat. num. 61.17.50.); 5. Unterlauchringen (Brather-Walter 2009, 55, Abb.2); 6. Straubing grave 786 (Geisler 1998, 291. Taf. 461. 3); 7. Hegykő grave 65 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 250, Taf. 15. 65: 2, 3, 6); 8. Gyöng grave 5 (Cat. 36); 9. Velké Pavlovice (Cat. 37); 10. Gyöng grave 5 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 237, Taf. 2. 5: 2); 11. Tamási grave 52 (Cat. 38); 12. Mohács grave 5 (Cat. 39); 13. Rácalmás grave 2 (Cat. 40); 14. Rácalmás grave 20 (Cat. 41); 15. Rácalmás grave 16 (Cat. 42); 16. Kajdacs grave 2 (Cat. 43); 17. Vörs grave 32 (Cat. 44, Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 87.17.2.); 18. Vörs grave 21 (Cat. 45, Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 87.9.2.)

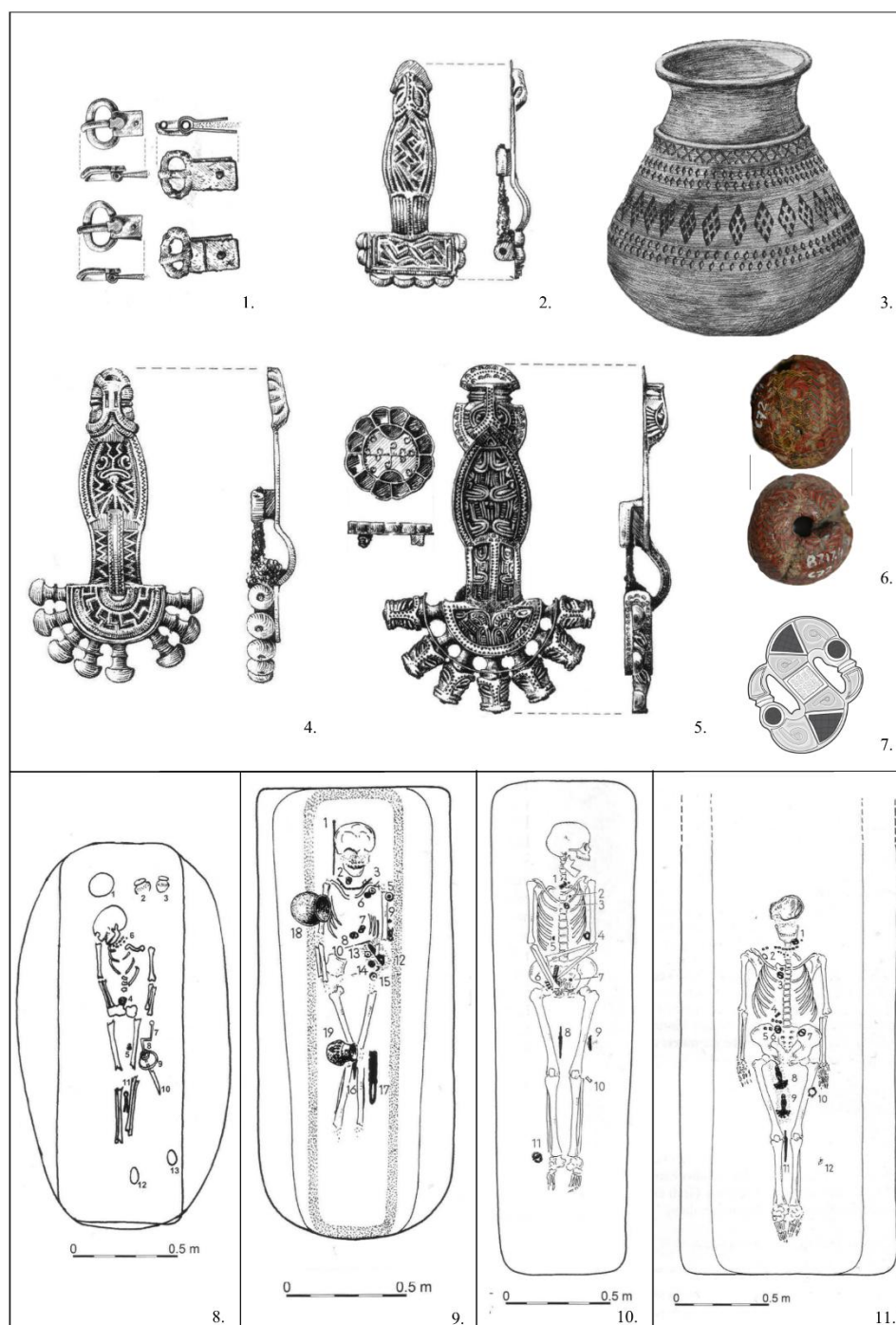


Table 8. Group IV and accompanying finds of chronological value. 1. Tamási grave 52 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 314, Taf. 79. 12–16); 2. Rácalmás grave 2 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 267, Taf. 32. 2: 8–9); 3. Mohács grave 5 (Kiss – Nemeskéri 1694, 113. Abb. 11. 4); 4. Rácalmás grave 16 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 269, Taf. 24. 16: 8–9); 5. Kajdacs grave 2 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 255, Taf. 20. 2: 5, 9–10); 6. Vörs grave 32 (Balatoni Múzeum Ltsz. 87.14.4.); 7. Vörs grave 21 (Balatoni Múzeum – cat. num. 87.9.3.). *Costumes*: 8. Single small brooch, Gyöngk grave 5 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 29, Abb. 8); 9. Pair of small brooches, Szentendre grave 43 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 113, Abb. 77); 10. Pair of small brooches, single bow brooch, Hegykő grave 65 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 50, Abb. 26.); 11. Four-brooch costume, Rácalmás grave 16 (Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 91–92, Abb. 61).

| Cemetery, grave nm. | disturbance | age | code | Gr | Ty. V | Small 1 | Small 2 | Bow 1 | Bow 2 | Bibliography |
|---|-------------|---------------------|------|-----|----------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Gyöngkő- Vásártér u. 5. | Re-opened | x | 1-0 | III | 1 | Left thigh | x | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 29, Abb. 8. |
| Hegykö- Mező u. 65. | Undisturbed | ad. | 2-1 | II | 5 | Neck | Upper chest | Right pelv. | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 50, Abb. 26. |
| Kajdacs- Homokbánya 2. | Undisturbed | x | 2-2 | IV | 4 | Neck | Middle chest | Right thigh, inner, middle | Right thigh, inner, knee | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 56–62, Abb. 33. |
| Mohács- Farostlemez- gyár v.t. 5. | Undisturbed | ad. (23-28) | 2-0 | IV | 2 | Neck | Middle chest, (slightly left | x | x | Kiss – Nemeskéri 1964, 109–110, 116, Abb. 4. |
| Rácalmás- Újtelep 2. | Undisturbed | x | 2-2 | IV | 2 | Neck (slightly right) | Upper chest (slightly right) | Between thighs, upper 3rd | Between thighs, lower 3rd | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 86, 88, Abb. 58. |
| Rácalmás- Újtelep 16. | Undisturbed | x | 2-2 | IV | 3 | Mandible, left | Upper chest (slightly right) | Between thighs, upper 3rd | Between thighs, middle 3rd | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 91–92, Abb. 61. |
| Rácalmás- Újtelep 20. | Undisturbed | x | 2-0 | IV | 2 | Mandible, left | Middle chest (slightly right) | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 91–92, Abb. 61. |
| Szentendre- Pannóniatelep 33. | Undisturbed | ad.-mat. (33-45) | 2-2 | II | 3 | Mandible, right | Middle chest | Between thighs, upper 3rd | Between thighs, middle 3rd | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 108–110, Abb. 75. |
| Szentendre- Pannóniatelep 43. | Undisturbed | sen. (65-75) | 2-0 | II | 1.1 | Neck (slightly right) | Middle chest (slightly left) | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 113, Abb. 77. |
| Szentendre- Pannóniatelep 85. | Undisturbed | mat. (50-60) | 2-2 | II | 3 | Neck | Middle chest (slightly right) | Between thighs, upper 3rd | Between thighs, middle 3rd | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 134, Abb. 94. |
| Tamási- Csikólegelő 18. | Re-opened | x | 2-0 | II | 3 | Right col- larsbone | Upper chest | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 147, Abb. 106. |
| Tamási- Csikólegelő 23. | Undisturbed | x | 2-2 | II | 1.3 | Mandible | Lower chest (slightly right) | Pelvis | Between thighs, upper 3rd | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 148–149, Abb. 108. |
| Tamási- Csikólegelő 30. | Re-opened | x | 2-0 | II | 3 | Mandible | Upper chest | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 154, Abb. 111. |
| Tamási- Csikólegelő 50. | Re-opened | x | 2-0 | II | 3 | Neck | Middle chest | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 164–166, Abb. 120. |
| Tamási- Csikólegelő 52. | Re-opened | x | 2-0 | IV | 1 | Neck | Upper chest | x | x | Bóna – B. Horváth 2009, 166, Abb. 121. |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Juvenis | 1 |
| Adultus | 4 |
| Adultus-maturus | 2 |
| Maturus | 3 |
| Senium | 6 |

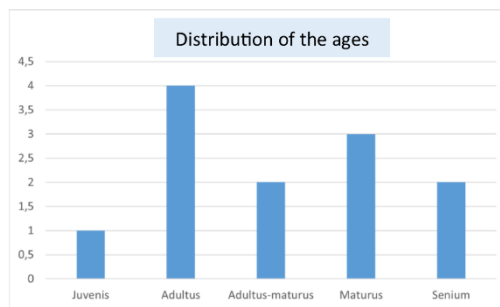


Table 9. The wearing of S-shaped brooches (types, costumes). Distribution of ages.