

Theses of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

**Analysing the role of the lower Maros valley in the Late Roman
and Hun periods based on the written and archaeological sources**

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*1. Background, scope and objectives of the thesis**

The aim of the dissertation is the analysis of the lower Maros valley in the Late Roman and Hun periods based on the – available – written and archaeological sources.

Since the goal of the research assumes a broad thematic framework, I tried to define it in the simplest possible way, according to the questions to which I'm looking for an answer. One of the questions is: what kind of power-structures can be identified in the micro-region of the lower Maros valley? Another question is that what kind of transformations can be traced or presumed in these possible power-structures? Accordingly, the aim of the dissertation in a narrower sense is to trace the power transitions of the Late Roman and Hun periods through the historical and archaeological investigation of the micro-region defined by the lower Maros valley.

The micro-regions historical and archaeological research history isn't focused to such an approach from the point of view of possible power-structures, which is not surprising, because this approach mainly came forefront only in recent researches.

However, it was still possible to analyse the research history of this topic along the “intersection” of some thematic groups in the literature. These thematic groups presume the settlement history of the micro-region, the typological and chronological systematization of the finds as well as the – mainly ethnical – interpretation of this period's population based on their archaeological findings and written sources. Although it wasn't unexpected, but the most surprising revelation of the research historical examination was the occasional ideological oversaturation of these thematic groups discussed within the frameworks of the cultural-historical and historical-archaeological trends of the research. Recognizing this aspect of the research history it prompted to a kind of reflection, and to reconfigure the previous, original aims of the research. In the most plastic way this feature of the research history is illustrated by the map of the ethnically interpreted archaeological sites of the micro-region, where the recent political-administrative national state borders can be drawn along these sites (30. ábra), which hardly reflects the realities of those times.

The ideological oversaturation of the historical and archaeological research of the micro-region prevailed in a different political environment on the Romanian and Hungarian

* Translated by Norbert Kapcsos

sides of the border. While the Romanian research – with the exception of a minor gap/interlude – continued the previous traditions of the nationalist theory of the daco-romanian continuity even in the period of the communism, the Hungarian research after World War II remained between the lines marked by András Alföldi, and tried to avoid any kind of narratives that could be labelled with a nationalist connotation. This explains the fact that while even some works of recent research from Romania, the „free Dacians” and „daco-romans” – who are in fact a theoretical construct – were considered as a population with a – horizontal – group identity, the history of the population named Sarmatians in the Roman written sources – probably considered to be irrelevant or having a minor role in the “birth” of the Hungarian nation – didn’t even received a chapter in the book: “History of Hungary” from 1984 as Istvánovits Eszter and Kulcsár Valéria pointed it out. This is how one can identify on the lower Maros valley of the Late Roman and Hun periods Sarmatians – based on inhumation rite burials – and „free Dacians” or – according to the theory of the presumed Roman limes on the Maros line a Romanised – „daco-roman” population based on the burials of urn-cremation rite. Nowadays this phenomenon occurs regardless of the historical or archaeological research of the two countries, although until the regime changes, the research of the era could mostly be characterized by competing parallel historical narratives. Not to mention that even if in our days the Romanian, as well as the Hungarian research has rejected the theory of the Roman limes along the Maros river, some “side effects” of this theory remained available. One of them is the “tradition” of dating to the 3–4th centuries of some burial grounds and settlements which are ethnically interpreted as Sarmatian. Although, if instead of thinking in categories of closed archaeological cultures and ethnic groups in the Late Roman and Hun periods, we are dealing with an asynchronous change in a socio-cultural context of the elements of the burial rite and of the archaeological material – which in fact represents an approach from the point of view of parallel continuities and discontinuities –, a very complex and exciting image of the power-structures can be drawn.

2. Sources and methods used

From the point of view of the topic, the relevant – historical and archaeological – sources according to their nature, offered different opportunities for the research. Hence, I tried to evaluate them according to their own discipline’s specific methods, and to compare the given results without the use of the “mixed argumentation”. The written sources – from a geographical point of view – weren’t referring directly to the micro-region, so they presumed

a deductive, or a top to bottom approach, while the archaeological sources deriving directly from the micro-region made it possible to analyse them in an inductive, or in a bottom-up way.

In these circumstances the historical written sources made it possible to sketch up the event historical context of the Late Roman and Hun period in one hand. And in another hand the theoretical innovations of the “*Vienna school*” based on the concepts of “*Traditionskern*” and “*Stammesbildung*” – formulated by Reinhardt Wenskus – had an elementary role in the understanding of the barbarian societies hidden behind the perceptions of the Romans about the barbarian world – different *gens*, *natio* or other ethnographical macro-groups.

The analysis of the history of research together with the evaluation of the written sources according to this approach, raised the possibility and necessity as well of the examination of the archaeological sources (burial grounds and settlements) from a social archaeological point of view. Here, without practicing the “mixed argumentation” it seemed to be necessary to fix some basic sociological and cultural-anthropological concepts in a theoretic chapter useful to compare the results of the two different sources.

Before the social archaeological evaluation, it seemed to be necessary as well to collect a great sample of the available archaeological sources in a database. This way, the database assured the evaluation of the archaeological sources from the point of view of the history of research in one hand, and in another hand, it was able to show if the archaeological sources are feasible to analyse from a social archaeological point of view. Based on the descriptive statistics of a sample of 325 items, which represents different burial grounds and settlements known from different kind of publications, I searched answers for the questions: from a quantitative and qualitative point of view what kind of archaeological informational base was available to elaborate different narratives? And is this archaeological informational base being suitable for a social archaeological analysis? In the theoretical chapter I evaluated the social evolutionary models known from cultural-anthropology, respectively I tried to sketch up the definitions and relation between the basic concepts (status, power, prestige, wealth) needed to understand the organization of status based traditional societies.

The synchronization of the available chronological systems seemed to be very difficult, some of them were conventional, and there could be traced several preconceptions as well which led to the necessity to elaborate a separate and a consistent chronological system for the micro-region. This could be achieved by the seriation and correspondence analysis of 477 burials from the Roman and Hun period, which made it possible to determine the chronological boundaries of the Late Roman and Hun periods in the micro-region of the lower Maros valley, as well as to select the contemporaneous burial places that could be evaluated together in a

social archaeological analysis. The chronological chapter has a detailed methodological description.

The social archaeological analysis of the burial places represents the body of the dissertation, where the burials were analysed according to the four dimensions – sex, age, vertical and horizontal social differences – decisive in the organization of the status based traditional societies. From a methodological point of view, in the first step I made the descriptive statistic of ritual elements and of the findings recorded in the data base on different levels of measure for each of the burial places. After that I tried to evaluate the correlation between the sex, age, findings and ritual elements of the burials with cross table analysis and with correspondence analysis if it was possible. For data visualization and for spatial pattern identification geo-informatical system was used.

The large-scale contextualization of the Late Roman and Hun period societies from the micro-region was carried out by the evaluation of the spatial distribution and concentration of the aurei and solidi from the Carpathian basin, with descriptive statistical and geo-spatial methods. I tried as well to give a detailed description of the used method in the thematic chapter of the dissertation.

3. New scientific results of the thesis

Due to the “space and time” oriented aspect of the formulated goals, it seemed to be necessary to outline the geographical and hydrographical framework of the discussed micro-region, as well as to sketch out the climatic features of the period. Which seemed to be quite obvious that the micro-region bounded by the lower valley of the Maros and the Száraz-Ér, was in fact very heterogenous. It was further fragmented into higher ridges and lower plains along the river valley, and characterized by a very complex water system interwoven with swamps, meanders, periodic waters and other veins. The micro-region – of course – can’t be interpreted as a static system. It was characterized by the Maros’s sediment accumulating activity, its slow change of course, the cyclical dynamics of the periodic floods, and the faster or slow-paced, long-termed changes in global climatic condition sometimes barely perceptible by human generations. Regarding the direction of the course of the Maros, it has only been flowing in its current river bed for the last 1-2 thousand years, which means that it is not known so far that its secondary branches, the Aranka and the Száraz-Ér to what extent were important during the Roman and Hun periods. Although it is possible that they were much more important from the point of view of the period’s settlement-network than we previously thought. Mainly,

only in our days we received some more reliable data also relevant for the discussed micro-region about the end of the Roman Climate Optimum (RCO). It seems that starting from the middle of the 3rd century, there was a relatively fast cooling, followed by a period characterized by wetter summers between 350 and 450 and a period with cold winters lasting several hundred years. Based on the former thoughts it still remains a question that on what extent did the cyclic environmental dynamics and the end of the RCO influenced the settlement pattern, the production, distribution system and the exchange network of the society/societies from the micro-region of the Late Roman and Hun periods.

Based on the seriation and correspondence analysis of 477 burials from the micro-region one could distinguish 6 different phases between the turn of the 1-2nd centuries and the middle third of the 5th century. The Late Roman period and the Hun period corresponds to the IVth, Vth and VIth phases, which in terms of absolute chronology can be outlined as the periods between the end of the 3rd century – end of the 4th century (IV), the period between the last third of the 4th century – the first two decades of the 5th century (V), and the last period is between first decades of the 5th century – the middle or the 60' of the 5th century (VI). The chronological boundaries of these periods outlined based on the change in the archaeological material are blurred, they are less sharp.

According to the nature of the analysis, which was aimed at establishing the chronology of a given micro-region, the results only permit a limited range of historical conclusions. In absolute chronological terms the "Sarmatian" cultural horizon seems to have appeared in the Lower Mureş Valley around the turn of the 1st–2nd centuries (beginning of Ist phase). This early phase is mainly hallmarked by the burial places from Makó-Igási járandó 25 and Hódmezővásárhely-Fehértó. Referring to the historical context it would be difficult to point out a plausible historical event that could have triggered the introduction of this cultural horizon in the Lower Mureş Region, although it most likely took place gradually during and/or after the Roman-Dacian wars and the organizing of the Province Dacia, which apparently coincided in this region with the disappearance of the so-called "golden horizon" represented by grave 7 from Sânicolau-Mare.

It is an interesting question if the brooch type Fi8.11 from the first phase could be traced back to earlier late La Tène traditions, although the decoration of the handmade pots from Arad B06, Békéssámson and Makó, furthermore the fruit bowl from Arad B06 suggests the survival of late La Tène traditions in pottery production until Phase II. The rest of the brooch set of the micro-region reflects a significant relationship with the Roman provinces until the IIIrd Phase (200/220–280/300) the nature of which is not clear yet, but as one can observe from this phase

the "barbarian type" brooches became predominant and they show remarkable connections towards the Upper-Tisa region, that after the Marcomannic Wars possibly became an important political factor in the Carpathian Basin, although this aspect needs further analysis. Roman-made products – like the box shaped brooch from Klárafalva B grave 40 and the glass beaker from Makó-Vöröskereszt II – became scattered in the IVth Phase (280/300–370/380), the connection of the micro-region with the Upper Tisa region remains predominant according to the brooch set, but according to the bracelet with a disc shaped mobile part⁵⁴, shows further connections with the North Pontic region. Starting with the Vth Phase (370/380–410/420) the finds from male burials became increasingly diverse, and in some of these burials weapons also gradually appeared, reflecting the importance of a warrior stratum. The latter phenomenon suggests a major social change possibly triggered by the integration of the micro-region in the Hun power-structure. Unfortunately the end of phase VI cannot be specified exactly, though there are slight hints that it exceeds the middle of the 5th century. Similarly, the exact relation of phase VI with the so-called D2/D3 period known from the archaeological literature, hallmarked by the large plate brooches with semispherical headplate, cannot be established.

Based on the written historical sources it seems to be quite obvious that after the abandonment of province Dacia due to the power-struggles between the different genses several transformations took place in the Barbaricum from north of the lower Danube. These power-struggles may have been quite frequent in this period which is shown by the fact that the Carpi carried out attacks against the Roman Empire on a regular basis. The barbarian population of the Alföld region, must have been also affected by these power-struggles, and the intensity of these conflicts is also shown, by the fact that they have also carried out several attacks against the Roman limes in Pannonia. The pacification of the Carpi was realized by the colonization (*receptio*) of their groups on the territories of the Roman Empire. But in the case of the Roman-Sarmatian wars from the period of the Tetrarchy, the Roman government gave bigger trust to their weapons and the conflicts were probably followed by the birth of an alliance. Although several groups of Sarmatians are also mentioned to be colonized on Roman land. Due to the frequent power-struggles in the Barbaricum, and because of the Roman-Sarmatian wars, the already fragmented like power-structures of the Alföld region became considerably weakened. Beside the colonization of the Carpi on Roman territories – the probably already heterogeneous – groups of the Carpi possibly have joined other genses as well, the "Sarmatian" power-structures of the Alföld region could have also been a plausible choice for them. Based on the data from Mammertinus one could presume the appearance of groups of several other genses as well in the Alföld region. These tensions must have become

constant even until 322 which is also illustrated by the attack of Rausimodus in Campona. But the Roman Empire's interest was to maintain the former system of alliances with the barbarian power-structures in front of the limes. In a later period, the written sources from the *Excerpta Valensiana* and from Ammianus Marcellinus make reference to the former events of the Roman-Sarmatian-Gothic wars from 332. The strategic value of the territories in front of the provinces of Valeria and Pannonia Secunda is also illustrated by the fact that the Romans were implicated in this war on the side of the Sarmatian power-structures, which could be considered as an unusual act. The main consequence of their campaign might be, that this way the Romans were able to integrate the Goths in the before mentioned alliance system. Right after these events the conflict between the Arcaragantes and Limigantes is mentioned by the written sources, which conflict seems to be a very complicated task to reconstruct. One could presume, that the power-structures from the Alföld region weren't able to properly integrate the new groups appeared after the power-struggles in the Barbaricum. The regular conflicts from the end of the 3rd century and during the first third of the 4th century could reflect the appearance of several barbarian groups in this region. According to Reinhard Wenskus the degree and stability of domination within the power-structure is an essential criterion to integrate newly arrived groups, who should have been settled down for a long period of time as well, which in this case cannot be presumed. It seems to be plausible to assume that the conflicts between the Arcaragantes and Limigantes are the results of transformations within the former power-structures from the Alföld region. Due to the fragmented (decentralized?) character of the former power-structures, they weren't able to entirely extend their domination over the new barbarian groups, who initially could have a subordinate status, or belonged to a subordinated status group (Ammianus Marcellinus XVII.12), and this led to their disintegration. A part of the Arcaragantes fled to the Victoali while other groups managed to find shelter in the Roman Empire. Later, the Roman Empire tried to make an alliance with the Limigantes, this way maintaining the former status quo in front of the limes. In these circumstances Jordanes' data about the presence of the Vandals in the Maros valley from around 334 seems to be even more confusing. However, if we take in consideration that, in accordance with the historiographic practice of his time, he already used a different interpretational model of the genses than the previous auctors, then this not necessarily means the ethnic presence of the Vandals in the Maros valley. It seems to be much more plausible that the Vandals tried to extend their domination over the groups living in this area – belonging to the former disintegrated power-structures. This obviously was against the interests of Rome; who couldn't permit such a concentration of power to develop in front of the limes. It seems to be likely as well, that the

Romans according to the *foedus* from 322, put to an end to Visimar's ambitions with the help of the allied Goths, ruled by Geberich. By the end of the 3rd century and the middle of the 4th century due to the repeating power-struggles of the time, the genses became very "malleable", power-structures disappeared and their groups joined other genses, which they either succeeded to integrate, or not depending on the stability, the extent and durability of their domination, which again generated instability in the barbarian world (Arcaragantes–Limigantes). Of course, it still remains a question that what happened with the Arcaragantes and with the Victovali in such circumstances, when the latter cease to be mentioned in written sources after these events. The sources remained silent about them. It can be possible that the Victovali were integrated in the power-structure of the Vandals, and they ceased to exist as an independent entity. For a long time, the data provided by Jordanes was a matter of contradiction regarding the colonization of the Vandals on Roman lands, while Roman auctors in the same time wrote about the colonisation of the Sarmatians (Eusebius 223,6c; Excerpta Valensiana VI.32.I). The common element is the fact of colonization of barbarian groups in the Roman Empire, and the difference could be the result of the application of a different gens-model used in the interpretation of the barbarian world. While the roman auctors of the time were using an ethnic gens-model to understand the communities of the barbarian world, in the 6th century Jordanes was using a "*constitutional like*" gens-model, where the political affiliation and the individual's obedience to a given law was much more important.

Later, one of the goals of Constantius II's military campaigns could have been the restitution of the former alliance-system in front of the limes of Pannonia Secunda, where instead of the "*dubiae fidei*" he supported the well-tried Arcaragantes' domination in the person of Zizais. Which seems to be obvious, that the intention of the roman foreign policy of the periods of Constantinus and Constantius II was to secure the territories in front of the limes within the framework of an alliance-system, and this policy couldn't tolerate the concentration of power in any of the barbarian gens, neither the instability of this system. This strategy of Rome could define the barbarian genses until the Valentinian era. This well consolidated alliance-system in the front of the limes was weakened by the roman-barbarian wars right after the assassination of Gabinius, and finally the emergence of the Huns in Europe – right after the battle of Hadrianopol – who managed to successfully eliminate it. The migration of a population consisting of mixed Vandal, Alanic and Suebic groups from the Carpathian-basin at the beginning of the 400', could already mark the formation of the power-centre of the Hunnic Empire in the Alföld region. The relocation of the Hun power-centre in the Alföld region – probably near to the region of the lower Maros valley, between the territories of the

previous power-structures – could mean such a high level of concentration of power in the Carpathian basin, that it could integrate – even if just for a short time – the former power-structures, or at least their remnant groups, which's disintegration (Nedao) could lead to the formation of some new power-structures, but this time keeping some elements characteristic of the “*nomadic state*”.

As far as the role of the lower Maros valley – as a micro-region – in the Late Roman and Hunnic periods is concerned, the related conclusions and observations – which are sometimes formulated only at the level of hypothesis – mostly rely on the results of the seriation analysis and on the results of the social archaeological examination of burial places and settlements. In another hand the conclusions also rely on the contextualization of these societies within the framework of “power-areas” that can be drawn based on the evaluation of the concentration of Roman gold coins in the Barbaricum of the Carpathian basin. While the former analysis offered a micro level insight, the latter provided a macro level view for understanding of the power-structural relations of the period, within which role of the micro-region could be evaluated. Although the social archaeological analysis of the burial places represents the body of the dissertation, and it exceeds all the other chapters in terms of extent, the results are much more modest than primary expected. This is because of the different scale in the informational value of the burials in one hand, and in the other hand the analysis was rather suitable to reveal structures and processes than to reconstruct historical events.

Regarding the societies of the micro-region from the Late Roman period, it appears that they can be perceived as interconnected communities consisting of nearly equal segments, organized on the basis of kinship and descent, probably at the clan level – or heterarchical according to Nikolay Kradin. The scale of the societies, the unequal distribution of the prestige and substantial goods, the energy expenditure, as well as the burial rite elements reflecting vertical social differences in this case indicates a social complexity presuming at least the ranking of the social statuses according to a certain status hierarchy. Although it can be surely presumed that a higher level of social complexity, namely a certain level of stratification, and the hereditary nature of the social statuses also existed. One can presume a small degree in the concentration of power within these societies i.e., it seems that the decentralization of power was much more characteristic, it could only rarely exceed the level of the clans and to extend to a much more complex tribal, or segmental level, and it seems that the legitimation of dominance was probably assured by the descent hierarchy from a certain ancestor. The characteristics of the findings from female burials indicates that certain females of adult age occupied some prestigious statuses in the structure of these societies, this was also reflected in

symbols like Fi9.5 brooch type, mirrors, aces, flitters of the dress, pendants, torqueses and little boxes between the finds. The female burials from Makó-Mikócsa-dűlő MMG 215 and 245, Klárafalva-Községháza KLLH G1 and Kiszombor B KZB112 and 209-es can be enumerated. Though it requires further research, but it seems that for these societies organized on the basis of clan or kinship, keeping contact with ancestors (grave reopening) was very important. Probably because by descent they assured the required legitimacy for ruling (domination), and they could also ensure the rights of the community for the resources of the land in which they were buried. Taking in account that the reopening of female burials from the beginning of the appearance of the Sarmatian cultural-horizon was frequent – male burials are very rare – this fact may arise the possibility that these societies could have been organized by matrilinear descent, which assumption could be also supported by the “rich” findings of these female burials. Nevertheless, it is possible that, with the exception of certain tasks representing significant community interests and presupposing a greater degree of coordination – such as warfare – the leadership could only be limited to various activities that served the survival of the society – which can also be indicated by status items associated with special statuses: for example, sickle, strike-a-light, sword – and to the redistribution of prestige goods. The redistribution of the substantial goods probably did not exceed the clan level, though the data provided by settlements and burials is unclear from this aspect. The competition of individuals, clans and/or descendant lines seems to be a general characteristic of these societies, which is illustrated by the energy expenditure of the burials, by the distribution of the prestige goods, as well as by their imitations. This kind of small degree of concentration of power (decentralization) – without taking account on the legitimacy – in the micro-region is also supported by the distribution and concentration of the roman gold coins in the Carpathian Basin (80. ábra.). Based on this distribution, from the end of the 3rd century the lower Maros valley could be considered as a peripheral area between the “power-areas” from the Upper Tisza and the Körös region. This peripheral role didn’t change much at the turn of the 3-4th centuries, the micro-region gained an “intermediate character” with the appearance of some new “power-areas” in front of Viminacium and Sirmium. Another minor change can be traced from the middle of the 4th century, when one can presume a certain degree of restructuration of these former power-networks, but this structure in the power-network has entirely changed at the end of the 4th century. It still remains a question, that what kind of – hierarchical (?) – relationship can be assumed between the societies of the micro-region and the societies from Hódmezővásárhely-Aranyág, which are showing a higher degree of social complexity and remarkable connections towards the Upper Tisza region.

The presumed transformation in the structure of the power-networks from the middle of the 4th century cannot be traced within the contemporary burials of the micro-region. Though it could be assumed that it has a correlation with a social transformation reflected in the gradual increase in the number of the male graves. These transformations could have resulted the appearance of the male graves with weapons from the end of the 4th century as well, but in the meantime already reflecting the emergence of the Hun period. To understand these correlations, further analysis is needed, because they also roughly coincide with the appearance of several new items originating from the North Pontic region (Crim peninsula) in the inventory of the graves. It cannot be decided if these are a result of a new exchange-network or they are reflecting a process of migration?

Horizontal social differences indicating the possibility of migration arise in connection with the urn-cremation burials in Arad and Újszentanna, which – based on seriation – can be roughly dated to the last third of the 4th century. Burials of urn-cremation rite are also known from Fazekasvarsánd and Sajtény which seems to be earlier than the previous ones. The inventory of these burials from the end of the 4th century has good analogies from the Alföld region, which could indicate a certain level of acculturation. But it still remains a question if it reflects the structural integration of these communities in the societies of the micro-region. In the case of the inhumation burials the specificities of the burial rite do not, or just rarely indicate horizontal social differences, and only from around the beginning of 5th century.

Regarding the gradual increase in the number of male burials, the possibility arose that, for some reason – like warfare –, the importance of an armed male – warrior (?) – stratum was reevaluated, and have gained a great social esteem. This gradually reflected in the social representation of these burials, based on the weapon findings from burials, as well as by the separation of certain male burials with circular ditches within the burial place, or in separate burial places with a small number of burials. This assumption could be valid, but the separated male burials with weapons from the burial places like Tápé-Malajdok A and B, Sándorfalva-Eperjes, or Apátfalva-Nagyút-dűlő could be linked to the emergence of the Hunnic power-structure in Alföld region from the end of the 4th century.

The former clan-based, heterarchical, basically decentralized power-structure like societies presumably were able to easily integrate into the structures of the nomadic-state, which was also organized on a clan basis, but this time centralized, and perhaps the above-mentioned burial places can be seen as the traces of this phenomenon. Although, this integration could have been a process resulting in a more advanced social complexity, and in the meantime also provoked the emergence of new status groups, where the separation of

burials in Sándorfalva – reflecting a status group – may indicate a greater degree of the centralization of power.

The integration of the societies from the lower Maros valley in the Hunnic power-structure probably was easily succeeded in the sense that they were less complex, clan-based, heterarchical societies in which descent from a common ancestor could be taken into account in most cases – presumably within the ritual framework associated with the ancestor cult – and this also could form the basis of their horizontal group identity. On the other hand, in the case of more complex societies, like in the case of chiefdoms (*gens*?), descent from a fictitious common ancestor appears as a rudimentary ideology – myth of origin –, which may already have formed the basis of a horizontal – but this time ethnic – group identity that exceeded the clan level. Given that the elite usually gains an advantage from already existing value systems (ancestor cult) and creates – perhaps justifies (?) – existing inequalities. As a result of which the Hun power structure may have needed more effort to integrate these more complex societies, with a more complex horizontal group identity. But in these circumstances, the clan-based societies could easily "become Huns" after integration, but also preserving their own clan-based group identity.

Beside the presence of burials with weapon that assume a warrior stratum, the ritual deposition or sacrificial finds found in Szeged-Nagyszéksós, as well as the Szikáncs hoard – the latter indicating an unprecedented accumulation of prestige objects – raise the possibility of the emergence of a significant power-center – different from the previous ones – in the marginal areas of the former periods Barbarican power-centers, located near to a settled, agrarian state like society; the Roman Empire.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Foreign language scientific articles in international journals (4)

1. **Kapcsos, N.:** An attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the Roman and Early Migrations Period in the Lower Mureş Valley.
Ziridava Stud. Archaeolog. 34, 305-324, 2020. ISSN: 1224-7316.
2. **Kapcsos, N.:** Late Roman Period Cremation Burials in the Eastern Periphery of the Trans Tisa Region: The Lower Mureş Valley.
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3. **Kapcsos, N.:** Sarmatian graves from Pecica Site 18. Remarks upon the phenomenon of "isolated" graves from the Cris-Tisa-Mures region.
Ziridava Stud. Archaeolog. 31, 165-180, 2017. ISSN: 1224-7316.
4. **Kapcsos, N.:** The Sarmatian Graves of the 4R Archaeological Site Dated to the Third-Fourth century A.D. Additional Data on the Sarmatian Burial Rite in the Lower Mureş Region.
Ziridava Stud. Archaeolog. 28, 157-172, 2014. ISSN: 1224-7316.





List of other publications

Hungarian books (1)

5. Gáll, E., Dobos, A., Petru, D., **Kapcsos, N.**, Wanek, F., Piroska, E., Nagy, S., Iván, A.: "Daciától Ultrasilvaniáig": A Kis-Szamos medencéjének településtörténeti változásai (3/4-12/13. század). Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Kolozsvár, 252 p., 2017. ISBN: 9786067390810

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