

ANNALES MUSEI NATIONALIS SLOVACI
ZBORNÍK SLOVENSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO MÚZEA

ARCHEOLÓGIA
SUPPLEMENTUM 8

**STĹP MARCA AURELIA
A STREDNÉ PODUNAJSKO
ŠTÚDIE**

**COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS
AND THE MIDDLE DANUBE AREA
STUDIES**

ZBORNÍK SLOVENSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO MÚZEA – 2014
SUPPLEMENTUM 8

Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum
Bratislava 2014

Annales Musei Nationalis Slovaci
ZBORNÍK SLOVENSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO MÚZEA

ARCHEOLÓGIA
SUPPLEMENTUM 8

ŠTÚDIE

Vedecký redaktor
PhDr. Juraj Bartík, PhD.

Zostavovateľ
PhDr. Vladimír Turčan

Posudzovatelia:
Prof. PhDr. Klára Kuzmová, CsC.
Prof. PhDr. Eduard Krekovič, CsC.

Návrh obálky: Peter Šimčík
Neprešlo jazykovou úpravou

Grafická úprava: Renesans, s. r. o.
Tlač: Ultra Print, s. r. o., Bratislava

Za obsah príspevkov a kvalitu obrazových príloh zodpovedajú autori
Vydalo: Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum, Bratislava 2014

Náklad: 400 výtlačkov

© Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum, Bratislava 2014

ISBN 978-80-8060-335-9

OBSAH – CONTENTS

Igor Bazovský: Odev Germánov na stĺpe Marca Aurélia.....	7
<i>The clothing of the Germans on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	10
Ján Beljak: Pohronie v dobe Marca Aurelia	11
<i>The Granp region at the time of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	23
Radoslav Čambal: Torques or shackles? Cotins or Germans? To Interpretation of ethnic origin of the Captives from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, displayed in the scenes LXVIII and LXIX.....	25
<i>Torques alebo putá? Kotíni alebo Germáni? K interpretácii etnického pôvodu zajatcov na scénach LXVIII a LXIX zo stĺpu Marca Aurelia.....</i>	30
Eduard Droberjar: Shackles on the column of Marcus Aurelius and finds from Mušov.....	35
<i>Pouta na sloupu Marka Aurelia a nálezy z Mušova.....</i>	40
Kristian Elschek: Nové žiarové hroby z 2. polovice 2. storočia zo Zohora na západnom Slovensku	41
<i>Neue Brandgräber aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts von Zohor (Westslowakei).....</i>	50
Erik Hrnčiarik – Jakub Baňovič: Vyobrazenia nádob na Trajánovom stĺpe a stĺpe Marka Aurélia.....	51
<i>Depictions of vessels on Trajan´s column and the column of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	59
Erik Hrnčiarik – Ján Ulický: Vyobrazenia rímskej výstroje a výzbroje na Trajánovom stĺpe a stĺpe Marka Aurélia.....	61
<i>Depictions of Roman arms and armour on Trajan´s column and the column of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	69
Peter Jančura – Mirka Daňová – Marian Jančura – Iveta Bohálová – Dušan Daniš – Juraj Modranský – Katarína Zrníková – Lívia Oláhová: Priestorový aspekt a prírodné podmienky invázie Rimanov do stredného Podunajska a Karpát v druhom storočí n. l.	71
<i>The spatial aspect and the natural conditions of the Roman invasion of the central Danube region and the Carpathians in the second Century AD.....</i>	87
Rudolf Nádaskay – Jaroslava Schmidtová – Peter Barta: Terra Sigillata z priekopy rímskeho tábora Gerulata II v Bratislave-Rusovciach	89
<i>Terra sigillata from ditch of roman camp Gerulata II in Bratislava-Rusovce.....</i>	100
Marek Olędzki: The Causes of the Outburst of Marcomannic Wars	101
<i>Przyczyny wojen markomańskich.....</i>	106
<i>Príčiny markomanských vojen.....</i>	106
Ján Rajtár: Stĺp Marca Aurelia a archeologické doklady o rímskych výpravách proti Kvádom.....	107
<i>Die Säule des Marcus Aurelius und die archäologische Nachweise der römischen Expeditionen gegen die Quaden.....</i>	134
Jaroslava Schmidtová – Peter Barta: Výskum priekopy rímskeho tábora Gerulata II v Rusovciach v roku 2009.....	141
<i>The excavation of ditch of roman camp Gerulata II in Rusovce 2009.....</i>	154
Ondrej Šedo: Rímske stavby zobrazené na stĺpe Marca Aurélia	155
<i>Roman buildings depicted on the column of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	167
Vladimír Turčan: Germánske sídliskové objekty na stĺpe Marca Aurelia	169
<i>German settlement structures on the column of Marcus Aurelius.....</i>	177
Pavol Valachovič: Markomanské vojny v ikonografii a rímskej historiografickej tradícii	181
<i>The Marcomannic wars in Iconography and in the roman historiographical Tradition.....</i>	184

SKRATKY ČASOPISOV A PERIODÍK

Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae = Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest
Alba Regia = Alba Regia. Annales musei Stephani Regis. Székesfehérvár
Anodos = Anodos. Studies of the ancient World. Trnava
Antiquitas = Antiquitas. Wrocław
Arch. Journal = The Archeological Journal. London
Arch. Korrb. = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Urgeschichte, Römerzeit, Frühmittelalter. Mainz am Rhein
Arch. Rozhledy = Archeologické Rozhledy. Praha
AVANS = Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku. Nitra
Balácai közl. = Balácai közlemények. Veszprém
Bayer. Vorbeschbl. = Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter. München
Ber. Denkmalpfl. Niedersachsen = Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen. Hannover
Ber. RGK = Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission. Frankfurt a. M.
Carnuntum-Jahrb. = Carnuntum Jahrbuch. Wien
ČSPSČ = Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností. Praha
EAZ = Etnographisch – Archäologische Zeitschrift. Berlin
Fundber. Österreich = Fundberichte aus Österreich. Wien
Germania = Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Frankfurt am Main
Jižní Morava = Jižní Morava. Ročenka Okresního archivu pro okres Břeclav v Mikulově. Mikulov
Journal Glass Stud. = Journal of Glass Studies. Corning (N. Y.)
Journal of Roman Stud. = Journal of Roman Studies. London
Libyca = Libyca. Alger
Meander = Meander. Warszawa
MIAMoskva = Materialy i issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR. Moskva – Leningrad
Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. = Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft. Wien
Pam. Arch. = Památky Archeologické. Praha
Pam. a Múz. = Pamiatky a múzeá. Bratislava
Prähist. Zeitschr. = Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Leipzig (Berlin)
Přehled Výzkumů = Přehled Výzkumů AÚ ČSAV. Brno
RCRF = Rei Cretariae Roman Favtores
Slov. Arch. = Slovenská archeológia. Časopis Archeologického ústavu Slovenskej akadémie vied v Nitre. Nitra
Slov. Num. = Slovenská numizmatika. Nitra.
Specimina Nova Diss. Hist. = Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae. Pécs
Štud. Zvesti AÚ SAV = Študijné zvesti Archeologického ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie vied. Nitra
Zborník MMB = Bratislava. Zborník Mestského múzea. Bratislava
Zbor. SNM. Arch. = Zborník Slovenského národného múzea. Archeológia. Bratislava
Zbor. SNM. Hist. = Zborník Slovenského národného múzea. História. Bratislava

THE CAUSES OF THE OUTBURST OF MARCOMANNIC WARS ¹

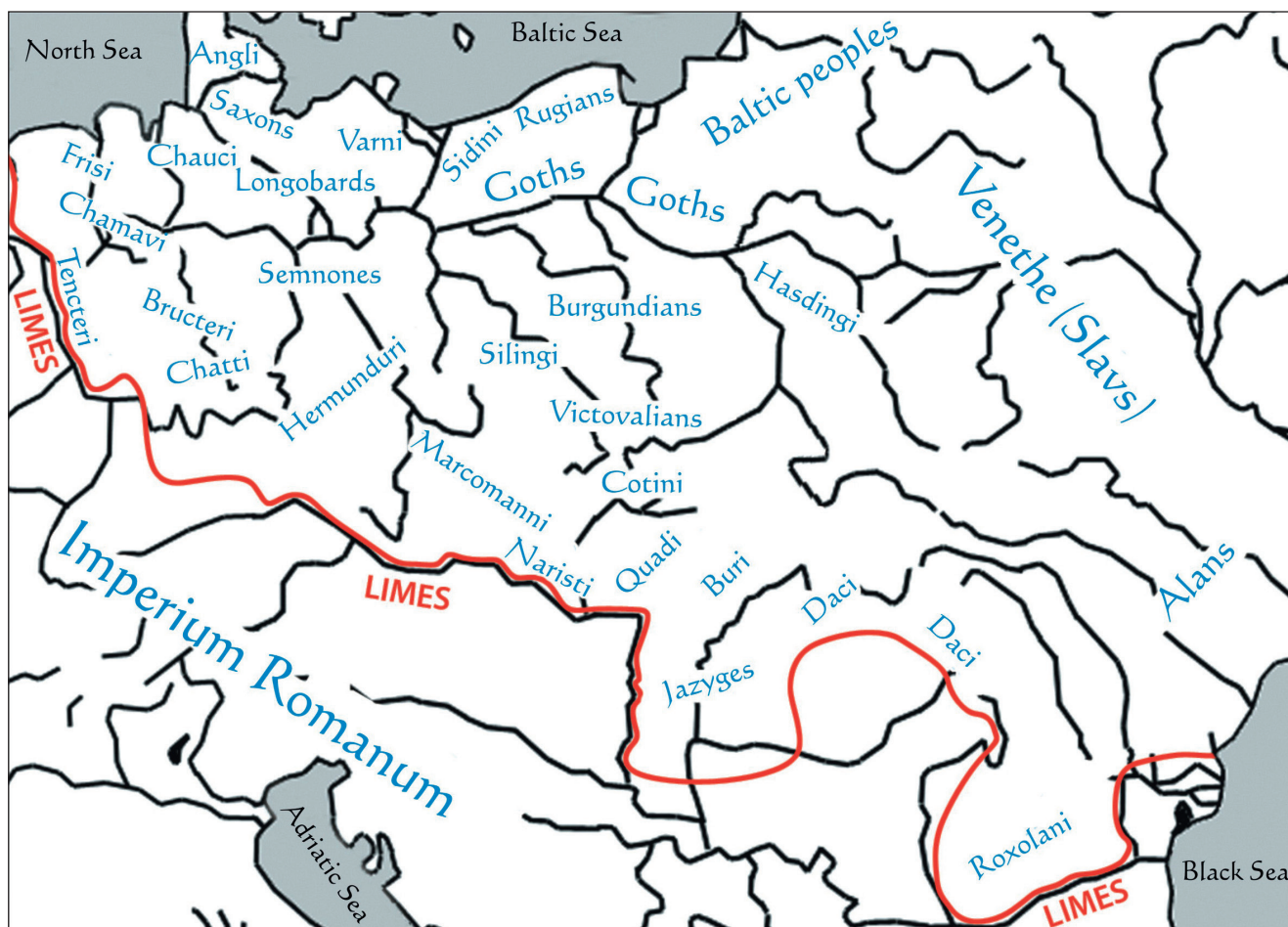
MAREK OLEŹDKI

Keywords: *Marcomannic wars, barbarian lands, Germani***Abstract:** *The Marcomannic wars had immediate and secondary causes. The impulse for invasion was the attempt of the barbarians, who had experienced economic expansion and population growth, to break free from their relation with the empire after the transfer of the legions to the east. The Roman strategy of Pax Romana led to a stabilisation of relations and to an awareness among the Germani of their own power.*

The reasons which brought about the outburst of Marcomannic wars were manifold, and, what's more, of a complex nature. It is impossible to enumerate all of them, but one may try to distinguish the ones which were of crucial importance. Generally speaking, they may be divided into two categories: that of direct and the other of indirect causes. The direct causes, more legible and palpable were due to the pressure of barbaric tribes on Roman borders, breaking those borders and then invading the inner territory of the Empire. On the eve of Marcomannic wars, the circumstance which triggered them off consisted in the Roman's withdrawal of the majority of units from the middle Danube region and sending them to the war with the Parthians. A similar role was played by a plague of hitherto unknown strength, which had been brought from this war. According to the source, it decimated both civilians and the military to an unimaginable extent. Such circumstances (SHA, MA 13, 2) were a signal to the Marcomanni, Free Dacians or Sarmatians, for example, that it was worthwhile to undertake the risk of war with their powerful neighbour. They were stirred into action also by their wish to gain absolute independence from Rome, that is getting rid of the humiliating burden of cliental dependences. It is worth noting at this point that it was exactly those border tribes in the situation described above that were initiators of those events (*Klose 1934; Pitts 1989, 45-58*). An even more elementary reason for the raids which should not be ignored, however, depended on the readiness to pillage the rich territories of the Roman Empire since there appeared an opportunity to do so. The inexhaustible resources of the Empire seemed to be evidenced by the immense sums of money occasionally paid as *stipendia* to barbarian allies and clients, not to mention material resources of near-border provinces, which were well known to barbarians, and which evoked their envy and the desire to possess more. The indirect causes of the wars discussed here are not less significant, and, besides, they involved not only borderline peoples next to border territories, but also all the middle European *barbaricum* (map 1). This matter concerns the so called *superiores barbarii*, i.e. the "barbarians living above" (SHA, M.A. 14,1), who, in their turn, exerted pressure on the "barbarians living below", and the latter pressed against the Roman borders. At the same time, there could have been more links of the chain of mutual relations; that is why it is often said that in that particular case the domino effect took place. How should one distinguish the above mentioned *superiores barbarii*? Opinions about the matter are divided. Some researchers held that the *superiores barbarii* were Goths (*Dobiáš 1964, 194, 223, Wolfram 1990, 42-45*) mainly, and, according to others, they consisted also of the Vandalian tribes, such as: the Victovalians and the Hasdingi, while, for instance G. Dobesch (1994, 18-19), most extensively dealing with this question, maintains that also the Elbian tribes, such as the tribe of the Longobards, who initiated Marcomannic wars should be included in the group of *superiores barbarii*. P. Kehne (1994, 40-41) views the question in a somewhat different way, since, in his opinion, there can be distinguished three zones: of the first, the second and the third contact in the *barbaricum* territory. In the first zone, the Empire maintained close and direct contact with the barbarians, the second zone and the Empire were connected by diplomatic and trade ties, while the third zone, in the most distant part of the territory, evaded any Roman control and, at the same time, it constituted the source of unexpected unrest and threat.

I am convinced that a universal formula should be adopted, so that the *superiores barbarii* refers to all the most actively migratory tribes which had a strong influence on their neighbors (map 2). Besides, it is not possible to establish a division into nearer barbarians from the more distant ones, if only because of their relatively frequent displacement, or because of their actual prevalence in the domain of their political and military activity aimed at both their neighbors and the Empire. I will attempt to illustrate this with several quite spectacular examples. In the case of Rhein-Weser culture sphere it was the Chatti in the south and the Chauca in the north, who were most active in pressing against the tribes in the neighborhood. At the same time, the Chatti intensely pushed on the German East. It is quite probable that it was due to them that the already mentioned Elbian Longobards became active too. Maybe it was for the same reason that the Hermundurii living between the Saale and the upper Elbe rivers (map 1) pushed on the border of the province of Retia. As a reaction to the threat from them, the Romans erected the legion camp *Castra Regina*, in which, after Marcomannic

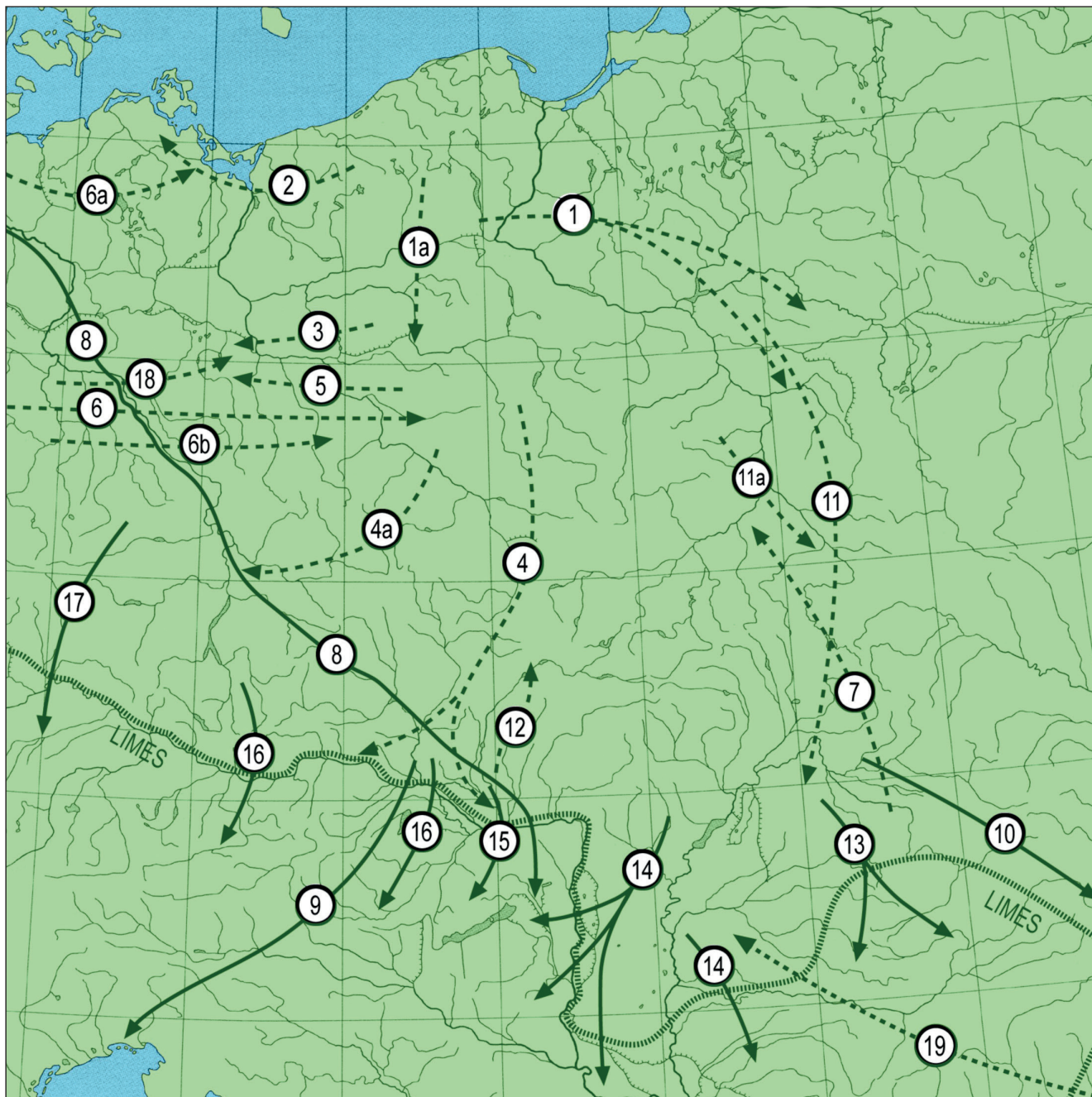
¹ I expressed my views of the origin of a conflict in a similar tone, but, rather more extensively, in my monograph on "Wojny markomańskie" (Warsaw 2011) published by "Wydawnictwo Bellona SA" in the series of "Historyczne bitwy". Readers, who are interested in the general problems associated with the wars are encouraged to read the above mentioned book.



Map 1. The middle European *barbaricum* on the eve of the Marcomannic wars. The approximate localization of tribes.

wars ended, the legion III Italica was placed. The strong influence of Chatti reached even as far as the territory of today Poland, and, to be exact, the border territory of Great Poland and Silesia, which has been evidenced by the research of A. Błażejowski (2007a, 274, 275; 2007 b, *passim*). It was mentioned earlier in this paper that the Goths and their kins, i.e. most generally speaking, the peoples belonging to the territory of Wielbark culture sphere are most frequently associated with *superiores barbarii*. It was the Goths that, while migrating southeast, expelled the tribe of the Vandals- Hasdingi (map 2) from the territory of Mazovia, Podlasie and the northern Lublinian territory. They, in turn, moved to the territory settled by Free Dacians (mainly Kostoboci), where, owing to Roman favouritism, they were allowed to settle. The appearance of the Hasdingi brought about disorder in the Dacian world and its temporal destabilization whose unpleasant effects such as devastating raids soon affected also the Roman province of Dacia. At more or less the same time, another group of Goths pushed from Pomerania southward, which activated the tribes from the territory of Przeworsk culture who settled in today's middle and southern Poland, with the result that Vandal tribes under the general name of Victovallians partially moved to the territories of the Marcomanni and the Quadi. The fact that they were there is confirmed by archeological sources (Tejral 1999, 137-213; Olędzki 1997, 63-77; 2008, 119-125; Rajtár 2002, 360, 361.) on the one hand and by written records on the other (SHA, MA 14,1;17,3;22,1; Tabula Peut. IV; Hyppolytus, Chron. 221). Similarly, the *superiores barbarii*, who belonged to the Sarmatian world, that is the tribes of Alans and Roxolani (map 1 and 2), moved, on the eve of the Marcomannic wars and in their course to the territories of their kins, Jazyges, who settled in the Great Hungarian Lowland. In this case, the latter, fortified by troops of their kin tribes felt sufficiently strong and additionally motivated to undertake aggressive actions against Rome.

The complex of the phenomena described above constituted an external, as if secondary symptom of the problem. One should therefore probe deeper, that is to try to explain what was the immanent, or rather original cause of these phenomena, in other words what brought them about. The 2nd century, and particularly its second half, was characterized in the territory of *barbaricum* by a considerable rise of the general economic and civilizational level. Nearly all the domains of economy underwent progress then. This applies especially to black smithy, constituting the domain, which we would call strategic nowadays. Its impressive development is testified by archeologic research, which has revealed the functioning of numerous centres of smelting and treatment of iron dispersed over the middle European *barbaricum*. Such centres were discovered for instance within the Elbian culture circle, for instance in the region of the river Peene in the north and near the town Cottbus in the south (Leube 1992, 131, fig. 1), but they were most numerous in the territory of Przeworsk



Map 2. The approximate directions of the invasions, cultural permutations and tribal migration in the epoch of Marcomannic wars; 1, 1a, 2, 3 – the directions of the expansion of peoples belonging to Wielbark culture (Goths and their satellites; 4 – the direction of the influx of the Vandals-Victovallians into the middle Danube region; 4a – the influence of Przeworsk culture sphere on the Bohemian Basin; 5 – the influence of the Przeworsk culture sphere upon the Gustom Group, 6 – the influx of Chatti into the western areas of Przeworsk culture sphere; 6b – the influence of Elbian culture circle on the Przeworsk culture; 7 – the direction of the influx of the Dacians into the territory of Przeworsk culture; 8 – the invasion of Pannonia by Longobards and Obii in the year 166/167; 9 – the invasion of the territory of the Empire by the Marcomani and Quadi in the year 170 (the ruination of Opatergium); 10 – the initial section of the raid of Costoboci on the Balkans and Greece; 11 – the migration of Hasdingi into the basin of the upper Tisza (the year 171); 12 – the direction of the expansion of Quads into the territory of Cotini; 13 – the inroads made by the Free Dacians upon the province of Dacia; 14 – the directions of the inroad made by Jazyges; 15, 16 – the direction of the inroads made by Marcomani and Quadi; 17 – the direction of the inroads made by Hermunduri; 18 – the direction of the putative expansion of Semnones; 19 – the direction of the infiltration of Semnones; 20 – the direction of the infiltration of Roxolani

Note: the directions marked by a continuous line correspond with information provided by written sources, and those marked by a dotted line have been suggested by archeological data.

culture, where they have been thoroughly examined. The majority of them, including quite a large metallurgical centre located in Mazovia, to the west of Warsaw (Woyda 2002, 121-154), produced wares, most probably to meet their own, local needs. This cannot be said about the center located in Świętokrzyskie Mountains, which was the kind of unique phenomena. It covered the area of about 800 square kilometres, in which there have been registered as far as 6000 metallurgical sites, and, in the majority of them, several thousand of blast furnaces arranged in rows. At least 50 habitable settlements accompanied these sites (Orzechowski 2002, 27-43; Bielenin 2006, 13-31). What distinguishes this centre from others is

also the fact that its production was based on high quality iron ores – hematites obtained by the method of subterranean mining. The gigantic scale of production and advantageous location of the centre (that is on the southern edge of the territory of Przeworsk culture) allow one to infer that the recipients of the product from the region of Świętokrzyskie Mountains (most probably in the form of half-ready product) could have been Swebian tribes from the middle Danube region, that is Marcomanni, Quadi and Naristi, which did not have at that time their own developed metallurgy (*Łowmiański 1964, 324-327; Pleiner 1965, 31, 32*). Such circumstances could explain quite convincingly the relations and connections among the above enumerated tribes and Vandals-Victovallians, which is evidenced by the sources (see above). In general, such a rapid development of metallurgy influenced not only the increase of resources of armament and its quality differentiation, but also of progress in production of many other tools. This is proved by the discovery made at the archeological sites (mainly settlement) of such tools as half-scythes, sickles, forks and metal fittings of coulter, in the shape of cuts and coulters. There are also more saws and axes, that is tools making possible more effective and efficient extirpation of forests. The greater number of better tools, in turn, led to the increase of the cultivated areas. Therefore, there appeared circumstances favorable for intensifying agricultural production and, connected with it, the breeding of domestic animals. It is also worth mentioning that, along with the hitherto basic types of corn-growing, that is wheat, barley and millet, the most important role begins to be played by rye, which was well adjusted to the climatic conditions and soil of the middle Europe, and, moreover, it could be sown in autumn too. Following P. Heather (*2010, 576-577*) it may be concluded that it was also then that the three-field system began to be introduced and replaced the earlier two-field system. Deforestation, on the one hand, and a much better tillage connected with the beginning of fertilizing fields with manure, moved agriculture to a considerably higher level. Taking into consideration all the factors enumerated here, it should come as no surprise that in the period in question an immense growth of population, which could even be regarded as a demographic boom, took place. Evidence of that growth can be found in the territories of the present Poland and the maps made by archeologists confirm the fact by showing the increased number of new archeological sites dated at the second half of the second century (*Godłowski 1985, maps 4-6, Kokowski 1989, map 1, 2*). Thus, the situation elucidated here provides a sufficient explanation of the migration tendencies of many tribes, constantly seeking for themselves new areas to inhabit. Indissolubly connected with this fact are the structural features of tribe formation perceived *sui generis*. It was characterized by a relatively loose bond between people organized in a tribe and the territory inhabited by them, which in extreme situations (for instance because of a raid of more powerful neighbor or because natural resources of the environment had been used up was simply abandoned). Completely different relations always occur where we have to do with a fully shaped nation, constituting a considerably higher form of social organization. There appears the notion of “fatherland” which is a superior value and which should be defended and protected by any price.

Finally, it should be noted that among the indirect causes which brought about the Marcomannic wars there may be included also certain elements of the Roman policy employed and aimed at the so called *barbarii*. I would not, however, judge it so severely as the German scholar – P. Kehne does (*1994, 46-48*): he condemns this policy wholesale, maintaining that only “partnerchaftliche Kooperation” with the barbarians could protect the Roman interests. Personally, I believe that such an approach is anachronistic, i.e. it transforms contemporary views, or even currently applied political methods to the ground of a formation of antiquity, governed by a set of rules and laws different from ours. Another aspect of the question is that some activities of the Romans turned, in spite of their intentions, against themselves. For instance, the prolonged state of peace, the so called *pax Romana* and particularly the system of vassal states to which mutual wars were forbidden, inevitably led to bringing the barbarians closer together and making them aware of their common interests. The consolidation of German tribes led them to the awareness of the strength of joined forces and, in further consequence, to the readiness to confront the hitherto invincible Empire. Another disadvantageous element consisted in paying huge sums of money as so called *stipendia* to the allies and collaborators. The appetites of the beneficiaries usually grew steadily and, apart from that, they entertained in their imagination the mirage of the exceedingly wealthy state, whose possessions were worth grabbing (*Kolendo 1987, 388*).

As stated at the beginning of the present paper, it is impossible to specify all causes which brought about the Marcomannic wars. What I have attempted to do was draw attention to the most essential ones and to their approximate gradation. To sum up, it has to be stated that it was only the accumulation of all the causes that led to the “surpassing the critical mass” and to an outburst of conflict on a scale yet unknown in the history of the early Empire.

REFERENCES

- Bielenin 2006* – K. Bielenin: Podsumowanie 50 – lecia badań nad starożytnym hutnictwem świętokrzyskim. In: 50 lat badań nad starożytnym hutnictwem świętokrzyskim. Archeologia – metalurgia – edukacja, Kielce 2006.
- Błażejowski 2007a* – A. Błażejowski: Rzym i Chattowie. Konflikty na limesie nadreńskim i ich konsekwencje w *Barbaricum*, *Antiquitas* 29, 2007, 269-277.
- Błażejowski 2007b* – A. Błażejowski: Kultura przeworska a reńsko – wezerska strefa kulturowa, Wrocław 2007.
- Dobesch 1994* – G. Dobesch: Zur Vorgeschichte der Markomannenkriege, [in:] *Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen*, Brno 1994, 17-32.

- Dobiáš 1964* – J. Dobiáš: Dějiny československého území před vystoupením Slovanů, Praha 1964.
- Godłowski 1985* – K. Godłowski: Przemiany kulturowe i osadnicze w południowej i środkowej Polsce w młodszym okresie przedrzymskim w okresie rzymskim, Wrocław 1985.
- Godłowski 1993* – K. Godłowski: Die Barbaren nördlich der Weskarpaten und Karpatenbecken – Einwanderungen, politische und militärische Kontakte. Specimina Nova Diss. Hist. 1993, 65-93.
- Heather 2010* – P. Heather: Imperia i barbarzyńcy. Migracje i narodziny Europy, Poznań 2010.
- Kehne 1994* – P. Kehne: Das Instrumentarium kaiserzeitlicher Aussenpolitik und Ursachen der Markomannenkriege, [in:] Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen, Brno 1994, 39-50.
- Klose 1934* – J. Klose: Roms Klientel – Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau, Breslau 1934.
- Kokowski 1988* – A. Kokowski: Problematyka kultury wielbarskiej w młodszym okresie rzymskim, vol. 1, Lublin 1988, 15-32.
- Kolendo 1987* – J. Kolendo: Rzym i barbarzyńcy Europy środkowej i wschodniej, Meander 42, 1987, 385-399.
- Leube 1992* – A. Leube: Studien zu Wirtschaft und Siedlungen bei den germanischen Stämmen im nördlichen Mitteleuropa während des 1. – 5./6. Jh. u. Z., Etnographisch – Archäologische Zeitschrift 33, 1992, 130-146.
- Łowmiański 1964* – H. Łowmiański: Początki Polski, vol. 1, Warszawa 1964.
- Olędzki 1997* – M. Olędzki: The Role of the Amber Route in the Infiltration of the Przeworsk Culture into the Middle Danube Area, Acta Musei Moraviae 82 (Supplementum), 1997, 63-77.
- Olędzki 2008* – M. Olędzki: Czas przemian. *Barbaricum* między Bałtykiem a środkowym Dunajem w dobie wojen markomańskich, Łódź 2008.
- Orzechowski 2002* – Sz. Orzechowski: Zaplecze osadnicze starożytnego okręgu hutniczego w Górach Świętokrzyskich i jego relacje ze strefą produkcyjną, [in:] Hutnictwo świętokrzyskie oraz inne centra i ośrodki starożytnej metalurgii żelaza na ziemiach polskich, Kielce 2002, 27-43.
- Pitts 1989* – L. F. Pitts: Relations between Rome and the German „Kings” on the Middle Danube in the First to Fourth Centuries A.D., Journal of Roman Stud. 79, 1989, 45-58.
- Pleiner, R. 1965*: Die Eisenverhüttung in der „Germania Magna” zur römischen Kaiserzeit, Ber. RGK 45, 11 – 86.
- Rajtár 2002* – J. Rajtár: Zur Verbreitung der Fibel Almgren 43 im Mitteldonauegebiet, [in:] Zwischen Rom und dem *Barbaricum*, Nitra 2002, 355-364.
- Tejral 1999* – J. Tejral: Die Völkerwanderungen des 2. und 3. Jh. und ihr Niederschlag im archäologischen Befund des Mitteldonaureiches. In: Mitteleuropäische Barbaricum und die Krise des römischen Weltreiches im 3. Jahrhundert, Brno 1999, 137-213.
- Wolfram 1990* – H. Wolfram: History of the Goths, London 1990.
- Woyda 2002* – S. Woyda: Mazowieckie centrum metalurgiczne z młodszego okresu przedrzymskiego i okresu wpływów rzymskich, [in:] Hutnictwo świętokrzyskie oraz inne centra i ośrodki starożytnej metalurgii żelaza na ziemiach polskich, Kielce 2002, 121-154.
- Zwikker 1941* – W. Zwikker: Studien zur Markussäule, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1941.

PRZYCZYNY WOJEN MARKOMAŃSKICH

MAREK OLĘDZKI

Przyczyny, które doprowadziły do wojen markomańskich były wielorakie i złożone. Generalnie można je podzielić na dwie kategorie: przyczyny bezpośrednie i pośrednie. Przez pierwsze z wymienionych rozumiem bezpośrednie działania zbrojne przeciw Cesarstwu, przełamywanie jego granic i inwazję w głąb jego terytorium. W kontekście wojen markomańskich przesłanką dla tego rodzaju przyczyn stanowiła np. translokacja legionów z terenów naddunajskich na Bliski Wschód, gdzie wybuchła wojna z Partami (162 r. n.e.). Jeszcze inną bezpośrednią przyczynę stanowiła chęć pozbycia się klientelnych zależności od Cesarstwa, co dotyczyło m.in. Markomanów, Kwadów i Sarmatów, najaktywniejszych uczestników opisywanych wojen.

Do przyczyn pośrednich zaliczyłbym przede wszystkim wzrost poziomu cywilizacyjnego (postęp w metalurgii, rolnictwie, hodowli itd.) ludów zasiedlających *Barbaricum*, co w konsekwencji implikowało ich przyspieszony rozrost populacyjny, a w ostatecznym rezultacie poszukiwanie przez nich nowej przestrzeni życiowej. Odbywało się to, rzecz jasna, kosztem Cesarstwa, które dla barbarzyńców było niczym Ziemia Obiecana, tj. kraina opływająca we wszelkie dostatki. W inwazjach na tereny Imperium zadziałał poza tym tzw. efekt domina, to znaczy nacisku jednych plemion na drugie itd., z wektorem skierowanym na południe (ryc. 1 – 2). Wnioski powyższe wynikają z analizy źródeł pisanych, które wielokrotnie wymieniają tzw. *superiores barbarii*, obdarzając tym mianem bardzo różne plemiona.

Wreszcie do owych przyczyn zaliczyć też można pewne elementy polityki rzymskiej stosowanej wobec *barbarii*, niejednokrotnie zupełnie nie zamierzone. Chodzi tu np. o strategię *pax Romana* połączoną z systemem państw wasalnych, którym zabraniano wzajemnych wojen. Wiodło to do nieuchronnego zbliżenia między barbarzyńcami i uświadomienia im wspólnych interesów. Konsolidacja plemion zza *limes* prowadziła następnie do poczucia wspólnej siły, a w jeszcze dalszej kolejności do gotowości skonfrontowania się z niepokonanym dotąd Imperium.

PRÍČINY MARKOMANSKÝCH WOJEN

MAREK OLĘDZKI

Príčiny, ktoré viedli k markomanským vojnám, boli rôznorodé a zložité. Všeobecne ich možno rozdeliť do dvoch skupín: príčiny bezprostredné a sekundárne. Ako prvú z nich vidí autor v priamych vojenských akciách proti Ríši, prekročení jej hraníc a inváziu do hĺbky jeho územia. Impulzom k invázii bolo napr. odvelenie légii z Podunajska na Blízky východ, kde vypukla vojna s Parthami (162 n. l.). Ďalšou príčinou mohla byť snaha zbaviť sa klientskej závislosti na Rimanoch, čo sa týkalo Markomanov, Kvádov aj Sarmatov, ktorí boli najaktívnejšími účastníkmi týchto vojen. K nepriamym dôvodom možno počítať predovšetkým vzrast civilizačnej úrovne (pokroky v spracovaní kovov, poľnohospodárstve, chove zvierat atď.) medzi obyvateľstvom sídliačim v *Barbariku*, ktorá viedla k ich populačnému rastu a v konečnom dôsledku k hľadaniu nového životného priestoru. Bolo to samozrejme na úkor Impéria, ktoré bolo pre barbarov zaslúbenou zemou, t. j. krajinou ovplyvňujúcou dostatkom všetkého. V útoku na Impérium sa medziiným prejavil tzv. efekt domina, to znamená tlak jedných kmeňov na druhé, smerujúci na juh (obr. 1-2). Z analýzy písomných prameňov, v ktorých sú často spomínaní tzv. *superiores barbarii*, vyplýva, že týmto menom boli označované rôzne kmene.

Napokon medzi príčiny vojen možno zahrnúť aj niektoré aspekty rímskej politiky voči barbarom, hoci nie vždy úmyselné. Bola to napr. stratégia *pax Romana*, tvorená na systéme vazalských štátov, čo zabraňovalo vzájomným vojnám. To nevyhnutie viedlo k zbližovaniu barbarov na základe spoločných záujmov. Stabilizácia kmeňov za *limesom* viedla následne k uvedomeniu si vlastnej sily a pripravenosti do konfrontácie s dovtedy neporazeným Impériom.

Translated by autor

Marek Olędzki
Instytut Studiów Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego
Ul. Składowa 41/43
PL-50-127 Łódź
marek.oledzki@interia.pl