



In memoriam dr. István Bajusz (1954–2021)

MARISIA

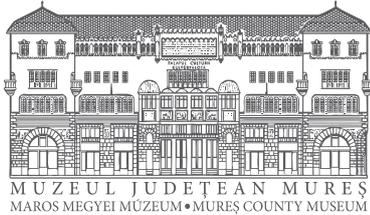
ARCHAEOLOGIA

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3

Târgu Mureş
2021



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CP 85, str. Mărăști nr. 8A, 540328 Târgu Mureș, România

e-mail: marisiaedit@gmail.com

Cover: István KARÁCSONY

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ISSN 2668–7232



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AN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINE BELONGING TO THE COȚOFENI CULTURE FROM SÂNGEORGIU DE MUREȘ

Sándor BERECKI*

The article presents an anthropomorphic figurine discovered incidentally in 2009 in Sângeorgiu de Mureș. The fragmentary figurine can be dated to the third phase of the Coțofeni culture and presents a person with arms in an orans position. Figurines similar to this specific type were discovered in several contemporary settlements in Transylvania as well as in the neighbouring regions.

Keywords: anthropomorphic figurine, Late Copper Age / Early Bronze Age, Coțofeni culture, Mureș Valley

Cuvinte cheie: figurină antropomorfă, eneolitic / epoca bronzului timpuriu, cultura Coțofeni, valea Mureșului

The Late Copper Age / Early Bronze Age settlement from Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Mariaffy Chapel* can be found on the left side of the Mureș River on a terrace of a medium height, on the right of the road that leads from Târgu Mureș to Reghin (DN 15), close to the entrance to Sângeorgiu de Mureș from Târgu Mureș, on the territory of the cemetery situated around a chapel. This plateau is in fact the first terrace of the Mureș found outside the floodplain, a plateau which follows the river from the region of Reghin until Târgu Mureș, in certain parts fragmented by secondary valleys of streams, tributaries of the Mureș. Close to the site from the chapel other five contemporary settlements are known from the end of the Copper Age and the beginning of the Bronze Age (Fig. 1): 1. at the former hippodrome from Târgu Mureș, to the northeast from the County Clinical Hospital; 2. Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Sub Ghera / Gyéra-alja*, researched through systematic excavations by Zoltán Székely; 3. Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Vârful*

Dealului with incidental finds; 4. Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Cânepiști* also with incidental finds of Copper Age pottery; 5. Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Dealul Bunii / Buna-hegy*, researched in the '80s by Valeriu Lazăr.

The archaeological site of Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Mariaffy Chapel* (Fig. 2) – which most probably is part of the same settlement as the site at Hippodrome – is known in the literature due to some incidental discoveries from 1951 and the excavations of Székely Zoltán from 1957.¹ The excavations conducted at approximately 8 m (surface of 6 × 4 m) respectively to 25 m westwards (section of 10 × 1 m) from the chapel a dwelling was unearthed with a 40 mm thick adobe floor. Here, also the stratigraphy of the site was identified, consisting of a lower archaeological layer of 0.30–0.50 m with rich material coming from the Coțofeni culture, and an upper layer of 0.30–0.40 m. The archaeological material, largely unpublished, dates from the third phase of the Coțofeni culture.

* Sándor BERECKI, Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, sberecki@yahoo.com

¹ SZÉKELY 1959.

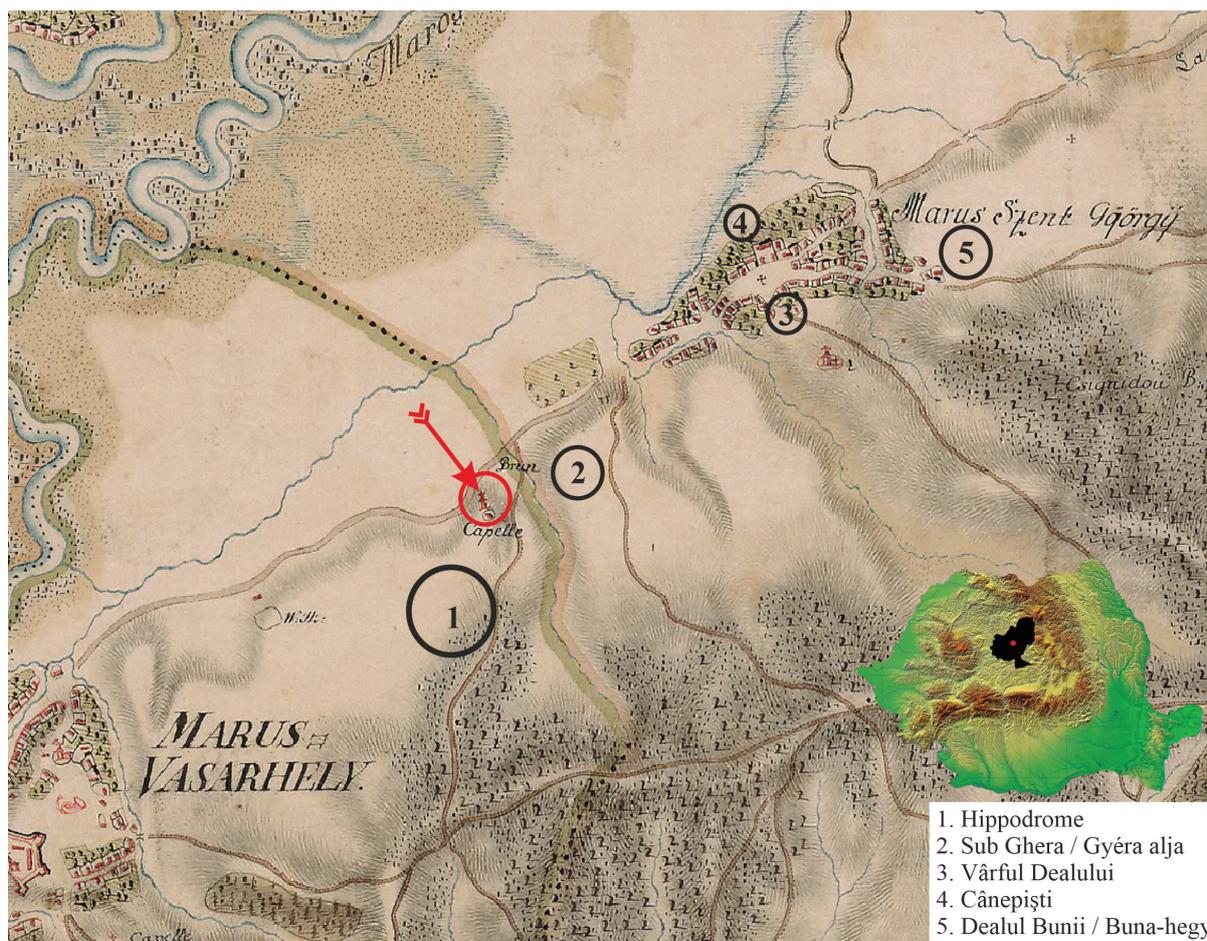


Fig. 1. The location of the site and other contemporary sites from the region mapped on the first Austrian military survey (1763–1785).

The cemetery around the chapel is still in use even today, and with the occasion of digging new graves in 2009 new finds were unearthed, among which besides the pottery fragments also a spindle whorl and a slightly fragmented anthropomorphic representation came to light (Fig. 3).

The anthropomorphic representation recovered in three pieces is part of the flat type, with a wide neck, rounded, oval in section, short arms with narrow ends in *orans* position, with slender hip, thin and a missing lower part.

The preserved lower part of the object is decorated, each side bares a different motif, on the front side a horizontal row of successive elongated stabbed pattern, situated obliquely, under which oblique rows of *Furchenstich* type successive stabbed motif forms one triangle on each

side. On the back side the ornament is separated in two dials by an incised central line, flanked on both sides by two oblique rows of three circular stabbed patterns, followed by *Furchenstich* type oblique lines towards the center of the piece. On the two sides of the object horizontal rows can be found, executed also through successive stabbed motifs. The decoration compiled through successive 'stab-and-drag' (*Furchenstich*) technique a combination of the A-Roman type and the K-Roman type, was almost exclusively used with the incrustation, largely spread especially in the center of Transylvania.²

The sex of the representation could not be defined. The clay from which the artefact was produced as well as the production technique does not differ from the one used for the make of

² ROMAN 1976, 28, 46, pl. 46/8; 118.



Fig. 2. The location of the site Sângeorgiu de Mureș–*Máriaffy Chapel* (photo: S. Berecki, 18 September 2014).

recipients: the paste is homogenous, tempered with sand and pebbles, oxidizing irregular firing, which resulted in a grey core and a brownish brick-red slightly smoothed surface with black fringes. Height: 88.1 mm; diameter at the hands: 73.9 mm; diameter of the hip: 44.7 mm; diameter of the neck: 28.9 mm; thickness: 15.7 mm.

Anthropomorphic figurines are specific objects of Neolithic and Early Copper Age settlements from southeastern Europe. After a period in which they do not appear, such objects reappear in the settlements from the end of the Copper Age and the beginning of the Bronze Age, rarely also in the Middle Bronze Age³ or the first part of the Iron Age.⁴

In the Coțofeni culture such human representations appear in all chronological phases.

Anthropomorphic figurines are known from Agrișteu (two pieces), Boarta–*Cetățuie* (two pieces), Călnic (two pieces), Cicău, Lelicieni–*Locul Oprit* (three pieces), Lopadea Veche, Modoia, Petrești–*Groapa Galbenă*, Pianu de Jos, Poiana Ampoiului, Răchita–*Vârful Zăpozii*, Războieni, Râmnicu Vâlcea–*Copăcelu-Valea Răii*, Săcuieni (three pieces from which two are typical Coțofeni and one specific to the Baden culture), Sebeș–*Râpa Roșie*, Straja, Șeușa–*Gorgan* (13 pieces), Turdaș (two pieces), Unirea–*Dealul Cămării* (two pieces), Vâlcele, and in the collection of E. Orosz.⁵ Most of the artefacts can be dated to the third phase of the Coțofeni culture, except the finds from Lelicieni (Coțofeni I), Unirea, and Turdaș (Coțofeni II).⁶ Their predominance inside the Carpathian Arch,

³ KACSÓ 2019.

⁴ BERECKI 2013.

⁵ ROSKA 1941, 302, pl. CXXIX/20; ROTH 1943; PAUL 1969; DUMITRAȘCU–TOGAN 1971; ROMAN 1976, pl. 51/5–12; LAZĂR 1979; CIUGUDEAN 1983; PETRE–GOVORA 1995; CIUGUDEAN 2000, 39–40, pl. 117–118; LUCA 2001, 92; POPA ET AL. 2004; TATÁR 2006; TUȚULESCU 2008; POPA 2012; POPA–CIUTĂ 2016.

⁶ POPA 2004, 130.

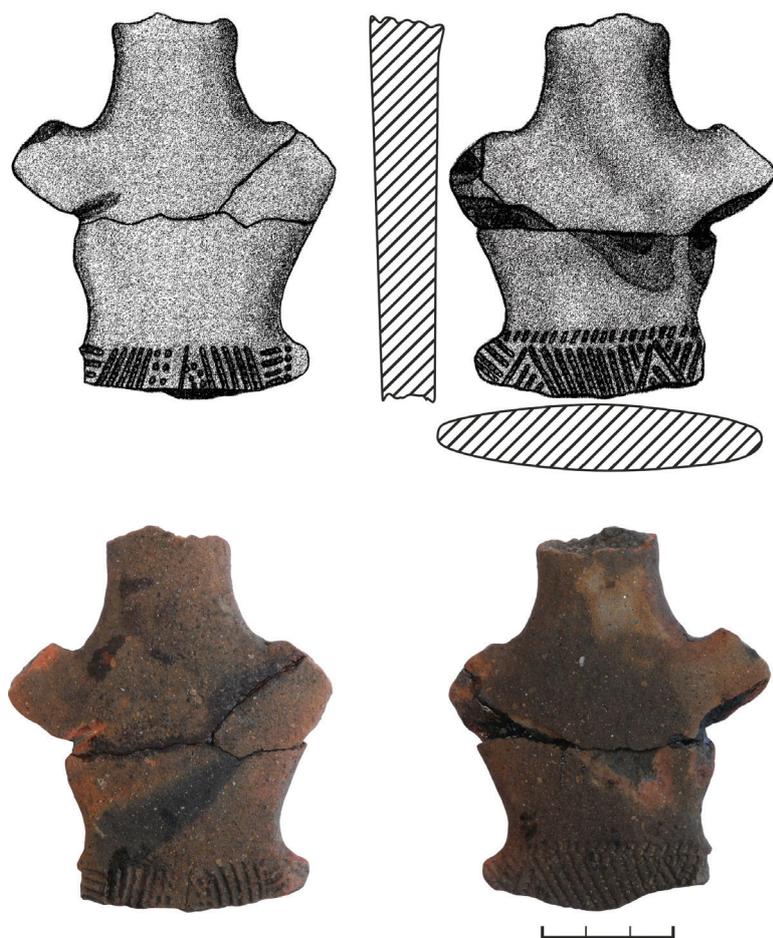


Fig. 3. The anthropomorphic figurine from Sângeorgiu de Mureș–Máriaffy Chapel.

especially along the middle course of the Mureș River, can be explained through the local cultural background or the cultural contacts with the western neighboring regions.⁷

In most cases however, these objects come from the culture layer of the settlements without a well defined archaeological context. In Șeușa–Gorgan, Boarta–Cetățuie, and Unirea–Dealul Cămării they were discovered in houses, while one of the artefacts from Șeușa–Gorgan was found in a pit with possible ritual character.⁸

The majority of the anthropomorphic figurines from the Late Copper Age are decorated,

but frequently they are found in such fragmented state that the entire ornament of the objects cannot be reconstructed. The most widespread decorations are the executed through incisions or stabbing. From the point of view of the ‘message’ the decorations can be considered symbolic designs, which most probably illustrate elements of clothing, clothing accessories, and jewelry or hairstyles.

In some cases, like on one of the three representations from Lelicieni and on the piece from Vâlcele details concerning the sex of the representation are illustrated through small round protrusion indicating breasts. On the artefact from Pianu de Jos and from Șeușa, as well as most likely on the ones from Agrișteu, Boarta, Unirea, and Valea Răii also the pubic triangle is illustrated with a decoration. However, in most of the cases details indicating sex are missing. Thus, even though, when the defining elements of the sex are represented and these indicate the female sex, defining these anthropomorphic representations as exclusively feminine figurines⁹ is questionable. It is arguable that in some cases the maker consciously sought to leave out sexual elements, creating deliberately an asexual or sexless figurine.¹⁰ The artefacts from the Copper Age in the Balkans were seen as representations of individuals, reflecting a society which was not limited to a simple male–female division, but included individuals who were neither male nor female.¹¹

Extremely rarely the eyes are represented on such figurines through perforations.¹²

⁷ RIȘCUȚA 1996, 75.

⁸ POPA–CIUTĂ 2016, 166.

⁹ RIȘCUȚA 1996, 70.

¹⁰ BERECKI 2013, 317.

¹¹ BAILEY 1994, 329.

¹² POPA–CIUTĂ 2016, 168.

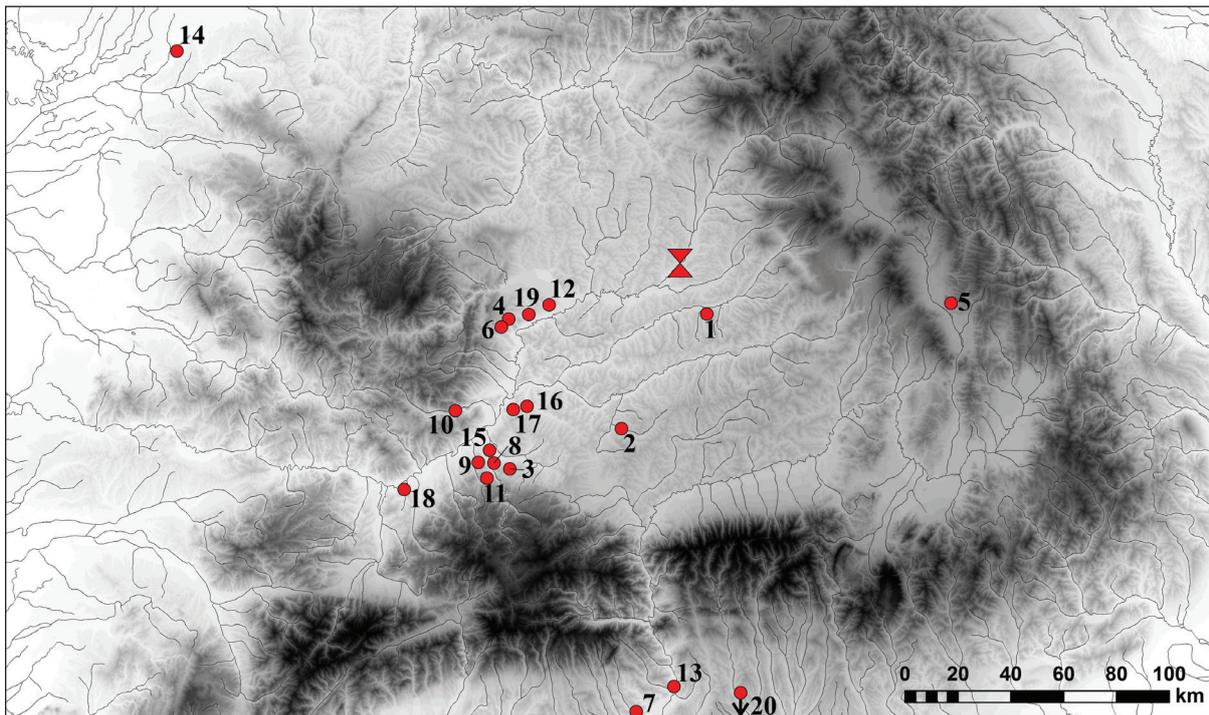


Fig. 4. Sângeorgiu de Mureș on the distribution map of the Coțofeni culture anthropomorphic figurines (base map by L. Rupnik). 1. Agrișteu; 2. Boarta; 3. Câlnic; 4. Cicău; 5. Lelicieni; 6. Lopadea Veche; 7. Modoia; 8. Petrești; 9. Pianu de Jos; 10. Poiana Ampoiului; 11. Răchita; 12. Războieni; 13. Râmnicu Vâlcea; 14. Săcuieni; 15. Sebeș; 16. Straja; 17. Șeușa; 18. Turdaș; 19. Unirea; 20. Vâlcele.

Additional anatomical details are missing. When such figurines were preserved integrally it could be observed that their hands are raised up in an *orans* position (Agrișteu, Boarta, Lelicieni, Lopadea Veche, Pianu de Jos, Săcuieni, Șeușa, Unirea). This position of the human body appears also on the pottery of the Baden culture as well as in the cotemporary Aegean-Anatolian area.¹³ Due to the fragmentary state of the majority of the artefacts the inferior part of the objects cannot be reconstructed. However, from a typological point of view the flat figurines, such as the one from Sângeorgiu de Mureș, are considered to have had a disk-shaped lower part, just as the ones from Agrișteu, Câlnic, Modoia, Pianu de Jos, Turdaș, Unirea, and the one from the Orosz collection. Yet, it cannot be excluded that some of the objects had also legs represented similarly to those from the contemporary cultural medium of the Baden culture.¹⁴

The deliberate fragmentation of the statuettes was a custom frequently presumed in the case of prehistoric communities, connected to certain rituals and magical practices. The abandonment of the objects and their frequent appearance in the archaeological layer and rarely in closed contexts still raises certain questions about their role connected to ritual practice or their function as representations of certain deities. Therefore, due to the lack of conclusive circumstances of discovery in all cases, it is impossible to firmly determine if these objects ornamented on both sides were ceremonial accessories, gods, toys, apotropaic figurines or game pieces.¹⁵ In each case however, they were expressions of a common symbolic language reflecting the common identity construct of the Late Copper Age / Early Bronze Age Coțofeni communities.

¹³ CIUGUDEAN 2000, 40.

¹⁴ BONDÁR 1999, 4–7. kép; KALICZ 2002.

¹⁵ BERECKI 2013, 318.

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CRESCENT RISING. SEMI-CIRCULAR-SHAPED PENDANTS FROM BRONZE AGE FUNERARY CONTEXTS OF THE EASTERN CARPATHIAN BASIN

Tibor-Tamás DARÓCZI*

In the research of social archaeology and engendered studies of funerary inventories a group of Bronze Age finds from the Eastern Carpathian Basin was somewhat overlooked in the past decades, albeit they bare important agencies in respect of social stratification and identity negotiation. Crescent-shaped pendants, which are also referred to as lunulae or horseshoe-shaped in the study region, are an important means by which standing within a group, and sometimes in wider region, is expressed. The different types have quite a long-lived life, starting to appear in graves from the late Early Bronze Age, present throughout the Middle Bronze Age and having their dusk in the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age. Due to the single contexts of graves, their relative chronological attribution allows for a typological sequencing, which doubled by existing and new radiocarbon dates enables a refined description of their typological change throughout the Bronze Age of the region. Furthermore, the pendants occupy a central position in the contexts in which they are identified in and precisely this contextual information underscores their social importance. Moreover, engendered kits through which individuals negotiate their status are also identifiable. Lastly, the change in time of agencies that these pendants bare is clearly recognisable, hinting at changes in regional social structures and ways in which identities are negotiated. The study employs almost a hundred such finds or fragments thereof from funerary contexts of the Bronze Age Eastern Carpathian Basin and aspires to present an exhaustive, descriptive catalogue of these discoveries, as well.

Keywords: Bronze Age, Eastern Carpathian Basin, graves, pendants, typology, chronology, radiocarbon dating, social archaeology

Cuvinte cheie: epoca bronzului, estul Bazinului Carpatic, morminte, pandantive, tipologie, cronologie, datare radiocarbon, arheologie socială

A group of metal finds that was overshadowed by the research of bronze weapons and tools in the Eastern Carpathian Basin (ECB) is that of semi-circular-shaped pendants. They are quite common in the Bronze Age of the region and almost a hundred of them were documented in graves. This provides a good starting point to research some of the social practices of the

time, the ways in which social status was displayed and identity negotiated, but also challenge some of the typo-chronological concepts tied to them. Almost four decades have passed since the last systematic discussion of these types of pendants and a review of the existing repertoire from secure contexts, like graves, would provide useful insights.

* Tibor-Tamás DARÓCZI. Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, DK, csibike3@yahoo.com

BRONZE AGE CRESCENT PENDANTS OF THE ECB. MORPHOLOGICAL, FUNCTIONAL, CONTEXTUAL TRAITS AND SOCIAL VALENCES

While these semi-circular pendants are referred to as lunulae, crescent or horseshoe-shaped based on their general appearance,¹ and have several typologies with a more or less relevant chronological value,² the present study refers to them as crescent-shaped. From the Bronze Age graves of the ECB (Pl. I) nine types have been determined.

The first type has 13 documented examples in this repertoire and are of the *bronze plate and semi-circular wings* variety. The earliest one from [407aa1] Mokrin grave 69 is dated to the EBA III, the bulk of the discoveries of this type, [407oo1–4, 6 and 407pp1–2] Mokrin graves 104 and 109, [692v3] Tiszafüred grave D305, [459h6] Ószentiván grave 32, [53n3] Battonya grave 105, are dated to the EBA III–MBA II and the ones from [651ff10–11] Szőreg grave 162 to the LBA Ia. They are usually 4–6 cm long and 2–3 cm wide. From the seven graves in five the sex of the skeleton was determined and it was without exception that of a woman, usually of the adultus age-range. All the skeletons were in the gender specific position of the period and region, i.e. right contracted, save for the one at [692v3] Tiszafüred grave D305, which was left contracted. Most commonly, they are found behind the skull or in front of the chest and in one case, at [53n3] at Battonya grave 105, next to the tibia. They are never encountered alone and usually are associated with bronze semi-spherical scales, diadems, pins, beads and bracelets, save for the earliest instances of discovery at [407aa1] Mokrin in grave 69. Bóna included these in his lunulae category and placed them in the earlier part of the MBA, which are seen as the younger, metal counterparts of similar shaped, older bone finds.³

The *bronze plate and semi-circular wings/hanger* variety is similar to the former, but they are far larger, have a perforated projection used as a hanger and can have a mid-decoration. Out of the four documented finds, two are decorated in the *au repoussé* technique. The earliest one from [651b1] Szőreg grave 2 is dated to the EBA III, the two large ones from [782a1–2] Zsadány grave 1 to the MBA III and the one from [807a1] Luduş grave 1 to the LBA Ib. The earliest one was found in front of the chest of an adultus age-ranged, right contracted woman, while the other three in the urns of the incineration burials. They were usually associated with a few bronze semi-spherical scales, pins, lock-rings, beads and bracelets, while the one from [651b1] Szőreg grave 2 also with two amber beads. Mozsolics defined this type as the half-moon-shaped bronze plate one and delimited three types, based on their mid-decoration and attributed them exclusively to her B IIIb phase, i.e. Koszider horizon.⁴ A similar dating is suggested for the type defined as moon-shaped with mid-decoration and similar sub-variants, as the previous one presented, by Hänsel, with the slight chronological differentiation into an earlier Hajdúsámson and a later Koszider horizon.⁵ Kovács created four groups based on their mid-decoration and also placed them in latest phase of the MBA, the ones presented here are of type A with mid-thorn and type B with mid-anchor.⁶ Similarly, David defined this type as the halfmoon-shaped pendant with anchor-shaped mid-decoration of the Orosipuszta variety dated no later than the end of the MBA.⁷ The hoard of Dipşa contains at least one such find,⁸ dated to the Cincu-Suseni horizon, i.e. Ha A1, despite the fact that it was erroneously described as

¹ MOZSOLICS 1967, 87; HÄNSEL 1968a, 121–122; MOZSOLICS 1973, 52–53.

² For a brief summary, see: REZI 2016, 123–124, fig. 29, 31.

³ BÓNA 1975, 100.

⁴ MOZSOLICS 1967, 89.

⁵ HÄNSEL 1968a, 121–122; HÄNSEL 1968b, pl. 4/27.

⁶ KOVÁCS 1986, 32–33.

⁷ DAVID 2002, 412, 446, A.8.1.1 type.

⁸ CIUGUDEAN ET AL. 2006, 27, cat. no. 285, pl. 33/5.

anchor-shaped one.⁹ Furmánek stated that the varieties of his large moon-shaped plate pendants are grouped only based on their decorations, are dated in the latest phase of the MBA and are usually associated with waist bands of women.¹⁰

The last, large crescent-shaped pendant is the *bronze plate and parallel wings* variety. It seems, that most likely they appear with the onset of the MBA at [407oo5] Mokrin grave 104, [146a1–4] Čoka, and [53o3] Battonya grave 110, and they are still present in the MBA III and LBA Ia [651gg1] Szőreg grave 177 and [651ff6–9, 12] Szőreg grave 162, respectively. Their length is between 4–6.5 cm and their width between 1.8–2.5 cm. From the five documented inhumation burials three had their sex determined and they were women of the *adultus* or *matures-senilis* age-range, usually right contracted, although the skeleton in [651gg1] Szőreg grave 177 was left contracted. At Mokrin they were behind the skull, at Battonya in front of the tibia and at Szőreg in front of the chest. Usually, they are found along bronze semi-spherical scales and less commonly with bronze diadems, pins, lock-rings, beads or bracelets. Lastly, faïence beads were recorded in Battonya grave 110, Mokrin grave 104 and Szőreg grave 162, while an amber bead was found in Szőreg grave 177. Bóna defined this type as *lunulae*, i.e. halfmoon-shaped pendant, and attributed these to the first half of the MBA, who sees them emerging from earlier examples of the same shape, which were made from bone.¹¹

58 of the documented crescent-shaped pendants are of the *Egyek-type*¹². The earliest ones are those of [782a7–9] Zsadány grave 1 dated to the MBA III, while the youngest is the one from [479s3] Pecica Cx–102, chronologically placed into the LBA II. 39 of these were discovered in association with a skeleton, while 18 with

an incineration burial and one had unknown context. Out of the 13 documented inhumation burials only one had the sex determined, [794a1] Egyek grave 2, and it belonged to a right contracted, *maturus* age-ranged man. In two further instances, at [693www1–4] Tiszafüred grave 258 and [479s3] Pecica Cx–102, the age was determined of *infans I* age-range. Right contracted individuals had the pendants on their torso and left contracted ones either on or behind the pelvis, behind the skull or torso. Only in one case, [693rrrr1] Tiszafüred grave 247, was the pendant found in pit and in the rest of the cases they were with the cremated bones in the funerary urn. They are half the size of the first presented type, with their length between 2.4–4.5 cm and width between 1.9–3.7 cm. These types of pendants are seen with bronze semi-spherical scales, diadems, pins, lock-rings, beads, finger rings and bracelets. Lastly, the ones in [693r4–6] Tiszafüred grave 56 were associated with faïence beads and the one from [479s3] Pecica Cx–102 with an amber bead. Mozsolics defines this type as halfmoon-shaped decoration and states that the shape emerges as of her B IIIb phase, but becomes quite common with the start of her B IV phase.¹³ Schumacher-Matthäus refers to them as horseshoe-shaped.¹⁴ Furmánek argued for a similar start for these types of finds, but inspired by the Minoan iconography of the bull, suggested that these are miniature replicas of their horns, hence should be referred to as bull horn-shaped ones instead of cast moon pendants, as he originally defined the type.¹⁵ A terminology, which he later changed to halfmoon-shaped pendants.¹⁶

Of the *vertical perforation and tapered ends* variety only one find was documented in the repertoire at [693kkk1] Tiszafüred grave 163. It is dated to the LBA I, was found next to a right contracted skeleton and size-wise is in the same

⁹ CIUGUDEAN ET AL. 2006, 27, 41, cat. no. 285.

¹⁰ FURMÁNEK 1977, 289–290; FURMÁNEK 1980, 16–18.

¹¹ BÓNA 1975, 100.

¹² Term first used by Sz. MÁTHÉ 1972, 8, no. 16.

¹³ MOZSOLICS 1967, 93; MOZSOLICS 1973, 53.

¹⁴ SCHUMACHER-MATTHÄUS 1985, 91–93.

¹⁵ FURMÁNEK 1977, 283–284.

¹⁶ FURMÁNEK 1980, 37–39.

range as the previous type. It was associated only with a bronze finger ring.

The *winged divider* type was only documented in one grave, [693w5] Tiszafüred grave 66, and was described without the publication of the visual support, as the pendant was heavily corroded decayed and is presently lost.¹⁷ It is dated to the LBA I and was found next to a left contracted skeleton. It was associated with bronze scales, pins, finger ring and bracelet.

A further singular type in the documented repertoire, the *rolled stem* variety. It was discovered in [641b7] Szentes grave 2, is dated to the LBA I-II and was next to a skeleton stretched on its back. The pendant was discovered along with a bronze pin, finger ring and bracelet. Mozsolics defined this type as halfmoon-shaped and acknowledged that already in her B III phase is quite rare both in graves and hoards and they are typically found in her Koszider horizon.¹⁸ In the following phase, i.e. B IVb, albeit rare they tend to have longer stems and the rolled end has more loops.¹⁹ Furmánek supports these chronological claims, placing them in the second part of the MBA, although he refers to them as open-heart pendants, but also suggests, based on Minoan iconography, that the more correct term for them would be lily-shaped pendants.²⁰

Similar to the former type the *rolled stem and mid wings* variety is only documented once at [488aa1] Peștera grave 48. It is dated to the LBA IIB-IIIa, roughly double the size as the previous type and was discovered in the pit of an incineration burial.

The last type, is also a single occurrence among the funerary finds of the Bronze Age ECB. It is defined as the *fluted stem* variety and is dated to the LBA IIB-IIIa period. Also, discovered at the formerly mentioned site, i.e. [488c2] Peștera grave 7, in the pit of an incineration burial.

Only in two instances where the sex was

determined as that of a man have crescent-shaped pendants been recorded, both in the earlier part of the LBA: at [807a1] Luduş grave 1 a *bronze plate and semi-circular wings/hanger* type and at [794a] Egyek grave 2 an *Egyek*-type one. In each case no other bronze finds were associated with the burial. More importantly the pottery from the former burial suggest connections with the earlier LBA of the lower Szamos/Someş basin,²¹ even though the deep bowl used as a lid seems to be local and an MBA III date was suggested by some,²² but in light of the below radiocarbon dating a longer life-span of the type seems to be correct.²³ Crescent-shaped pendants are found in the area of the skull in the EBA III-MBA IIA span and only in rare instances of the earlier LBA, usually several of them as part of head/neck ornament. Single crescent-shaped pendants are usually found in the chest area during the EBA III-MBA as part of a deep necklace or chest ornament, but during the earlier part of LBA, when found in the same area of the body, they never occur alone, but rather several of them are part of the same jewellery set. At the burial ground of Battonya, during the earlier MBA, single pendants are found in two graves in the area of the lower legs and also as part of waist bands during the earlier LBA in the area of the pelvis at two further sites of the middle Tisza/Tisa river.

A critical review of morpho-typology-based relative and absolute chronologies

The majority of archaeologist agree on the relative synchronisations of the pottery series of the individual regions of the ECB (Pl. VI), but their assignment to absolute-relative periods, i.e. EBA, MBA, LBA, or their sub-periods is quite fragmented and lacks consensus. More importantly, severe problems are present in terms of assignment of absolute dates to these absolute-relative periods.²⁴ The lack of systematic

¹⁷ KOVÁCS 1975, 14.

¹⁸ MOZSOLICS 1967, 87, 89.

¹⁹ MOZSOLICS 1973, 52.

²⁰ FURMÁNEK 1980, 19–23.

²¹ e.g. BADER 1978, pls. 26/3, 27/11, 46/8; KACSÓ 1999, fig. 10/1, 4; KACSÓ 2004, fig. 4/1.

²² REZI 2016, 126.

²³ BOROFFKA 1994, 249, 251, TD3f type; BERECKI 2016, 86, III.3 type.

²⁴ PALINÇAŞ ET AL. 2019; QUINN ET AL. 2020, esp. 48–58.

publication of multistratified sites and afferent pottery inventories from the Bronze Age ECB, their compared analysis and less than critical employment of existing radiocarbon dates, non-judicious sampling strategies and publication of new radiocarbon dates without the complete inventories of dated features, leaves space for significant, speculative interpretations of temporal realities.

Several chronologies exist within the ECB, which either focus on typologies of Bronze Age metals²⁵ or cultural realities.²⁶ In the context of crescent-shaped pendants these various systems need to be synchronised and combined to be able to follow changes in practices of wear and displays of self-image. Several researchers attempted this synchronisation with severe and striking problems of relation to each other and to that of absolute chronology.²⁷

In the flawed synchronisations of relative chronologies with the absolute ones the crescent-shaped pendants at first glance appear scattered, as well. The *bronze plate and semi-circular wings* and *bronze plate and parallel wings* types, called by Bóna lunulae, were attributed by him to the earlier part of the MBA.²⁸ Mozsolics places the *bronze plate and semi-circular wings/hanger* type exclusively in her B IIIb phase,²⁹ but the radiocarbon dating of the cremated individual in [807a1] Luduş grave 1 challenges this claim significantly.

Until recently, the entire repertoire was lacking radiocarbon dates, but the skeletons graves of [53n3] at Battonya grave 105 and [53o3] Battonya grave 110 have been dated OxA-31079 and OxA-31080, respectively.³⁰ The former and earlier one is calibrated between 2014–1773

cal. BCE at 2σ , while the latter and younger between 1900–1698 cal. BCE at 2σ accuracy (Fig. 1). This would suggest that the *bronze plate and parallel wings* type if it is not earlier than the *bronze plate and semi-circular wings* it must have had a longer usage, reaching into the beginning of the LBA.³¹ Furthermore, concerns of interpretations of radiocarbon measurements derived from cremated have been stated based on the mere presence of two outlier dates.³² One must note that no methodologies of sample pretreatment were presented for any of the new dates published by O'Shea, nor was there an attempt to discuss differences in results due to laboratory procedures. A recent PhD thesis³³ focused on the issue and analysed the results of radiocarbon dating of cremated bones by comparing pretreatment methods of three different laboratories. She concluded that no significant differences exist,³⁴ but the published table shows differences in results, especially in calibrated age ranges,³⁵ which can only be related to the use of sulphur vs. copper-oxide in the purification through heating stage of the protocols for the removal of sulfur compounds.³⁶ In light of these, it is important to describe the employed procedures, especially since [807a1] Luduş grave 1 was also a cremation burial and the resulting radiocarbon measurement of AAR-31627: 3211+/-29, calibrated to the span of 1518–1423 cal. BCE of 2σ accuracy (Fig. 1), i.e. LBA Ib, significantly alters our views at least on the period in which the *bronze plate and semi-circular wings/hanger* type was used.

At the radiocarbon laboratory of Aarhus University (AARAMS) after testing both pretreatment protocols on the same ten samples,³⁷

²⁵ REINECKE 1899a; REINECKE 1899b; REINECKE 1965; MOZSOLICS 2000, 18, fig. 3.

²⁶ BÓNA 1959, 223; HÄNSEL 1968a, 159–170.

²⁷ CIUGUDEAN 2010, fig. 4; GOGÁLTAN 2015, fig. 10, 23; KISS ET AL. 2015, fig. 5; GOGÁLTAN 2019, fig. 3.

²⁸ BÓNA 1975, 100.

²⁹ MOZSOLICS 1967, 89.

³⁰ O'SHEA ET AL. 2019, tab. 2.

³¹ As the dating, AAR-31646, of grave 162 from Szőreg will confirm this in a forthcoming publication.

³² O'SHEA ET AL. 2019, 621.

³³ AGERSKOV ROSE 2020.

³⁴ AGERSKOV ROSE ET AL. 2019, 7–10.

³⁵ AGERSKOV ROSE ET AL. 2019, tab. 2.

³⁶ AGERSKOV ROSE ET AL. 2019, 3–4, fig. 1.

³⁷ Results are pending publication.

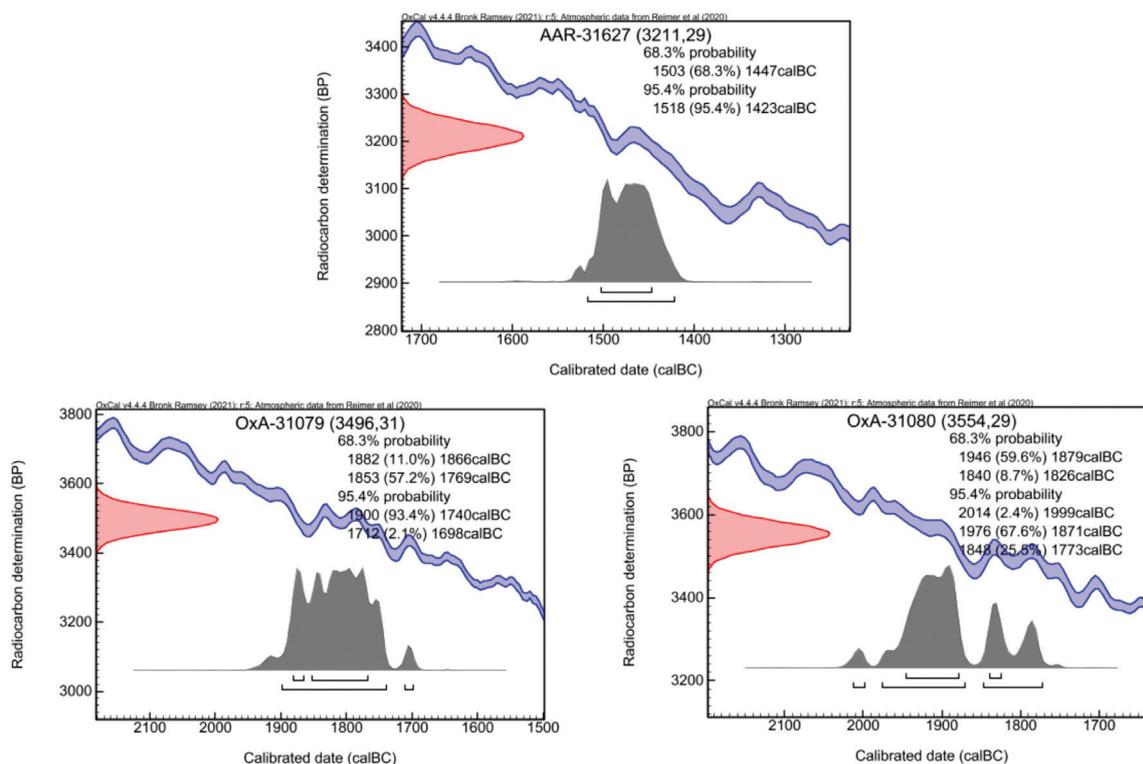


Fig. 1. Plots of calibrated radiocarbon measurements of Bronze Age graves with crescent-shaped pendants. AAR-31627= 807a. grave 1 from Luduş–Fabrica de Câneşă; OxA-31079= 53o. grave 110 from Battonya–Vörös Október–Homokbánya/Baloghtanya; OxA-31080= 53n. grave 105 from Battonya–Vörös Október–Homokbánya/Baloghtanya.

the purification method through sulfoxide was employed. The pretreatment of cremated bones followed the previously established and published protocols at AARAMS,³⁸ and for the measurement of ancient radiocarbon a HVE 1MV multi-element AMS was used.³⁹

The calibrated range of the measurement from grave 1 from the burial ground at Luduş suggests that the incineration of the individual

occurred sometimes during the LBA Ib period of the ECB. This is at odds with the attribution only to the latest phase of the MBA of this type of crescent-shaped pendant by most researchers.⁴⁰ Moreover, if the MBA ends during the first quarter of the 17th century BCE⁴¹ this would make the type and extremely long lived one of two to three centuries, at least.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study intends to provide an overview of a long-held desire to review typologies and the chronological value of Bronze Age

crescent-shaped pendants from secured contexts of funerary milieus. Further, it provides a useful discussion on the accuracy and correctness

³⁸ OLSEN ET AL. 2008; OLSEN ET AL. 2011, 262.

³⁹ KLEIN ET AL. 2014; HEINEMEIER ET AL. 2015; OLSEN ET AL. 2017.

⁴⁰ MOZSOLICS 1967, 89; HÄNSEL 1968a, 121–122; FURMÁNEK 1977, 289–290; FURMÁNEK 1980, 16–18; KOVÁCS 1986, 32–33; REZI 2016, 126.

⁴¹ Pending publication of radiocarbon dating of the entire depositional sequence at the multistratified sites of Túrkeve–Terehalom and Jászdózsa–Kápolnahalom, but also suggested by the published sequence at Kakucs–Turján (STANIUK ET AL. 2020, tab. 5.1) and Pecica–Şanţul Mare (NICODEMUS–O'SHEA 2015, tab. 1, fig. 2).

of employment of radiocarbon dates, especially from cremated bones, and raises awareness on the correctness of sampling strategies and the choice in pretreatment protocols. Dry and non-judicious discussion of numbers, resulting from the calibration of radiocarbon measurements will only further widen the gap between the

synchronisation of relative and absolute chronologies, and will only perpetuate existing fallacies. Lastly, it raises an alarm over the accuracy and employment of typo-chronologies of metals, which are not verified through radiocarbon measurements and were already highlighted in other European regions, as well.⁴²

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of AMS Centre at Aarhus University, for the logistical support and prompt, helpful advice of Hanne Jakobsen, Mette Sand Kalaae, Marie Kanstrup, Ann Berith Valbøll Jensen, Bente Philippsen, Thomas Schrøder Daugbjerg, Mikkel Fristrup Schou and Claus Grosen without which the present research would have not been possible. Furthermore, special thanks are owed to Sándor Berecki for allowing access to the finds

of the Luduş–*Fabrica de Cânepă* burial ground and redactorial support throughout the conception of the present paper. Lastly, I would like to thank Szilárd-Sándor Gál for the anthropological determination of sampled bones and help with the sampling. This work was supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0406, within PNCDI III.

CATALOGUE OF CRESCENT-SHAPED PENDANTS OF THE BRONZE AGE ECB

The numbering of the burial grounds follows that of a previously published catalogue of funerary finds of the ECB⁴³ and those of individual graves and respected, metal finds of a forthcoming major study on the funerary metals finds of the prehistoric ECB.⁴⁴

[53] **Battonya–Vörös Október-Homokbánya/Baloghtanya**, megy. Békés, HU

Archeco-zone: E2; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(53n) Grave 105; Dating: MBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** E-W; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** juv.

Description: The skeleton is mildly well preserved, was contracted on her right side and had an east-west orientation. A pot with spherical squashed body and a single handle was discovered in front of the lower legs, decorated with incised motifs and a four-handled deep dish

with semi-spherical body in front of the skull. Next to the beads of shells and snails, segmented faïence pearls are also noted in the area of the chest (DARÓCZI 2015, 78, no. 53; SZABÓ 1999, 47). Based on pottery analogies of shape and decoration the grave is dated into the Middle Bronze Age I-II (SZABÓ 1999, 23, 24–25).

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a woman of juvenile age, 14 to 17 years old. Ossification and twisting of the premolars were also noted (SZALAI 1999, 128, 136, 142–143, 147, tab. 2, 7, 11).

Archaeozoology: The right humerus of an adult cattle was noted in front of the torso, most likely of the Primigenius-type. Moreover, beads of Dentalium shells, Cerythium and Columbella-rustica snails were also recorded especially in the thoracic region and to a lesser extent below the legs (BARTOSIEWICZ–TAKÁCS 1999, 165–167, 170, 172, tab. 1; SZABÓ 1999, 47).

⁴² STOCKHAMMER ET AL. 2015.

⁴³ DARÓCZI 2015.

⁴⁴ DARÓCZI forthcoming.

n3. Pendant, fragmentary (1973–1979); Pl. II
L: 3.9 cm; **W:** 2.7 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: The pendant is crescent or horn-shaped with the tips pointing downwards and a broken-off, cast loop was found on top in the middle. It is of the *Crescent-shaped-type* (FURMÁNEK 1980, 37–39, nos. 693–777), dated from the latest Middle Bronze Age to the latest Late Bronze Age, although all the above examples are with a perforation and bulges in the middle, not a perforation on a lobe, which would allow for this type a far earlier date in the ECB, i.e. in the earlier MBA (BÓNA 1975, 284–285; MOZSOLICS 1942, 27, 72).

Illustration: (after SZABÓ 1999, fig. 38/7)

Bibliography: (SZABÓ 1999, 47, figs. 38/7; 39)

(53o) Grave 110; Dating: MBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** SE-NW; **GenSder:** ♀; **Age:** mat.-sen.

Description: The skeleton is well preserved and was contracted on her left side, oriented southeast-northwest. Two pots with squashed, spherical bodies, a small shoulder handle and everted rims were found in front of the skull, one is decorated with incisions, a four handled, semi-spherical deep dish was found just below the skeleton, and in the filling of the grave a two-handled jug with spherical body. Next to the beads of shells, star-shaped faïence pearls are also noted especially in the area of the lower body (DARÓCZI 2015, 78, no. 53; SZABÓ 1999, 48–49). Based on pottery analogies of shape and decoration the grave is dated into the Middle Bronze Age I-II (SZABÓ 1999, 23, 24–25).

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a woman of matusus to senilis age, 52 to 53 years old. Dental caries and amelogenesis imperfecta, hypoplastic-type were also noted (SZALAI 1999, 128, 136, 138, 142–143, 147, tabs. 2, 4, 7, 11).

Archaeozoology: The left humerus of a sub-adult cattle was noted in front of the tibias, most likely of the *Primigenius*-type. Moreover, beads of *Dentalium* shells were recorded at the knees, right shoulder and in front of the skull (BARTOSIEWICZ-TAKÁCS 1999, 165–167, 168–169, 170, 172, tab. 1; SZABÓ 1999, 49).

o3. Pendant, complete (1973–1979); Pl. II
L: 6.5 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: The pendant has an elongated, crescent shape with tips pointing downwards and an elongated lobe on top with a circular perforation. It is a cast *Lunula* (BÓNA 1975, 100, esp. pls. 123/1; 125/5), dated to the earlier and middle MBA.

Illustration: (after SZABÓ 1999, fig. 42/6)

Bibliography: (SZABÓ 1999, 49, fig. 42/6)

[146] Čoka, okr. Severni Banat, SB

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(146a) Unknown; Dating: MBA I-IIa

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** flex;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The contracted skeleton had a funerary inventory rich in metals with over two dozen bronze saltaleoni, two, probably Cypriote knot-headed, bronze pins, eight heart-shaped, bronze pendants and four crescent-shaped, bronze pendants (DARÓCZI 2015, 93, no. 146; SOROCEANU 1991, 133, no. 22; BÓNA 1975, 85, pl. 125/1–5).

a1. Pendant, complete (1937); Pl. II

L: 4.8 cm; **W:** 2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze plate with short, stumpy and parallel wings, and a larger circular perforation in the slightly wider, middle part.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 125/5)

Bibliography: (BÓNA 1975, 85, pl. 125/5)

a2. Pendant, complete (1937); Pl. II

L: 6.2 cm; **W:** 1.8 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze plate with long and parallel wings, and a circular perforation in the slightly wider, middle part.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 125/5)

Bibliography: (BÓNA 1975, 85, pl. 125/5)

a3. Pendant, complete (1937); Pl. II

L: 6 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze plate with slightly arched and

short wings, and a larger circular perforation in the slightly wider, middle part.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 125/5)

Bibliography: (BÓNA 1975, 85, pl. 125/5)

a4. Pendant, complete (1937); Pl. II

L: 6.5 cm; **W:** 2.3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze plate with short and parallel wings with a larger and a smaller circular perforation in the slightly wider, middle part.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 125/5)

Bibliography: (BÓNA 1975, 85, pl. 125/5)

[156] **Cruceni–Módosi út**, jud. Timiș, RO

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground;

Type: plane

(156a) Grave 70; Dating: LBA I-II

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: standing; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: Incineration grave in urn with the only grave good, a bronze pendant, found inside the urn among the ashes (DARÓCZI 2015, 95, no. 156).

a1. Pendant, fragmentary (1958);

L: 3 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** 0.7 cm; **Wt:** 2.9 g; **Material:** brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with only one of the wings preserved and the vertical, cylindrical perforation still visible on the broken-off part, in the middle.

Bibliography: personal communication by Andrei Bălărie

[222] **Egyek–Szőlőhegy**, megy. Hajdú-Bihar, HU

Archeco-zone: E1; **Grouping:** burial ground;

Type: plane

(222a) Grave 2; Dating: LBA I-IIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The cremated remains were placed in an urn along with a fragmentary bronze pin and a bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 105, no. 222; KOVÁCS 1966, 160).

a1. Pendant, fragmentary (1906–1911); Pl. II

L: 2.2 cm; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: A fragment from a charred, plane,

bronze plate, probably from a pendant, was discovered among the ashes in the urn.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 160)

(222d) Grave 15; Dating: LBA I-IIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The cremated human remains were placed in an urn. Next to the urn two juglets were also discovered, while among the ashes more than a dozen metal objects were found: an open-end, bronze bracelet, a crescent-shaped, bronze pendant, a bronze, helix-shaped ring, three semi-spherical, bronze scales, a few bronze lumps and a white pebble (DARÓCZI 2015, 105, no. 222; KOVÁCS 1966, 163, fig. 2/4, 6, 9, 3/1–4).

d2. Pendant, lost (1906–1911);

L: Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant with a plane middle part, but presently lost.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 163)

(222j) Grave 27; Dating: LBA I-IIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The cremated human remains were placed in an urn, which had as a lid a deep dish. Among the ashes a fragmentary bronze pin, lost rings made from bronze plate, and three crescent-shaped, bronze pendants were found (DARÓCZI 2015, 105, no. 222; KOVÁCS 1966, 164, fig. 2/15, 18, 5/1).

j4. Pendant, fragmentary (1906–1911); Pl. II

L: 2.5 cm; **W:** Ø cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant with slightly arched wings and vertically drilled, cylindrical hole, probably were the middle divider and on the opposite side the hanger would have ran through. It was discovered among the ashes.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 164, fig. 5/1)

j5. Pendant, lost (1906–1911);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant with slightly arched wings and vertically drilled, cylindrical hole, probably were the middle divider and on the opposite side the hanger would have ran through. It was discovered among the ashes and is presently lost.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 164)

j6. Pendant, *lost* (1906–1911);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant with slightly arched wings and vertically drilled, cylindrical hole, probably were the middle divider and on the opposite side the hanger would have ran through. It was discovered among the ashes and is presently lost.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 164)

(222o) **Grave 47; Dating:** LBA I-IIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The cremated human remains were placed in an urn, which was covered with a deep dish as a lid that is presently lost. Among the ashes fragments from a bronze wire and a crescent-shaped, bronze pendant were discovered (DARÓCZI 2015, 105, no. 222; KOVÁCS 1966, 164, fig. 5/1).

o1. Pendant, *complete* (1906–1911); Pl. II

L: 2.2 cm; **W:** 2.7 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant with slightly arched wings and vertically drilled, cylindrical hole, probably were the middle divider and on the opposite side the hanger would have ran through. It was discovered among the ashes.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1966, fig. 5/1)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1966, 164, fig. 5/1)

[794] **Egyek–Tag**, megy. Hajdú-Bihar, HU

Archeco-zone: E1 **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(794a) **Grave 2; Dating:** LBA I-IIa

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** ♂; **Age:** adult.

Description: The right contracted skeleton had a small ceramic vessel and a bronze pendant, as grave goods. (DARÓCZI 2015, 201, no. 794; SZATHMÁRY 1981, 50, no. 9, tab. 12; SZ. MÁTHÉ 1972, 8, no. 16).

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a 40–60 years old, i.e. adultus age-range, man (SZATHMÁRY 1981, 50, no. 9, tab. 12)

a1. Pendant, *complete* (1971);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz?

Description: An *Egyek-type*, meaning a crescent-shaped pendant with slightly arched wings

and vertically drilled, cylindrical hole, probably were the middle divider and on the opposite side the hanger would have ran through.

Bibliography: (SZ. MÁTHÉ 1972, 8, no. 16)

[807] **Luduş–Fabrica de Cânepă**, jud. Mureş, RO

Archeco-zone: B2; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(807a) **Grave 1; Dating:** LBA Ib

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn;

Orientation: standing; **Gender:** ♂; **Age:** adult.

Description: The remains of the skeleton were found incinerated in the lower half of the upright standing urn. The urn was missing its neck and rim, while the lid consisted of a brownish-grey shallow bowl. The only grave good is a crescent-shaped pendant with charring marks, located inside the urn among the ash and bones (BERECKI 2016, 54, pl. 5/1, 7/1–2, 39/1).

Anthropology: The human remains weighed 600 g and were of a colour ranging from brown to yellowish-blue. The sex determination as a man occurred according to the dimensions of the long bones and male markers on the skull fragments, while the age determination of 25–30 years old (i.e. adultus), based on the ecto- and endocranial sutures, situation of teeth, epiphyses of the long bones (GÁL 2016, 68).

a1. Pendant, *complete* (2009); Pl. II

L: 7.7 cm; **W:** 5.8 cm; **Th max:** 0.2 cm; **Wt:** 10.07 g; **Material:** Brz?

Description: A cast, crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze sheet was discovered among the incinerated remains. The semi-circular disc-shaped and centrally perforated hanger is in the middle and on top of the pendant, the ends of the wings are slightly inward curving and has one of tips broken off, as is the inner, central projection.

Illustration: (after BERECKI 2016, 53, pl. 39/1)

Bibliography: (BERECKI 2016, 53, pl. 39/1; REZI 2016, 122)

[407] **Mokrin–Selište-Lalina Humka**, okr. Severni Banat, SB

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(407aa) **Grave 69; Dating:** EBA III

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** S-N; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** adult.

Description: The south-north oriented, right contracted skeleton had a rich burial inventory. The head-ornament comprised of 41 Pan-flute-shaped, copper plaques and two copper pendants, one spectacles-shaped the other crescent-shaped. The necklace consisted of several pierced snail, mollusc and muscles shells, along with more than two dozen faïence beads, but also a pierced wolf fang and pierced and decorated stone pendant. A jug decorated with embossed bands, a broken off stone hammer-axe, a brownish flint chip, nine semi-spherical copper scales, a copper needle and a seal made of animal bone were found in the grave, as well (DARÓCZI 2015, 136, no. 407; GIRÍC 1971, 73–74, pl. 21). Based especially on pottery typology it is dated from the latest phase of the Early Bronze Age all through the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (O'SHEA 1996, 58), the jug with embossed decoration most likely dates to the EBA III.

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a woman of adultus age (FARKAS-LIPTÁK 1971, tab. 1).

Archaeozoology: The necklace consisted of a perforated wolf-fang, seven pierced *Cardium* shells, a pierced *Potamidae* and eleven *Dentalium* snail shells, a worked mussel shell, a bead from the tibia of a goat and a seal made from an undetermined animal bone was also reported (BÖKÖNYI 1972; GIRÍC 1971, 73–74, pl. 21).

aa1. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 3 cm; **W:** 2,5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: The crescent-shaped pendant is made of a copper sheet, has slightly inward curved tips and the top part of the pierced knob, that was the hanger, is broken off. It was found behind the neck/torso and is part of the head-ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 21/2)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 73, pl. 21/2)

(40700) *Grave 104*; **Dating:** EBA III-MBA IIa

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** S-N; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** adult.

Description: The south-north oriented, right contracted skeleton had an extremely rich inventory. A head ornament consisted of two

copper sheets, i.e. diadem, 15 semi-spherical, copper scales and six crescent-shaped, copper pendants. Behind the lower back and under the pelvis the remains of a waist string made from ten copper saltaleoni, over a hundred animal teeth, fangs, antler, bones, an oblong pebble, a heart-shaped pendant made from a copper sheet, more than 78 shell and over 500 faïence beads. A two-handled, undecorated jug and a slightly damaged and decorated jug were also among the finds (DARÓCZI 2015, 136, no. 407; GIRÍC 1971, 91, pl. 31, 32/1–4, 6). Based especially on pottery typology it is dated from the latest phase of the Early Bronze Age all through the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (O'SHEA 1996, 58).

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a woman of adultus age (FARKAS-LIPTÁK 1971, tab. 1).

Archaeozoology: The necklace comprised of two pierced wolf fangs, four pierced wild boar teeth, a pierced deer tooth, three fox fangs, 67 dog fangs, 32 antler beads, a bead made from the tibia of a sheep and beads of shell (*Columbella rustica* 73 pieces and *Pectunculus obtusa* Pertsch 5 pieces) (BÖKÖNYI 1972; GIRÍC 1971, 91).

oo1. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 4.5 cm; **W:** 2.3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pls. 31/1)

oo2. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 4.4 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pls. 31/1)

oo3. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 5.1 cm; **W:** 3.1 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pls. 31/1)

oo4. Pendant, fragmentary (1964); Pl. II

L: 6.9 cm; **W:** 2.1 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pls. 31/1)

oo5. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 5.3 cm; **W:** 2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pls. 31/1)

oo6. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 5.9 cm; **W:** 2.4 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with damaged tips and broken off top part of the pierced hangers. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 31/1)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 91, pl. 31/1)

(407pp) Grave 109; Dating: EBA III-MBA IIa

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** S-N; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** adult.

Description: The south-north oriented, right contracted skeleton was rich in discoveries. A necklace comprised of 174 faïence beads, two Cypriote knot-headed copper pins, a helix-shaped copper bracelet of five coils and a head ornament comprising of two crescent-shaped copper pendants, four Pan-flute shaped copper plaques and a spectacles-shaped copper pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 136, no. 407; GIRÍC 1971,

93–94, pl. 34/1–5). Based especially on pottery typology it is dated from the latest phase of the Early Bronze Age all through the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (O'SHEA 1996, 58).

Anthropology: The skeleton belonged to a woman of adultus age (FARKAS-LIPTÁK 1971, tab. 1).

pp1. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 4.9 cm; **W:** 2.9 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with a larger circular perforation through a semi-circular shaped hanger, with a broken off top part. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 34/5)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 94, pl. 34/5)

pp2. Pendant, complete (1964); Pl. II

L: 2.8 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Cu

Description: Crescent-shaped pendant of semi-circular shape made from a copper sheet with a larger circular perforation through a semi-circular shaped hanger, with a broken off top part. It was found behind the skull and was part of the head ornament.

Illustration: (after GIRÍC 1971, pl. 34/5)

Bibliography: (GIRÍC 1971, 94, pl. 34/5)

[459] Ószentiván–Nagyhalom, megy. Csongrád, HU

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(459h) Grave 32; Dating: MBA I-IIa

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** WNW- ESE; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** adult.-sen.

Description: The right contracted, west north-west-east southeast oriented skeleton belonged to a full-grown individual. Grave goods comprised of a two-handled juglet, a copper bangle on the right wrist and a necklace of faïence beads, two copper saltaleoni and a pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 144–145, no. 459; BANNER 1929, 68).

Anthropology: Based on the size of the skeleton the age of the buried individual ought to be in the adultus-senilis age range.

h6. Pendant, complete (1928); Pl. II

L: 5.3 cm; **W:** 3.1 cm; **Th max:** 0.17 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: A crescent-shaped pendant made from a bronze sheet was retrieved from on a necklace placed on the neck of a skeleton. The semi-circular disc-shaped has a wider and perforated middle part, a hanger, on top of the pendant, while the ends of the wings are slightly inward curving.

Illustration: (after BANNER 1929, fig. 4/8)

Bibliography: (BANNER 1929, 68, fig. 4/8)

[479] Pecica–Situl 14, jud. Arad, RO

Archeco-zone: E2; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(479s) Cx 102; **Dating:** LBA II-III

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** E-W; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** inf. I

Description: The left contracted skeleton was east-west oriented and in poor preservation. A loop-handled bi-conical bowl, three semi-spherical, bronze scales, two bronze bangles an ear-ring and a crescent-shaped pendant were among the grave goods (DARÓCZI 2015, 148, no. 479; SAVA-ANDREICA 2013, 65, figs. 15, 20).

Anthropology: The age of the skeleton was established as that of the infans I age-range, based on the length of the femur (SAVA-ANDREICA 2013, fig. 15).

s3. Pendant, complete (2011);

L: 2.4 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** 0.5 cm; **Wt:** 3 g; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with rectangular cross-section and is of circular shape with a vertical, cylindrical perforation and both the inward projecting middle-decoration and outward pointing hanger broken off. It was discovered behind the pelvis.

Bibliography: (SAVA-ANDREICA 2013, 65, fig. 20)

[481] Peciu Nou–În Irigat, jud. Timiș, RO

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(481j) Grave 27A; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn; **Orientation:** standing; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were placed in an urn. The funerary goods

consisted of a fragmentary bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 148, no. 481; SZENTMIKLOSI 2009, 420, no. 184).

j1. Pendant, fragmentary (1988);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** 0.3 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with rectangular cross-section, probably of circular shape. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Bibliography: pers. comm. Andrei Bălărie (481x) Grave 71; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn; **Orientation:** standing; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were placed in an urn. The funerary goods consisted of two fragmentary bronze pendants and bronze ring (DARÓCZI 2015, 148, no. 481; SZENTMIKLOSI 2009, 420, no. 184).

x2. Pendant, fragmentary (1989);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** 0.2 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with circular cross-section, probably of circular shape. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Bibliography: pers. comm. Andrei Bălărie

x3. Pendant, fragmentary (1989);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** 0.25 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with circular cross-section and carinated inner edge, probably of circular shape. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Bibliography: pers. comm. Andrei Bălărie

[488] Peștera–Peștera Igrîța/Igrici barlang, jud. Bihor, RO

Archeco-zone: C1; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(488c) Grave 7; **Dating:** LBA IIB-IIIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in pit; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were found in a hollow, i.e. gour, in the cave. The funerary goods consisted of a fragmentary bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 150, no. 488; EMÓDI 1980, 254, no. 8, fig. 5/8).

c2. Pendant, complete (1963); Pl. III

L: 3.2 cm; **W:** 5.8 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with three-armed wings and a longer and fluted stem. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Illustration: (after EMŐDI 1980, fig. 5/8)

Bibliography: (EMŐDI 1980, 254, no. 8, fig. 5/8) (488aa) *Grave 48*; **Dating:** LBA IIb-IIIa

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in pit; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were found in a hollow, i.e. gour, in the cave. The funerary goods consisted of a fragmentary bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 150, no. 488; EMŐDI 1980, 256, no. 232, fig. 26/232).

aa1. Pendant, complete (1963); Pl. III

L: 5.4 cm; **W:** 5.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with two-armed wings and two short semi-circular projections on the inside and a rolled hanger on top on the opposite side. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Illustration: (after EMŐDI 1980, fig. 26/232)

Bibliography: (EMŐDI 1980, 256, no. 232, fig. 26/232)

[641] *Szentes – Ecser*, megy. Csongrád, HU

Archeco-zone: E2; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(641b) *Grave 2*; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** stretched; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The grave goods of the skeleton stretched on its back were extremely rich in metal finds: two bronze pins, two pairs of bronze bangles, fragments of a bronze ring, a spiral-shaped bronze pendant and a crescent-shaped bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 176, no. 641; NAGY 2005, 10, fig. 6/10; ZALOTAY 1932, 84–85).

b7. Pendant, complete (1931); Pl. III

L: 2.5 cm; **W:** 3.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with half circle-shaped wings and a longer stem on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after NAGY 2005, fig. 6/10)

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 10, fig. 6/10; ZALOTAY 1932, 85)

[646] *Szentes–Nagyhegy (Musa János szőlője, Somogyi Lajos szőlője)*, megy. Csongrád, HU

Archeco-zone: E2; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(646a) *Grave 2/1929*; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** flex; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The grave goods were probably recovered from next to a contracted skeleton, these comprised of a footed, bi-conical vessel with cylindrical neck, two open-end, bronze bangles, a bronze tweezer, three fragments of a bronze wire with triangular cross-section and four bronze pendants (DARÓCZI 2015, 177, no. 646; NAGY 2005, 7, fig. 1/1–9, fn. 3, 4).

a3. Pendant, complete (1929); Pl. III

L: 3.3 cm; **W:** 3.7 cm; **Th max:** 0.35 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with elongated wings and a cylindrical hole through the middle of the object.

Illustration: (after NAGY 2005, fig. 1/2)

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fig. 1/2)

a4. Pendant, complete (1929); Pl. III

L: 3.5 cm; **W:** 3.2 cm; **Th max:** 0.18 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with elongated wings and a cylindrical hole through the middle of the object.

Illustration: (after NAGY 2005, fig. 1/3)

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fig. 1/3)

a5. Pendant, fragmentary (1929); Pl. III

L: 3 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** 0.23 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with elongated wings, missing tips and a cylindrical hole through the middle of the object.

Illustration: (after NAGY 2005, fig. 1/4)

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fig. 1/4)

a6. Pendant, fragmentary (1929); Pl. III

L: 3 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** 0.25 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with elongated wings,

missing tips and a cylindrical hole through the middle of the object.

Illustration: (after NAGY 2005, fig. 1/5)

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fig. 1/5)

(646b) Grave 7/1929; Dating: LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** flex;

Orientation: NW-SE; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The contracted and northwest-southeast oriented skeleton was heavily decayed. A ceramic pot was discovered next to its skull, on the left forearm two bronze bangles and several “horseshoe”-shaped bronze pieces around them (DARÓCZI 2015, 177, no. 646; NAGY 2005, 7, fn. 5; ZALOTAY 1932, 85–86).

b3. Pendant (1929);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Probably cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with two-armed wings were found next to the bangles. Presently lost.

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fn. 5; ZALOTAY 1932, 85)

b4. Pendant (1929);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant with two-armed wings and two short semi-circular projections on the inside and a rolled hanger on top on the opposite side. It was discovered in the urn among the ashes.

Bibliography: (NAGY 2005, 7, fn. 5; ZALOTAY 1932, 85)

[651] Szőreg–Lelőhely C/Szív utca, megy. Csongrád, HU

Archeco-zone: F3; **Grouping:** burial ground;

Type: plane

(651b) Grave 2; Dating: EBA III

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** S-N; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** adult.

Description: The right contracted, south-north oriented skeleton had a strap-handled mug and a two-handled juglet as grave goods, along with a flint blade fragment, seven amber beads, two helix-shaped bronze bracelets, three smaller fragments of bronze saltaleoni, a bronze pin and a fragmentary pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 178, no. 651; P. FISCHL 2000, 80, 109, fig. 9/2; BÓNA 1975, pl. 94/11–12, 128/5–10; FOLTINY 1941, 4–5, pl. II/4, 7, XIX/13–26, 29). The dating into the latest phase of the EBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

Anthropology: It was established, that the skeleton belonged to a woman of the adultus age-range (P. FISCHL 2000, 80).

b1. Pendant, fragmentary (1928–1931); Pl. III
L: 5.4 cm; **W:** 4.7 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, crescent-shaped pendant with one of the broad wings missing. Has a slight bulge, slightly projecting towards the tips of the wings and a more pronounced and wider projection on the opposite side with a semi-circular end and a circular perforation. Probably, it was part of the necklace, hence found around the neck.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 128/6)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 80, 109; BÓNA 1975, pl. 128/6; FOLTINY 1941, 5, pl. XIX/19)

(651ff) Grave 162; Dating: LBA Ia

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** ♀; **Age:** adult.

Description: The right contracted skeleton was accompanied by rich grave goods. A two-handled juglet and a semi-spherical deep dish with a vertical lug-handle were in front of the body. In the area of the chest a rich necklace/chest guard was documented, made from more than a hundred shells from snail, mussels and clams, more than 300 faïence beads, 23 bronze saltaleoni, two bronze semi-spherical scale, seven crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, a heart-shaped bronze pendant, a further trapeze-shaped pendant, two elongated bronze plates with curled up ends, a perforated bone disc, four bone tubes and a bone needle (DARÓCZI 2015, 178, no. 651; P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pls. 108/12, 16, 123/1–7, 124/1–13; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pls. XIV/22, 27, XXI/44, 46–49, 51–65, 67–69, XXII/41–42, 73).

Anthropology: It was established, that the skeleton belonged to a woman of the adultus age-range (REGA 1989, 51, fig. 5), a determination supported also by Farkas Gyula as the grave was not listed among the discrepancies by O’SHEA (1996, 64–67, tab. 4.3., 4.4).

ff6. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 5.7 cm; **W:** 2.4 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated

bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a pointy, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/57)

ff7. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 5.6 cm; **W:** 2.4 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/58)

ff8. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 5.3 cm; **W:** 2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/59)

ff9. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 4.7 cm; **W:** 2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/60)

ff10. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 5.4 cm; **W:** 2.4 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/61)

ff11. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 5 cm; **W:** 2.1 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/62)

ff12. Pendant, complete (1928–1931); Pl. III

L: 4.2 cm; **W:** 2.1 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped, elongated bronze pendant with vertical and short tips of the wings, also with a semi-circular, outward projection in the middle with a circular perforation. It was found as part of the necklace/chest guard in front of the torso.

Illustration: (after BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1)

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 88, 107–108, fig. 16/9; BÓNA 1975, pl. 123/1; FOLTINY 1941, 36, pl. XXI/63)

(651gg) Grave 177; Dating: MBA III

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** N-S; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The left contracted, south-north oriented skeleton was heavily decayed. The various publications mention either four or five vessels as grave goods, while the remaining funerary inventory is lost. The lost finds were: amber beads, bronze saltaleoni and crescent-shaped pendant on chest, a helix-shaped bronze bracelet of the forearm (DARÓCZI 2015, 178, no. 651;

P. FISCHL 2000, 89, 108, fig. 17/1; BÓNA 1975, pl. 110/5–8; FOLTINY 1941, 38–39, pl. XV/13–14, 20, 24). The dating into the latest phase of the MBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

Anthropology: It was established, that the skeleton belonged to a woman of the adultus age-range (P. FISCHL 2000, 89).

gg1. Pendant, lost (1928–1931);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Probably cast, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant was found in front of the chest. Presently lost.

Bibliography: (P. FISCHL 2000, 89, 108, fig. 17/1)

[692] **Tiszafüred–Majoroshalom**, megy. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, HU

Archeco-zone: E1; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(692v) Grave D305; Dating: MBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** adult.-mat.

Description: Next to the left contracted skeleton a deep dish and jug were discovered in the grave, along with a bronze, double-spiral ankle-guard, a bronze pin, two bronze saltaleoni and a bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 184–185, no. 692; CSÁNYI–TÁRNOKI 1992, 208, cat. no. 464; KOVÁCS 1992, 97, fig. 62). The dating into the first phase of the MBA is based on the two ceramic pots, as they are of the B3AC and A1A types, according to typology created by THOMAS (2008, pl. 89).

v3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 4.4 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant is stumpy in appearance, quite wide and with one of the tips of the wings broken off. A circular perforation is noticed through the bronze plate in the top-middle area. It was discovered in front of the chest.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1992, fig. 62)

Bibliography: (CSÁNYI–TÁRNOKI 1992, 208, cat. no. 464/5; KOVÁCS 1992, 97, fig. 62)

[693] **Tiszafüred–Majoroshalom**, megy. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, HU

Archeco-zone: E1; **Grouping:** burial ground; **Type:** plane

(693r) Grave 56; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn; **Orientation:** standing; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were discovered in an upright standing urn with missing neck and rim. Among the ashes two bronze, decorated bangles with thickened ends, a fragmentary torques bronze pin, three bronze pendants, a semi-spherical, bronze scale, four bronze rings, a larger bronze saltaleoni and a faïence bead have been discovered (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 13, pl. 5/56). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

r4. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.5 cm; **W:** 2.8 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant has slightly curved and elongated wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side. It was discovered among the ashes.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 5/56–5)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 13, pl. 5/56–5)

r5. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant has the wings running parallel to each other with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side. It was discovered among the ashes.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 5/56–6)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 13, pl. 5/56–6)

r6. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.5 cm; **W:** 0 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with the wings running, probably, parallel to each other and a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side. It was discovered among the ashes.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 5/56–7)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 13, pl. 5/56–7)

(693w) Grave 66; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** E-W; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The left contracted and east-west oriented skeleton's skull was missing, as the grave was cut by another grave of the Migration period. Grave goods comprised of a footed juglet with two loop-handles and several bronze objects, which sadly are presently lost: a bronze spiral ring, a bronze ring, two crescent-shaped, bronze pendants with a middle divider, another crescent-shaped pendant with a winged middle part, a bronze pin, a bronze plate, a bronze spiral disc, three bell-shaped bronze pendants, three bronze bracelets and another bronze ring with ribbed plate (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 14, pl. 5/66). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

w4. Pendant, lost (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Lost cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with a middle divider.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 14)

w5. Pendant, lost (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Lost cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with a middle divider.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 14)

w6. Pendant, lost (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Lost cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with winged middle part.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 14)

(693yy) Grave 143; Dating: LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** N-S; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The left contracted, north-south oriented skeleton had a missing skull. Grave goods comprised of two bronze, open-end bangles on the right forearm, three crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, two bronze rings of ribbed plate and three circular of bronze wire, a further bronze ring with spiral ends and a bronze saltaleoni, all located around the pelvis (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 21, pl. 12/143).

yy3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.8 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant has slightly curved and elongated wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side It was discovered on the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 12/143–3)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 21, pl. 12/143–3)

yy4. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved and elongated wings, one of them is missing, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side It was discovered on the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 12/143–4)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 21, pl. 12/143–4)

yy5. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 2.3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with the wings running, probably, parallel to each other and a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side. It was discovered among the ashes

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 12/143–5)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 21, pl. 12/143–5)

(693ddd) Grave 149; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** in pithos; **Orientation:** W-E; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** inf. I-II

Description: The contracted skeleton of a child was discovered in a larger jar tilted sideways. Grave goods were discovered next to the jar and they comprised of a smaller urn, a mug, two juglets, two bronze rings of wire and further of ribbed plate and a fragmentary crescent-shaped, bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 21, pl. 13/149). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pots.

ddd1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2 cm; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side. It was discovered in the funerary jar.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 13/149–10)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 21, pl. 13/149–10) (693iii) *Grave 160*; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** NE-SW; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The left contracted, northeast-southwest oriented skeleton had a rich funerary inventory. A small juglet with a strap-handle, two semi-spherical, bronze scales, five crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, two bronze bracelets, five bronze rings with spiral ends and a further of ribbed bronze plate, and two bronze ear-rings were among the grave goods (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; Kovács 1975, 23, figs. 12/a-b, pl. 15/160). The dating into the first and second phases of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

iii1. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 1.9 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered behind the torso.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/160–3)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 12/b, pl. 15/160–3)

iii2. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.7 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered behind the torso.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/160–4)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 12/b, pl. 15/160–4)

iii3. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968);

L: 2.7 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered behind the torso.

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 12/b, pl. 15/160–4)

iii4. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968);

L: 2.7 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered behind the torso.

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 12/b, pl. 15/160–4)

iii5. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968);

L: 2.7 cm; **W:** 2.2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: The cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered behind the torso.

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 12/b, pl. 15/160–4)

(693jjj) Grave 161; **Dating:** LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** NE-SW; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The right contracted, northeast-southwest oriented skeleton had the following funerary inventory: a small juglet with a loop-handle, two bronze, helix-shaped rings, eleven bronze saltaleoni, four shell beads, three crescent-shaped, bronze pendants and five semi-spherical, bronze scales (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; Kovács 1975, 23, figs. 13, pl. 15/161). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

jjj1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.8 cm; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through

the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered on the chest.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/161–20)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 13, pl. 15/160–20)

jjj2. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.8 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered on the chest.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/161–21)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 13, pl. 15/160–21)

jjj3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.8 cm; **W:** 2.3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, was discovered on the chest.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/161–22)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, fig. 13, pl. 15/160–22)

(693kkk) Grave 163; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** right flex; **Orientation:** SW-NE; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The right contracted, southwest-northeast oriented skeleton had the following funerary inventory: a small juglet with a loop-handle, a bronze ring made from a bronze ribbed plate, three helix-shaped, bronze rings, a crescent-shaped and bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; Kovács 1975, 23, pl. 15/163). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

kkk1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.1 cm; **W:** 1.8 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings, thickened and diagonally tapered ends,

probably with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 15/163–5)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 23, pl. 15/163–5)

(693nnn) Grave 172; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** flex;

Orientation: Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The contracted skeleton was heavily disturbed with most of the bones in secondary position. Grave goods comprised of a footed juglet with a loop-handle, another juglet with a strap-handle, three crescent-shaped, bronze pendants and eight semi-spherical, bronze scales (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; Kovács 1975, 24, pl. 17/172). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

nnn1. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.1 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Slightly elongated, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 17/172–3)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 25, pl. 17/172–3)

nnn2. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.3 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 17/172–4)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 25, pl. 17/172–4)

nnn3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.8 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after Kovács 1975, pl. 17/172–5)

Bibliography: (Kovács 1975, 25, pl. 17/172–5)

(693ppp) Grave 175; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** E-W; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The east-west oriented skeleton was contracted on its left side, but the pelvic bones were missing. Grave goods comprised of 16 semi-spherical scales, a bronze ring of ribbed plate, two open-end, bronze bangles, six crescent-shaped, bronze pendants and the lower half of a jar (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175).

ppp1. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 3.2 cm; W: 2.4 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–20)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–20)

ppp2. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.8 cm; W: 2.4 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–21)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–21)

ppp3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.2 cm; W: 2 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–22)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–22)

ppp4. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.7 cm; W: 2 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Slightly longer, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–23)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–23)

ppp5. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.8 cm; W: 2 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–24)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–24)

ppp6. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.5 cm; W: 2 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered behind the pelvis.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 17/175–25)
Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 24, fig. 15, pl. 17/175–25)

(693qqq) Grave 177; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn; **Orientation:** standing; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The bi-conical jar with cylindrical neck and everted rim contained the funerary remains of the incinerated individual and was covered with a lobed, deep dish. The only funerary inventory was a fragmentary, crescent-shaped, bronze pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 25, pl. 18/177). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

qqq1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.1 cm; W: 2 cm; Th max: Ø; Wt: Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered among the ashes in the urn.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 18/177–3)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 25, pl. 18/177–3) (693rrrr) *Grave 247*; **Dating:** LBA I-II

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in pit; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The incinerated human remains were placed in the pit and covered with a lobed, deep dish, next to which was a spherical juglet. Three bronze objects were recovered from among the ashes, all damaged and charred: a bracelet, a ring and a pendant (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 23/247). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

rrrr1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV
L: 2.4 cm; **W:** 2 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved and stumpy wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side, discovered among the ashes.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 23/247–3)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 23/247–3) (693www) *Grave 258*; **Dating:** LBA Ib-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** flex; **Orientation:** NE-SW; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** inf. I

Description: The northeast-southwest oriented skeleton of a young child was contracted, but only the leg bones were in the original position. Five one-handled juglets were among the grave goods, along with four crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, a further cone-shaped bronze pendant, a bronze spiral bracelet, two bronze rings with spiral ends, two bronze saltaleoni, two semi-spherical, bronze scales, and four fragments of a bronze vessels (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 24/258). The dating into the LBA Ib-II is based on the five ceramic pots.

www1. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings, one of them missing, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 24/258–6)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 24/258–6) **www2. Pendant, complete** (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 2.6 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings, one of them missing, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 24/258–7)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 24/258–7) **www3. Pendant, complete** (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings, one of them missing, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 24/258–8)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 24/258–8) **www4. Pendant, complete** (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.2 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings, one of them missing, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 24/258–9)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 29, pl. 24/258–9) (693gggg) *Grave 289*; **Dating:** LBA I

Body treatment: Ø; **Position:** Ø; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The grave and remains were heavily damaged and disturbed. Grave goods comprised of a strap-handled, spherical juglet, along

with a bronze pendant and a bronze bracelet (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 31, pl. 27/289). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

ggggg2. Pendant, complete (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 31)

(693iiiiii) Grave 304; Dating: LBA I-II

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** left flex; **Orientation:** N-S; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The north-south oriented skeleton was contracted on its left side. Grave goods comprised of a bronze pin, two heart-shaped, bronze pendants, two heart-shaped, bronze pendants with a middle divider, two crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, a bronze, spiral pendant, two pierced animal teeth and a juglet (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 32, pl. 28/304). The dating into the first and second phase of the LBA is based on the ceramic pot.

iiiiii6. Pendant, complete (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary and heavily corroded, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 32)

iiiiii7. Pendant, fragmentary (1960–1968);

L: Ø; **W:** Ø; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary and heavily corroded, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 32)

(693lllll) Grave 308; Dating: LBA I

Body treatment: inhumation; **Position:** Ø; **Orientation:** SW-NE; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The southwest-northeast oriented grave was heavily damaged and it had a large jar, a juglet with a strap-handle, three crescent-shaped, bronze pendants, a helix-shaped, bronze ring and a bronze saltaleoni as grave goods (DARÓCZI 2015, 185, no. 693; KOVÁCS 1975, 33,

pl. 29/308). The dating into the first phase of the LBA is based on the two ceramic pots.

lllll1. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.7 cm; **W:** 2.5 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings and broken-off tips, with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 29/308–2)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 33, pl. 29/308–2)

lllll2. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.5 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 29/308–3)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 33, pl. 29/308–3)

lllll3. Pendant, complete (1960–1968); Pl. IV

L: 3.1 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** Ø; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary, cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1975, pl. 29/308–4)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1975, 33, pl. 29/308–4)

[782] Zsadány–Orosipuszta, megy. Békés, HU

Archeco-zone: F2; **Grouping:** single burial; **Type:** plane

(782a) Grave 1; Dating: MBA III

Body treatment: incineration; **Position:** in urn; **Orientation:** Ø; **Gender:** Ø; **Age:** Ø

Description: The rich incineration was discovered and published in the beginning of the last century in somewhat murky conditions, which led some to interpret it as a hoard. The finds are not charred by fire and represent quite a rich funerary inventory of bronzes: Five crescent-shaped pendant, four heart-shaped pendants with V-shaped middle decoration, eleven Ráksi-type pendants, two semi-spherical scales,

a miniature axe and spear-head, two spiral bracers, two golden lock-rings and 15 gold beads, nine coral beads and five pierced animal teeth (DARÓCZI 2015, 199, no. 782; KOVÁCS 1986; MOZSOLICS 1967, 89, 93, pls. 70–71; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34).

a1. Pendant, fragmentary (1926); Pl. V

L: 11.6 cm; **W:** 10 cm; **Th max:** 0.7 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with winged middle-decoration opposite of which an elongated and perforated hanger is located. It is decorated in au repoussé with a row of larger semi-spherical bulges across the wings, each surrounded and linked through a line of smaller semi-spherical decorations, similar to the ones bordering the edges.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1986, fig. 1/5)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1986, esp. 28, fig. 1/5; MOZSOLICS 1967, 89, pl. 71/2; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34/1)

a2. Pendant, fragmentary (1926); Pl. V

L: 11.7 cm; **W:** 10.2 cm; **Th max:** 0.7 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Fragmentary cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with winged middle-decoration opposite of which an elongated and perforated hanger is located. It is decorated in au repoussé with a row of larger semi-spherical bulges across the wings, each surrounded and linked through a line of smaller semi-spherical decorations, similar to the ones bordering the edges.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1986, fig. 1/10)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1986, esp. 28, fig. 1/10; MOZSOLICS 1967, 89, pl. 71/1; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34/2)

a7. Pendant, complete (1926); Pl. V

L: 3.8 cm; **W:** 2.8 cm; **Th max:** 0.2 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1986, fig. 2/6)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1986, esp. 28, fig. 2/6; MOZSOLICS 1967, 93, pl. 70/6; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34/27)

a8. Pendant, complete (1926); Pl. V

L: 4.3 cm; **W:** 2.8 cm; **Th max:** 0.2 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1986, fig. 2/7)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1986, esp. 28, fig. 2/7; MOZSOLICS 1967, 93, pl. 70/5; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34/28)

a9. Pendant, complete (1926); Pl. V

L: 4.1 cm; **W:** 3 cm; **Th max:** 0.3 cm; **Wt:** Ø; **Material:** Brz

Description: Cast, crescent-shaped bronze pendant with slightly curved wings with a cylindrical perforation through the middle of the pendant, probably for a middle divider and hanger on the opposite side.

Illustration: (after KOVÁCS 1986, fig. 2/8)

Bibliography: (KOVÁCS 1986, esp. 28, fig. 2/8; MOZSOLICS 1967, 93, pl. 70/4; BÓNA 1959, 217–218, no. 6; TOMPA 1935, 86, pl. 34/29)

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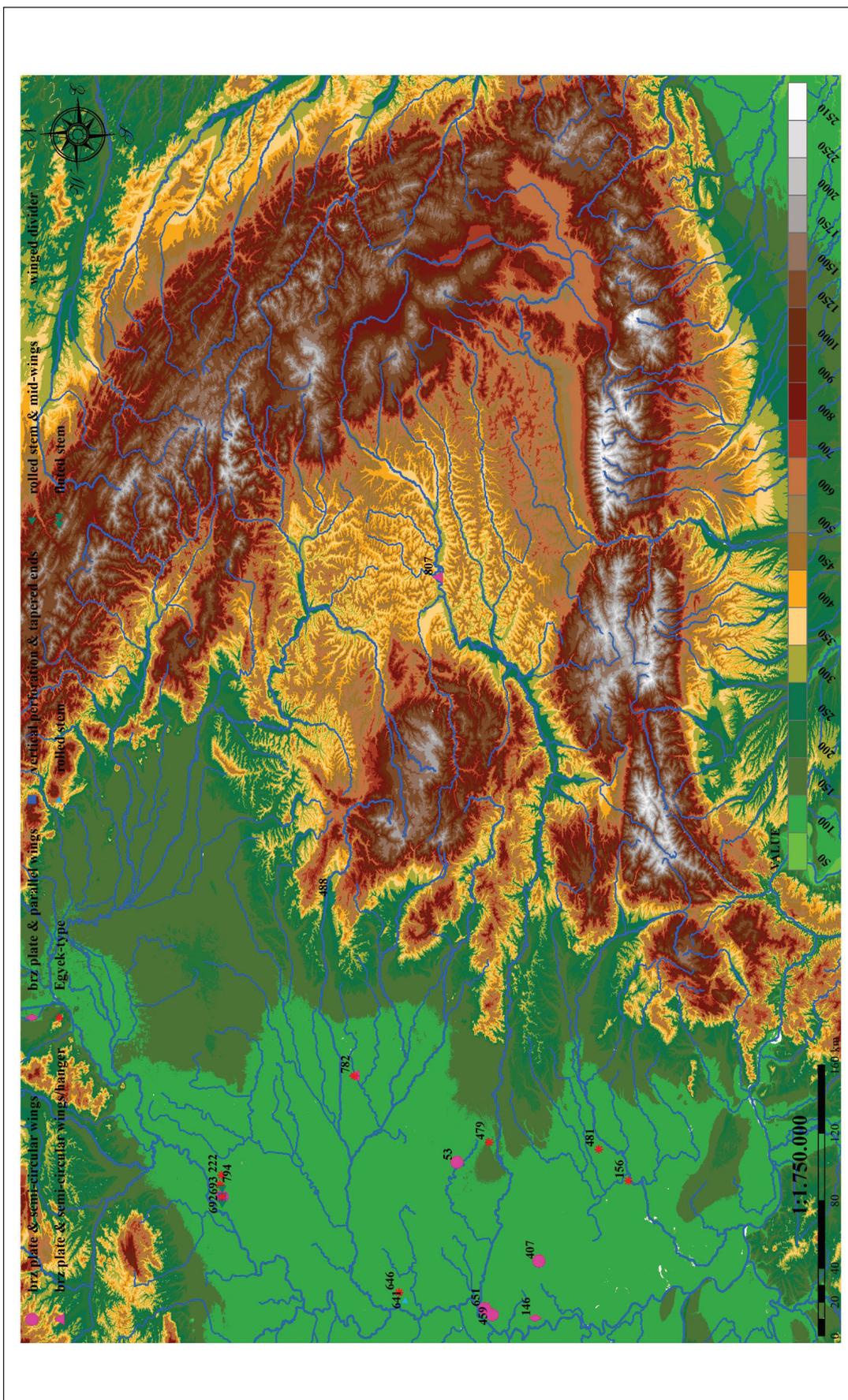


Plate I. Digital elevation model of Bronze Age graves with crescent-shaped pendants.

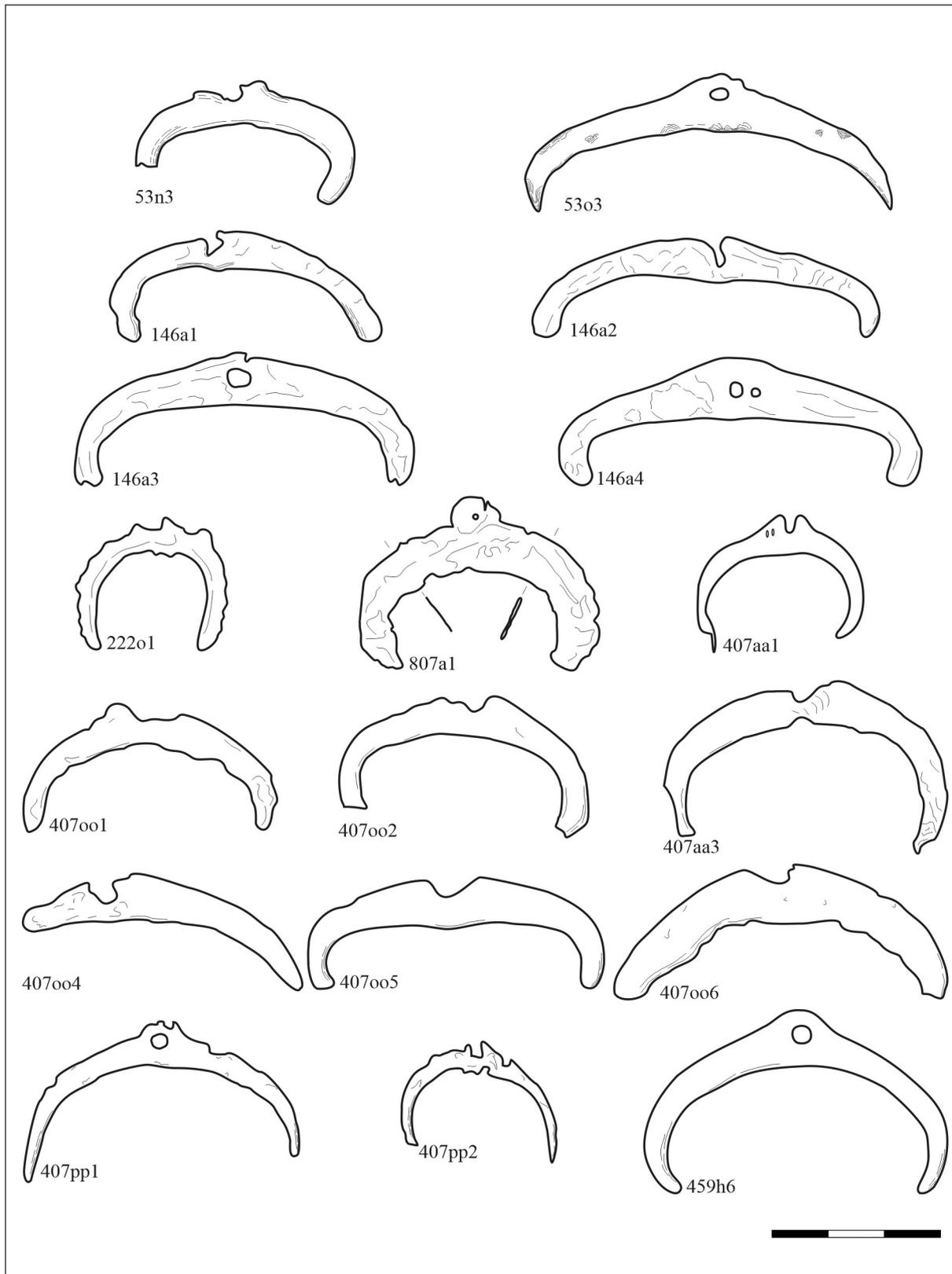


Plate II. Crescent-shaped pendants. 53. Battonya–Vörös Október–Homokbánya/
Baloghtanya; 146. Čoka; 222. Egyek–Szőlőhegy; 807. Luduș–Fabrica de Cânepă;
407. Mokrin–Selište–Lalina Humka; 459. Ószentiván–Nagyhalom.

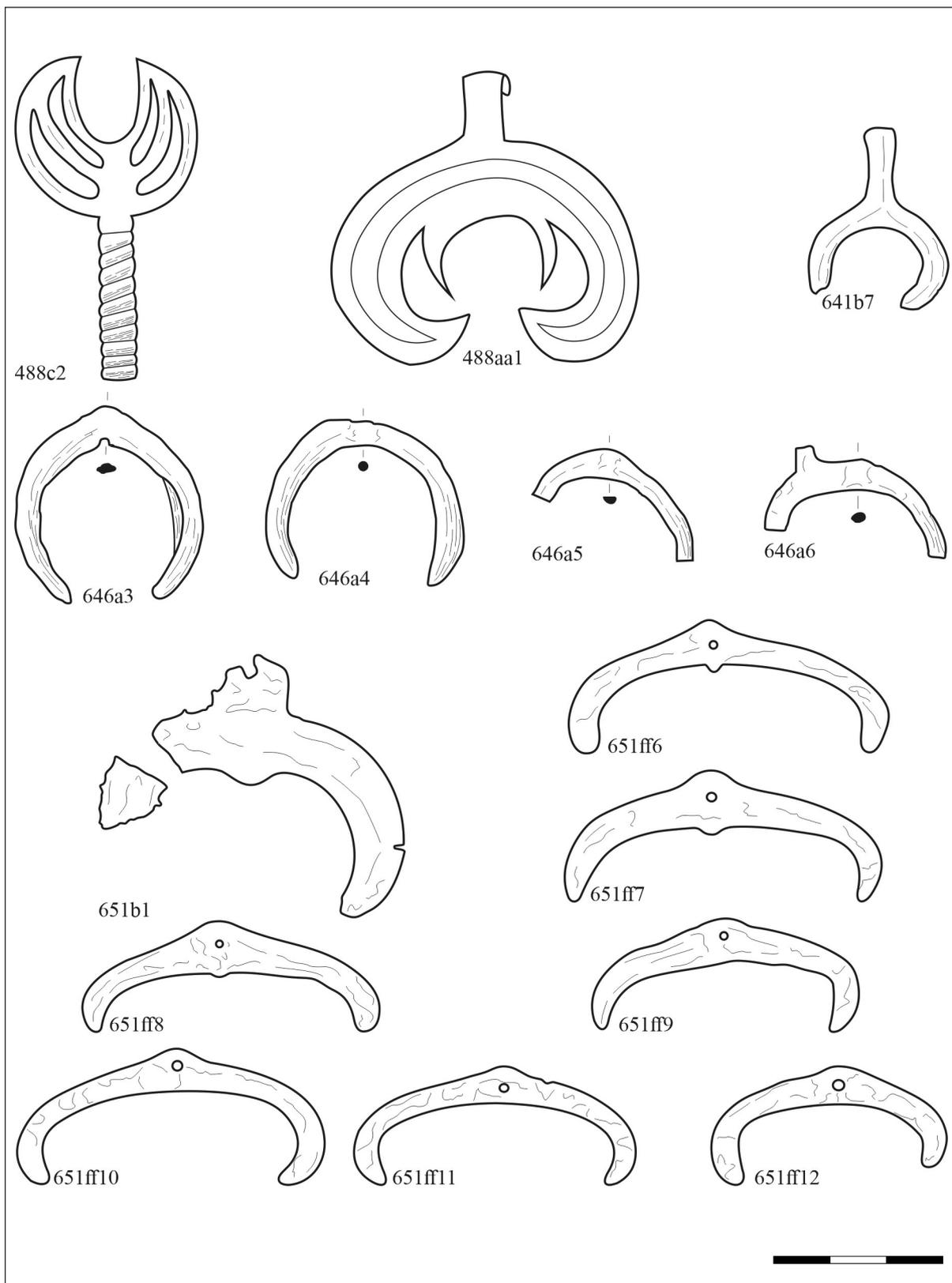


Plate III. Crescent-shaped pendants. 488. Peștere–Peștera Igrîța/Igrici barlang; 641. Szentes–Ecsér; 646. Szentes–Nagyhegy; 651. Szőreg–Lelőhely C/Szív utca.

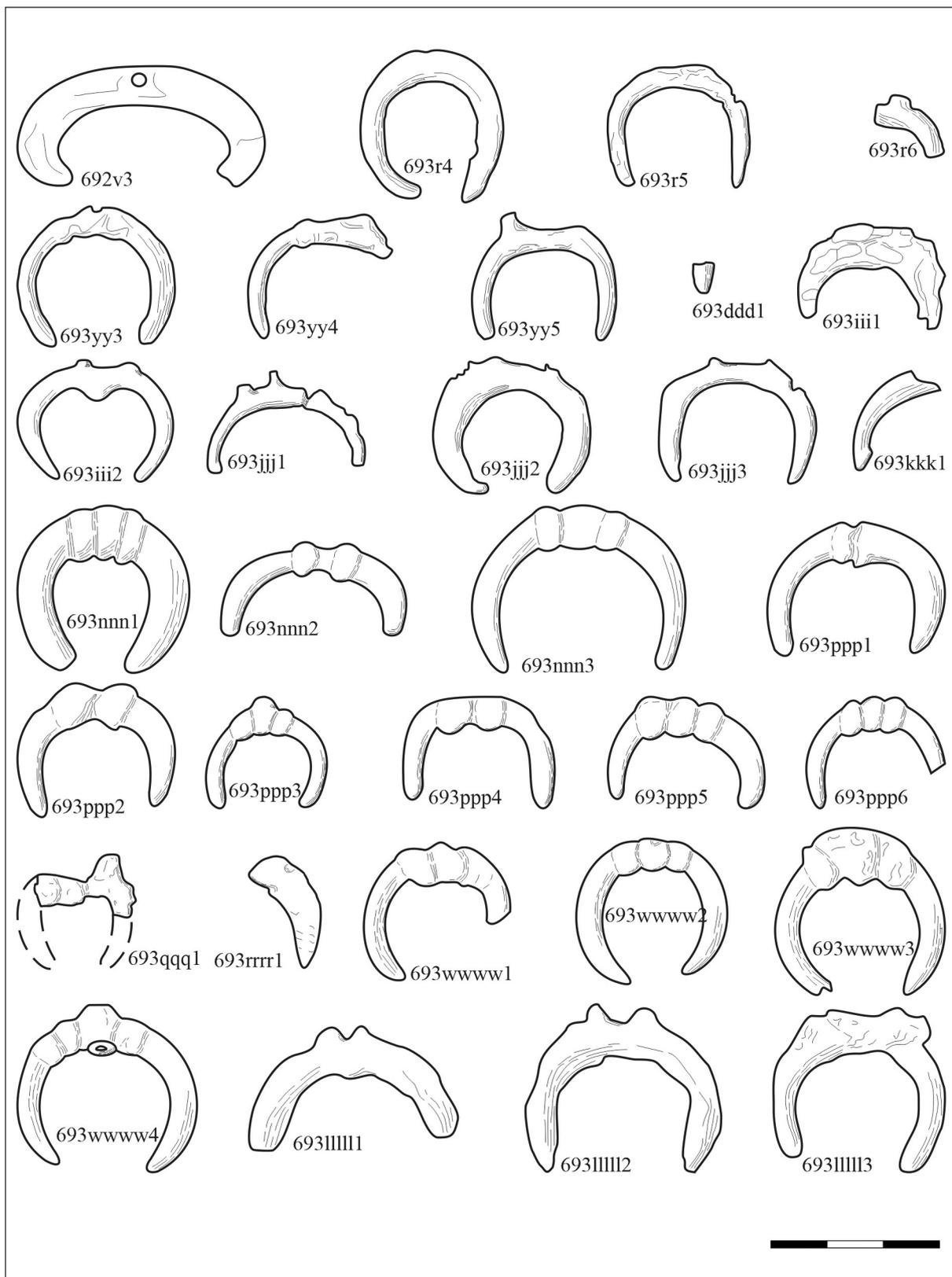


Plate IV. Crescent-shaped pendants. 692–693. Tiszafüred–Majoroshalom.

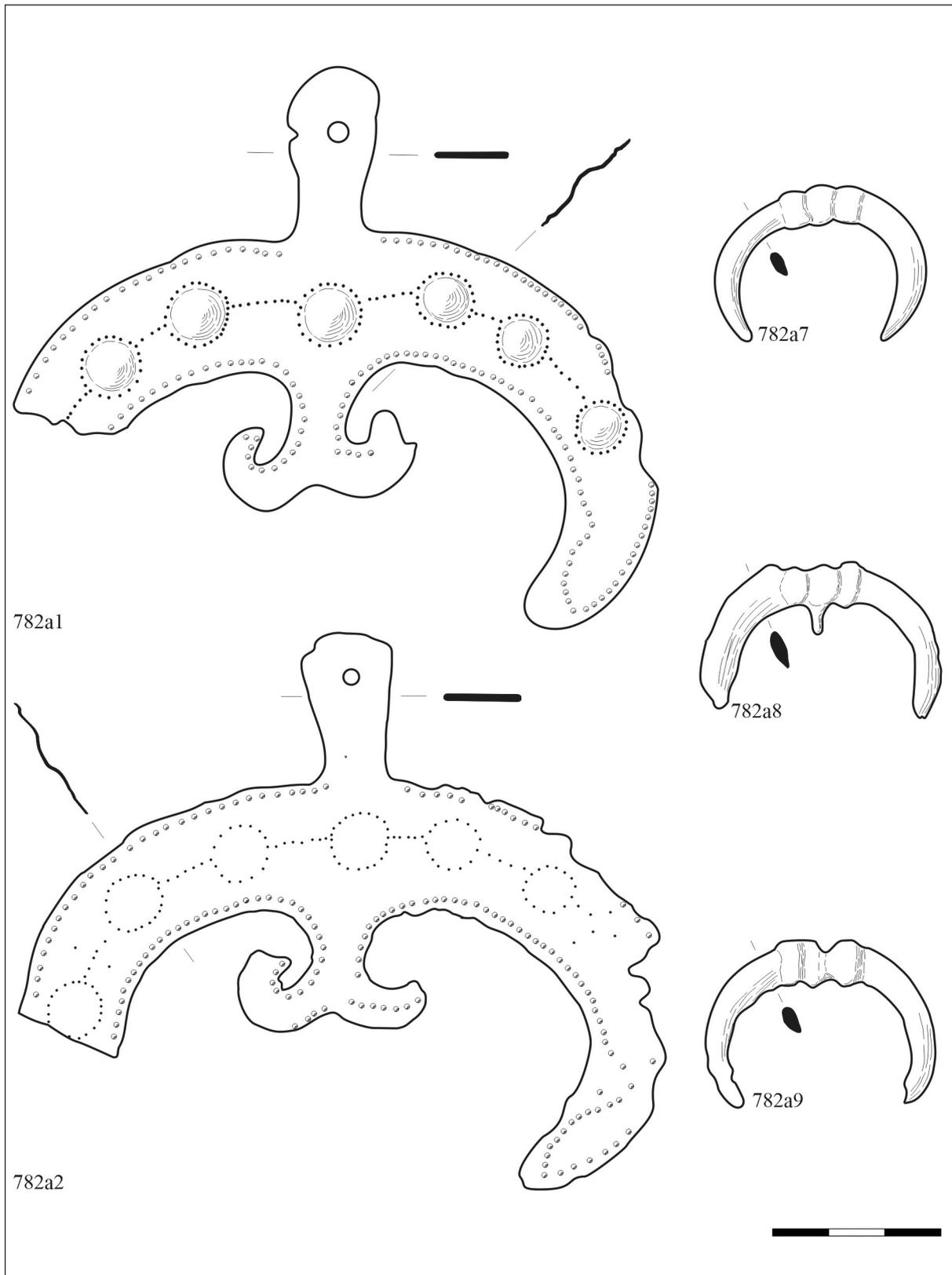
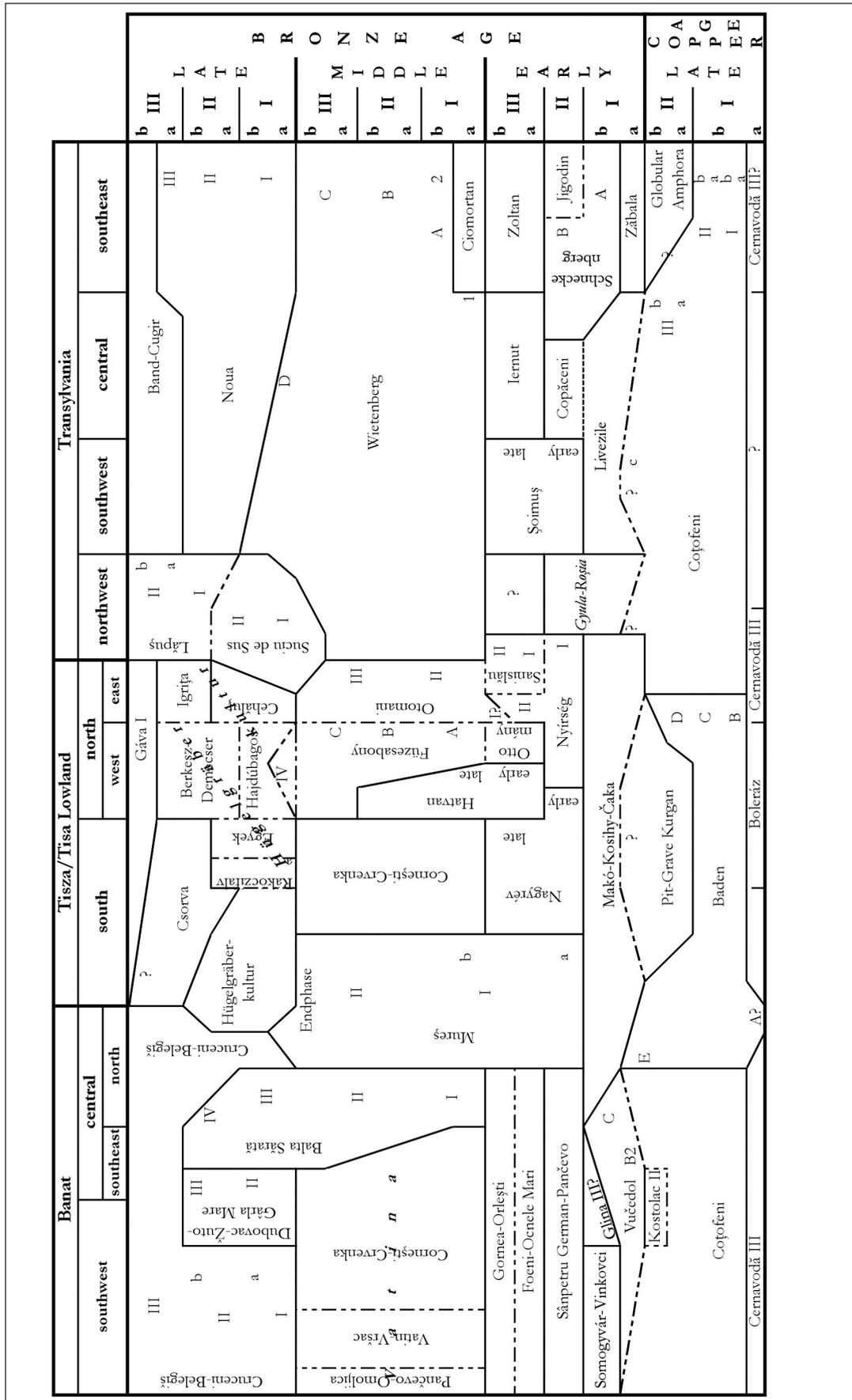


Plate V. Crescent-shaped pendants. 782. Zsadány–Orosipuszta.



LATE BRONZE AGE POTTERY DEPOSITS FROM THE SITE OF SÂNCRĂIENI / CSÍKSZENTKIRÁLY- KŐOLDAL (HARGHITA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

József PUSKÁS* – Lóránt DARVAS**

During a rescue excavation near Sâncrăieni (Hungarian Csíkszentkirály, Harghita County, Romania) a pottery deposit was discovered. The feature was made of a large tripartite storage vessel placed into a pit. Several other objects were put inside the vessel, but a few ceramic fragments were also found below the vessel, in a burnt layer with a lot of charcoal. The objects inside the vessel were made of several fragments of one plate, fragments of four clay weights and of grinding stones. Based on analogies the vessel and the vessel fragments can be attributed to the Late Bronze Age Gáva culture, to its classical (Gáva II) phase, which in terms of Central-European chronology is the Ha A2-B1 period.

The paper discusses the occurrence of tripartite vessels of the Gáva period. Similar vessels appear in various contexts: in burials (Reci-Telek), in pottery depositions (Reci-Telek, Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal) or in settlements in fragmented state (Reci-Telek, Cernat-Hegyes). For a better understanding of Gáva pottery deposits with selected objects we had to rely on a somewhat wider chronological span, like the period of the Suciú de Sus culture, the pre- respectively the proto-Gáva period. Selective depositions are mostly known from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The storage vessels sometimes occur alone, or associated with different objects. Many times the number of these objects differ to one place to another, but a main pattern of selection can be traced. The ritual activity, which led to the hiding of the vessels and other clay objects is hard to reconstruct. In everyday life these recipients could have been used for storage, fermentation or other purposes, but later received a role in ritual activities: as accessories for food or drink sacrifice and were not used anymore in everyday life.

Keywords: pottery deposit, Gáva culture, Late Bronze Age, selective deposition, ritual deposition

Cuvinte cheie: deposit de vase, cultura Gáva, epoca bronzului târziu, depunere selectivă, depunere rituală

The settlement of Sâncrăieni (HU Csíkszentkirály) is located in the northern part of the Alcsík Basin, in the foreground of the Jigodin/Zsögöd defile. The territory of the commune formed by several villages was already inhabited in prehistory. Numerous archaeological finds

signal that several communities settled in this region.¹ Perhaps one of the most important and extended prehistorical settlement existed in the end of the late Bronze Age, belonging to the Gáva culture.² It is not entirely clear whether it was one extended settlement or several smaller,

* József PUSKÁS, National Museum of the Eastern Carpathians, Sfântu Gheorghe, RO, joska1987@yahoo.com

** Lóránt DARVAS, Szekler Museum of Ciuc, Miercurea Ciuc, RO, ldarvas@gmail.com

¹ JÁNOS-KOVÁCS 1967, 47–48; REP HAR 2000, 193–198.

² In the present study we do not cover detailed terminological analyses. Although, a short description might still be needed in order to clarify and avoid eventual misunderstandings. Today, a part of the researchers in Romania use the chronological framework which was accepted in the middle of the last century. Based on this, the beginning of the

farm-like group of houses. Other finds that can be connected to this period are known from *Kismező*, *Telek*, *Téglagyár*, *Sütőkert*, *Karimósarka*, and *Szilvaskert* as well as from the area of the train station.³ Significant part of the mentioned finds are random discoveries. Archaeological excavations took place only around the brick factory (*Téglagyár*), the results of which were published in a short report.⁴

In the light of the above all the well-documented and published research which was performed by specialists is important from the region. These excavations were frequently performed on small surfaces; only rarely does one

have the chance to investigate in large surfaces. However, even such small, probing excavations can hold surprises. One such type of excavation was performed in the October of 2019 by Lóránt Darvas in the place called *Kőoldal* in Sâncrăieni, where a communication transmitter tower was previously built (Pl. I). The aim of the excavation was to verify and evaluate whether the territory of the sites *Karimósarka* and *Andrássy kúria* could still belong to an archaeological site or not. Since the tower was already constructed the territory available for research was quite restricted between the reinforced concrete columns.

STRATIGRAPHY AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

Two small probing trenches were opened during excavation between the communication tower's support columns, on the northern and eastern side (Pl. II). General stratigraphic observations: after the structure had been built a 4–10 cm thick gravel layer was spread on the area, under this a 20–30 cm thick layer of earth was observed. This layer was formed partly by the former crop layer and partly by the earth thrown out during constructions from the foundation pits of the columns. Under the hummus a 50–76 cm thick brown layer of earth mixed with sand was identified. This was attributed to a former layer which was washed down from a smaller hill in the background, possibly a result of the deforestations that took place after the 16th century.⁵ Under the erosion layer the archaeologically sterile subsoil

was found. This was a brownish yellow clayish, sandy sediment. The subsoil was identified at different depths in the two sections: in S1 at a depth of 100–108 cm, while in S2 at a depth of 86–90 cm. A late Bronze Age pit was dug into this brownish yellow subsoil.

The first trench (S1) was opened on the eastern side and measured 200 × 100 cm. Its northern cross-section showed a very similar picture to the above described general stratigraphic observations. The thickness of the disturbed and the hummus layer measured 38 cm on the eastern side of the cross-section and 32 cm on its western side. Under this the brown erosion layer varied between 68 and 76 cm. The grounding of the lightning rod of the communication tower was dug into this layer, which was a 22 cm wide and 55 cm deep trench. The clayish subsoil

Iron Age can be put to the 12th century BC, when the first iron objects appeared and the large-scale fortified settlements as well as the Gáva type pottery spread. One of the characteristic pottery forms were the large-sized containers frequently burnt to red or brown in their interior with black outer surface, which were decorated with garland-shaped cannellure bundles. In the last two decades however, more and more researchers use the Central and Western European chronological framework, which is supported by well-founded arguments (CIUGUDEAN 2010; 2011; GOGÁLTAN 2019). According to this, the end of the late Bronze Age can be dated largely to the 9th century and the Gáva culture can be classified here, except its last evolutionary period. The present study uses the latter chronological framework and the “Hallstatt” appellation was consciously left out, which is outdated and can be misleading (LÁSZLÓ 1994, 43). Nevertheless, we used the well-established and currently used Reinecke chronological division, which includes the term “Hallstatt” (Ha), but does not cover the Western European Hallstatt period.

³ REPHAR 2000, 193–198.

⁴ PREDA 1959, 825–869.

⁵ During excavations in the neighboring areas of the *Kőoldal* (*Andrássy kúria*) this erosion layer was also identified and covered 16th century features (DARVAS 2019, 7).

was at 106–108 cm. Archaeological contexts were not identified in this trench (Pl. III–IV).

The second trench (S2) was opened on the northern side of the tower, on a north-south longitudinal axis. Initially it measured 150 × 100 cm but later it was extended towards south with 75 cm, thus became 225 × 100 cm. The gravel, disturbed and hummus layer's thickness on the southern edge of the eastern cross-section was 30 cm, on the northern edge was 36 cm. Under this the brown erosion layer measured between 58 and 60 cm. In the northeastern corner of the trench a contemporary pit was observed measuring 55 cm wide with a depth of 66 cm. In the northern corner of the trench the clayish subsoil was identified at a depth of 86 cm from today's walking level. At a depth of 96 cm an oval-shaped pit was outlined (feature G1), which could not be fully excavated because of the concrete columns. The fill of the

beehive-shaped pit consisted of grey colored soil mixed with clay, daub, and charcoal fragments. On the bottom of the pit a thin burnt layer with charcoal was found with few pottery fragments. The bottom of the pit was identified at 190 cm from today's walking level (Pl. V–VI).

A large-sized container was placed in the pit. The protruding rim of the container was missing. It cannot be excluded that it was destroyed during earlier earthworks however, given the significant depth of the find it is more likely that it was already placed in the pit without the missing rim. The vessel collapsed due to the weight of the soil: at its maximal diameter opened, then its upper part fell on the bottom part. Inside the container several fragmented objects were found. These were all situated on the bottom of the vessel, leaning sideways. Traces to some kind of order of the objects were not found (Pl. VII).

DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

1. Large-sized, tripartite vessel, preserved almost entirely, made from clay tempered with gravel and crushed pottery. Its rim was not preserved; it was probably destroyed during earlier agricultural works. Based on the analogies it had broadly curved, rounded rim. It had a slightly arched cylindrical neck and its shoulders were markedly detached from the neck. The body of the vessel was biconic in design, roughly in its center a rib decorated with thickened, short, oblique, wide cannelures divides the vessel in two parts. Its bottom was narrowed. The outer surface of the vessel was black with traces of smoothing and polishing. Its interior surface was light brownish orange, rough to the touch. Also, a large grey spot extending from the shoulders to the bottom could be observed which probably indicates the trace of secondary burning. The decoration of the vessel was represented by motifs characteristic for the period: on the shoulders four, upright knobs were formed facing each other symmetrically.

These were connected by three horizontally smoothed grooves. On the upper quarter of the vessel, under the knobs garland-shaped decoration was visible, formed from bundles of ten cannelures, so that the tip of every second cannelure touched one-one cam. The dimensions of the vessel: nd: 42 cm; md: 70.5 cm; bd: 19.5 cm; h: 75 cm (Pl. VIII).⁶

The fragmented objects found inside the large vessel include several pottery pieces, clay objects and stone tools.

2. fragment of a rounded rim plate, tempered with small pebbles and crushed pottery. Its outer and interior surface was brick red, rough to the touch. A grey spot was visible on its interior, probably from a secondary burning. Not decorated. Measurements: rd: 38 cm; bd: 13 cm; h: 16 cm (Pl. XI/1).

3. clay weight no. 1. Originally truncated cone-shaped, formed from clay with pebbles. The edge of the base was rounded, greyish brown colored with pink spots, with a rough

⁶ Abbreviations used in the text: rd: rim diameter; nd: neck diameter; md: maximum diameter; bd: base diameter; h: height; fd: foot diameter; ld: lid diameter; pd: perforation diameter; l: length; w: width.

surface and straight base. It was perforated on its upper third, however the part from the hole upwards had broken down thus, the perforation could be observed only partly. Based on the fractured surface the object was already fragmented when it was placed under the ground. Measurements: fd: 13 cm; ld: 9.7 cm; h: 18 cm; pd: ~ 1.1 cm (Pl. IX/1).

4. clay weight no. 2. Originally truncated cone-shaped, formed from clay with pebbles. The edge of the base was rounded, smaller fragments were broken down, brownish red colored with a grey patch on its base and rough surface. Its base was concave. It was perforated on its upper third and broken down from the hole upwards thus, the perforation could be seen only partly. Based on the fractured surface the object was already fragmented when it was placed under the ground. Measurements: fd: 13 × 14.5 cm; ld: 9.4 × 10.4 cm; h: 15.3 cm; pd: ~ 1 cm (Pl. IX/2).

5. clay weight nr. 3. Truncated cone-shaped, formed from clay with pebbles. The edges of the base and lid were rounded, its base was broken down, a smaller piece from the lid edge was also missing. Its color was brownish red with rough surface and straight base. Perforated in its upper quarter. Based on the fractured surfaces of the base and lid the object was already fragmented when it was placed under the earth. Measurements: fd: 12.5 cm; ld: 7.8 cm; h: 24 cm; pd: 1.2 cm (Pl. IX/3).

6. clay weight no. 4. Originally truncated cone-shaped, formed from clay with pebbles. The edge of the base was rounded, a smaller part had broken down, brownish red color with a rough surface. Its base was straight. Perforated in its upper third but the part from the hole upwards had broken down so the perforation could be seen only partially. This clay weight was placed into the large vessel already broken into four parts. Its upper third was already missing, when it was most likely deliberately re-broken longitudinally and then cross-wise. On the broken fragments secondary, pink burning traces can be observed. Measurements:

fd: 13.5 cm; ld: 8.5 × 9.4 cm; h: 22.5 cm; pd: ~ 1 cm (Pl. IX/4).

7. Grindstone fragment. Dark grey burn mark can be seen on its surface. Measurements: l: 31.6 cm; w: 17.5 cm; h: 12 cm (Pl. X/1).

8. Grindstone fragment. Secondary burn mark can be seen on its surface. Measurements: l: 18.5 cm; w: 7 cm; h: 9.6 cm (Pl. X/2).

9. Roughly spherical-shaped ground stone with smooth surfaces. The black spots on its surface indicate burn marks. Measurements: l: 8.2 cm; w: 7.9 cm; h: 7.2 cm (Pl. X/3).

Besides the large container additional pottery fragments were unearthed from the fill of the pit.

10. A fragment of a bag-like pot with curved wall and narrowing towards the bottom. Formed from clay tempered with sand, pebbles, and crushed pottery. Its outer surface was dark and the inner surface light brown with dark grey marks. The surfaces were rough. The entire outer surface of the preserved fragment as well as the upper quarter of the interior was broom swiped. Under the rim a horizontal knob was formed. In our case only one knob was preserved but based on the analogies there might have been two or four, symmetrically placed one against the other. Size: rd: 27 cm (Pl. XI/2).

11. Wall fragment of a vessel formed from clay tempered with pebbles, sand, and crushed pottery. Its outer surface was black, smooth, and its interior light brown and rough. Not decorated (Pl. XI/3).

12. Wall fragment of a vessel formed from clay tempered with fine-grained sand. Its outer surface was black with a brown mark, rough. Its interior surface was rough and brownish grey. Not decorated (Pl. XI/4).

13. Base fragment of a vessel formed from clay tempered with pebbly sand. The outer surface was brownish red, the interior black and both surfaces were coarse. Not decorated. Size: bd: 10 cm (Pl. XI/5).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDS

Typology, analogies, and chronology

The characteristic finds unearthed in Sâncrăieni can be connected to the late Bronze Age Gáva culture. The so-called “storey vessels made from three parts” that is the tripartite vessels are among the representative finds of this pottery type.⁷ In the structure of the large-size vessels, most likely used for storage, three, well-defined articulations can be observed.⁸ The upper part generally starts with a funnel-like curved rim and continues with a long, cylindrical neck. The neck-shoulder limit is well-distinguished, which is often also highlighted by the application of one or more horizontally and/or symmetrically placed knobs. The central part consists of an ovoid upper body, the upper half of which is often decorated with garland-shaped bundles of cannelure. On the limit between the second and third part a turban coil motif goes around, which was formed from wide, short, obliquely smoothed cannelures. The third, lower body part, narrows in a funnel-like shape and ends in a narrow base. The large vessel from Sâncrăieni has all the above discussed structural elements. Even though its upper body part is slightly different from an ovoid shape and resembles more

an inverted funnel, still from a formal and structural point of view it fits well into the group of already known types. Numerous analogies are known from Reci,⁹ Teleac,¹⁰ Biharkeresztes,¹¹ Baks,¹² Porumbenii Mari,¹³ but the closest parallel was discovered in Sărățel (Bistrița-Năsăud County).¹⁴ The analogies spread on a wide territory also indicate that in the Gáva period a homogenization of the pottery production took place.¹⁵

In our region, Z. Székely was the first one to address the issue of tripartite vessels, when presenting the site of Reci–*Telek*. Several such vessels were unearthed on this site from complexes interpreted as graves or storage pits.¹⁶ From one of the storage pits (G1)¹⁷ a large-size tripartite vessel was found, which could be supplemented and was decorated on its shoulder with garlands formed from bundles of cannelures. Beside the vessel animal bones, fragments from a plate, and an obsidian core stone was found. The latter object can most likely be connected to a Copper Age settlement.

In the next years the excavations continued and a pit interpreted as a grave was unearthed, in which carbonized human remain were placed covered with pottery fragments.¹⁸ From the

⁷ V. SZABÓ 2017, 233. The work of G. V. Szabó offers an extended overview about the pottery production from the Gáva period and the period before it, that is why we shall not repeat his words. More recently, the same Gábor V. Szabó and Gábor Váczi are preparing a study in English in the topic, which we had the chance to read. We are grateful for their kind help.

⁸ PANKAU 2004, 49–50, Abb. 7, 54.

⁹ SZÉKELY 1966, 47, pl. II/3, 51, pl. IV/1–2.

¹⁰ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 227, fig. 31/13, 237, fig. 41/5, 7.

¹¹ V. SZABÓ 2017, 236, 5. kép/2–3.

¹² KÓSA 2020, 53, fig. 31/6.

¹³ NAGY-KÖRÖSFŐI 2010, 148, fig. 3/3.

¹⁴ MARINESCU 2010, 69, nr. 72, 115, pl. XXX/2.

¹⁵ V. SZABÓ 2017, 231, 233; V. SZABÓ-VÁCZI 2021 (in press).

¹⁶ SZÉKELY 1966, 8–9, 47, pl. II/3, 51, pl. IV/1–2.

¹⁷ In our opinion the G3 mentioned in the literature is an erratum (SZÉKELY 1966, 9, S.V.G.3.). In reality the vessel was found in G1. This assumption seems to be backed up also by the diary entry, in which Székely wrote that “in a depth between 10–11 m [...] –25 cm a large Hallstatt urn was found” that is during the excavation of the trench and not during its sideways extension. The drawings also document this presumption because on the G1 as level data the –25 cm (too) is included. Based also on the drawings the G3 pit was identified in a small-size cassette opened to the west, in which a bag-like vessel was excavated, which could be assembled and supplemented (SZÉKELY 1966, 9, 47, pl. II/1). On certain fragments of this latter assembled vessel the inscriptions “SV 2 g” or “SV 3 g” are visible. These errata could have happened during the inventory or because in reality the fragments of the vessel were found spread in two separate pits, which would then question the actual existence of pottery deposition in G3 and G2.

¹⁸ SZÉKELY 1966, 8–9.

fragments two vessels could be reconstructed, one of them was tripartite vessel decorated with bundles of cannelures on its upper body. The rib between the lower and upper body parts was decorated with wide, oblique cannelures.

One year later, in 1959 from trench no. XIII a new tripartite vessel was discovered that could be reassembled.¹⁹ Similarly to the previously found ones this one also had an everted rim, funnel-like neck, and a convex upper body part. The decorations were also similar: on the upper part garlands, while on the limit of its two lower parts the well-known oblique cannelure rib can be observed. Concerning the find circumstances, the available information is less than in the case of the previous examples. The diary entries do not contain data about the vessel, its place as “H pit” (meaning Hallstatt pit) appears only on one sketch about the trenches. However, it is not known whether the mentioned vessel was found in this area or there were also several, other, similar period complexes.

Based on the finds the excavation leader distinguished two horizons in the evolution of the settlement, the “Reci I” and “Reci II” periods. In his opinion, these vessels which he called “biconic vessels with domed body” were connected to the Reci I period, which corresponds to the Ha A.²⁰ According to their formal characteristics he originated these from the middle Bronze Age Monteoru, Wietenberg, and Gârla Mare cultures.²¹ The site in Reci was dated to a later period by V. Vasiliev. According to him, the axe dated to Ha B1-B2 period found on the site would date the settlement (and with it the tripartite vessels) to this horizon, which corresponds to the Gáva II period.²² In his studies

concerning the Transylvanian late Bronze Age chronology and together with it the Gáva culture H. Ciugudean came to the same conclusions as Vasiliev. He accepted the dating of the site to two periods but he dated the „Reci I” to the Ha B1 (Gáva II).²³ He thinks that the tripartite vessels were already widespread in this period and their appearance took place in the earlier Ha A2 period,²⁴ and their antecedents can be found in the Igrîța group.²⁵

A. László’s book about the early Iron Age of the territories to the east from the Carpathians discussed the types of tripartite vessels. Although among the pictures one does not find similar tripartite vessels to the ones from Sâncrăieni or Reci yet, concerning some of the finds he refers to the vessels from Reci several times, when describing “long necked, belly bodied” forms (3A type).²⁶ These are present in the Mahala III layer, which is contemporary with the Reci I period,²⁷ and can be dated to the Ha A1 period.²⁸ László connected the origins of the similar shaped vessels to three possible sources, from which first the Bronze Age cultures spread around the upper Tisza region, second the “Pecica–Belegiš” type of finds of southern origins, and third the formal features of the Csorva group.²⁹

Similar vessels to the one from Sâncrăieni were grouped by C. Pankau in the “*Dreiteilige Etagegefäße*” (from here comes the term “storey vessel from three parts” meaning tripartite vessels) type. Just as Székely, the author saw the origins of these vessels in some late Bronze Age cultures, such as the Monteoru and the Gârla Mare.³⁰ Taking into consideration the state of the research in those times (the beginning of the

¹⁹ SZÉKELY 1966, 9, 51, pl. IV/1.

²⁰ SZÉKELY 1966, 13–15.

²¹ SZÉKELY 1966, 13.

²² VASILIEV 1989, 65, 69–70; VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 114; VASILIEV 1992, 25; VASILIEV 2007, 12–13.

²³ CIUGUDEAN 2010, 168; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 75, 81, fig. 3; CIUGUDEAN 2012, 236.

²⁴ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 75, note 86.

²⁵ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 83; NAGY–KÖRÖSFŐI 2010, 138.

²⁶ LÁSZLÓ 1994, 75–77.

²⁷ SMIRNOVA 1974, 376; LÁSZLÓ 1994, 93; PANKAU 2004, 96.

²⁸ LÁSZLÓ 1994, 92–93.

²⁹ LÁSZLÓ 1973, 601–605; LÁSZLÓ 1994, 92.

³⁰ PANKAU 2004, 55.

2000s) during the analysis of the Gáva materials from Mediaș the author proposed a double division, an early and a late period.³¹ According to the same author the tripartite vessel forms discussed in this paper were used in the first, early period (the Ha A, possibly the beginning of the Ha B1). However, in smaller numbers they also appeared later in certain sites.³²

In the Gáva materials published recently from the site of Baks–*Temetőpart* fragments from tripartite vessels are also present. Based on the finds the use of the settlement can be dated to the classical Gáva, the Ha A2–B1 period.³³

From the period immediately preceding the Gáva culture close analogies emerge from the distribution area of the pre-Gáva pottery, from the Br D–Ha A1 period.³⁴ Here, it is important to highlight one of the objects unearthed in

the pottery deposition in Tiszabura,³⁵ one of the urns from the C cemetery in Szőreg,³⁶ and the urns from the cemetery in Csorva (Ruzsa) found in graves nos. 26 and 29.³⁷ From these one might suspect that the tripartite vessels from the later Gáva culture are based on certain elements inherited from the pre-Gáva style rather than on middle Bronze Age traditions.³⁸

According to the present state of research the tripartite vessels decorated with garland shaped motifs and the upper and lower body parts separated with wide, oblique cannelures are the pottery products of the classical Gáva culture. Based on the periodization of H. Ciugudean this in Transylvania means the Gáva II evolutionary period (Ha B1),³⁹ while in Hungary the Ha A2–B1 period.⁴⁰ In calendar years this roughly falls between the second half of the 11th

³¹ PANKAU 2004, 96–98.

³² PANKAU 2004, 96.

³³ KÓSA 2020, 38.

³⁴ Concerning the issues around the pre-Gáva pottery style, see: V. SZABÓ 2017, 242–247; V. SZABÓ–VÁCZI 2021, 1–6.

³⁵ VÁCZI 2016, 187, 3. kép/4.

³⁶ V. SZABÓ 1996, 106, 51. kép/4.

³⁷ TROGMAYER 1963, Taf. IX/5, X/9.

³⁸ As it was already mentioned above the research originates the formation of the tripartite vessels in the Gáva culture from middle Bronze Age traditions (SZÉKELY 1966, 13; MORINTZ 1970, 94; PANKAU 2004, 55). However, such assumptions are not based on any detailed research. As analogies mentioned in Transylvania one frequently finds the vessels from the Monteoru and the Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare cultures (Monteoru: OANCEA 1981, 141, fig. 4/4, 18, 144, fig. 6/4, 149, fig. 10/12, 167, fig. 19/1, 171, fig. 20/2; Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare: DUMITRESCU 1961, pl. XII/VI, XXI/XXVII, XL/LXXIV, XLIV/LXXXV, XLIX/XCVII, LV/CX, LVI/CXII; ȘANDOR–CHICIDEANU–CONSTANTINESCU 2019, 176, pl. 16/2a, 179, pl. 19/2a, 182, pl. 22/2a, 214, pl. 54/1a) while the research in Hungary presumes the effects of the Vátya culture (TROGMAYER 1963, 103). The formal features of the tripartite vessels indeed show similarities with the tripartite vessels known from the Monteoru and the Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare cultures. Nevertheless, in our opinion the Monteoru culture can be excluded right in the beginning as a possible influencing factor. We can do this, first of all, because of the significant geographical distance, second because we do not possess any evidence regarding that the Monteoru pottery style would have reached the Tisza region. From a chronological point of view, a difference of at least three-, four hundred years exists between the tripartite vessels used in the last period of the Monteoru culture and the ones used in the Gáva culture. The connections between the Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare and the Cruceni–Belegiš cultures were examined by Al. SZENTMIKLOSI (2006, 229–269), while the relationship between the (Cruceni)–Belegiš II–pre-Gáva cultures/pottery styles were analyzed by G. V. Szabó and G. Váci (V. SZABÓ 2017, 231–278; V. SZABÓ–VÁCZI 2021). Based on the formal features, in theory an ever-changing effect coming from the Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare culture repainted several times with local elements can be possible. However, Váci's observation connected to the find from Tiszabura "that with such a small number of occurrences it is hard to substantiate this assumption with data and continuous evolutionary sequence" in our case it is exponentially valid. In summary: we do not find the statement substantiated that the tripartite vessels which appeared in the Gáva culture can be connected to middle Bronze Age traditions, they rather connect to the pre-Gáva style, where the "most significant characteristic was that its formal and decorative features were determined by the close kinship with the type of pottery found in the late tumulus culture in Trandania and the early urnfield type of pottery and to a smaller degree with the pottery production spread in Vojvodina, Banat, and eastern Slavonia. Beside all these effects the local pottery traditions shaped it as well: on its northern distribution territory the Piliny culture, and advancing towards south the traditions of the tumulus culture can be identified in the materials from the sites that can be classified here." (V. SZABÓ 2017, 242; V. SZABÓ–VÁCZI 2021, 2).

³⁹ CIUGUDEAN 2010, 170; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 75; CIUGUDEAN 2012, 232, 234; GOGÂLTAN 2019, 57.

⁴⁰ V. SZABÓ 2017, 231; KÓSA 2020, 38. The already mentioned finds from Sărâțel were dated to the Ha B3–C period (MARINESCU 2010, 72). The analogies of the published finds however, appear also in the sites in Reci or Cernat which

century BC until the end of the 10th century BC (1050–900 BC).⁴¹

In the container the fragments of an undecorated plate were placed, from which quarter of a plate could be reassembled. This can be attributed to the group of curved-walled plates and belongs to the common pottery finds of the Gáva settlements.⁴² In the case of similar plates the diameter of the rim is varied: from the small gavel bowls to the 50 cm diameter size plates these appear in all kinds of sizes, both decorated and undecorated. Analogies are known from the sites of Teleac,⁴³ Reci,⁴⁴ Pecica,⁴⁵ Călinești,⁴⁶ Köröm⁴⁷ etc. The large temporal and spatial distribution of this type does not provide a reliable chronological basis.⁴⁸ The curved-walled plates appear most frequently in a fragmented state in the fills of the pits of the settlements. In smaller numbers they can also be found in pottery depositions⁴⁹ and graves.⁵⁰

The fragment of a bag-like pot, found next to the container vessel, is also among the frequent finds of the Gáva settlements. Numerous analogies come from Teleac,⁵¹ Mediaș,⁵² Baks,⁵³ Köröm,⁵⁴ Reci⁵⁵ etc. Their size varies from the small, mug-like vessels to the large containers. Their decoration is simple, generally two or four symmetrically placed knobs can be seen under the rim. These were produced most frequently

from coarse, granular material and have rough surfaces. In the pottery typology of H. Ciugudean these vessels were grouped into the category of the bag-like pots (III), which have three different types.⁵⁶ The fragment from Sâncrăieni belongs to the IIIb type, which are characterized by an elongated, vertical or slightly arched body. This pottery form already appeared in the middle Bronze Age and was produced continuously until the Iron Age thus, it does not have chronological value.⁵⁷ The knob decoration on the fragment is also a frequently used element in the Bronze Age. However, the fact that the walls of the vessel were partially or entirely covered by the so-called Besenstrich decoration (notches made by means of a little broom) is interesting. In northwestern Romania the Kammstrich (comb-made) decoration was used in parallel in the Lăpuș II–Gáva I period,⁵⁸ before the Gáva period, which corresponds to the Ha A1.⁵⁹ In the same period (the Band–Cugir group) in the central and southwestern part of Transylvania the vessels decorated with the Besenstrich technique are not present at all, exclusively the Kammstrich decoration was used.⁶⁰

The vessels covered with Besenstrich decoration appear rarely in the Transylvanian Gáva II type materials. Rarely they were found in the pottery material from the Szatmár plain⁶¹ but

were dated earlier thus, an earlier period certainly existed.

⁴¹ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 76; V. SZABÓ 2017, 231.

⁴² V. SZABÓ 2004, 84.

⁴³ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 230, fig. 34/8–12.

⁴⁴ SZÉKELY 1966, 49, Pl. III/6.

⁴⁵ SAVA–URSUTIU 2021, 118, pl. 11/3, 119, pl. 12/5.

⁴⁶ MARTA 2020, 134, pl. 4/6, 136, pl. 6/11.

⁴⁷ HELLEBRANDT 2016, 90, 47. kép/6.

⁴⁸ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 84 (IVa1 type); MARTA 2020, 32; KÓSA 2020, 18.

⁴⁹ V. SZABÓ 2004, 86.

⁵⁰ SZÉKELY 1966, 9. The rim of the plate found in the second grave in Reci–Telek was decorated.

⁵¹ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 229, fig. 33/2, 5–6.

⁵² PANKAU 2004, Taf. 6/6, 11/4, 24/2, 6, 39/8.

⁵³ KÓSA 2020, 67, fig. 45/6, 68, fig. 46/3–4.

⁵⁴ HELLEBRANDT 2016, 86, 43. kép/4, 6.

⁵⁵ SZÉKELY 1966, 47, pl. II/1, 49, pl. III/2.

⁵⁶ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 83–84.

⁵⁷ VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 83; PANKAU 2004, 56; KÓSA 2020, 28.

⁵⁸ MARTA 2009, 79; CIUGUDEAN 2010, 169; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 73; CIUGUDEAN 2012, 232

⁵⁹ MARTA 2009, 87–93.

⁶⁰ CIUGUDEAN ET AL. 2019, 101.

⁶¹ MARTA 2020, 42.

they are almost completely absent in inner Transylvania.⁶² It seems that they were characteristic for the territories to the west from the Transylvanian Metaliferi Mountains⁶³ and the research suspects in them the survival of middle Bronze Age traditions.⁶⁴ In southeastern Transylvania bag-like, vessels with surfaces covered by Besenstrich decoration are found rarely in the middle Bronze Age Wietenberg materials. This changed at the beginning of the late Bronze Age, when such vessels became one of the characteristic objects of the Noua culture.⁶⁵ Although in much smaller numbers but in the subsequent Gáva culture they continued to exist in our region as well, just as the find from Sâncrăieni proves.

It is essential to discuss also the finds from the vessel found in Sâncrăieni the clay weights and the grindstone fragments. The grindstones are frequent finds on excavations and generally they are identified in an already fragmented state in pits filled up with household waste. The research mostly connected these finds to the practice of grain milling but they could have also played a role in beer brewing.⁶⁶ However, there is also data which indicates that sometimes the grindstones might have been used in sacred activities.⁶⁷

One finds a similar phenomenon connected to the use of clay weights. They are frequent

finds in pit fills which had ended up in the complexes together with household waste.⁶⁸ Cases where more than one clay weight in fragmented state or even entirely intact pieces were placed in one pit occur rarely.⁶⁹ These appear sometimes alone or associated with other finds. Researchers connected such complexes to ritual practices rather than to everyday activities.⁷⁰ Since very few similar discoveries were published so far, concerning their function we cannot go into further details.

To the issue of late Bronze Age pottery deposition in southeastern Transylvania

The research of pottery deposition has faded in the face of the rising interest in the research of the objects made of metal.⁷¹ Yet, in the past years, interdisciplinary research on the consumption of food and drink by prehistoric or ancient communities has become increasingly common. As a result of this, numerous vessels or fragments of vessels were analyzed, in which the carbonized residues of various organic materials were identified or traces of liquid absorbed into the walls of the vessels have been detected. From these assumptions were put forward as to what was stored in the vessel, what kind of food or drink.⁷² On the territory of southeastern

⁶² In Mediaș for example, vessels with similar surface treatment were not found (PANKAU 2004, 81) but such vessels are not known either from Reci nor from Cernat (SZÉKELY 1966, 5–28). From the pottery from Teleac only comb-made decorated fragments were mentioned (VASILIEV ET AL. 1991, 93–94). According to our present knowledge the only Besenstrich type fragment that can be connected to the Gáva II period is the vessel presented in this study.

⁶³ KEMENCZEI 1984, 71–72; HELLEBRANDT 2016, 69, 94, 51. kép/5.

⁶⁴ KEMENCZEI 1984, 71–72; MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2004, 74–77.

⁶⁵ PUSKÁS–DARVAS 2021, 148.

⁶⁶ MARTA 2007, 111–129.

⁶⁷ MARTA ET AL. 2010, 55; L. NAGY 2012a, 266; L. NAGY 2012b, 15.

⁶⁸ HELLEBRANDT 2016, 39–60; KÓSA 2020, 39.

⁶⁹ KACSÓ 1990, 81; MARINESCU 2010, 63, nr. 52. Clay weights sometimes appeared in the fill of sunken houses. One such case was documented on the site of Köröm–*Kápolna-hill*. In the corner of one of the houses six clay weights and a stone fragment was identified, and to the south from these another weight appeared. These were interpreted as weaving weights (HELLEBRANDT 2016, 31, 72, 78). Similar finds and find circumstances can be observed also in the materials from the excavations in Grănicești, where in the corner of a house 15–20 pieces of clay weights were arranged in a circle. The author's opinion was that these were rather used in cooking or baking than for weaving. (LÁSZLÓ 1994, 55). As we have mentioned earlier the clay weights and grindstone/stone pair appeared also in ritual contexts that is why it cannot be excluded that in the corners of the aforementioned houses the traces of ritual deposition can be observed.

⁷⁰ KACSÓ 1990, 98; ȘTEFAN ET AL. 2018, 147–151. On the already mentioned site in Sfântu Gheorghe many pits were excavated in which fragmented weights or weights that could be assembled were found, frequently in the company of large, reconstructable vessels, sometimes also with animal skeletons.

⁷¹ BARON 2012, 17.

⁷² ROFET-SALQUE ET AL. 2017, 627–640; STOCKHAMMER–FRIES-KNOBLACH 2019.

Transylvania such studies were not made so information does not exist on what the vessels could have contained.

Concerning the pottery deposition practices in the Gáva, the pre-, and the proto-Gáva periods (Br D–Ha B1) G. V. Szabó was the first to discuss it related to the finds from Tiszacsege.⁷³ He presented three types of depositions in his study that can be well separated from each other. The find from Sâncrăieni can be grouped into the second “*Single, ornate large vessel*” category. In his opinion this group of finds can be connected to the Gáva culture without exception. Sometimes near the vessel other types of finds occurred like daub or grindstone fragments.⁷⁴

In the study of Márta L. Nagy from 2012 the pottery depositions from the upper Tisza region were examined.⁷⁵ Based on the investigated finds several deposition types were separated by their function (Funktion) and by their placement within each depo (Art der Anordnung).⁷⁶ The depo from Sâncrăieni, according to the classification based on the function and the placement of the objects, belongs to the first (1.) category that is the single standing vessels, placed with its mouth upwards, and containing accompanying finds.

For the time being very few late Bronze Age pottery depositions are known from southeastern Transylvania. This can be attributed especially to the lack of large surface excavations.⁷⁷ Probably some of the intact vessels that have ended up in museum deposits along the years originate from such depositions, which unfortunately frequently turn up during earthworks or constructions thus, their exact find circumstances are not documented, similarly possible accompanying finds are not known. However,

the few finds that were archaeologically documented provide some clues on the cause of the interment of the vessels in the ground. The tripartite vessel from the site of Reci–Telek found in grave no. 2 was certainly not hidden as part of an everyday activity. The fragments of two vessels found in the pit were laid on partially burnt human remains. No data indicates whether the remains were covered with the already fragmented pieces of the vessels or the vessels were placed on them intact and these later collapsed on the bones. The partially related human remains exclude the possibility of an accidental inclusion of the bones and pottery fragments into the pit after a general cleaning. The occurrence of tripartite vessels in the graves of the Gáva culture is extremely rare. In the study compiled by Á. Király on the Gáva culture burials one finds only two graves (may they be from cemeteries or burials found inside settlements) in which the discussed pottery type appears: one from the already presented Reci–Telek site with the find (urn?) from grave no. 2, while the other was discovered in the site of Taktabáj–Erdőalja.⁷⁸

The spread of the tripartite vessels is better documented in pottery depositions (see the analogies mentioned above). Generally, they stand alone, sometimes with other accompanying finds (fragments of grindstones and/or clay weights, pottery, and animal bones). Their profane or sacred character is hard to identify. These might also be interpreted as waste from the neighboring settlement which had ended up in the pit as a result of cleaning.⁷⁹ Lately, researchers tend to place similar objects in the ritual sphere.⁸⁰ This is also suggested by the fact that often in addition to a large container the same category of accompanying finds occur, which

⁷³ V. SZABÓ 2004, 81–113.

⁷⁴ V. SZABÓ 2004, 86.

⁷⁵ L. NAGY 2012a, 255–280; L. NAGY 2012b, 1–26.

⁷⁶ L. NAGY 2012a, 261–262; L. NAGY 2012b, 8–11.

⁷⁷ The rescue excavation from 2019 and 2020 in the boundaries of Sfântu Gheorghe took place on a territory of 10 ha, which affected the remains of a Gáva settlement. During the excavations several pottery depositions were unearthed. For now, the finds are still under analysis and processing that is why they are not discussed in the present study.

⁷⁸ KIRÁLY 2011, 25, 9. kép; KEMENCZEI 1984, 63–65, 371, Taf. CLXI/14. Even though the vessel from Taktabáj is slightly different from the type from Reci (it does not have a cylindrically ascending neck and is significantly smaller in size) the structural characteristics of the tripartite vessels are well-recognizable.

⁷⁹ See: V. SZABÓ 2004, 87; L. NAGY 2012a, 265.

⁸⁰ L. NAGY 2012b, 13; MARTA 2014, 96.

would presume a deliberate, thoughtful selection.⁸¹ In the case of the find from Sâncrăieni these selected objects were weights, fragments of a grindstone and pottery, which were placed inside the large vessel.

For now, from the late Bronze Age one finds very few analogies in which similar combinations as the one from Sâncrăieni appear. The ones that are known can often be dated to the period before the Gáva II period, such as the late Bronze Age finds from the boundaries of the Petea–Csengersima settlements. Here, six complexes were unearthed which were interpreted as pottery depositions. From these four could be connected to the Suci de Sus culture while the other two to the Lăpuș II–Gáva I period.⁸² It is important to highlight the S14Cx5 complex from the latter mentioned period, in which besides numerous pottery fragments that could be partially assembled, the pieces of a burnt grindstone and of eight clay weights were found among the pottery fragments.⁸³ Presumably, the deposition can be linked to a ritual activity.⁸⁴

Numerous pottery depositions are known from the late Bronze Age in northwestern Romania and northeastern Hungary.⁸⁵ However, they are different in their composition from the above discussed find that is why we shall not analyze them in detail.

The location of the deposition inside the settlement is not clear for the time being because of the lack of large surface excavations. The known Gáva sites around Sâncrăieni are all situated on closer, floodless terraces of the Olt River unlike the place of the deposition which was hidden in the side of a hill, further from the river. Based on the location of the known sites one can conclude that the depositions took place on the fringes of a settlement, which was considered a custom during the late Bronze Age. This is also indicated by the excavated pottery and metal depositions from the late Bronze Age settlements in Nyíregyháza–Oros, Petea–Csengersima, and Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa, *V. számú homokbánya*.⁸⁶

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the present study was to present the pottery deposition unearthed in the limits of Sâncrăieni in the place called *Kőoldal*. As a find discovered and documented by a specialist in addition to its ideological value, its scientific value is also unquestionable. The large size container was placed in a beehive-shaped pit. On the bottom of the vessel four pieces of broken clay weights were placed, which were already in a fragmented, useless state, when they were placed inside the container. Furthermore, under the weights two fragments of grindstones, a roughly spherical crush stone and fragments of a plate were also discovered inside the vessels. Inside the pit, besides the container and few smaller uncharacteristic pottery fragments a

rim fragment of a bag-like pot with Besenstrich decoration on its outer as well as interior surface was also identified. It is important to note that on the finds traces of secondary burning marks were observed, which was also present on one of the interior walls of the vessel. On the bottom of the pit a layer of charcoal was found but the walls of the pit were not burnt, which indicated that the burning did not take place in the pit. Based on the known analogies the find can be connected to the late Bronze Age classical period of the Gáva culture (the Transylvanian Gáva II period). The Besenstrich decorated pot fragment shows that the objects were hidden in the earth at the very beginning of the Gáva II period (likely the end of the Ha A) because

⁸¹ ȘTEFAN ET AL. 2018, 145.

⁸² MARTA 2009, 20, 59.

⁸³ ALMÁSSY–MARTA 2009, 117–119.

⁸⁴ MARTA 2009, 86–87.

⁸⁵ MARTA ET AL. 2010, 32; MARTA 2014, 91–104.

⁸⁶ MARTA 2009, 20; MARTA ET AL. 2010, 59–60, 69; TÓTH 2014, 8.

later pots with such a surface treatment do not appear anymore.

The study analyzed the issues arising around only the tripartite vessels, especially in a south-eastern Transylvanian perspective. We did not intend to list all the types of pottery depositions. In conclusion it can be said that the presented type of vessel appears in various contexts: in burials (Reci-*Telek*), in pottery depositions (Reci-*Telek*, Sâncrăieni-*Kőoldal*) or in settlements in fragmented state (Reci-*Telek*, Cernatul

de Sus-*Hegyes*). In everyday life these vessels could have been used for storage, possibly for fermentation but later received a role in ritual activities: as accessories for food or drink sacrifice and were not used anymore in everyday life. It cannot be excluded that these vessels were produced exclusively for a certain event, and after the event took place the vessels were placed into the ground. Most probably not the vessel was important but what was “hidden” in it or consumed from it.⁸⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Liviu Marta (Satu Mare County Museum), Florin Gogâltan (Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca) and Gábor V. Szabó (Eötvös Lóránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Prehistoric

and Protohistoric Archaeology) for their guidance in the bibliography and their helpful advice. For the English translation we express our gratitude to Ünige Bencze.

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⁸⁷ Marta 2007, 117; Marta 2014, 96.

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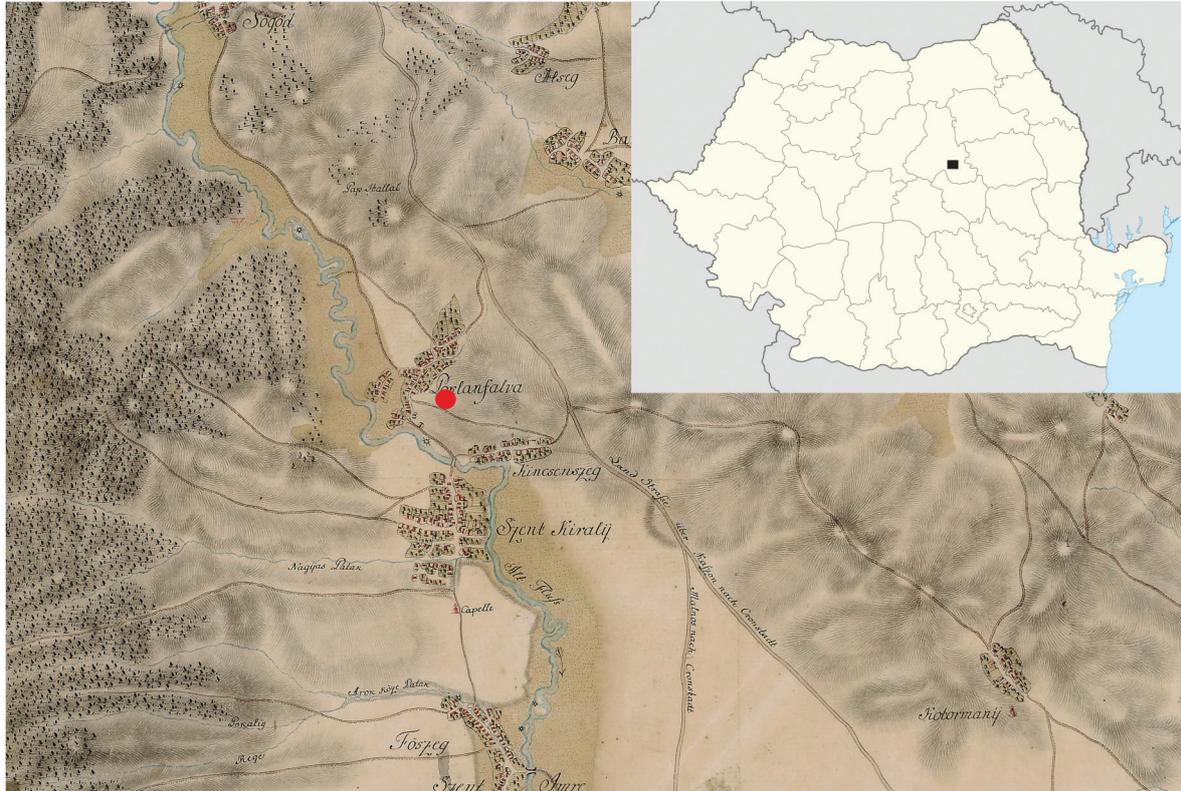
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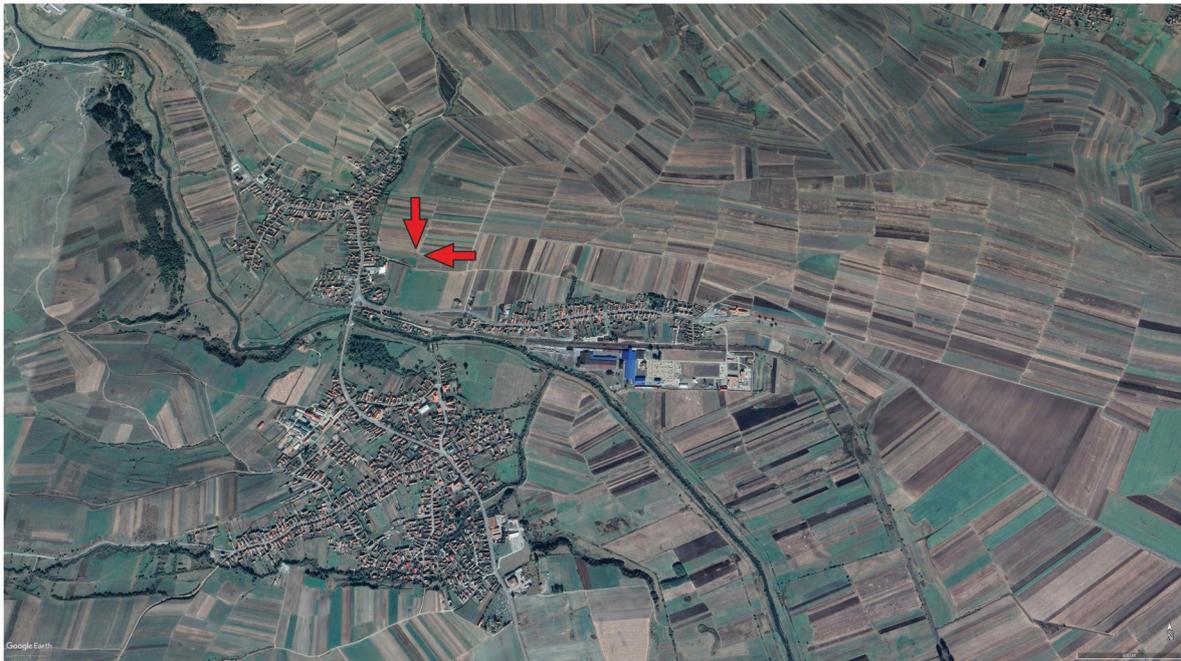
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Plate I. The place of discovery of the pottery deposit at Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. 1. First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire 1769-1773; 2. Google Earth.

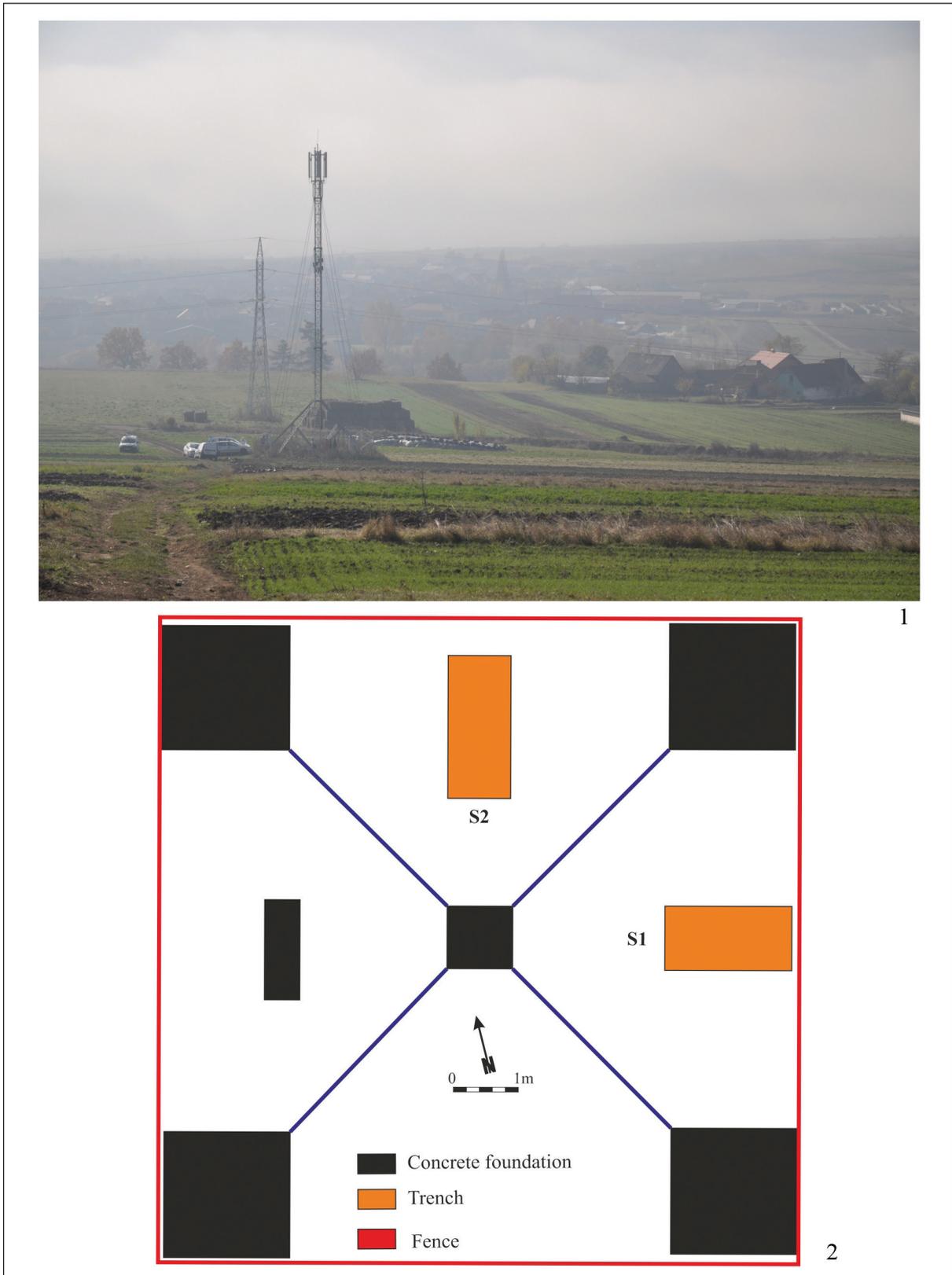


Plate II. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. 1. View of the site from north; 2. Plan of the excavation.



Plate III. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. View of the trench S1. 1. Planum; 2. Eastern profile; 3. Northern profile.

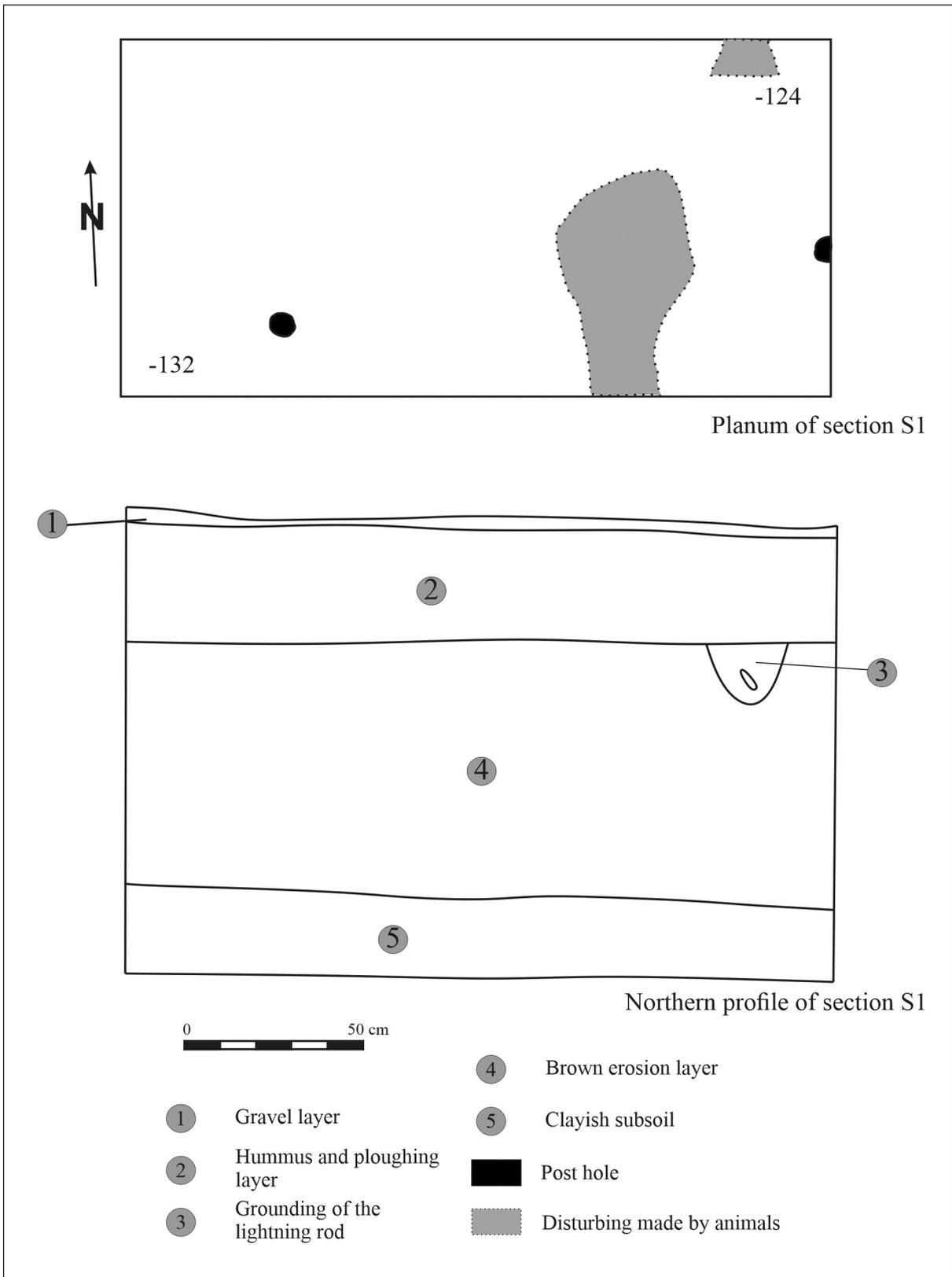


Plate IV. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. Trench S1.



Plate V. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. View of the trench S2. 1. Southern profile; 2. Northern profile; 3. Eastern profile; 4. Western profile; 5. Planum.

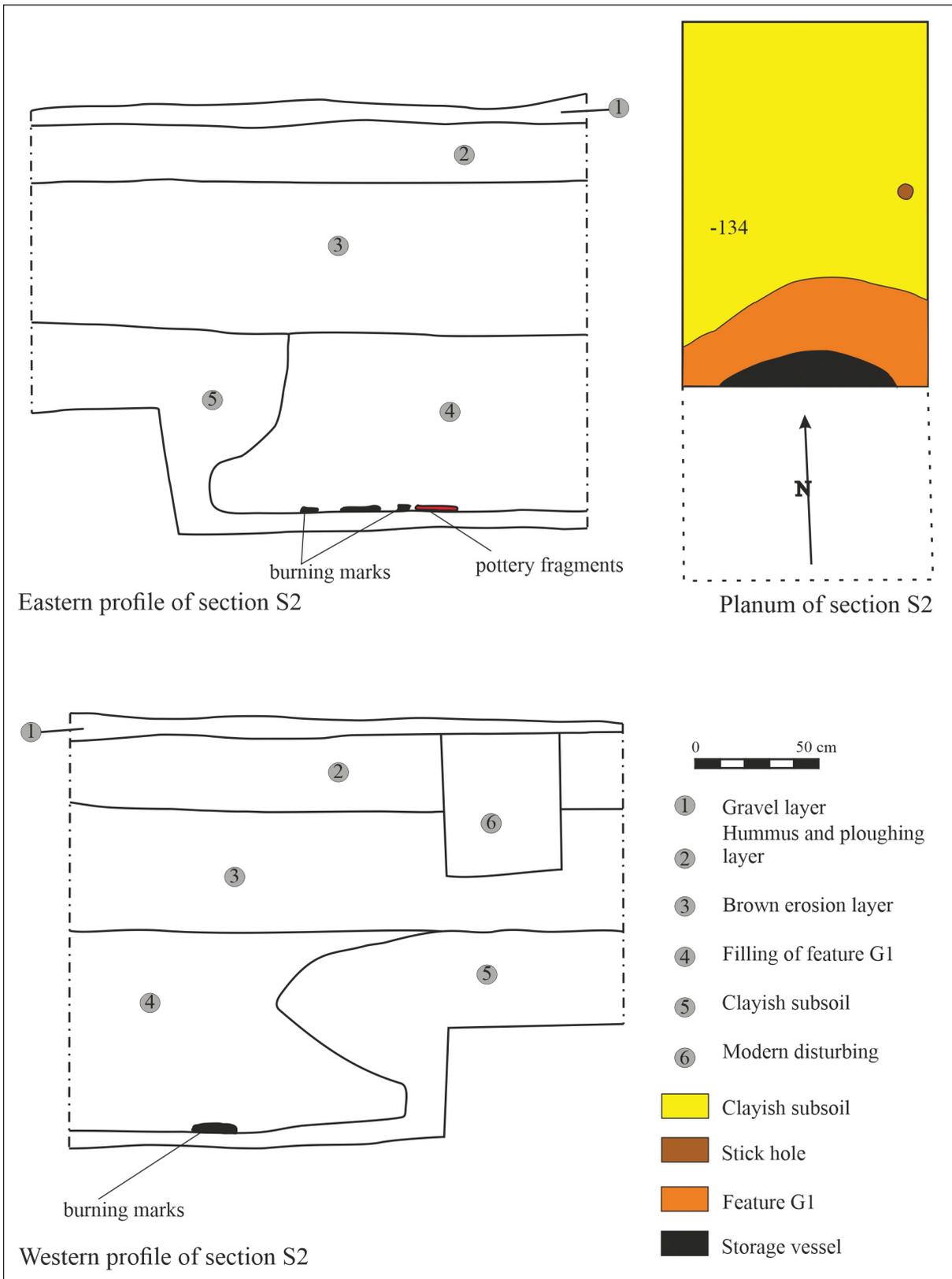


Plate VI. Sâncrăieni–Köödal. Trench S2.



Plate VII. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. 1-2. The storage vessel in situ; 3. The objects inside the vessel.



Plate VIII. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. The storage vessel after restoration.

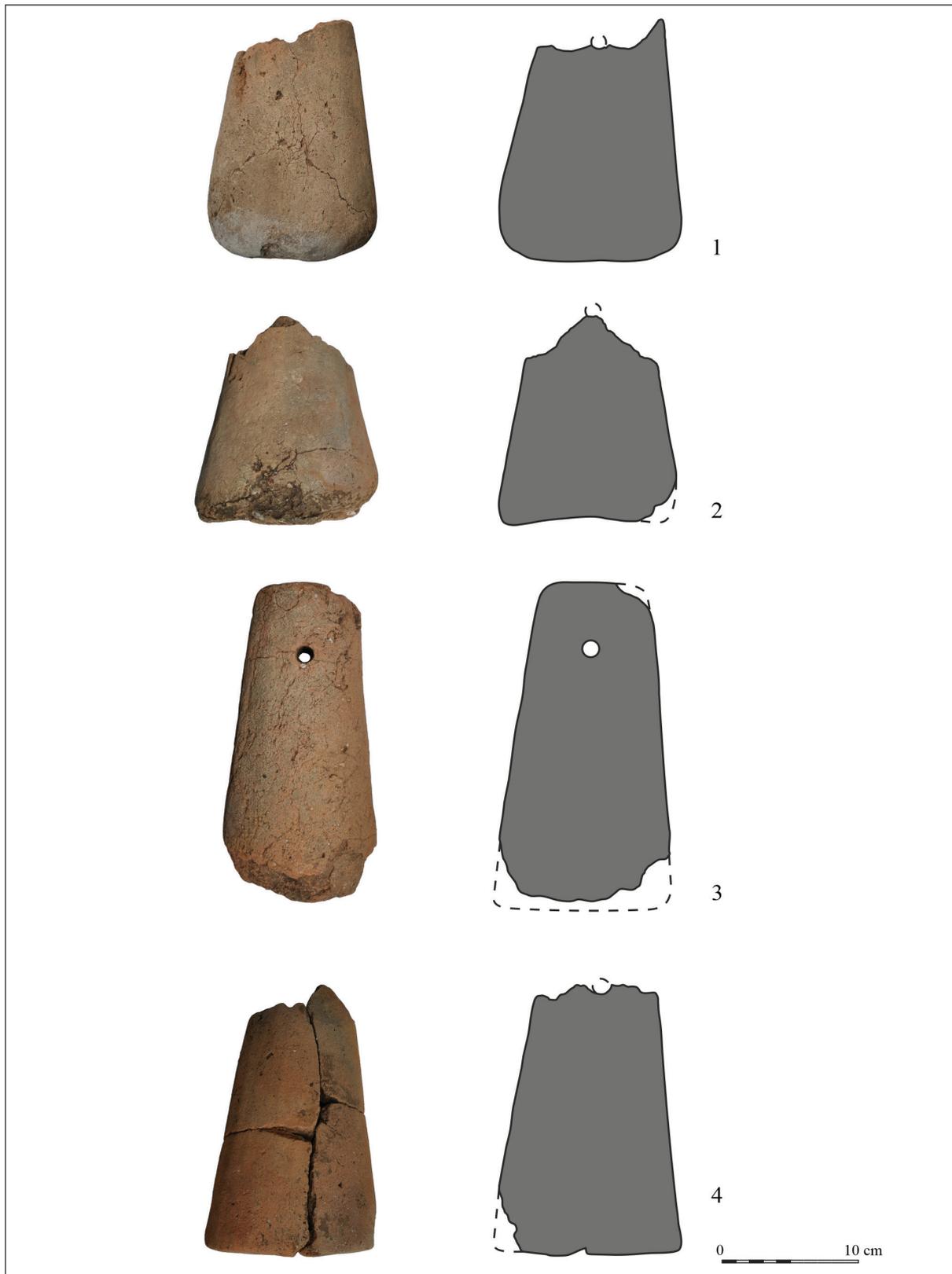


Plate IX. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. The weights discovered inside the storage vessel.

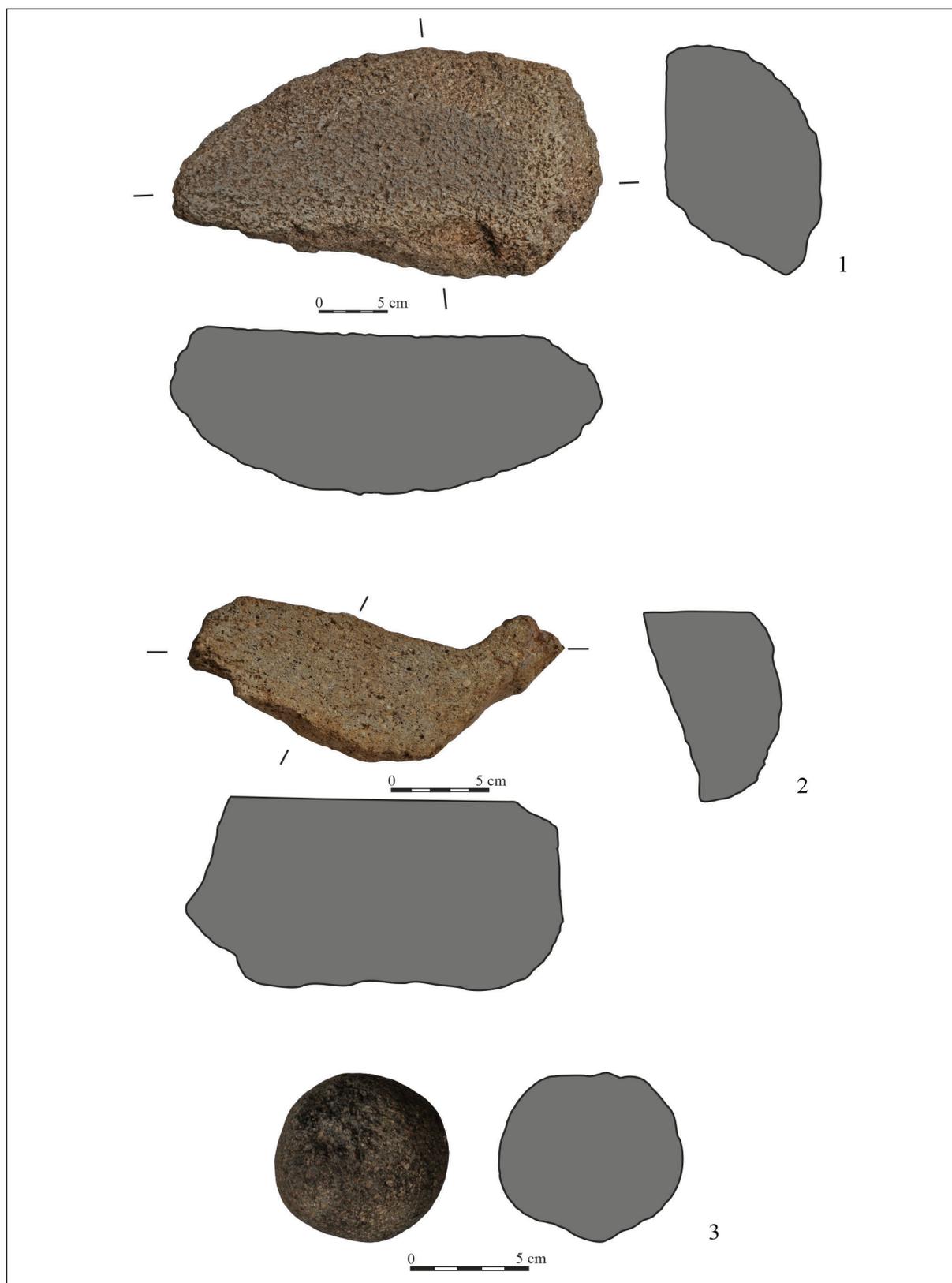


Plate X. Sâncrăieni–Kőoldal. The stone objects discovered inside the storage vessel.



Plate XI. Sâncrăieni-Kőoldal. 1. The fragment of the plate discovered inside the storage vessel; 2-5. The pottery fragments found in the filling of the feature G1.

GRĂDIȘTEA DE MUNTE–SUB CUNUNI (HUNEDOARA COUNTY). THE FILE OF A FORGOTTEN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

Aurora PEȚAN*

The archaeological site at Grădiștea de Munte-Sub Cununi is located in the vicinity of Sarmizegetusa Regia, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom. As early as the first half of the 19th century, Dacian and Roman relics were mentioned in this area. The ruins of some buildings made of shaped stones and bound with mortar drew the attention, being at that time above ground level. The place became notorious after two Roman votive altars were discovered; they were dedicated to goddess Victoria Augusta, respectively to Apollo Augustus by two governors of Roman Dacia from the latter half of the 2nd century AD. Several interpretations were given with respect to the Roman presence in this region: summer residence (villa), Roman camp or statio, fortified dwelling, civil settlement related to iron processing, sanctuary or commemorating monument (tropaeum) or even Decebalus' royal residence. The place was related either to the end of Trajan's wars against the Dacians (identified by some historians with Ranisstorum, where Trajan had his camp in 106 AD when king Decebalus killed himself), or to the events around 158 AD, when the first inscription is dated. Despite its importance, the site never benefited from systematic archaeological research. The vestiges are no longer visible nowadays and their localization is uncertain. This paper brings together all the documentary information available as well as a recent LiDAR dataset, which help in making some aspects clear and invite to starting off the field research.

Keywords: Sub Cununi, Roman Dacia, votive altars, Victoria Augusta, *Ranisstorum*, Trajan, Antoninus Pius

Cuvinte-cheie: Sub Cununi, Dacia romană, altare votive, Victoria Augusta, *Ranisstorum*, Traian, Antoninus Pius

LOCATION

The place known as *Sub Cununi* is located in South-West Transylvania, in the Șureanu Mountains, at about 9 km NW from *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom (Pl. I/1). The name *Sub Cununi* or *Sub Cunună* refers to a few households which were once making up a hamlet belonging to the village of Grădiștea Muncelului (today Grădiștea de Munte), in commune Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County. The hamlet is spread over several artificial terraces on the S-E hill

slope of Vârtoape, on the right bank of Valea Anineșului, close to the place where it flows into the Grădiștea River. The name comes from the limestone ridge that borders the settlement to the north, just like a wreath [*Cunună* = wreath].

This sunny place is crossed by a plentiful stream, which makes it appropriate for dwelling. The hill slope was levelled by the Dacians in several places, which resulted in perfectly flat terraces, arranged in steps (Pl. I/2). Such terraces are to be found in the hundreds or even

* Study Centre of Dacica Foundation, RO, aurora.petan@dacica.ro

thousands¹ around *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, as well as near other fortresses and fortifications in the area. All of them date from the same period (mid-first century BC – the beginning of the 2nd century AD) and they represent civil settlements around the aristocratic centres represented by the fortresses. In no other epoch were such terracing works done, so that assigning them to the Dacian epoch is doubtless. In fact, after the Roman conquest, it seems that the area was evacuated for the most part, and later on the dwelling continued rather sparsely, including probably only modest pastoral households.

It was not until the 19th century that the area started to be populated again. The toponym *Sub Cununi* was mentioned for the first time in 1803,² but without any information related to households at that time. The main sources for the demographic evolution in this area are represented by the Josephin topographic survey. In the first topographic survey (*Josephinische Landesaufnahme*), performed between 1763 and 1787 (the data for the Great Principality of Transylvania were collected in the period 1769–1773), the area appears uninhabited. The second topographic survey (*Franzische Landesaufnahme*), performed between 1806 and 1869 (for Transylvania, the data were collected in the periods 1853–1858 and 1869–1870), signalled a few households. Hence, one can deduce that the repopulation of the area known as Sub Cununi started no earlier than the first half of the 19th century.

Modern habitation occupied the old Dacian terraces, which have been preserved in almost perfect condition until today and could be used for the placement of households. Today, the largest terraces from Sub Cununi are used as

agricultural fields and gardens, while some of them are being used as grasslands and meadows. Every year, the ploughs bring up Dacian ceramics, but also Roman materials.

This area has outstanding strategic valences, as it is located at the crossroads of important communication ways. Sub Cununi lies above the actual centre of the village of Grădiștea de Munte, which represents the gateway to *Sarmizegetusa Regia*. It is only from this point that Grădiștea Valley is accessible, downstream being a wild gorge, which in antiquity was almost certainly impassable. All mountain routes were converging towards this point, wherefrom could be controlled: 1) Valea Anineșului, 2) the road from Dealul Muncelului to Fețele Albe and Muncel, 3) Grădiștea Valley upstream towards *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, 4) the important crossroads from Prihodiște, which make the connection with Piatra Roșie fortress and with the great ridge road leading eastwards to Poiana Omului and westwards to Târsa and the fortresses of Costești-Blidaru and Costești-Cetățuie and 5) the access to the north ridge road coming from Prisaca and leading to Muncel (both fortified peaks), through the recently discovered fortification of Cornu Pietrii,³ located near Sub Cununi (Pl. I/3). Visibility was wide from this point (the position above the valley enabled its widening) and it included the important points from Muncel, Prihodiște and even Comărniceștii (position occupied by the Romans during their advance towards the capital), important portions of the ridge roads and even Dealul Grădiștii. Definitely, for the Dacians this was a crucial point and losing it to the Romans would have meant the end.

RESEARCH HISTORY

The first written mentioning of the vestiges from Sub Cununi (and of the toponym itself!) belongs to the tax inspector Paul Török, who, on 26 August 1803 drew up a rich report in

Latin, related to the antique fortifications around Grădiștea Muncelului, occasioned by an inquiry of the discovery of antique treasures in the area. The local people who were

¹ I. A. Oltean and J. Fonte estimate that around *Sarmizegetusa Regia* there were about 2000 artificial terraces, made by the Dacians (OLTEAN–FONTE 2019, 259).

² JAKÓ 1971, 441.

³ OLTEAN–HANSON 2017, 435–438.

interrogated pointed to an area on the western side of Culmea Anineșului as the discovery point of some Lysimachos-type gold coins. On inspecting the zone, Török reaches Sub Cununi (*La Kununy*), where he sees shaped stones and pieces of roof tiles.⁴

Most information comes from the writings of some scholars who visited the ruins of the fortress at Grădiștea Muncelului in the second quarter of the 19th century: Saxon priest Michael Ackner, Doctor András Fodor from Hunedoara and diplomat J.F. Neigebaur, former consul of Prussia in the Romanian Principalities. The first two reached Grădiștea Muncelului for the first time in 1838, respectively in 1844, and then, in 1847, the three of them took part in an important expedition to the ruins of the fortress at Dealul Grădiștii and around.⁵ On all these occasions, they also investigated the area known as Sub Cununi and Vârtoape and they made known their discoveries, as well as the information gathered from others.

Another important set of data is offered by Téglás Gábor, who visited twice the area from Sub Cununi together with his brother, towards

the end of the 19th century, the most important information being published at the beginning of the next century.⁶ A field survey carried out by D.M. Teodorescu at the beginning of the 20's⁷ and another one by C. Daicoviciu around 1950⁸ offer the latest information on this site. There have never been made any archaeological excavation and neither any other kind of investigation.

The site is registered in the National Archeological Repertoire (code 90397.05) as belonging to the La Tène epoch (the 1st century BC – the beginning of the 2nd century AD, Dacian settlement and hearths for iron ore reduction) and to the early Roman epoch (the 2nd century AD, fortified settlement, possibly *Ranisstorum* fortification, the place where emperor Trajan was at the end of the second Dacian war).⁹ The two components have the status of class A historic monuments (code HD-I-m-A-03194.01 and HD-I-m-A-03194.02). In the Archaeological Repertoire of Hunedoara County, at the point Sub Cununi is registered a coin hoard discovered in 1847, traces of iron exploitation and possibly a Roman commemorative sanctuary.¹⁰

TRACES OF THE DACIAN EPOCH

There is no doubt that at Sub Cununi there was a flourishing Dacian settlement. The artificial terraces dug into the hillside are the first clue in this sense. Also, there is a lot of information related to the pieces dating from the Dacian epoch found there in the 19th century. The most numerous are the coins, both golden and silver, and then the iron pieces and the ceramic fragments.

On the occasion of his visit at Sub Cununi, Fodor András learned from a forester about

a large, golden bracelet (“pretzel”) – a most valuable proof, which seems to be among the earliest information related to golden multi-spiral bracelets that surfaced only recently, as of 2007.¹¹ In the forester's storehouse there was an iron anvil, found in the same area. It was rectangular, weighed 85 pounds and its legs were as thick as a thumb. This piece was seen and drawn by Fodor (Fig. 1/1). Neigebaur also reminds this anvil that might have

⁴ JAKÓ 1971, 441.

⁵ The expedition was organized by Fodor András, see PEȚAN 2018, 148 sqq.

⁶ KUUN ET AL. 1902, 146–148.

⁷ TEODORESCU 1923, 21.

⁸ DAICOVICIU–FERENCZI 1951, 30.

⁹ <http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=gradistea-de-munte-orastioara-de-sus-hunedoara-situl-arheologic-de-la-gradistea-de-munte-sub-cununi-dosul-vartoapelor-cod-sit-ran-90397.05>

¹⁰ LUCA 2008, 83 and 89.

¹¹ An even older piece of information could be the one related to a “golden serpent” which would have belonged to the treasury discovered in 1543 in the riverbed of the Strei and ended up in possession of cardinal Martinuzzi, cf. SPÂNU 2006, 85–86.



Fig. 1. 19th century drawings of pieces discovered at Sub Cununi.
1. The anvil (FODOR Mss, VI, 47m.); 2. The jar with the coin hoard (after WOLLMANN 1982, 90, fig. 15.).

been 6½ inches and 88 Austrian pounds and could be found in the forester's storehouse, alongside two pieces of iron in course of processing; These discoveries made him believe that at that place there was a metallurgical workshop.¹²

The existence of iron ore at Sub Cununi has often been mentioned in written documents. The Austrian Tax Authority delegated in 1826 geologist P. Partsch to carry out geological exploration in order to identify ore deposits in Transylvania, south Orăştie area included. The manuscript of his detailed report remained in the Viennese archives, but a protocol of the Forest District reveals that the research was resumed in 1831, right next to Sub Cununi hamlet, where a 2 m thick iron ore deposit was found – it being insufficient for a profitable modern industrial exploitation, but probably valuable for the antique exploitations.¹³ Téglás G. also claims that there are antique traces of iron ore processing all along Valea Anineşului.

On 13 July 1847 a coin hoard was discovered, consisting of about 500 Republican and Imperial Roman denars. Neugebauer claims that most of the coins were from Vespasianus, Titus and Domitianus, and some from Trajan, carrying the epithet Germanicus, therefore before

Dacia's conquest.¹⁴ M. Ackner is the one who mentions the most details about this hoard:¹⁵ the diggings had been done by forester (Erdosz) Boer “among the ruins of an old town” and they had led to the discovery of a treasury of 500 very well preserved Roman silver denars, among which 148 Republican denars: Iulius Caesar 15; Octavianus Augustus 10; Antonius and Lepidus 2; Tiberius 3; Agrippina 2; Germanicus 4; Agrippa 3; Caligula 16; Claudius 4; Titus 69; Domitianus 109; Nerva 15; and Trajan 2. He, too, noticed that the coins from Trajan were dated before Dacia's conquest. Among his manuscripts there is also a sketch of the discovery spot and of the vessel that contained the coins – seemingly a Dacian jar-vessel with buttons (Fig. 1/2).¹⁶ It seems that the vessel ended up in Ackner's property, and Neugebauer describes it: it was small, beautiful, reddish, and well burned, with ¼ inch thick walls.¹⁷ The treasury was buried in the context of the war with the Romans. It is interesting to notice that the discovery spot is among some ruins: the only ruins known at Sub Cununi are the Roman ones, but the terrace where they lie was previously levelled and inhabited by the Dacians.

According to Fodor and Neugebauer, on the Vârtoape plateau, about half hour's walk from

¹² NEIGEBEUR 1851, 97, nr. 10–11.

¹³ DAICOVICIU ET AL. 1989, 39.

¹⁴ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 97.

¹⁵ ACKNER 1856, 99. See also MITREA 1945, 106, n. 42.

¹⁶ WOLLMANN 1982, 90, fig. 15.

¹⁷ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 97.

Sub Cununi, were discovered golden coins marked ΛΙΣΙΜΑΧ and ΚΟΣΩΝ and some silver coins imprinted ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΤΗΣ. Fodor also says that the Lysimachos-type coins were discovered above a cave located at the edge of the plateau. He thinks an important Dacian or Roman town used to lie there.

On the Vărtoape, C. Daicoviciu identified a wide Dacian settlement, between the heights 931–936 m. He, too, mentions remnants of Dacian civilization at the very Sub Cununi, on a terrace located east of the road and on another one, in a neighbouring garden, 200 steps eastwards.¹⁸

TRACES OF THE ROMAN EPOCH

The site of Sub Cununi became notorious due to the Roman epoch vestiges, whose presence in such a place, on a mountain slope, is surprising. Almost all those who made it to this place noticed the antique construction ruins.

Following his visit to the ruins on Dealul Grădiștii in 1838, M. Ackner also wrote a few lines about the site at Sub Cununi. He mentions the diggings carried out on the grassland from Valea Anineșului, which revealed buildings, numerous fragments of wall bricks and clay pottery, as well as a stone with inscriptions.¹⁹

A. Fodor saw there, in 1844 remnants of Roman buildings²⁰ and he even did some diggings and found a construction with three rooms opening to one another and a “collapsed cellar”, all of which had walls of about half a fathom high (approx. 1 m), as well as Roman roof tiles and bricks and pieces of ceramic vessels.²¹ The crumbled walls of some Roman buildings and the “empty cellars” are also mentioned after the 1847 trip.²²

J. F. Neigeaur²³ did some diggings at Sub Cununi on 14 July 1847 and he found by the stream a significant piece of wall made of quarry stones solidly bound with mortar. Stone blocks were spread all over the hill and one of them was 5 feet long and over 2 feet wide. In the same area, the author found many Roman roof tiles and bricks,

red pieces of fine ceramics and rough pieces of grey pottery. Among these, are mentioned several small bricks, 4 ½ inches long and 2¼ inches wide, a large brick, whose surface is over 2 square feet and the thickness is about 3 inches.

The same ruins are also mentioned by G. Téglás, who says they were located on a terrace on the right of the way up the rocks that give the name of the place. Among the wall ruins he found pavement bricks, roof tiles and Roman-type building bricks. He thinks a Roman summer residence used to lie there.²⁴

The first archaeologist to reach Sub Cununi is D. M. Teodorescu, during a field survey whose results were briefly made public in 1923. He identifies the traces of a settlement “on the third terrace” and mentions bricks, roofing tiles and river stones cemented together with lime and sand. He considers them more likely to be Roman, but adds that, according to tradition, numerous Dacians were once living there.²⁵ The place is imprecisely indicated, as there is a large number of terraces there and the author does not mention the landmark where he started counting from.

In 1951, C. Daicoviciu gives a more precise location: on the first, westernmost terrace there are traces of a Roman settlement, consisting in mortar bound walls, roof tiles and bricks.²⁶

¹⁸ DAICOVICIU–FERENCZI 1951, 30.

¹⁹ ACKNER 1844, 23–24.

²⁰ FODOR 1844, 304.

²¹ FODOR 1844, 77.

²² FODOR 1847, 346.

²³ NEIGEBAUR 1851, 96–97.

²⁴ KUUN ET AL. 1902, 146.

²⁵ TEODORESCU 1923, 20.

²⁶ DAICOVICIU–FERENCZI 1951, 30.

To all the above, one can add that south of this terrace, at about 125 m straight to the south, there is a smaller terrace, whose corner was ruined quite recently by digging a ditch meant for placing a drainage pipe. The digging revealed several large roof tiles, 4 cm thick, apparently of Roman origin (Pl. II/1).

The ruins of these Roman constructions are related to the discovery of two important inscriptions placed by two governors of the Roman province of Dacia: the former, dedicated to Victoria Augusta for the health of Emperor Antoninus by Marcus Staius Priscus (157–158 AD), the latter dedicated to Apollo Augustus by Lucius Aemilius Carus (172–177 AD).

- Victoriae*
Aug(ustae) pro sa-
lute imp(eratoris)
Antonini
 5. *aug(usti) M(arcus) Sta-*
tius Pris-
cus legatus
*eius pr(o) pr(aetore)*²⁷

and

- A[p]ollin(i)*
Aug(usto) L(ucius) Ae-
m[i]l(ius) Car[us]
[legatus] aug(usti)
 5. *pr(o) p[raetore]*
*[II]I Da[c(iarum)]*²⁸

After his 1838 trip in the area, M. Ackner mentions the existence of a sole inscription found among the ruins of Sub Cununi, the one dedicated to Victoria. The source of this information was young architect Daniel Zekelius, who had drawn, measured and described it. According to him, the piece was found at Sub Cununi during some diggings, on a sunny terrace, not far from the ruins of a rectangular building.²⁹ In an article about the 1847 expedition, Ackner says the piece was going to be transported to Vienna, at prince Lobkowitz's will.³⁰ A few years later, in his famous compendium of Roman inscriptions published together with Fr. Müller, he claims that the piece was found around year 1837 by Daniel Zekelius, in Anineşului Valley, and was brought to Orăştie and mounted in blacksmith Acker's yard.³¹

A. Fodor too, knew just one inscription in 1844, and he thought it had been sent to Vienna³², this piece of information being also taken over by J. F. Neigebaur.³³ In 1847 he found out more details: the piece would have been found by prince Lobkowitz when he was in Transylvania on an inspection of the mines. He would have come to Sub Cununi and would have done some diggings that lead to the discovery of the engraved altar, which was transported to Orăştie, with the intention of sending it to the museum of Vienna. But this did not happen because the prince died and the piece remained in Orăştie, in the possession of an ironmonger called Friedrich Acker, who built it into the wall of his house.³⁴ In 1847, it could already be seen imbedded into the wall of that house. The inscription is most accurately copied by Fodor, and the drawing is kept among his manuscripts³⁵ (Pl. II/2c). G. Téglás claims that

²⁷ CIL III 1416 = IDR III/3, 276. Pl. II/2a–b.

²⁸ CIL III 1415 = IDR III/3, 275.

²⁹ ACKNER 1844, 23–24.

³⁰ ACKNER 1856, 99.

³¹ ACKNER–MÜLLER 1865, 48, no. 201. Towards the end of the 19th century, the house where the inscription was imbedded belonged to the heirs of a doctor called Gohn (KUUN ET AL. 1902, 146). In 1887, when the 3rd volume of CIL was published, the address of the house was Marktgasse 54 (CIL III 1416). Today, the address is Nicolae Bălcescu no. 7 (formerly 56) (Pl. II/3).

³² FODOR 1844, 77.

³³ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 96.

³⁴ FODOR 1847, 364.

³⁵ FODOR MSS I, 43; II, 47 (74); IV, 52; VII, tab. IIIb.

the altar was made of limestone extracted from Călan quarry.³⁶

The prince that Fodor and Ackner are talking about must have been August Longin von Lobkowitz (1797–1842). He was governor of Galicia starting 1826, and in 1832 he was called back to Vienna and assigned the newly created office of director of the Chamber for Coinage and Mining (*Hofkammer für das Münz- und Bergwesen*).³⁷ In 1834 Lobkowitz inspected the mines from Maramureș, as proven by a Latin inscription to be found on a plate in mine Borcut from Baia Sprie, which was dedicated to him in the month of September of the same year.³⁸ Most probably, at the same time, he made it to Hunedoara County, as proven by the two scholars mentioned above.

However, the piece must have been discovered earlier than Ackner and Fodor think, because the inscription was published for the first time in 1831, by Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall,³⁹ director of the Imperial Numismatic and Antiquities Cabinet from Vienna. It is known that he had asked, in 1830, the governor of Transylvania, baron Jósika János, to have his subordinates from the administrative units send to the Cabinet of Vienna copies of all the Roman and mediaeval inscriptions from Transylvania.⁴⁰ The governor asked them to carry out Steinbüchel's request, and that the drawings be made by border engineers (topographers). The drawings were sent to Vienna in the next year and, among them, was the transcription of the piece found at Sub Cununi, which was published in the same year. Therefore, it must have been discovered before 1831. Young Daniel Zekeilius (1806–1877) might have been the one who drew the piece, not the one who discovered it. It

is interesting to mention that, in the letter to the governor, Steinbüchel expressed his desire to have all the inscriptions imbedded in the outer walls of churches, so that everybody could read them and in order to prevent their destruction. It would not be unlikely that the piece under consideration should have been imbedded in a wall as a result of this recommendation.

The aforementioned data lead to the conclusion that the altar was discovered neither by Zekelius, nor by Lobkowitz, but they both had contingency with its story: one of them drew it and the other one tried to transport it to Vienna. The circumstances and the date when the inscription was found remain unknown. It may have been revealed on the occasion of the geological prospection from Sub Cununi in 1826 or even in 1831, if not earlier, under different circumstances.

The information about the second inscription, dedicated to Apollo Augustus, is only given by A. Fodor, in a manuscript and in an article from 1847 in which he claims it was found many years before the one dedicated to Victoria Augusta and was taken to Vienna.⁴¹ He gives a transcription of it, but he never mentions where he copied the text from. Fodor seems to be the only one knowledgeable of this inscription. From him, the transcript was taken over by Loreni József, counsel in Orăștie, who, in turn, passed it over to Theodor Mommsen, through Bardóczy Elek.⁴² It was published for the first time in 1848.⁴³ The piece has disappeared. The scarcity of data related to this inscription, the fact that nobody saw it and that nobody knows where the transcript comes from, raises some questions as to the place of its discovery.⁴⁴

Finally, A. Fodor claims that he saw a silver

³⁶ KUUN ET AL. 1902, 146.

³⁷ BENEDICKT 1956, 58.

³⁸ KACSÓ-IȘTVAN 2007.

³⁹ The inscription was published in the supplement *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst of Wiener Jahrbücher* magazine, no. 55, 1831, 36 [non vidi].

⁴⁰ LASCU 1968, 137 sqq.

⁴¹ The piece appears only in the Hungarian versions of the manuscript, and it is included in the chapter about Sub Cununi together with the inscription dedicated to Victoria. It is interesting that in the German version, which was meant to be printed, is included only this last one, with localization „Bross” (Orăștie). FODOR MSS I, 43; II, 47 (74); FODOR 1847, 364.

⁴² KUUN ET AL. 1902, 147–148.

⁴³ HENZEN 1848, 163.

⁴⁴ For the inaccurate character of some information offered by Fodor cf. RUSSU 1972, 648, n. 5 and SZILÁGYI 2020, 153.

coin from Antoninus at one of the inhabitants of the hamlet of Sub Cununi,⁴⁵ one more argument

for the Roman presence after the conquest in that zone.⁴⁶

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ROMAN SITE

If Dacian habitation on the artificial terraces from Sub Cununi is doubtless, the Roman site has not been unquestionably identified yet. Nevertheless, there are enough indications in this sense. J. F. Neigebauer saw an antique wall near a stream, an important landmark, for there is just one stream in the region, and it flows along a large artificial terrace. G. Téglás says that the terrace is on the right of the upward trail, and C. Daicoviciu says it is the first terrace, the most westward one. According to these indications, the site under consideration is now on a terrace lying westwards from the road, at the altitude of 690 m, coordinates 45°38'17" N, 23°13'19" E. The terrace is oval shaped, slightly curved towards the North and its dimensions are about 70 × 26 m (Pl. III/1–2). To the west of it flows the above-mentioned stream, the most important in the area.

On the edge of the terrace, towards the valley, there are numerous fragments of carved blocks made of quarry oolitic limestone, similar to that extracted from the antique quarry of Măgura Călanului for the Dacian fortresses (Pl. III/3). They were probably dumped there from the central area of the terrace after successive ploughing. Other similar blocks can also be noticed below, on the slope under the terrace.

The blocks surely come from the antique constructions that existed on the terrace. As shown before, two centuries ago, the walls were about 1 m high. As a result of the diggings done in those days they must have been ruined even more, then covered by vegetation and finally levelled by ploughing. Yet, the surface of the terrace is not perfectly flat; one can notice a bump, like a flattened mound, where there is probably a more significant concentration of vestiges.

The location of the Roman site is confirmed by a set of LiDAR data collected in 2018,⁴⁷ which show a complex of constructions or a larger construction with several rooms all over the surface of the terrace (Pl. IV). The layout of the walls is better distinguishable in the centre and in its western half. The relatively low resolution of the scanning and the disruption of the terrain by diggings during the previous centuries prevent a clear planimetry, but the presence of ruined constructions at that place is beyond any doubt. On one terrace located east of this one stands out a square construction with 11 m sides, but its origin can only be determined by excavation. Several nearby terraces are in the same situation; they were inhabited by the Dacians, but they could have been reused by the Romans.

INTERPRETATIONS

The existence of some Roman vestiges at Sub Cununi raised the interest of the historians, but without systematic archaeological research, the interpretations will still come down to suppositions. It is beyond any doubt that at that place there is a Roman-epoch site, but its location and the nature of the two inscriptions have been a

puzzle for the researchers who could not agree whether we are talking about a civil, a religious or a military settlement.

G. Téglás supposed that at Sub Cununi there was a Roman summer residence and a trip destination. He thought that governor Lucius Aemilius Carus inspected that forested rural

⁴⁵ FODOR 1844, 305.

⁴⁶ We do not know exactly which Antoninus is involved, but it is quite likely that this be the very Antoninus Pius, from whose time is dated the inscription dedicated to Victoria.

⁴⁷ I thank the company Primul Meridian, to which I owe the set of LiDAR data.

area and was so fascinated by the beauty of the landscape that he dedicated an altar to Apollo.⁴⁸ He also claims that the iron reserves in the area were exploited not only by the Dacians, but also by the Romans, after the conquest. This idea was taken over by I. Glodariu and E. Iaroslavschi, who claim that, being rich in iron ore, the area continued to be exploited economically even after the conquest, which determined the appearance of a Roman settlement.⁴⁹

C. Daicoviciu is the first to state that besides a Roman settlement, there was also a sanctuary there, which is the only explanation why the two governors dedicated votive inscriptions at that place.⁵⁰ M. Macrea and C. H. Opreanu developed this hypothesis. The former believes that there was a Roman sanctuary there as early as Dacia's conquest, where sacrifices were being brought on an annual basis, maybe, and the inscription dedicated to goddess Victoria was connected with a Roman victory under Antoninus Pius, against the free Dacians, a victory that might have evoked Trajan's.⁵¹ Opreanu supposes that the area of the ancient capital was isolated and forgotten half a century after the conquest and that the only explanation for the two inscriptions would be the existence of a commemorating sanctuary or an altar erected by Trajan after having defeated Decebalus.⁵² I. Oltean and W. Hanson too, speak of a "high-profile commemoration of military success taking place up to seven decades after the area had been conquered"⁵³. Finally, Cs. Szabó points out that, although it is not clear whether there is a sanctuary there or a triumphal monument dedicated to Trajan, the presence of Victoria Augusta and Apollo Augustus shows clearly the Imperial authority; the place would have been a symbolic

one for the Dacians, and the Romans purposely turned it into a sacred memory of the victory. The maintenance of this sanctuary or memorial for over half a century might have led, according to Szabó, to the purposeful transformation and elimination of the indigenous presence as well as of the Dacians' cultural memory.⁵⁴

There are also hypotheses related to the possibly military character of this site. Its strategic position, on the communication line between Valea Mureșului and the former capital, through the auxiliary camp from Orăștioara de Sus was an argument for choosing that place, considered to be a stage point (some kind of *statio*).⁵⁵ A. S. Stefan considers it necessary to have an intermediary stage between Luncani–Târșă (or the opposite fortification from Prisaca) and the settlement from Fețele Albe, which is thought to have been conquered during the campaign of 102 AD. At Sub Cununi would have been the most comfortable place in the vicinity of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* for setting up such a base. It is also here that the troops coming along the ridge route Blidaru–Luncani could rejoin those coming along the valley, from the camp of Orăștioara de Sus. It is also from here, says Stefan, they could attack the fortress of Vârful lui Hulpe and the settlement from Fețele Albe, maybe in collaboration with the column coming on the ridge road from Prisaca. Also, from Sub Cununi they could advance towards *Sarmizegetusa Regia* along the valley, up to the confluence of Valea Albă with Valea Godeanului, and from there, along the ridge of Dealul Grădiștii.⁵⁶

The debates related to the military role of the settlement from Sub Cununi have been stimulated by the discovery of Tiberius Claudius Maximus's funeral stele from Grammeni

⁴⁸ KUUN ET AL. 1902, 148.

⁴⁹ GLODARIU–IAROSLAVSCHI 1979, 22. Recently, the fortification from Cornu Pietrii, which is not far from Sub Cununi, has also been connected with a possibly metallurgical activity in that area, during the Roman epoch see OLTEAN–HANSON 2017, 443–445.

⁵⁰ DAICOVICIU 1933–1935, 246, n. 4.

⁵¹ MACREA 1969, 55.

⁵² OPREANU 2000, 85–86.

⁵³ OLTEAN–HANSON 2017, 443.

⁵⁴ SZABÓ 2018, 145.

⁵⁵ IDR III/3, p. 275.

⁵⁶ STEFAN 2005, 618–619.

(Macedonia), where is mentioned the Dacian named place *Ranisstorum*. Maximus claims that he would have caught king Decebalus and brought his head to Trajan at *Ranisstorum*, where the emperor allegedly had his headquarters at the end of the war.⁵⁷ Most probably, this is the place depicted on Trajan's column in scene CXLVII, where Trajan shows the king's head to the soldiers, announcing the victory. M. Speidel says it is a legion camp, that took its name from an important Dacian town located nearby, identified as *Piatra Craivii-Apoulon*.⁵⁸ I. Glodariu contests this interpretation, showing that it is more likely the site of Sub Cununi, which is more suitable for an emperor's camp at that stage of the confrontations with the Dacians. He thinks the place was far enough from the capital to bear another name.⁵⁹ But the identification with *Ranisstorum* implies the existence of a camp at Sub Cununi.

On the contrary, K. Strobel thinks that Sub Cununi belongs to *Sarmizegetusa* and that there, or somewhere upstream would have been Decebalus's *Regia* (the royal residence): this would explain the existence at that place of a commemorative monument erected by Trajan.⁶⁰ He says that the barrage fortification from scene LXXXIV on Trajan's Column might have been on the heights in front of the site from Sub Cununi and would have been meant to block the mid and upper course of Valea Anineşului and Valea Mică.

Since the site has not been systematically explored yet, its dating from Trajan's time does

not benefit from archaeological arguments, but of conjectural ones (the closeness to the former capital, the interpretation of some scenes from Trajan's Column). The two inscriptions are about 50, respectively 70 years later and the presence of the two governors on a site founded by Trajan needed explanations. The arguments focused on the years 156–158 AD, when many researchers think there were confrontations with the free Dacians from outside the province, who were defeated by Dacia's governor Marcus Statius Priscus,⁶¹ and the monument from Sub Cununi would have marked the end of these confrontations. A second inscription, placed at *Apulum* by the same governor,⁶² would support the same idea. Priscus's appointment as *consul honorarius* for 159 is considered to be a high honour, quite unusual for a former *eques* and it would represent a reward for the victory of 158.⁶³ But what happened in that year?

Most historians consider that there were confrontations between the Romans and the free Dacians (and the Iazyges Sarmatians) at the western border of the province. They invoked in this sense a piece of information from *Historia Augusta*, which mentions rebellions of the Dacians during Antoninus Pius.⁶⁴ To this is added the (unofficial) epithet of *Dacicus* given to this emperor in 157 or 158 and mentioned in two African inscriptions,⁶⁵ which gave some troubles to the researchers. Some considered that such epithets are adulatory,⁶⁶ others that they are completely erroneous,⁶⁷ and some ascribe them to the presence in North Africa of

⁵⁷ SPEIDEL 1970. C.H. Opreanu translates *Ranisstoro* as *from Ranisstorum*, not *to Ranisstorum*, and considers that that could be the place where the king killed himself, not the place where Trajan was (OPREANU 2000, 86). The translation is erroneous: it would have needed the preposition *a* (*a Ranisstoro*) in order for such an interpretation to be justified.

⁵⁸ SPEIDEL 1971, 515.

⁵⁹ GLODARIU 1981.

⁶⁰ STROBEL 2019, 279.

⁶¹ For his career, see PISO 1993, 66–73.

⁶² CIL III 1061 = IDR III/5, 181.

⁶³ STROBEL 2019, 285.

⁶⁴ SHA, *Vita Pii*, 5, 4: *Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos ... vicit et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos.*

⁶⁵ CIL VIII 20242; CIL VIII 12513. See also KIENAST 1996, 135. This epithet is no longer mentioned in the posthumous edition of Kienast's book (KIENAST ET AL. 2017, 129).

⁶⁶ KNEISSL 1969, 97, who admits, nevertheless, that epithets had a real basis, represented by the conflicts successfully solved at the northern border of Dacia.

⁶⁷ GOSTAR 1972, 643.

some soldiers from the Dacian troops.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it has been mentioned that, in the same context, the emperor is also called *optimus maximusque princeps*, which, obviously points to Trajan's image: was Antoninus Pius seen as a second Trajan who defeated the Dacians again? Possibly. An outdated argument in favour of a strain on *limes* is the bringing of north-African troops to the western border of Dacia, which is inferred from a military diploma from 158 AD:⁶⁹ a later discovery confirmed that these troops were in Dacia as early as 146.⁷⁰

M. Macrea believes that the conflicts took place on the eastern border of the province and involved the eastern free Dacians, namely the *Costoboci*. He invokes in this sense the burial of two large coin hoards in Viştea (Cluj County) and Sălaşuri (Mureş County) whose last coins are from 156, respectively 157 AD.⁷¹ D. Benea agrees that the Dacians attacked from east to west.⁷²

C. C. Petolescu thinks that there are no arguments for fighting against the free Dacians

in that period and that the year 158 is not an important one in the history of Roman Dacia.⁷³

Other voices claim that the reason of this inscription would have been a successful military action against the rebel Dacians in the very area of the former fortresses from the Orăştiei Mountains.⁷⁴ The information from *Historia Augusta* and the emperor's epithets are also valid for this variant of interpretation; moreover, the phrase *Dacos rebellantes* would hint to a revolt of the subdued Dacians rather than to an attack from the free Dacians (although their synchronization is not excluded). According to B. Mitrea, the hidden coin hoards (at Gherla, Sighişoara, Caşolt, Viştea) suggests troubles in 156–157 inside, not outside the province.⁷⁵ Finally, a rather unusual phenomenon takes place in 157–158 in the province: simultaneous repairs to edifices in *Apulum*, *Porolissum* and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*; they were explained by Mitrea as an outcome of the destructions resulted from the attacks of the revolted Dacians.⁷⁶

SHORT CONCLUSIONS

The data given above lead to a few observations, whose provisional character is obvious, considering the lack of systematic research.

1. The Roman site seems to be larger than it was thought so far. On at least one more terrace there is a possibly Roman construction. On other neighbouring terraces one can notice rectangular foundations of buildings, but only field investigation can establish if they are Dacian or Roman.

2. The Roman building identified in the 19th century does not seem to be characteristic for

a *tropaemum*. Fodor András's descriptions and the LiDAR data show that it has several rooms (at least three of them were visited and seen by Fodor), but one cannot exclude the existence of several buildings on the same terrace, one of which could have had a religious function. The only argument for its interpretation as a temple is represented by the votive altars, but such pieces can be found in other contexts, as well.

3. At present there are no clear indications of a fortification at Sub Cununi. No enclosure

⁶⁸ PETOLESCU 2014, 313.

⁶⁹ PISO 1993, 70 sqq, with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁰ ECK–PANGERL 2014, 271 sqq. See also STROBEL 2019, 285, n. 476.

⁷¹ MACREA 1969, 55–56.

⁷² BENEÄ 2010, 166 sqq.

⁷³ PETOLESCU 2007, 110.

⁷⁴ IDR III/3, 277. D. RUSCU (2003, 124) wrongly attributes this interpretation to M. Macrea and claims that it is difficult to accept the idea of a Dacian revolt in the area of the former fortresses, because this very area had been evacuated after the conquest.

⁷⁵ MITREA 1997, 478–482.

⁷⁶ M. Bărbulescu is against this interpretation: he considers that these simultaneous repairs were determined by the anniversary of the semi-centennial of Dacia's conquest (BĂRBULESCU 2006) or by the peace that was established after the border conflicts were put an end to (BĂRBULESCU 2010, 80).

walls, vallums or ditches have been identified, either on the spot or by LiDAR data analysis. The hypothesis of a camp or of a fortified settlement remains questionable. However, there are some features in the field in some places, which will have to be checked in the future. Beyond any doubt, the position is a strategic one, as from there the access to the former capital could be controlled.⁷⁷

All the data point to the fact that the site from Sub Cununi is an outstanding one: it is the nearest Roman site to the Dacians' former capital and, at the same time, it seems to be the only place in the entire province that is neither a town, nor a camp (at least from what we know so far), but where a governor (or two) dedicated votive altars to gods. Hence, the place must have had a really high signification for the Romans. Most historians connected the 158 AD inscription to a victory of the Romans over the free Dacians from the western or eastern border of the province, but it is questionable why Dacia's

governor made this thankful gesture towards gods at Sub Cununi, at a great distance from the place of the victory. We may wonder if there was a monument there, marking the Roman victory over the Dacians in 106 AD, as most people think, and if a new victory over this population had to be celebrated in the same place. Was that a highly important strategic place controlled by the Romans? Or was it a sacred place for the Dacians and the Romans tried to wipe out its memory, as Szabo thinks? Or was there even Decebalus' residence, as Strobel thinks? Or, maybe, there were revolts in the area of the former fortresses half a century after the conquest and the Roman site dates back from those times only? Systematic investigation of the site at Sub Cununi will clear up the role of the Roman presence in this place and could bring valuable information related to crucial moments of the Dacian history and of the Roman province. We can only hope that this research will start as soon as possible.

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⁷⁷ The nearest known permanent Roman camp is about 15 km downstream, at Orăștioara de Sus, see MARCU 2009, 147 sqq, with bibliography. A Roman garrison was located at the very Sarmizegetusa Regia after 106, but only for a few years (the latest discussions on this topic: OPREANU 2000; ȘTEFAN 2005, 323 sqq; OLTEAN–HANSON 2017, 439 sqq).

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Plate I. 1. Location of the site Grădiștea de Munte–Sub Cununi; 2. Sub Cununi area. Aerial view from the south-east; 3. Ancient roads, fortresses and camps around Sub Cununi.

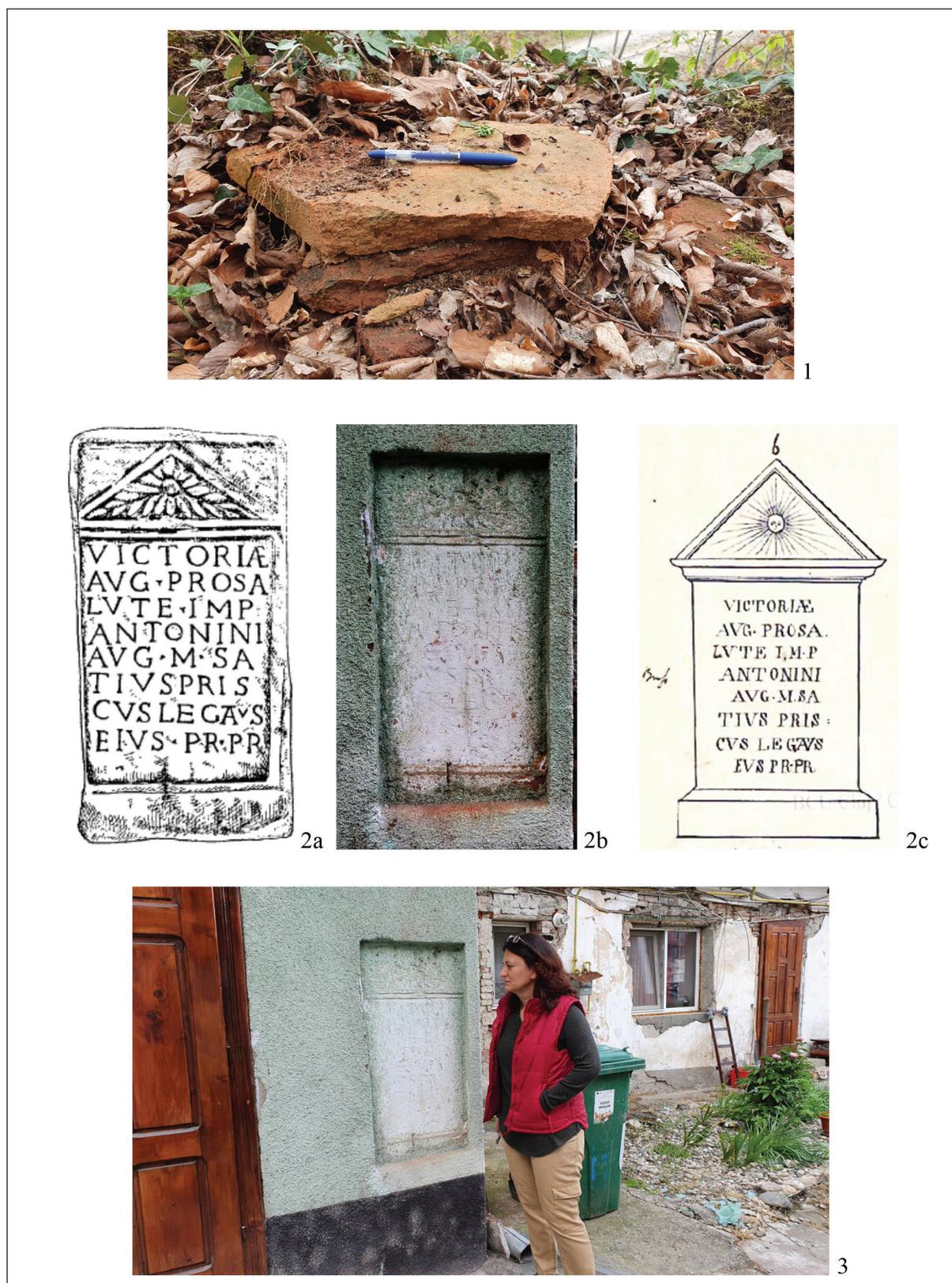


Plate II. 1. Fragments of roof tiles at Sub Cununi; 2. The inscription dedicated to Victoria Augusta: a. IDR III/3, 276, fig. 208; b. Author's photo (2021); c. FODOR MSS. VII, tab. IIIb.; 3. The current location of the inscription dedicated to Victoria Augusta in Orăștie, N. Bălcescu street no 7.



1



2



3

Plate III. 1-2. Aerial and ground view of the “Roman terrace”; 3. Fragments of limestone blocks on the “Roman terrace”.

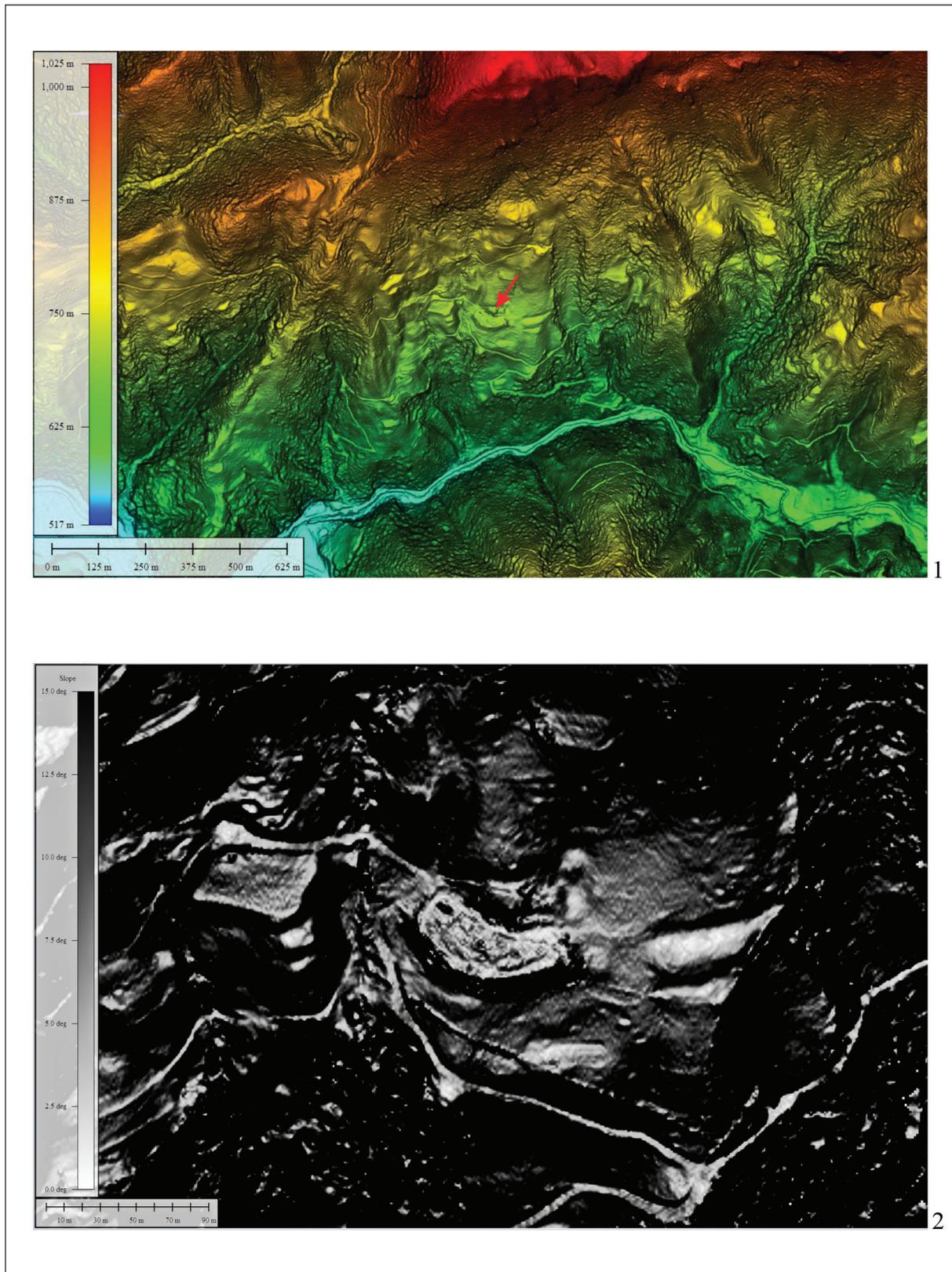


Plate IV. 1. Sub Cununi area and "the Roman terrace". LiDAR-based Digital Terrain Model; 2. "The Roman terrace". LiDAR-based slope shading analysis (vertical exaggeration: 30).

SEARCHING FOR THE NORTH-EASTERN ANGLE TOWER OF THE AUXILIARY FORT OF CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA¹

Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL* – Mátyás BAJUSZ**

The paper presents a brief research history of the Roman auxiliary fort of Călugăreni and the results of the recent GPR measurements made in the north-eastern corner area of the fort. During the measurements the exact location of the angle tower, parts of the defensive features and buildings from the praetentura have been identified.

Keywords: Roman Dacia, *limes*, research history, GPR, angle tower

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia romană, *limes*, istoricul cercetării, GPR, turn de colț

The auxiliary fort of Călugăreni / Mikháza is one of the best preserved Roman sites of eastern Transylvania and it is located in the south-western periphery of the modern village on the left bank of the Niraj / Nyárád River (Fig. 1) in Mureș / Maros County. The site of the fort is known as *Cetate / Vár* (Castle), *Ținutul Cetății / Vár-tartomány* (Castle district), *Cetatea Sânzienei / Tündér Ilona vára* (Tündér Ilona's castle)² and *Cetatea veche / Óvár* (Old castle),³ suggesting that the presence of a fortified structure in the vicinity of

the modern village has been common knowledge among the locals.

Based on tile stamps with the abbreviation *CPAI* discovered at Călugăreni, it has been concluded that the *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, a probably *quingenaria* unit comprising *sagittarii*, was stationing in the fort during the 2nd and 3rd century.⁴ Tile stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina*⁵ stationing at Apulum and of the *cohors I Alpinorum* stationing at Sărățeni / Sóvárád⁶ were discovered as well, but they represent most likely dispatch material.⁷

* Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, pszilamer@yahoo.com.

** Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, bajusz.matyas@gmail.com.

¹ We would like to express our gratitude towards dr. Felix Marcu from the National Museum of Transylvanian History for aiding us with the GPR measurements and dr. Alexandru Popa from the National Museum of the Eastern Carpathians for the high-quality resolution images of the geomagnetic measurements. We are also grateful for the help of our colleagues, who aided our work during the measurements (Ilka Boér, Levente Daczó, Nándor Laczkó, Koppány-Bulcsú Ötvös and dr. Alpár Dobos). We are thankful to Ilona Lokodi for informing us about the existence of the *veduta* of Călugăreni and to dr. Călin Pop for restoring it carefully.

² *Sânziana / Tündér Ilona* is a fairy who appears in Transylvanian folk-tales.

³ PAULOVICS 1944, 32; LAZĂR 1995, 122; GUDEA 1997, 556.

⁴ PISO-MARCU 2008; MARCU 2009, 121–122; ȚENȚEA 2012, 52–55; SIDÓ-ÖTVÖS 2015; MATEI-POPESCU-ȚENȚEA 2016.

⁵ CIL III, 8065/1 w, 1 x; IDR III/4, 219.

⁶ IDR III/4, 220; MARCU 2009, 122.

⁷ The confusion that the stamps *CPAI* and *CPALP* represent the same unit, the *cohors I Alpinorum*, persisted until 2008 in almost all the publications dealing with the issue.



Fig. 1. Position of the auxiliary fort (by M. Szabó).

L. F. Marsigli (Fig. 2) published the first topographic sketch of the site in the 18th century.⁸ In his plan, the fort appears next to the village

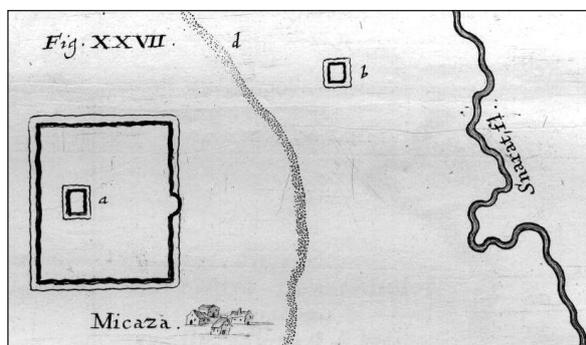


Fig. 2. Site plan from the early 18th century (MARSIGLI 1726, II, fig. 27).

as a rectangular structure and the probably still visible northern gate, the *porta principalis sinistra*, appears as a half circle. Inside the fort a rectangular building was marked with the letter *a*, based on its position it was probably the *praetorium* or the *principia*.

D. G. Scheint mentions the fort at the site of *Ó-vár* (Old castle)⁹ in the vicinity of the village. From this moment the site was usually mentioned in papers concerning the ancient history of the region. K. Benkő¹⁰ was the first to indicate quite accurately the size of the fort (170 × 150 paces), the building material of the defensive walls, and reports about stone robbing activity at the site.

During his comprehensive survey of the region, B. Orbán¹¹ visited the site and mentioned that the ditches and the precinct walls of the rectangular fort were visible, and measured 210 × 160 paces. He underlined the fact that the fort had rounded corners with angle towers built in line with the wall and had two gates, both of them located centrally on the longer axes. He considered the ruins from the central part of the fort as part of the *praetorium* and the military quarters.

The first excavations from Călugăreni took place in 1878 under the supervision of abbot F. Kovács from Târgu Mureș, who was also a

⁸ MARSIGLI 1726, II, 59–60, fig. 27.

⁹ SCHEINT 1833, 116.

¹⁰ BENKŐ 1868–1869, 190–191.

¹¹ ORBÁN 1870, 88–89.

well-known collector of antiquities. Concerning the excavations only a summary report written by F. Deák was published.¹² They excavated parts of the *porta principalis sinistra* where the remains of the stone doorstep and possible metal fitting of the wooden door were identified. A fragmentary funerary inscription made of limestone,¹³ bricks with the *CPAI* stamps of the military unit and other small finds made of ceramics, stone and metal were discovered as well.

The late 19th century scholars referred mainly to the published data, or added some minor details. A sketch plan from 1901, drawn by a Franciscan friar, pater A. Lokody, is preserved in a private collection from Târgu Mureş, showing the village of Călugăreni around 1885 (Fig. 3). On the bottom left corner of this plan, parts of the northern, eastern and southern defensive

walls of the fort were marked together with a large building from the interior, representing probably the *principia* or the *praetorium*, confirming the fact that at the end of the 19th century these features were still visible on the surface.

In papers published in the first part of the 20th century, which synthesized the information regarding the history of Roman Dacia, the military history of the region, Călugăreni is mentioned among the important Roman sites.

Somewhere between the two World Wars a *veduta* of Călugăreni (Fig. 4) was made by an unknown Franciscan friar. On the left part of the drawing the ruins of the fort are still visible, suggesting that they might have been easy recognisable features even then.

During the 2nd World War survey of the

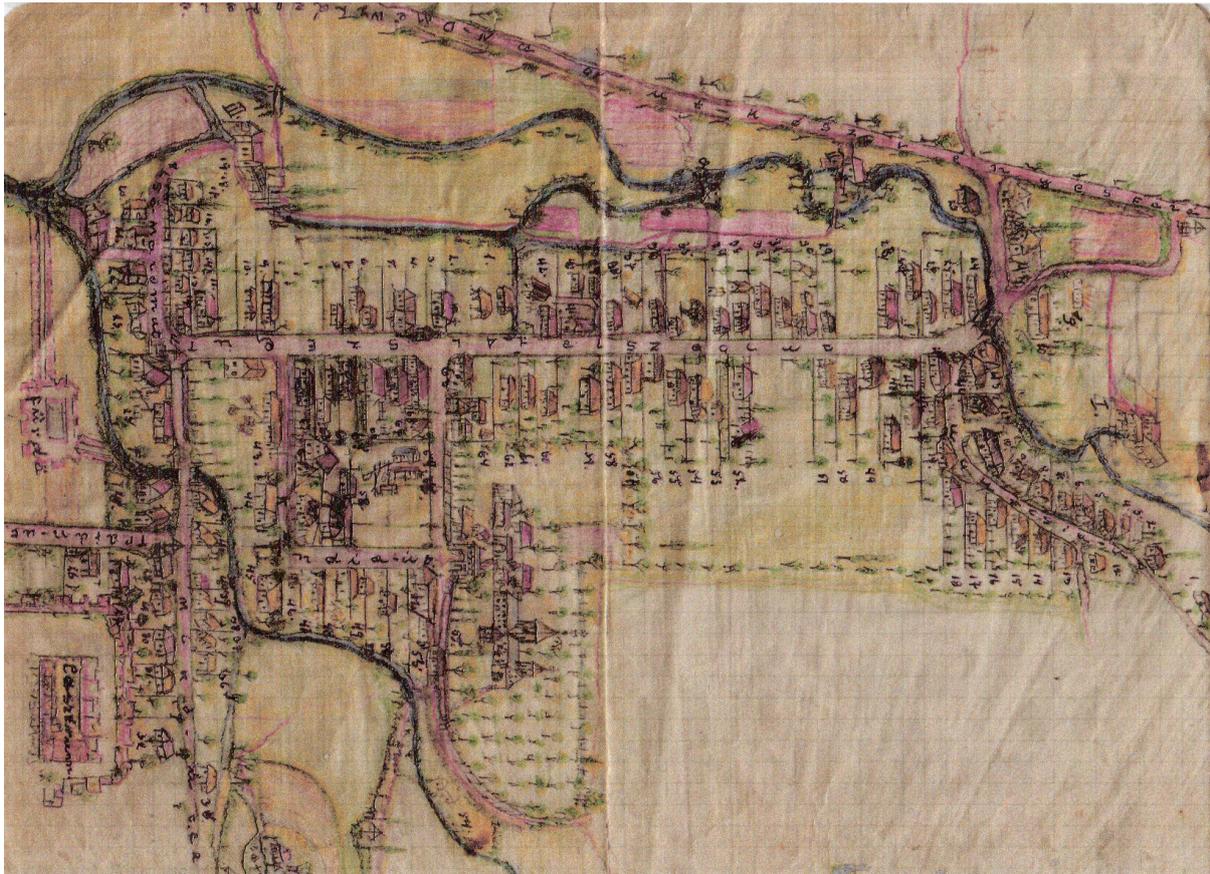


Fig. 3. Sketch plan of Călugăreni at the end of the 19th century (by A. Lokody).

¹² DEÁK 1878.

¹³ CIL III, 7716; IDR III/4, 217.

eastern *limes*, I. Paulovics¹⁴ visited Călugăreni and based on his field observations he described accurately the location of the fort and published a topographic plan of the site. Beside summarizing and correcting the already known data, he mentioned that the south-western corner of the fort was still visible as a small heap and that in the courtyard of the house belonging to L. Kovács, situated in the vicinity of the fort, the remains of the Roman road leading towards the fort were identified during construction works at the beginning of the 20th century.

The first systematic excavations in the fort were made in 1961 under the scientific supervision of D. Protase (Fig. 5 and Fig. 8).¹⁵ The purpose of the eight evaluation trenches was to define the extent of the fort. They sectioned the precinct walls as follows: S1 and S2 the northern one, S3 and S4 the eastern one, S5 and S6 the western one, and S7 and S8 the southern one. The results of this campaign established that the fort was oriented with the *porta praetoria* towards east and the medium length and width of the fort was 162 m and 140 m, covering an area of ca. 2.25 ha.¹⁶

The longest trench (S1) had 24 meters and sectioned all the defensive elements of the fort on the northern side. Based on the archaeological evidence, Protase stated that the fort had an early earth-timber phase dated in the 2nd century AD and a later stone phase.¹⁷ The rampart of the earth-timber fort was preserved up to a height of 0.5 m, and the ditch had a 3.5 m width at the top and was 2 m deep. In the second building phase the ditch of the earth-timber fort was levelled and the stone wall was erected on the berm of the earlier phase. The berm of the stone fort was 1.9–2 m wide and overlapped the ditch of the earth-timber phase. The stone material of the precinct wall was robbed and only the

1.6–1.7 m wide foundation, built in *opus incertum* technique was preserved. The defensive ditch of the stone fort was 6 m wide and 3 m deep. The *agger* of the stone fort was preserved up to a height of 0.8 m and had a width of 6.5 m at the base. On the inner side of it, the mixed up remains of the *via sagularis* were identified as well. During the excavations, Roman coarse pottery fragments, a millstone and ceramic building material fragments (some of them with the CPAI stamp) were recovered.

Until the end of the 20th century and early 21st most of the publications referred to the site based on this data, without being able to collect new information.¹⁸

In 2004 research excavations were started in the military fort under the scientific supervision of N. Man. Through the evaluation trench S1 (31 m long and 2.5 m wide), the *via principalis* and a 30 m long building with six rooms was identified. Rich Roman material, including fine and coarse pottery, bricks and tile fragments (some with CPAI stamps) and artefacts made of glass, iron and bronze were recovered. It was noted that massive medieval and modern intervention in the form of stone robbing disturbed the site.¹⁹

In 2008, in the framework of an international collaboration, geomagnetic measurements were made at the fort of Călugăreni.²⁰ Beside a summary about the site, some reserves concerning the evidence published by Protase, related to the earth and timber phase of the fort, were presented.²¹ The high-quality measurements covered most of the fort, and only the north-eastern corner had to be excluded because of modern land use. The precinct walls appear as a strong magnetic anomaly, fact which proves that some of the masonry structures are better preserved than it was considered before.

¹⁴ PAULOVICS 1944, 32–38, fig. 5.

¹⁵ PROTASE 1965.

¹⁶ The fort was slightly irregular, due to the fact that the southern precinct wall measured 163 m in length, the northern one 161 m, the western one 141 m, and the eastern one 139 m (PROTASE 1965, 211).

¹⁷ PROTASE 1965, 212.

¹⁸ For the summary see: LAZĂR 1995, 122–124; GUDEA 1997, 556–557; MARCU 2009, 121–122; PÁNCZÉL 2015.

¹⁹ MAN ET AL. 2005, 102; MAN 2006, 113.

²⁰ POPA ET AL. 2010, 107–110.

²¹ POPA ET AL. 2010, 108.



Fig. 4. Veduta of Călugăreni from the 20th century (unknown author).

Based on the interpretation of the authors, the *porta decumana* should have been double arched with an inner width of 8 m, and the *porta principalis dextra* had only one arch and an inner width of 4–5 m. In the north-western, south-western and south-eastern corner of the fort, remains of trapezoidal angle towers (3–4 × 3 m) are visible. On each side two intermediate curtain towers (3 × 4 m) can be defined. All the major roads, the *via sagularis*, *via decumana*, *via praetoria* and *via principalis* are clearly visible. The *principia* (32–33 × 25–26 m) has a typical plan with an inner courtyard, a *basilica* and five smaller rooms in the back. In the *latus praetorii sinistrum*, immediately north of the *principia*, a *horreum* is to be identified (30 × 7.5 m) and next to it a building of similar size (30 × 9 m) is visible. Between this and the northern *via sagularis*, the remains of a building which is only partly visible in the measured area could be identified. In the *latus praetorii dextrum*, a large building (28–30 × 36 m) with an internal courtyard was identified as the *praetorium*. In the *retentura* several barracks are visible. The barrack from the south-western corner (50 × 18 m) of the *retentura dextra* had a *porticus* on the eastern side and even if all the details are not very clear, eight *contubernia* (width: 4.5 m) and the centurion's quarters (14 × 14 m) can be reconstructed. A not so well-preserved barrack displaying a similar length is visible east of it and a similar building structure can be reconstructed in the *retentura sinistra*. In the *praetentura*, the structural evidence of the presumed barracks is more difficult to interpret. A building from the *praetentura dextra* (43 × 5–6 m) was considered part of a later phase just because it was better preserved, but one needs to take into account that part of the buildings might have been made of timber only with stone foundations (or not even that) and

that in some of the cases, the rubble preserved in the robbing trenches showed up on the digital map as anomaly.

By georeferencing the geophysical plan from 2008²² and the excavations plan from 1961,²³ a slight difference could be observed in the south-western corner of the precinct wall (Fig. 5). Based on this it can be concluded that, probably, all the corners of the fort were less angular than presumed before.

Based on the corroborated archaeological and topographic data, a 3D model was made as a volumetric study.²⁴ The purpose of this visualization method was to show the position and the dimensions of the fort in relation to the landscape and topography of the site.

Since 2010, in the framework of different international projects focusing on the research, conservation and presentation of the site, excavations, aerial archaeological, topographical and geophysical surveys have been undertaken at the auxiliary fort of Călugăreni.²⁵ Related to the fort, the archaeological excavations focused on the *principia*. Regarding the building as a whole, the excavations revealed the existence of two major phases: an earlier timber one, identified for the moment only in the north-western part of the *principia*, and a later stone phase. Concerning the building during the stone phase, two main building techniques were used: the foundations of the exterior wall of the *principia* together with the *aedes*, back offices, and *basilica* were built from masonry made of volcanic stones, river cobbles and mortar in *opus incertum* technique, while the part surrounding the courtyard and towards the *via principalis*, consisted of a cobble foundation bound with clay and a timber-adobe elevation. As a general observation, it can be said that all of the areas investigated so far and belonging to both phases were devastated by fire.²⁶

²² POPA ET AL. 2010, 124, fig. 12.

²³ PROTASE 1965, 211, fig. 2.

²⁴ PÁNCZÉL 2015, 914, fig. 5.

²⁵ For a summary on the projects see: PÁNCZÉL–LUKÁCSI 2019, 413.

²⁶ See mainly: MAN ET AL. 2014; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2014; MAN ET AL. 2015; PÁNCZÉL 2015; MAN ET AL. 2016; DOBOS ET AL. 2017; MAN ET AL. 2017; PÁNCZÉL 2018A; PÁNCZÉL 2018B; PÁNCZÉL 2018C; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018; MAN ET AL. 2019; PÁNCZÉL–LUKÁCSI 2019; PÁNCZÉL–SIDÓ 2019; SIDÓ–PÁNCZÉL 2019; SIDÓ–HÖPKEN 2020; SIDÓ–PÁNCZÉL 2020; TALABÉR 2020.

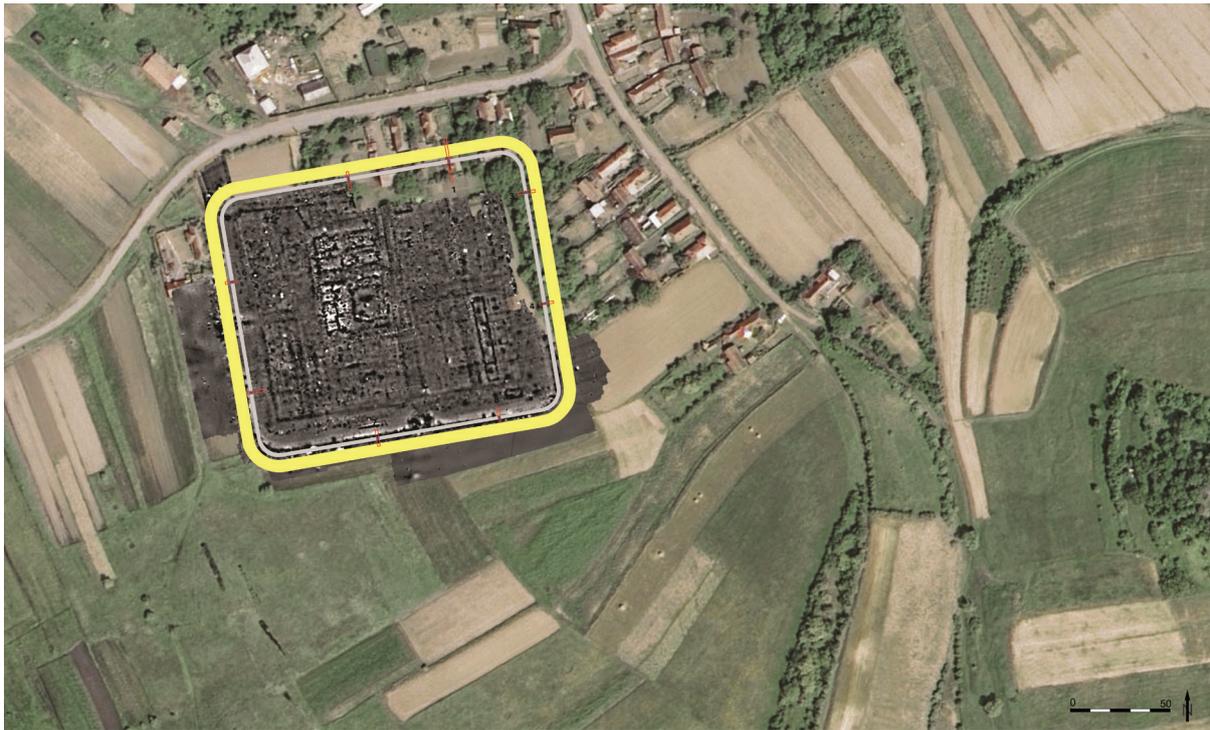


Fig. 5. Georeferenced plan of the auxiliary fort.

Up until now, different campaigns of geomagnetic measurements have taken place at the Roman auxiliary fort of Călugăreni,²⁷ but they were inevitably incomplete, due to the inhabited area at the eastern and northern part (Fig. 5) of the fort. The individual properties are separated by metal fences and/or vegetation which restricted the magnitude of such endeavours.

The houses no. 4 and 5 located above the northern part of the fort and its defensive structures, have been recently acquired by the Mureş County Council for the Archaeological Park from Călugăreni, so it was possible for the first time to make geophysical measurements in the courtyard and the back garden. In the spring of 2019, we used the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) due to the high concentration of recent features and debris caused by modern land use of the area.

The aim of the research was to map the archaeological features in the north-eastern corner of the fort, first of all to track the traces of the defensive wall and the position of the angle tower. The measurements were taken with

a GSSI 5103 model Ground Penetrating Radar and a 400 MHz antenna.

The grids (Fig. 6) were adjusted to the terrain, due to the fact that several fruit trees and a former property boundary obstructed the area. A total of 956 m², made up of five mainly overlapping grids of varying size and orientation have been measured. In four of these areas (Grid 1–4) we used the normal, single direction measurement technique with a 1 m line spacing, while in one grid (Grid 5) we opted for a bidirectional zig-zag measurement technique. Grids 1, 3, 4 had a north–south, Grid 2 a west–east and Grid 5 a west–east, respectively east–west orientation. To collect the best data possible, the measuring directions were oriented mostly perpendicular to the Roman walls, the closer to perpendicular is the angle at which radar signals hit certain objects, the clearer the final image. The arrangement of the hyperboles in one line, can visualise in a quite suggestive manner the area dominated by anomalies, which can indicate not only the presence and the shape of structures (walls, roads etc.), but also their absence.

²⁷ POPA ET AL. 2010, 107–110, 124, Abb. 10–12; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2014, 25–27.

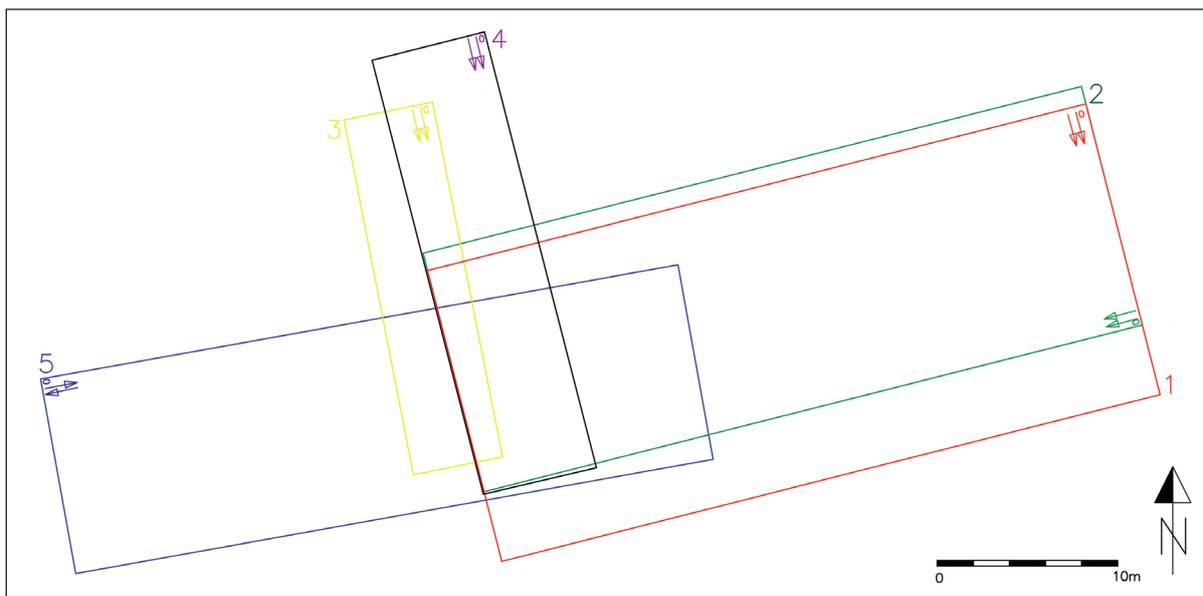


Fig. 6. The position of the five GPR grids.

On the results (Fig. 7–8), the defensive wall is clearly visible in Grid 1 and 2, while in Grid 3 and 4 only its absence could be documented, even if the alignment perfectly overlaps with the presumed line of the wall based on the geomagnetic surveys. Grid 1 and 2 overlap almost at 80%, but their measurement direction differs in

order to reduce the size of blank spots caused by the presence of the fruit trees. The width of the defensive wall based on the GPR data is 1.60–1.65 m, while the width of the robbing trench in Grids 3 and 4 is ca. 1.70 m. On multiple occasions a concentration of further anomalies can be seen along the walls, which can be caused by



Fig. 7. The results of the five GPR grids.

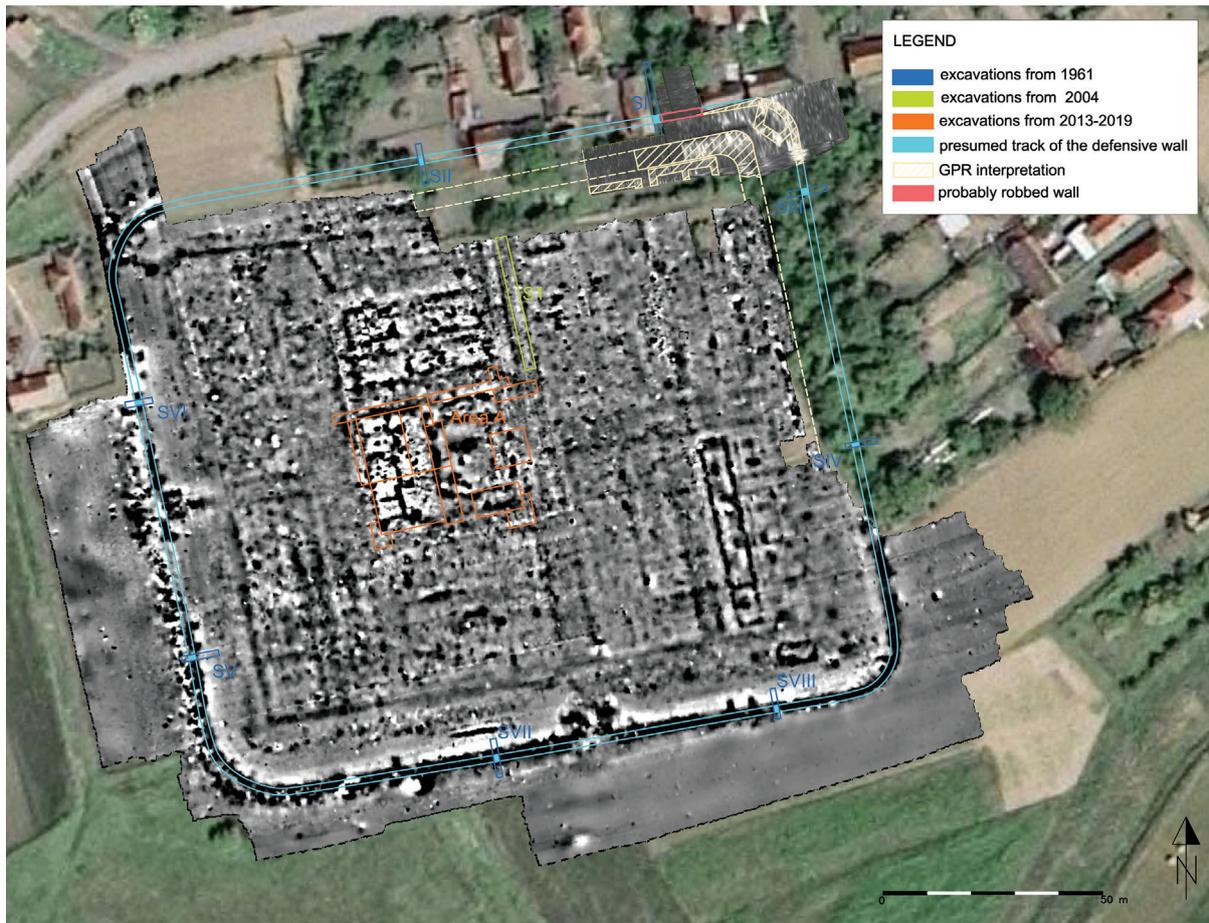


Fig. 8. General plan of the fort with the interpretation of the GPR anomalies.

the demolition layer of the structure. The strongest anomalies of the wall appear at a depth of 0.52 m (10.03 ns) and they are traceable up to 0.70 m (13.80 ns), occasionally it can also reach a depth of 1.20 m (22.90 ns).

The angle tower is outlined in Grid 1 and 2, with a trapezoidal plan. Based on the anomalies, the width of the external wall and/or its foundation was ca. 1.80–2 m, but the image is quite noisy due to the massive demolition, so this data has to be used with caution. The trapezoidal tower covers an area of ca. 4.5 × 5.0 m. The density of noisy anomalies and the nearly lacking side walls has to be pointed out and compared with the excavation report.²⁸

The *via sagularis* appears distinctly on the southern part of the measured area, the

hyperboles that would suggest its presence on the eastern side are less conclusive. A possible explanation for this would be a more intensive recent agricultural activity than in the western part, where due to the orchard the archaeological features have been better conserved. The width of the *via sagularis* is between 4.50–5 m, the signal appears at a depth of 0.40 m (8.60 ns), becomes strongest at 0.60 m (12.0 ns), and it is almost completely lost at the depth of 0.80 m (15.70 ns). This indicates a layer thickness of 0.40 m.

South of the *via sagularis*, at a depth of 0.70–1.1 m, the anomalies suggest the presence of two further buildings, probably barracks from the *praetentura*. Their orientation and position are in alignment with the buildings identified

²⁸ Due to methodological reasons, we decided to present the two datasets separately but next to each other, for the excavation results see: PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2021.

with the geomagnetic survey, and it seems that they were built next to the northern *via sagularis*. The distance of 4.40 m between the eastern barrack and the eastern *via sagularis* could correspond to a wooden *porticus* built without masonry foundation.

The results of the measurements have been confirmed by the excavations from 2020, in

areas where the GPR image was lacking conclusive data, the total absence of masonry structures, or their poorly preserved remains could be documented. Based on the geomagnetic measurements, at the fort of Călugăreni all the angle towers and curtain towers were built in a similar manner, combining different building techniques and materials.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT THE NORTH-EASTERN ANGLE TOWER OF THE AUXILIARY FORT OF CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA

Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL* – Katalin SIDÓ** – Orsolya SZILÁGYI***

The current paper presents the excavations from the NE angle tower of the auxiliary fort of Călugăreni / Mikháza from 2020. During the excavations we managed to identify two major phases of the fort and based on the analogies and the archaeological material we were able to date them as well.

Keywords: *limes*, Dacia, auxiliary fort, angle tower, dating
Cuvinte cheie: *limes*, Dacia, castru auxiliar, turn de colț, datare

INTRODUCTION¹

The Roman auxiliary fort of Călugăreni / Mikháza in Mureș / Maros County is located on the eastern *limes* of Roman Dacia in the valley of the Niraj / Nyárád River and along with a chain of watchtowers, fortlets and other defensive structures situated towards East, it had the task to control the Roman border section around the upper Niraj Valley which was an ancient traffic route towards the *barbaricum*. Due to the pandemic restrictions of 2020, the framework of the Călugăreni excavations was limited, so we decided to open up a smaller, but new area (trench D1) at the NE angle tower of the fort (Pl. I) identified during geophysical measurements.²

The area of the excavations was situated in the garden of houses no. 4 and 5 from Călugăreni,

which were recently acquired by the Mureș County Council for the Archaeological Park of Călugăreni (Fig. 1). In the garden of house no. 4, during the 1961 excavations Dumitru Protase managed to identify two major phases of the auxiliary fort, an earlier wooden phase and a later stone phase. In the evaluation trench SI (Pl. I – the 1961 excavations are marked in blue), excavated perpendicularly on the northern defensive wall, he managed to identify most of the defensive elements belonging to both phases, and based on analogies he dated the building of the stone fort to the 2nd century AD.³

With the 2020 excavation we aimed to collect more accurate data concerning the dating of the two phases, to verify the building technique and material of the angle tower and the defensive

* Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, pszilamer@yahoo.com.

** Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, benjikatka@yahoo.com.

*** Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, szilorsi@rocketmail.com.

¹ Following abbreviations have been used: D = diameter; D_{base} = base diameter; D_{body} = body diameter; D_{head} = head diameter; D_{rim} = rim diameter; D_{shaft} = shaft diameter; l = length; l_{rod} = length of rod; th = thickness; w = width; CAL 2020 = Călugăreni 2020 excavations; Tr. = trench; Cx. = context; SF no. = small find number. The artefacts belong to the Archaeological collection of the Mureș County Museum.

² For the results of the geophysical measurements and the research history of the fort see: PÁNCZÉL–BAJUSZ 2021.

³ PROTASE 1965, 210–212, fig. 3.



Fig. 1. The area of the auxiliary fort with the angle tower from trench D1.

wall, and to start developing conservation and management strategies for this area of the archaeological park, based on the state of preservation

of the structures.⁴ The Single Context Planning System⁵ was used at the excavations in order to document the identified archaeological features.

CONTEXTS AND PHASES

During the excavations at trench D1 a 10×10 m area was opened based on the georadar measurements, and an 8.5×2 m extension on the N and a 0.5×5 m extension on the W side had to be made, to grasp the entire structure.

As far as the relative chronology of the site is concerned, (Pl. II) the major chronological sequences identified during the excavation have been marked in the stratigraphic matrix. The phases are easier to comprehend if one

compares them to the two plans related to the major phases of the structure (Pl. III–IV) and the section drawings (Pl. V–VI) of the trench D1.⁶

To approximate the absolute chronology of the phases, we relied strongly on the archaeological material and the dated analogies for this type of angle tower. This issue will be discussed in the relating chapter.

Concerning the stratigraphy, we started

⁴ The authors are grateful to Lóránt Vass (Pázmány Péter Catholic University from Budapest), Levente Daczó (Hungarian National Museum from Budapest), Koppány-Bulcsú Ötvös, Csongor Lukácsi (Mureş County Museum from Târgu Mureş) the students from the Babeş-Bolyai University from Cluj-Napoca, the volunteers and the workers who helped us during the excavations. Our special thanks go to Péter Simon (Babeş-Bolyai University from Cluj-Napoca) for his help with the illustrations.

⁵ MOLAS 1997.

⁶ Even if the contexts related to the modern use and the disuse of the tower have been thoroughly documented, we did not consider it relevant to publish a separate plan with these features. Based on the Single Context Planning System, the fills do not appear on the plans because their extent is visible due to the cut, but in the matrix, section drawings and the context description they appear next to their cuts. The square brackets were used to point out the masonry structures.



Fig. 2. Features related to the disuse of the second phase fort.

excavating the topsoil (Cx. 1) covering the whole area. The trench was located in the garden of houses, so the layer had a humus-like character with a high concentration of modern material and occasional redeposited Roman artefacts. The thickness varied from 0.1–0.3 m, slightly sloping from S to N.

As regards the **modern use** of the area, several garbage pits (Cx. 34/35; Cx. 7/16), *latrinae* (Cx. 4/11; Cx. 18/20) and fence postholes (Cx. 12/15; Cx. 13/14) have been documented. These contained mostly modern archaeological material and only occasional Roman finds.

Regarding the quite modern **disuse of the second phase fort** (Fig. 2–3) of the Roman walls we can relate the robbing trench (Cx. 9=21=22/23=24) of the defensive wall [Cx. 6] and its foundation [Cx. 42].

Several contexts can be linked to the post abandonment destruction. In the exterior of the fort a destruction layer of the *agger* could be

documented (Cx. 10). It was visible in the NE corner of the trench, containing mid brownish-yellow silty clay, and lacking almost any archaeological material. The thickness of this context is 0.55 m. Underneath, covering most of the external area, a stone demolition of the defensive wall and the angle tower (Cx. 3) could be observed. The thickness of the context varied between 0.65–1 m and contained a huge amount of cobbles and boulders, roof tiles, occasionally brick fragments, abundant pottery and bones. The fill of the defensive ditch (Cx. 39) which can be related to the same phase, was a quite similar context. Another stone demolition (Cx. 5), outlined in the SW corner of the trench, can be related to the internal demolition of the wall, containing river cobbles, pottery and occasionally CBM. Also related to the destruction of the tower are the two fractured parts of the defensive wall [Cx. 40] and [Cx. 41]. One of them [Cx. 40] is a 0.8×0.3 m fragment which broke



Fig. 3. Features related to the construction and use of both phases from N.

off and sloped towards the *berma*. The other [Cx. 41], is at the extremity of the northern internal buttress of the tower and broke due to the ditch from the earlier phase, the fragment is 1.3 m long and 0.32 m wide.

To the **construction and use of the second phase** fort (Fig. 3–4), we can link the *via sagularis* (Cx. 45), which was identified only in the SW corner on a 1×0.5 m surface, containing mid greyish brown silty clay and river cobbles. Between the *via sagularis* and the angle tower a 0.8 m thick walking level (Cx. 17), made of dark greyish black silty sand with occasional cobbles, pebbles and a small amount of ceramic building material (CBM) could be observed. From this level, two circular wells (Cx. 52/53 – with a diameter of ca. 1.1 m and 2 m depth; Cx. 56/58 – with a diameter of ca. 1 m and almost 2 m depth) were dug. The berm (Cx. 37), or external walking level in front of the wall, was excavated on a 15 m long sector. Its width varied between 1 and 1.5 m, since it was slightly affected by the stone demolition outside the wall. It consisted of light yellowish-grey silty sand mixed with mortar, occasionally containing fine pebbles, CBM and pottery. Related to the maintenance of the wall a scaffolding pit (Cx. 54/55) dug into the berm

should be mentioned. The extent of the pit is 0.5×0.6 m, having a depth of 0.42 m.

The construction of the second phase started with the digging of the defensive ditch (Cx. 50) which existed and was maintained afterwards, and was filled up completely only during the long decay of the fort. The break of slope at the top of the ditch was heavily disturbed by erosion due to the long exposure, and after ca. 1 m depth, it started to get angular, ending in a quite sharp V-shaped base at the NE corner of the trench. The *agger* (Cx. 8) was built most probably from the clay excavated from the ditch. This consisted of brownish-yellow silty clay, occasionally containing fine sandy pebbles. It was only partially unearthed (9×1 –1.5 m), in order to preserve the structures from the second phase, but the excavated part lacked archaeological material. The building pit (Cx. 19/48) of the defensive wall [Cx. 6] and its foundation [Cx. 42] was identified in the interior but it was excavated only partially (13×0.7 m, until a 0.45 m depth), to safeguard the masonry structures. The foundation of the wall [Cx. 42] had a plinth made of rag-stones on the sides and the space between them was filled with pebbles, sand and smaller cobbles roughly bond with mortar. Its width varied between 1.6–1.8 m and the height was excavated



Fig. 4. Features related to the construction and use of both phases from S.

only up to 0.2 m. The stone wall [Cx. 6] was built in *opus incertum* technique, and had a width of 1.4–1.6 m, the maximum preserved height was 1.4 m. The S part was more damaged due to previously mentioned robbing activities. The preserved part of the elevation consists of large, slightly regular ragstone boulders bound with whitish and pinkish mortar. The wall is rounded at the corner, where two perpendicular buttresses were built towards the interior, on which the structure of the angle tower was leaning as well. On their axis two smaller buttresses can be observed, which fortified the wall from the exterior and may also have had an ornamental purpose.

The other structural element of the tower and the *agger* is a 5 × 1.1 m large dry wall foundation [Cx. 2]. It was constructed of large ragstone boulders and river cobbles, bound with a mixture of clay and well-sorted pebbles. Between the wall and the stone buttresses in the *agger*, a line of five postholes was detected. Three of them (Cx. 26/32=38, 0.5 × 0.35 m and a depth of 0.1–0.15 m; Cx. 28/36, 0.4 × 0.8 m depth of 0.2 m; Cx. 27/31 extent 0.4 × 0.5 m depth of 0.15 m) were close to the northern buttress, the other two (Cx. 30/33, 0.3 × 0.5 m, depth of 0.2 m; Cx. 25/29, 0.35 × 0.4 m, depth of 0.3 m) were

in the vicinity of the southern buttress. These posts were planted to hold the wooden frame of the angle tower which was also leaning on the dry wall foundation [Cx. 2]. Since there was no floor detected on the ground level of the angle tower, it is much more likely, that the tower was accessible from the first floor which might have been reached by stairs, probably located on the S side. In the support of this idea we can quote the presence of a larger posthole (Cx. 46/47) visible in the *agger* next to the angle tower (0.6 × 0.4 m, depth of 0.2 m), which could have been part of such a structure.

The **disuse of the first phase** is perceptible by two massive fills (Cx. 43=56, Cx. 44) of the first phase ditch. These are located underneath the *via sagularis* (Cx. 45), the walking level next to it (Cx. 17), the dry wall foundation of the tower [Cx. 2], the *agger* (Cx. 8) and partially the second phase building pit (Cx. 48). The later one (Cx. 44) is a yellowish-brown clay fill under the *via sagularis* (3.5 × 1.2 m), the earlier one (Cx. 43=56) is a dark greyish-brown clay fill, which was excavated on an area of 6.2 × 2.5 m, and is 1.25 m thick. Different fills, consecutively put into the ditch to fill up and level the area for the structures of the second phase are visible in the profile.



Fig. 5. Final orthophoto of trench D1 (Made by Cloudscale Digital).

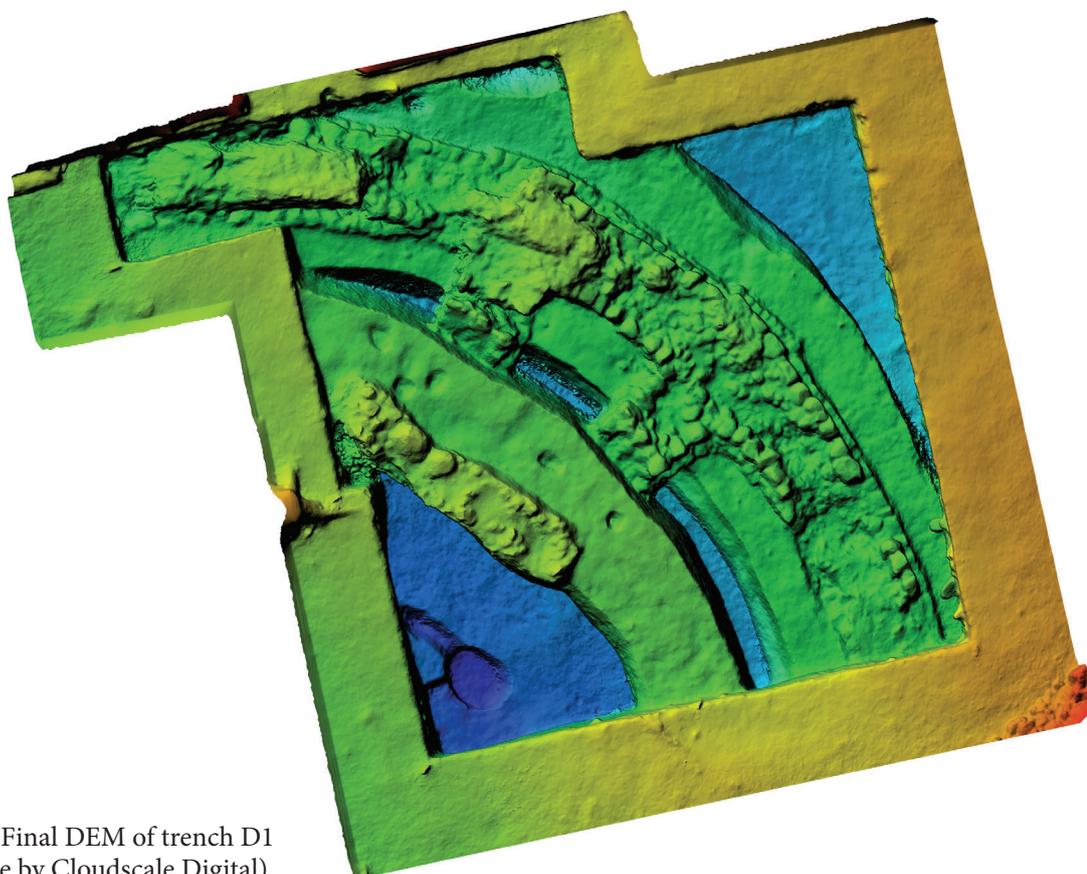


Fig. 6. Final DEM of trench D1 (Made by Cloudscale Digital).

The only context, which can be linked to the **construction and the use of the first phase** is the cut of the ditch (Cx. 51=58), which could not be excavated as it is situated underneath some features belonging to the second phase. The form of the ditch is preserved partially in the vicinity of the stone wall [Cx. 6], SW of the dry wall foundation [Cx. 2] and the *agger* (Cx. 8). It was excavated on an area of 6.75 × 9.2 m and had a 1.3 m depth, the break of slope at the top of the ditch started gradually and became quite angular. The deepest point of the ditch was in

the SW corner, where a channel-like V-shaped base could be documented. The structural instability of the stone wall (Cx. 6) and the buttresses (Cx. 41) can be linked to the fact that the backfill of the first ditch (Cx. 43, Cx. 44) was not compact enough to support a large scale construction.

Regarding the use of the area before the first phase construction, no structural elements could be observed, only a walking level (Cx. 57) was documented covering the natural clay (Cx. 49).

ANALOGIES AND DATING

The angle tower of the second phase fort from Călugăreni has an unusual building technique, since timber and masonry structures were combined and used simultaneously (Fig. 5–6). The analogies for such angle towers are not so numerous, even though they can be found in Dacia and other provinces as well. According to the plan of the fort, the SW corner of the fortlet from Titești (*Dacia inferior*)⁷ has a pair of buttresses similar to those from Călugăreni, although in the description it is mentioned that the angle towers are missing and the corners are thickened.⁸ The building of the fortlet was dated to the reign of Hadrian,⁹ based on the nearby fortlets from Copăceni, Arutela and Rădăcinești.

The African fort from Gemellae has a similar angle tower in the SW corner.¹⁰ Discussing the case of Gemellae, Welsby suggests that the buttresses could have supported a timber superstructure,¹¹ and considering the dating, it seems that this phase was built around 132 AD.¹²

For the angle towers built in the Novaesium

and Duisburg-Rheinhausen fortlets (*Germania inferior*), a similar building technique was attested. The fortlet at Novaesium had similar buttresses in all corners and probably functioned from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century.¹³ The one form Duisburg-Rheinhausen was in the vicinity, had similar features in all corners and was dated to the same interval.¹⁴

A slightly different type of angle tower solution, with combined building technique can be noted in Saalburg (*Germania inferior*).¹⁵ We can also quote the fort from Hofheim (*Germania inferior*)¹⁶ as a good analogy for archaeological evidence of wooden angle towers.

In the case of the fort from Housesteads (*Britannia*), similar buttresses are present in the NE corner on the plan of the Hadrianic fort, and they were interpreted as remains of a stone angle tower.¹⁷ However, based on the presented evidence they could be similar to the one from Călugăreni.

⁷ VLĂDESCU 1983, 219, fig. 67.

⁸ VLĂDESCU 1983, 104–105; VLĂDESCU 1986, 65–67; GUDEA 1997, 92, nr. 80; ȚENȚEA ET AL. 2021, 37.

⁹ ȚENȚEA ET AL. 2021, 37

¹⁰ BARADEZ 1948, 391; BREEZE ET AL. 2013, 68; TROUSSET 1998, 4.

¹¹ WELSBY 1990, 123–124, fig. 4/1.

¹² TROUSSET 1998, 2.

¹³ HORN 2002, 586, Abb. 500.

¹⁴ HORN 2002, 567, Abb. 484.

¹⁵ BAATZ–HERMANN 1982, 469–474, Abb. 444.

¹⁶ BAATZ–HERMANN 1982, 350–357, Abb. 297; NUBER 1986, 226–227, Abb. 1.

¹⁷ RUSHWORTH 2009, 19–20, 27, fig. 1.12.

Taking into consideration that all the angle towers of the forts and fortlets built in the same, or similar manner as the one from Călugăreni have been dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD, we can date the building of the second phase fort up to the middle of the 2nd century. Since the early second century was the earliest date when the first fort could have been built, we

have to take into account a quite early date for the rebuilding of the fort.¹⁸ We have to remark that we did not have any finds which would push the abandonment of the fort beyond the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century AD.

The chronological assessment has also been confirmed by the archaeological material recovered during the excavations.

ANALYSIS OF THE CERAMIC VESSELS

During the excavations in trench D1 a total of 852 ceramic shards, originating from 813 vessels have been recovered. The Roman ceramic material counts 493 shards which form 459 vessels.

Most of them belong to the category of tableware dominated by the 190 jugs, followed by 33 beakers and 22 bowls. Cooking ware is represented by 144 jars and 12 lids. The category of utilitarian ware, made up by storage jars and *dolia* were poorly represented with only 48 vessels. The group of possibly cultic vessels contained 4 *turibula* and one *thymiaterion* base fragment.

In order to discuss the chronology of the two building phases of the fort, the ceramic material from some of the contexts should be analysed in detail. Cx. 17 and Cx. 43 are two fills of the ditch from the first phase, the second being also a later walking level, which contributes to the dating of the second phase fort. It is worth underlining that Cx. 37 is the exterior walking level on the *berma* of the fort, Cx. 3 is a demolition layer, which can be linked to the use of the second phase.

From the earlier fill of the first phase ditch (Cx. 43) only two vessel fragments were recovered (Fig. 7). The first one is a cooking jar (Pl. VII/1) with slightly everted rim with triangular section, with a round-running groove on

top and inner groove for the lid. The fabric is coarse, reduced burnt. This form, being quite frequent, has many analogies in Dacia and in other provinces as well. The examples from Napoca are dated to the period from the reign of Traianus to Antoninus Pius,¹⁹ the ones from Apulum have a similar dating, being present in the pottery workshop 'B', which functioned in the middle of the 2nd century.²⁰ Jars of this type discovered in Romula, Răcari and Orlea were produced in the 2nd century.²¹ Similar vessels from Carnuntum are dated to the 1st century,²² the ones from Sirmium from the end of the 1st to the beginning of the 3rd century.²³ The second vessel is a bowl (Pl. VII/2) with vertical, rounded and thickened rim, with a pronounced groove under the rim. The bowl has fine, reduced burnt fabric. Similar vessels from Napoca are dated to the reign of Hadrianus and Antoninus Pius.²⁴

From the later fill of the first phase ditch (Cx. 17) 66 vessels were discovered, mostly tableware, the other categories being poorly represented (Fig. 7). A Drag. 37 bowl fragment (Pl. VII/3) from Lezoux, came from the *officina* of Paterclvs, bearing similar decoration motifs as the vessels of Qvintilianvs and Ianvaris I. These *officinae* produced pottery between 125–150 AD. The fabric of the shard and the concentric circle motif, used instead of the *ovolo* line defines

¹⁸ The stone phases of most forts from Roman Dacia have been dated after the Marcomanic Wars or even during the reign of the Severan Dynasty, facts which might need to be reanalysed based on our current assessment.

¹⁹ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 412–413, pl. XCVII/582.

²⁰ CIAUȘESCU 2004, 324, 7; EGRI 2018, 123, fig. 10/7.

²¹ POPILIAN 1976, 87, pl. XXXIII/318.

²² GRÜNEWALD 1979, 55, Taf. 44/12.

²³ BRUKNER 1981, T. 114/62.

²⁴ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 382, pl. LXXXIV/448.

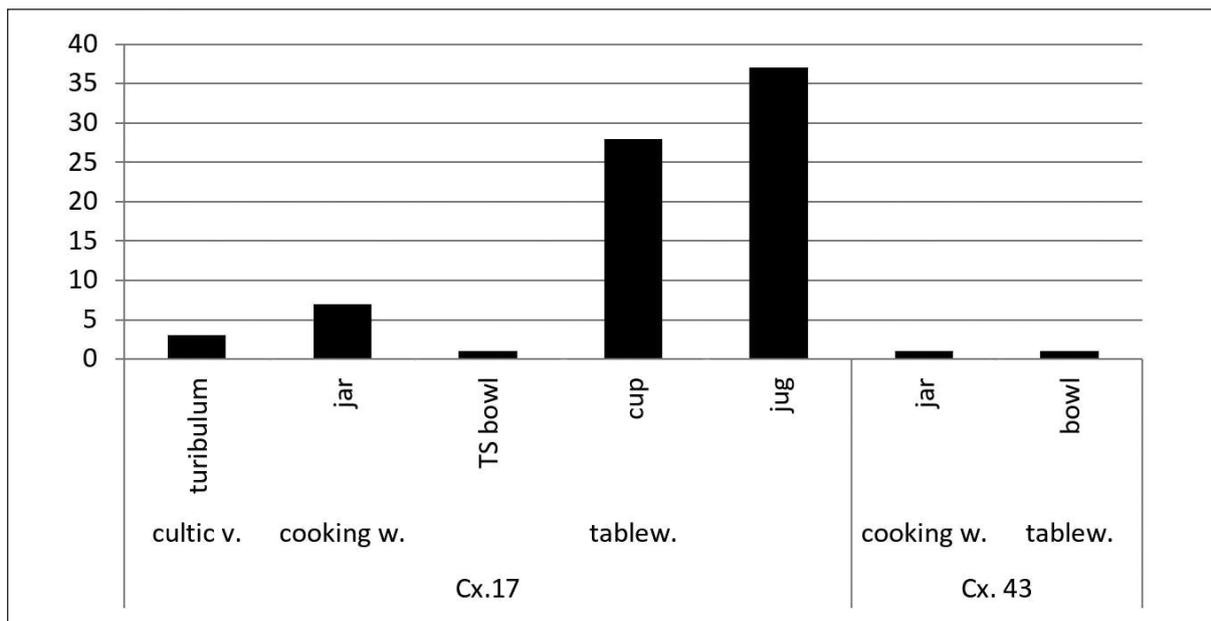


Fig. 7. The vessel categories from the disuse of the first phase fort.

the provenience.²⁵ Another tableware is a Drag. 36 plate imitation (Pl. VII/4), with accentuated inner groove. These vessels are very frequent and are dated mainly to the end of 1st–middle of the 2nd century in *Moesia superior*,²⁶ and the 2nd century in Dacia.²⁷ From the repertoire of bowls, a waster should be pointed out, with vertical, rounded rim with two smooth grooves on the outer side (Pl. VII/5). This vessel has analogies from Călugăreni, where it appeared in a waste pit from the *vicus*, among several thin walled cups, dated to the first half of the 2nd century.²⁸ A beaker fragment (Pl. VII/6) also contributes to the dating of the context. It has a slightly everted, rounded rim. The prototype of this form can be found in the repertoire of the thin walled

vessels, dated to the end of the 1st, first half of the 2nd century.²⁹ The same forms appear also in Napoca³⁰ and Sirmium,³¹ their production being dated to the first half of the 2nd century. A small size *krater* (Pl. VII/7), with flattened, thickened rim has a wider production span. Analogies from Moesia Superior³² and Dacia Inferior³³ suggest that it was produced during the 2nd–3rd centuries. The following vessels are cooking jars with almost vertical rim. The first one (Pl. VII/8) has elongated, rounded rim, the fabric is coarse, oxidized burnt. Similar vessels are to be found in Napoca, dated to the 2nd–3rd century,³⁴ and Apulum dated to the first half of the 2nd century.³⁵ The other jar (Pl. VII/9) is a one handed vessel, similar to the previous one

²⁵ OSWALD-PRYCE 1920, pl. XXX/84; STANFIELD-SIMPSON 1958, pl. 72/35.

²⁶ BRUKNER 1981, 153, T. 66/19, 67.

²⁷ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 380, pl. LXXXIII/443.

²⁸ The ceramic material from the pit is unpublished, it appears in this study only to underline the chronological classification of the described bowl. For preliminary data concerning the pit and the archaeological material from it see HÖPKEN ET AL. 2020, 103–104.

²⁹ BET-HENRIQUES RABA 1989, 24, fig. 5/3.

³⁰ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 315, pl. LXXXIII/386.

³¹ BRUKNER 1981, 157, T. 100/1–7.

³² BRUKNER 1981, 158, T. 103/4.

³³ POPILIAN 1976, 9, pl. XXXIX/401.

³⁴ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 412, pl. XCVI/578.

³⁵ CIAUȘESCU 2004, fig.1/6; EGRI 2018, 123, fig. 10/6.

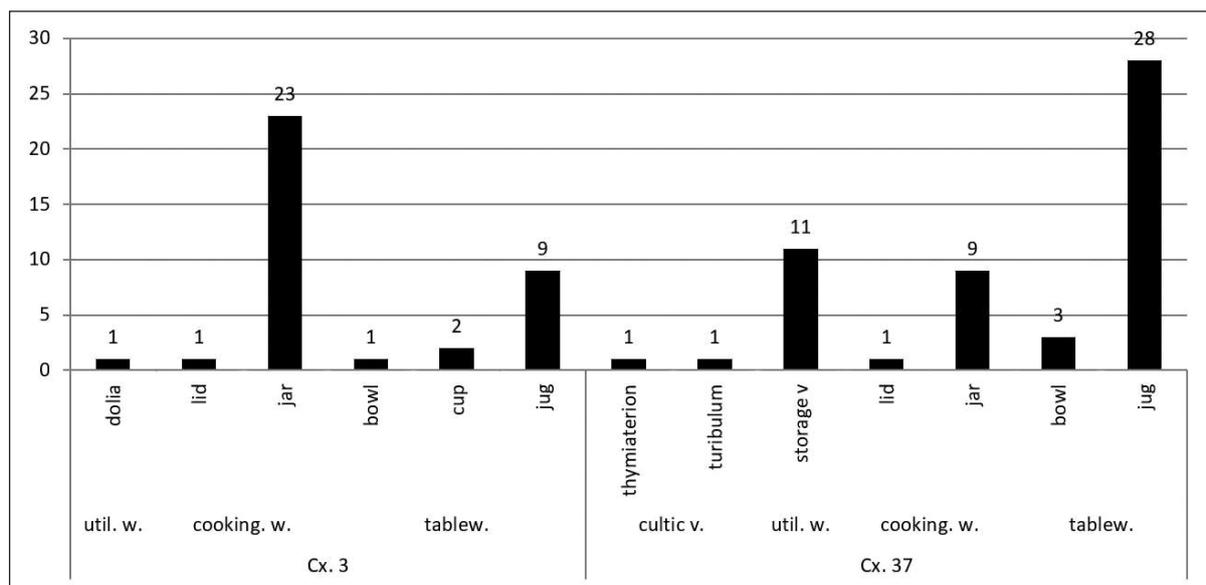


Fig. 8. The vessel categories from the use of the second phase fort.

with almost vertical rim, triangular in section, with three grooves on the shoulder of the vessel, coarse fabric, reduced burnt. The vessel's analogies in Apulum are dated to the 2nd century and those in *Dacia inferior* to the same time frame.³⁶ A *turibulum* body fragment (Pl. VII/10), with fine, oxidized fabric has similar morphological features as one from Carnuntum, dated to the 2nd–3rd century,³⁷ and one from the necropolis at Tăul Corna in Alburnus Maior, from the 2nd century.³⁸

Concerning the dating of contexts Cx. 17 and Cx. 43, most of the vessels hint towards the beginning and middle of the 2nd century, only a few were produced until the 3rd century. This shows, that the dismantling of the first phase fort and the levelling works for the construction of the second phase fort started probably in the middle of the 2nd century.

The other context group which is chronologically relevant to the use of the second phase fort

is the outer demolition and the *berma* around the fort.

The earliest demolition layer of the fort from the second phase (Cx. 3) contained a varied repertoire of forms. Most of the vessels are body fragments of cooking pots (Fig. 8) and the tableware is represented by a relatively high number of vessels, 12 in total. From these, four will be analysed in detail. A Drag. 37 imitation (Pl. VIII/1), with fine, oxidized fabric³⁹ has analogies from many sites,⁴⁰ having a time span between the 1st–4th centuries. Two jug fragments, one with everted, grooved rim (Pl. VIII/2) is dated to the first half of the 2nd century,⁴¹ the other has a vertical, thickened rim (Pl. VIII/3).⁴² The *dolium* fragment (Pl. VIII/4) has a longer time frame, from the beginning of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century.⁴³

The ceramic material of the *berma* (Cx. 37) contained mostly tableware, of which 28 are jugs (Fig. 8). One of the jugs has everted rim,

³⁶ POPILIAN 1976, 90, pl. XXXVII/378.

³⁷ GRÜNEWALD 1979, 48, Taf. 35/1.

³⁸ BOCAN-NEAGU 2018, 108, fig. 16/T14.

³⁹ The fabric is unusual and quite rare. It contains a lot of golden mica, the colour is bright orange to red (2.5YR 5/8) and the quality of the burning is not too good.

⁴⁰ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 203–204, pl. XL/185.

⁴¹ BRUKNER 1981, 164, T. 147/146.

⁴² RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 424–425, pl. CII/621.

⁴³ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 427, pl. CIV/636.

rounded at the end, and S-shaped in profile (Pl. VIII/5). This quite rare form has analogies in the necropolis at Kalvaka, and also in the production centre at Pavlikeni, their production being dated to the second half of the 2nd century.⁴⁴ Such vessels were also discovered in the necropolis from Sucidava, along with coins from Severus Alexander⁴⁵ and at Carnuntum, with a wide chronological range, being specified, that the prototype and the different variants of this form were produced for a long period.⁴⁶ From the three bowls, two are Drag. 44 imitations. The first has inverted rounded rim (Pl. VIII/6),⁴⁷ while the other has a much more vertical rim and smaller diameter (Pl. VIII/7).⁴⁸ The dating of these vessels can be linked to the *terra sigillata* prototype, produced between the middle of the 2nd–middle of the 3rd century.⁴⁹ The third bowl has slightly everted rim, with a groove on the inner side and tronconic body (Pl. VIII/8). These kind of vessels can be found in Romula,⁵⁰ in Butovo and Novae as well.⁵¹ It is possible

that this kind of bowl originates from the eastern *sigillata* B2, form 58, dated to the middle of the 1st–beginning of the 2nd century.⁵² The category of cultic vessels is represented by a possible *thymiaterion*⁵³ or torch support fragment (Pl. VIII/9). One quite similar example is known from Cristești,⁵⁴ other ones are known from the ceramic production centre of Lágymányos.⁵⁵ A similar object, described as the neck of a vessel, was discovered in Mogontiacum. The fragment has a reduced fabric and bears the *CVPITVS F(ecit)* graffito. The workshop in which it was discovered functioned between 160–200/210 AD.⁵⁶

We have to count a solid *turibulum* base (Pl. VIII/10) to the same group, with analogies in Carnuntum⁵⁷ and Aquincum, dated to the end of the 2nd–beginning of the 3rd century.⁵⁸

As a conclusion, the ceramic material from the contexts related to the use of the second phase of the fort is to be dated between the middle of the 2nd–first half of the 3rd century.

CATALOGUE OF THE CERAMIC VESSELS

Pl. VII/1. Cooking jar with slightly everted, triangular in section rim, with a round-running groove on top and inner groove for the lid. The fabric is coarse, reduced burnt. D_{rim}: 20 cm, th: 0.5cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 43).

Pl. VII/2. Bowl with vertical, rounded and thickened rim, with a pronounced groove under

the rim. The bowl has fine, reduced burnt fabric. D_{rim}: 23 cm, th: 0.75 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 43).

Pl. VII/3. Drag. 37 bowl fragment from Lezoux, from the *officina* of Paterclvs, bearing similar decoration motifs as the vessels of Qvintilianvs and Ianvaris I. These *officinae* produced pottery

⁴⁴ SULTOV 1985, 73, pl. XXXIII/6.

⁴⁵ POPILIAN 1976, 99–100, pl. XLIX/521–522.

⁴⁶ GRÜNEWALD 1979, 44, Taf. 29/3.

⁴⁷ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 392, pl. LXXXVII/480.

⁴⁸ RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 393, pl. LXXXVII/485.

⁴⁹ OSWALD-PRYCE 1920, pl. LXI.

⁵⁰ POPILIAN 1976, 120, pl. LXIV/774.

⁵¹ SULTOV 1985, 64–65, table XXVII/7.

⁵² PUGLIESE CARRATELLI ET AL. 1985, tavola XIV/3; ROBINSON 1959, 222, pl. 61/G19.

⁵³ The functionality of this ceramic vessel is not certain, due to the resemblance of the fragment to Kapitän II amphora legs and necks, the fabric being also very similar to the Aegean amphora fabrics. The only contradicting fact is the rough and uneven surface of the interior. For Kapitän II amphorae see PEACOCK–WILLIAMS 1986, 193–195, class 47.

⁵⁴ MAN 2011, 188, pl. CXXXVII/63.

⁵⁵ NAGY 2017, 205, fig. 3/19–20. These forms are rather *turibula* since the base is not too high.

⁵⁶ HEISING 2007, 352, Taf. 61/51,03.

⁵⁷ GRÜNEWALD 1979, 48, Taf. 35/5.

⁵⁸ VÁMOS 2015, 46, Abb. 6/44–46.

between 125–150 AD. Oxidized, well burnt fine fabric, with dark red, seeding slip. D_{body} : 16.2 cm, th: 0.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/4. Drag. 36 plate imitation, with accentuated inner groove. The fabric is fine, oxidized, the quality of the burning is medium. D_{rim} : 19.4 cm, th: 0.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/5. Waster bowl, with vertical, rounded rim with two smooth grooves on the outer side. The fabric is COS2, produced probably in Călugăreni.⁵⁹ D_{rim} : 23 cm, th: 0.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/6. Beaker with slightly everted, rounded rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized with yellowish-cream colour, traces of pinkish-red slip are visible on the neck. D_{rim} : 8.2 cm, th: 0.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/7. Krater, with flattened, thickened rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized with yellowish-cream colour, containing a lot of mica. D_{rim} : 16 cm, th: 0.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/8. Cooking jar with almost vertical, elongated, rounded rim. The fabric is coarse, oxidized burnt. D_{rim} : 15.8 cm, th: 0.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/9. One handled cooking jar, with almost vertical, triangular in section rim, with three grooves on the shoulder of the vessel. The fabric is coarse, reduced burnt. D_{rim} : 10 cm, th: 0.7 cm, (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VII/10. *Turibulum* body fragment, with fine, oxidized fabric. D_{body} : 8.6 cm, th: 0.9 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17).

Pl. VIII/1. Drag. 37 bowl imitation, with fine, oxidized fabric. The fabric is unusual and quite rare. It contains a lot of golden mica, the colour is bright orange to red (2.5YR 5/8) and the quality of the burning is poor. D_{rim} : 13.6 cm, th: 0.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3).

Pl. VIII/2. Jug with everted, triangular in

section, grooved rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized and hard burnt, with frequent lime and quartz fragments. On the upper side of the rim, traces of light red slip can be seen. D_{rim} : 13.8 cm, th: 0.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3).

Pl. VIII/3. Jug with vertical, thickened rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized, the colour of the shard is brownish pink. In the inner side of the rim, traces of dark red slip can be seen. D_{rim} : 10 cm, th: 0.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3).

Pl. VIII/4. *Dolium* with down leaning, flattened rim. The fabric is coarse, in the inner side oxidized burnt, on the outer side being a reduced layer. D_{rim} : 24.6 cm, th: 0.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3).

Pl. VIII/5. Jug with everted, rounded at the end, S in profile rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized, the colour of the shard is orange-pink. D_{rim} : 12.4 cm, th: 0.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

Pl. VIII/6. Drag. 44 bowl imitation, with inverted, rounded and thickened rim. The fabric is fine, reduced burnt. D_{rim} : 23 cm, th: 0.75 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

Pl. VIII/7. Drag. 44 bowl imitation, with almost vertical, rounded and thickened rim. The fabric is fine, oxidized burnt. D_{rim} : 15 cm, th: 0.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

Pl. VIII/8. Bowl with slightly flanged rim, a groove on the inner side and tronconic body. The fabric is fine, very orange, oxidized burnt. Traces of light red slip can be observed mainly in the inner side. D_{rim} : 28 cm, th: 0.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

Pl. VIII/9. *Thymiaterion* or torch support base fragment, consisting of three horizontal ribs. The fabric is coarse, oxidized, very dark orange-red. D_{body} : 5.4 cm, th: 1.4 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

Pl. VIII/10. Solid *turibulum* base fragment, with fine, oxidized fabric. D_{body} : 7 cm, th: 1.4 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37).

ANALYSIS OF THE CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL (CBM)

During the excavation in trench D1, a total of 673 CBM fragments have been recovered,

which belonged to 648 individual artefacts. The recovered material was quite fragmentary,

⁵⁹ COS2 is an oxidized, semifine fabric with large pieces of reused pottery, moderate mica, and rarely small quartz fragments. The consistency of the fabric is soapy, due to the very fine clay basis.

so only a small percentage of them were matching. Since 2013, five major *tegula* types and four *imbrex* types have been established for the site of Călugăreni. It is important to underline that these types are probably from local workshops and are based on the morphology of the roof tiles discovered mainly at the *principia* and the *thermae*. In the case of the *tegulae* the types were classified according to the form of the flange, while in the case of the *imbrices* we relied on the form of the internal base edge.⁶⁰ The brick types were separated based upon their thickness.

The typological categories are:

TA1: *tegula* with a straight inside and outside edge, the total height of the tile is ca. 3.9 cm, and flange width is ca. 2.2 cm.

TA2: *tegula* with straight inside and outside edge, the total height of the tile is ca. 5.1 cm and flange width is ca. 3.8 cm.

TA3: *tegula* with straight inside and outside edge, the total height of the tile is ca. 5.7 cm and flange width is ca. 4 cm.

TA4: *tegula* with straight outside edge and rounded inside edge sloping inwards, the total height of the tile is ca. 5 cm and flange width is ca. 2.6 cm.

TA5: *tegula* with straight outside edge and rounded inside edge sloping inwards, the total height of the tile is ca. 5.9 cm and flange width is ca. 5.4 cm.

TA6: *tegula* with straight outside edge and rounded inside edge, the flange's top is flat, the total height of the tile is ca. 4.87 cm and flange width is ca. 3.6 cm.

TB1: Sicilian style *imbrex* with a straight inner base edge.

TB2: Sicilian style *imbrex* with an inner base edge tapering towards the outside.

TB3: Sicilian style *imbrex* with an inner base edge tapering towards the inside.

TB4: Sicilian style *imbrex* with an inner base edge that is cropped out.

BA1: brick with an average thickness of 3–4 cm. Most probably used as a floor tile.

BA2: brick with an average thickness of 4–5 cm. Most probably used for walls.

BA3: brick with an average thickness of 5 ≤ cm. Most probably used for walls.

The CBM recovered from the angle tower's excavation was quite fragmentary, so only in certain cases could we determine their exact morphological type (Fig. 9). All the scientific data is influenced by this factor, but we shall not doubt that this tower had a roof made of *tegulae* and *imbrices*.

Cx. 9 has a total of 97 fragments belonging to 88 objects, this high number could be explained by the fact that this was the fill of a modern robbing trench that disturbed several later contexts. Beside the standard *tegulae* and *imbrices*, two stamped *tegulae* fragments have been

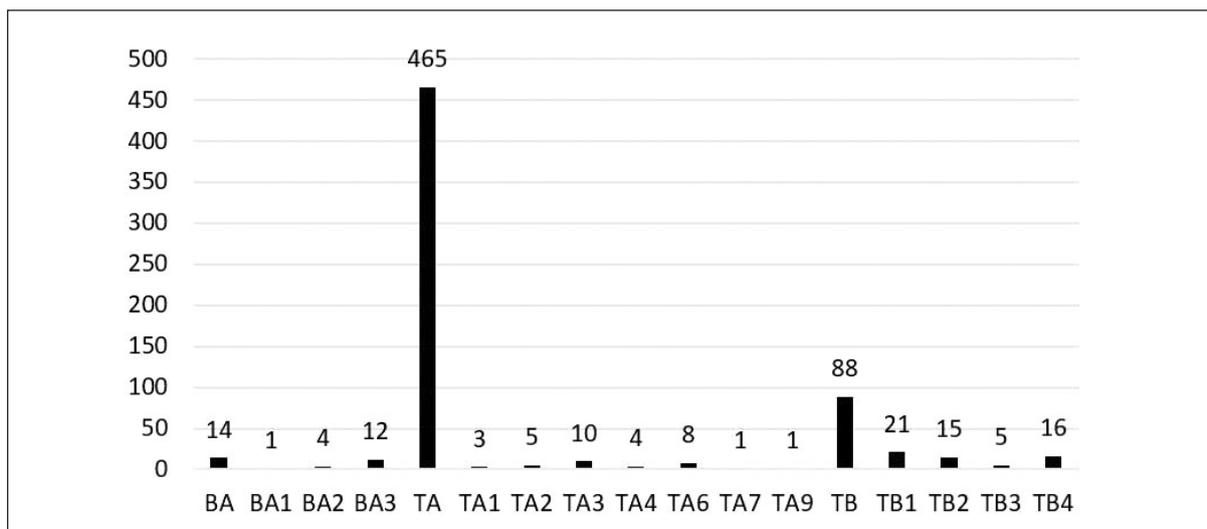


Fig. 9. Distribution of the CBM types in trench D1.

⁶⁰ The description of the *tegula* and *imbrex* types was based on Philip Mills' work (MILLS 2013, 30–32).

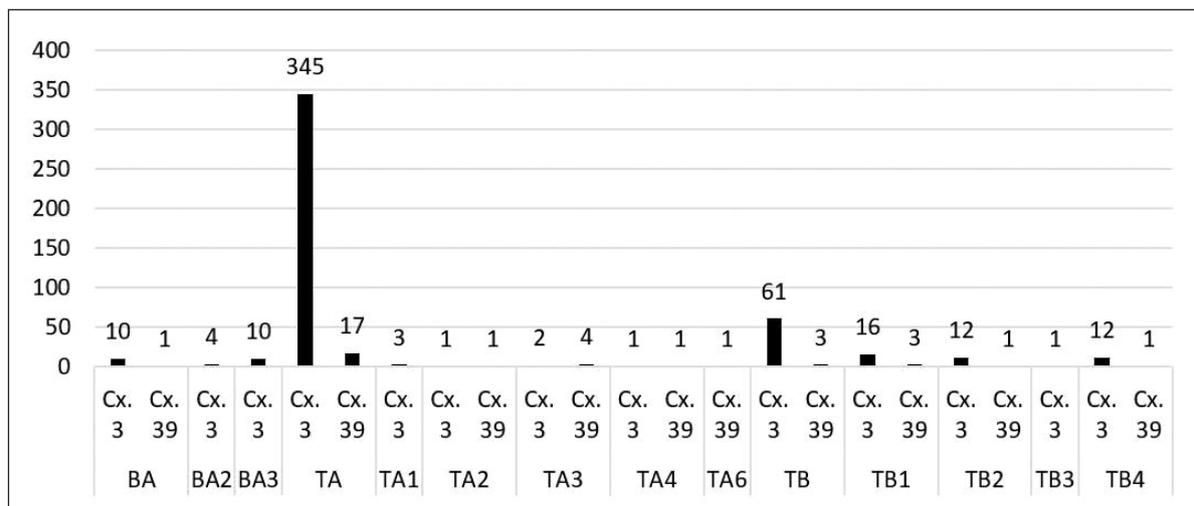


Fig. 10. CBM types related to the disuse of the second phase fort.

recovered as well. The context with the highest CBM concentration is Cx. 3 (Fig. 10). It had 477 fragments from 474 objects, four of which are stamped roof tiles. Since this context signals the destruction of the second phase, it also explains the reason why the ceramic building material is so fragmentary and numerous. The number of *tegulae* (351) is more than three times higher than that of the *imbrices* (102). A total of 24 bricks have been identified in this context. Due to the fragmentary nature of the recovered tiles, only a small number of them could be classified into types, although in the case of the *imbrices*, the most frequent types are TB1 and TB4.

The building material found in the fill of the

second phase ditch (Cx. 39) had 33 fragments from 32 objects; this is also the context that can be linked to the abandonment and disuse of the fort (Fig. 10). It is worth mentioning, that we also found the flange of a *tegula mammata* related to this context.

At the *berma* of the later fort (Cx. 37) a total of 19 fragments belonging to 18 objects were found, two of which were bricks (Fig. 11). Due to the small amount and fragmentary nature of the roof tiles, we couldn't identify any prevalent morphological types. Cx. 17, which is the last fill of the early fort's ditch, had altogether only 8 fragments from 3 objects, most of which were *tegulae* (Fig. 11). No dominant morphological

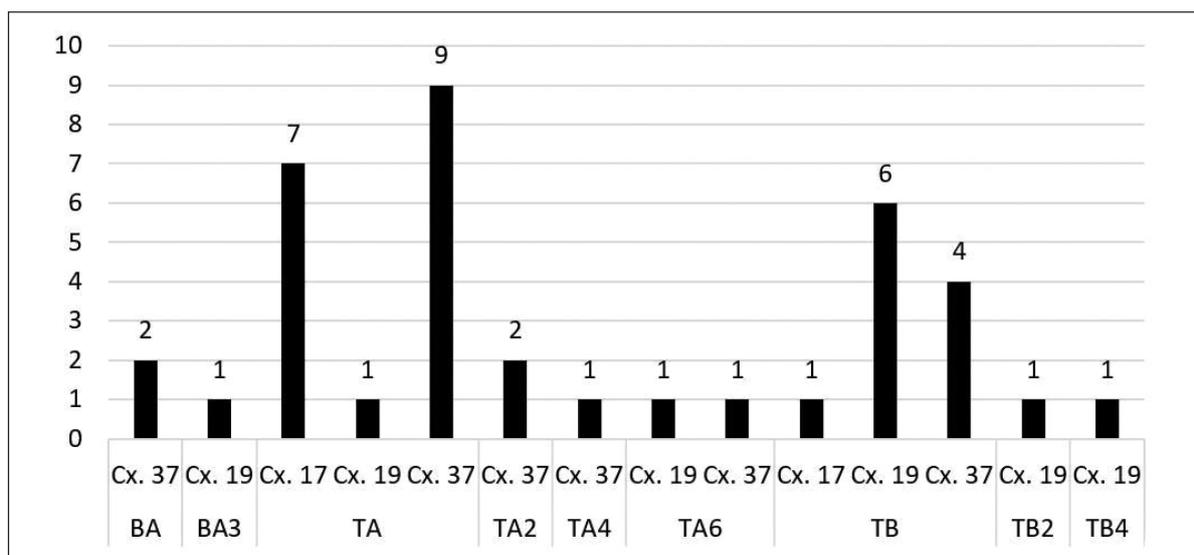


Fig. 11. CBM types related to the building and the use of the second phase fort.

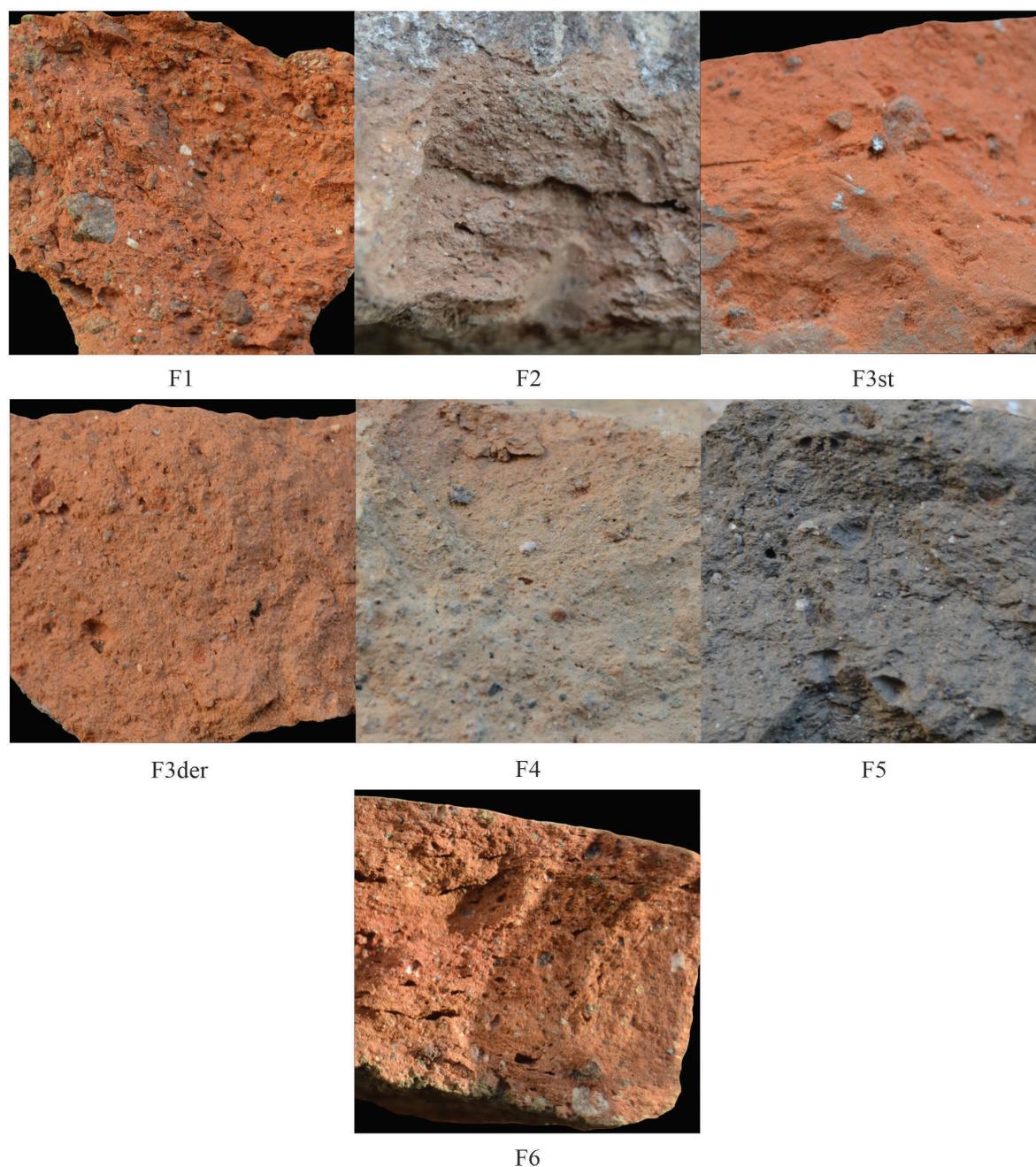


Fig. 12. CBM fabric types from Călugăreni.

types were identified. The fill of the building pit of the second phase (Cx. 19) had 11 fragments belonging to 7 objects, most of which were *imbrices* (Fig. 11).

Thus, categorizing them based on their fabric can be also useful, so seven types of fabrics were established (Fig. 12):

F1: Red, hard, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of small pebbles and quartz.

F2: Dark brown, hard, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of small pebbles and lime.

F3st⁶¹: Light to dark orange, soft, fine fabric, usually with inclusions of very small to small pebbles and quartz.

⁶¹ The “st” comes from standard. The abbreviation was used in order to differentiate between the two types of F3, that look really similar at first glance.

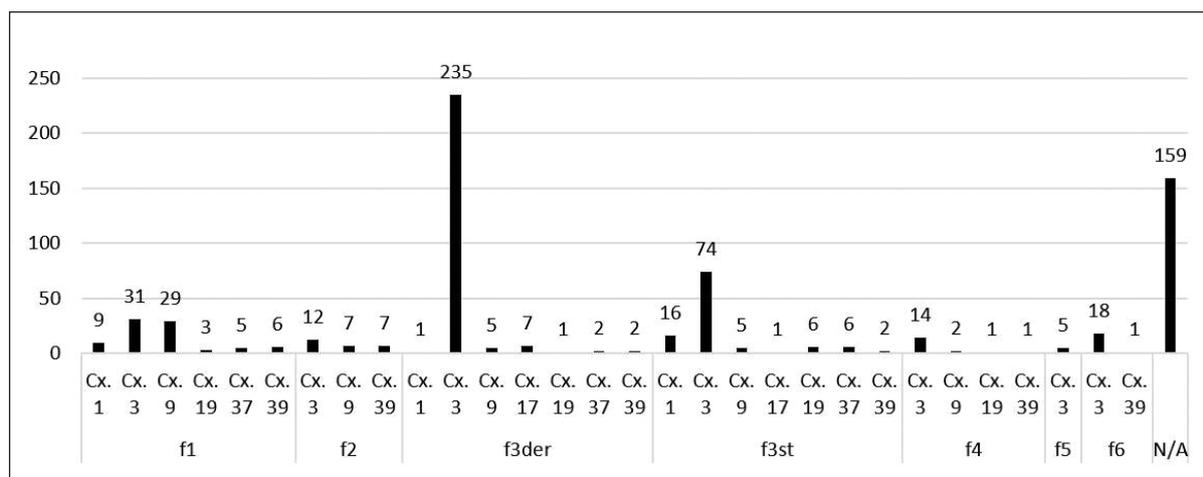


Fig. 13. Distribution of CBM fabric types in trench D1.

F3der⁶²: Light to dark orange, soft, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of very small pebbles and quartz.

F4: Beige/cream, soft, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of very small to small pebbles.

F5: Grey, hard, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of small pebbles and quartz.

F6: Pink, hard, coarse fabric, usually with inclusions of very small to small pebbles and quartz.

The most frequent fabric type from the trench D1 excavation (Fig. 13) is F3der with 252 fragments, followed by F3st (110 frag.), F1 (83 frag.), F2 (26 frag.), F6 (19 frag.), F4 (18 frag.) and F5 (5 frag.). The destruction layer of the fort wall (Cx. 3) had the most CBM fragments of F3der, a significant percentage of them being *tegulae*. In the case of 160 fragments the fabric type could not be established.

The large number of CBM found in the vicinity of the former angle tower suggests that it had a roof during the Roman period, which slowly started to collapse after the fort's abandonment, evidenced by the tile fragments in the fills of the ditch.

A special category of the CBM finds are the stamped *tegulae* with the abbreviation of the military unit's name stationed in the fort. The *C(ohors) P(rima) A(ugusta) I(tureorum)* stamps (Pl. IX/1–7) have been attested with a large typological variation at the site of Călugăreni⁶³, suggesting that for the larger building projects several *signacula* were used simultaneously.

The only CBM fragment belonging to a *hypocaustum* system (Pl. IX/8) cannot be related to a possible floor heating in the tower, this fragment was rather part of the rubble and building debris surrounding the tower.

CATALOGUE OF CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL SMALL FINDS

Pl. IX/1. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 1 stamp and fabric type F3der. The stamp is fragmentary, with the bottom right quarter missing. The *ansa* is simple, letters *C*, *A* and *I* are vertical, letter *P* is slightly leaning forward. The upper part of *P* and the bottom of *A* and the cartouche

are slightly eroded. W: 9.5 cm, l: 9.1 cm, th: 2.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 14).

Pl. IX/2. Two matching *tegula* fragments with *CPAI* type 2 stamp and fabric type F3der. Only a small portion of the stamp survived. The *ansa* is doubled, the *C* has a round form and the

⁶² The “der” comes from derivate. The abbreviation was used in order to tell the two types of F3 apart, that look really similar at first glance.

⁶³ For the most recent typology of the *CPAI* stamps see SIDÓ–ÖTVÖS 2015, 179–180.

letter ending is straight. W: 4.7 cm, l: 4.5 cm, th: 1.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 36).

Pl. IX/3. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 3 stamp and fabric type F6. Only the left bottom quarter of the stamp is still intact. The *ansa* is simple, only the bottom half of the *C* and *P* are visible. The *C* has a cropped out ending and is leaning slightly backwards, the *P* is vertical. W: 9.3 cm, l: 9.6 cm, th: 2.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3, SF no. 45).

Pl. IX/4. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 7 stamp and fabric type F3der. The stamp is fragmentary, with the upper side of the cartouche and the two *ansa* missing. Letters *C*, *P* and *A* are leaning backwards. All four letters have their upper part missing. W: 14.2 cm, l: 13.6 cm, th: 2.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3, SF no. 50).

Pl. IX/5. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 8 stamp and fabric type F3der. Only the right half of the stamp is visible, which is slightly eroded. The left half of *A* is missing; the *I* is slightly

bigger. The *ansa* is simple and heavily eroded. W: 11.5 cm, l: 11.7 cm, th: 2.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3, SF no. 47).

Pl. IX/6. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 3 or type 6 stamp and fabric type F3der. Very fragmentary and eroded stamp, only its bottom right half survived. Letters *A* and *I* are faintly visible, with the bottom and right side of the cartouche being also fragmentary. W: 7.5 cm, l: 6.3 cm, th: 3 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 1, SF no. 2).

Pl. IX/7. *Tegula* fragment with *CPAI* type 4 stamp and fabric type F3der. The stamp is very fragmentary and eroded, with a small portion of the upper side of the cartouche and the upper part of the letter *A* surviving. W: 6.4 cm, l: 11.2 cm, th: 2.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3, SF no. 48).

Pl. IX/8. *Tegula mammata* fragment with fabric type F4. Only one of the four flanges survived. W: 9.5 cm, l: 7.2 cm, th: 5.3 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 39, SF no. 67).

ANALYSIS OF THE SMALL FINDS

During the excavation of the angle tower, a total of 74 small finds were found, of which 51 are made of iron, 13 of ceramic, 5 of glass, 2 are made of bone and 1 is made of bronze. The context with the most artefacts (27 in total) is the fill of the modern robbing trench (Cx. 9). On the *berma* (Cx. 37) of the second phase 13 objects were discovered, while to the destruction layer of the second phase (Cx. 3) a total of 12 objects can be related. From the robbing trench, several modern artefacts have been recovered as well, they have been recorded as small finds, but they will not be discussed in the present paper.

The most representative items found during the excavations, are an iron lamp (Pl. X/1) and two fragments of the same glass *aryballos* (Pl. X/12). While the latter is from the fill of the robbing trench (Cx. 9), the lamp is from a context related to the tower's substructure from the second phase [Cx. 2]. Two iron lamps have already

been found in the *principia* in Călugăreni, and although the currently discussed lamp is very corroded, it is seemingly of an open lamp type.⁶⁴ It is worth mentioning, that despite the fact that the angle tower was a wooden building with a roof made of ceramic tiles, there's an insignificant number of iron nails (Pl. X/2–3) among the small finds.

A high percentage of the finds are hobnails (Pl. X/4–7), something that can be generally observed at the *principia* of the fort as well. However, a pair of *caligae* had a large number of such hobnails embedded into their soles, these finds are more likely the ones that fell out of the sandals while being used on a day-to-day basis.⁶⁵ A typology for hobnails has been established in the past, but the items found in the vicinity of the angle tower are heavily corroded and worn-out, thus their categorization is not advised.⁶⁶

The presence of ceramic counters (Pl. X/9–11)

⁶⁴ NYULAS 2018; VASS 2020.

⁶⁵ VOLKEN ET AL. 2011, 338.

⁶⁶ VOLKEN ET AL. 2011, 333–338.

inside a fort is not unusual, being often related to *convivia*,⁶⁷ similar finds have also been found at the headquarters' building. The small fragment of a *lorica squamata* scale (Pl. X/8) is not an unusual occurrence, there have been many larger fragments discovered at the *principia* in recent years.⁶⁸

The smaller than usual number of small finds connected to this trench also supports our theory about the angle tower not having a functional ground floor. Usually this space was mainly reserved as a deposit for items related to the daily life in a Roman fort.

CATALOGUE OF THE SMALL FINDS

Pl. X/1. Iron lamp. Open type with figure eight shape, the nozzle is slightly rounded, the lamp has a fragmentary rod for hanging opposite of the nozzle. The lamp is fragmentary and very corroded. D_{base} : 4 cm, D_{rim} : 6 cm, th: 0.2 cm, l_{rod} : 4.5 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 2, SF no. 1).

Pl. X/2. Iron nail with square shaft and round head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 2.7 cm, l: 9.1 cm, th: 0.9 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 71).

Pl. X/3. Iron hobnail with round shaft and round head, fragmentary and heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.7 cm, l: 1.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 17, SF no. 46).

Pl. X/4a. Iron hobnail with round shaft and round, flat head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 1.5 cm, (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 37).

Pl. X/4b. Iron hobnail with round shaft and mushroom-like head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.1 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.3 cm, l: 1.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 39).

Pl. X/4c. Iron hobnail with round head, very heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.3 cm, l: 1.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 19).

Pl. X/4d. Iron hobnail with round, bent shaft and round head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.3 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 1.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 16).

Pl. X/4e. Iron hobnail with round shaft and globular head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 0.8 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 2 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 34).

Pl. X/5a. Iron hobnail with round shaft and globular head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, D_{shaft} :

0.5 cm, l: 1.2 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 73).

Pl. X/5b. Iron hobnail with round, curved shaft and round, fragmentary head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 0.7 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 1.2 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 51).

Pl. X/5c. Iron hobnail with round shaft and globular head, very heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.7 cm, l: 1 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 70).

Pl. X/5d. Iron hobnail with round shaft and globular head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 0.8 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 1 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 35).

Pl. X/5e. Iron hobnail with round shaft and globular head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.3 cm, l: 1.6 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 58).

Pl. X/5f. Iron hobnail with missing shaft and round head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, l: 1 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 57).

Pl. X/5g. Iron hobnail with missing shaft and globular head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1.2 cm, l: 0.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 53).

Pl. X/6. Iron hobnail with missing shaft and round head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1 cm, l: 0.7 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 19, SF no. 69).

Pl. X/7. Iron hobnail with round, curved shaft and round head, heavily corroded. D_{head} : 1 cm, D_{shaft} : 0.5 cm, l: 1.2 cm, (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 3, SF no. 49).

Pl. X/8. *Lorica squamata* scale fragment, heavily corroded. W: 2.1 cm, l: 0.9 cm, th: 0.1 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 29).

Pl. X/9. Ceramic counter with chipped side,

⁶⁷ MUSTAȚĂ ET AL. 2014, 228.

⁶⁸ ÖTVÖS-CIOATĂ 2020, 52–53.

made from the base of a vessel. The fabric is slightly coarse with occasional inclusions of small pebbles and quartz, reduced burnt. W: 4.6 cm, l: 4.7 cm, th: 0.7 cm. (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 19, SF no. 66).

Pl. X/10. Ceramic counter made from the body of a vessel. The fabric is coarse with frequent inclusions of small pebbles and black quartz, reduced burnt. Measurements: D: 4.2 cm, th: 0.8 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. Spoil, SF no. 65).

Pl. X/11. Ceramic counter with chipped side,

made from the body of a vessel. The fabric is coarse with frequent inclusions of small pebbles and black quartz, reduced burnt. D: 4.5 cm, th: 0.7 cm. (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 37, SF no. 72).

Pl. X/12. Glass *aryballos* fragments, type AR151 = I 61 = T 135⁶⁹, dating from the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century AD. Free blown, translucent, aqua glass handle with an oval section and a slightly concave flat base. D: 3.4 cm, D_{base}: 7.6 cm, th: 0.4 cm (CAL 2020, Tr. D1, Cx. 9, SF no. 24; 74).

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⁶⁹ For the typologies see: AR (FÜNFSCILLING 2015); I (ISINGS 1957); T (GOETHERT-POLASCHEK 1977).

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Plate I. General plan of the research excavations from Călugăreni.

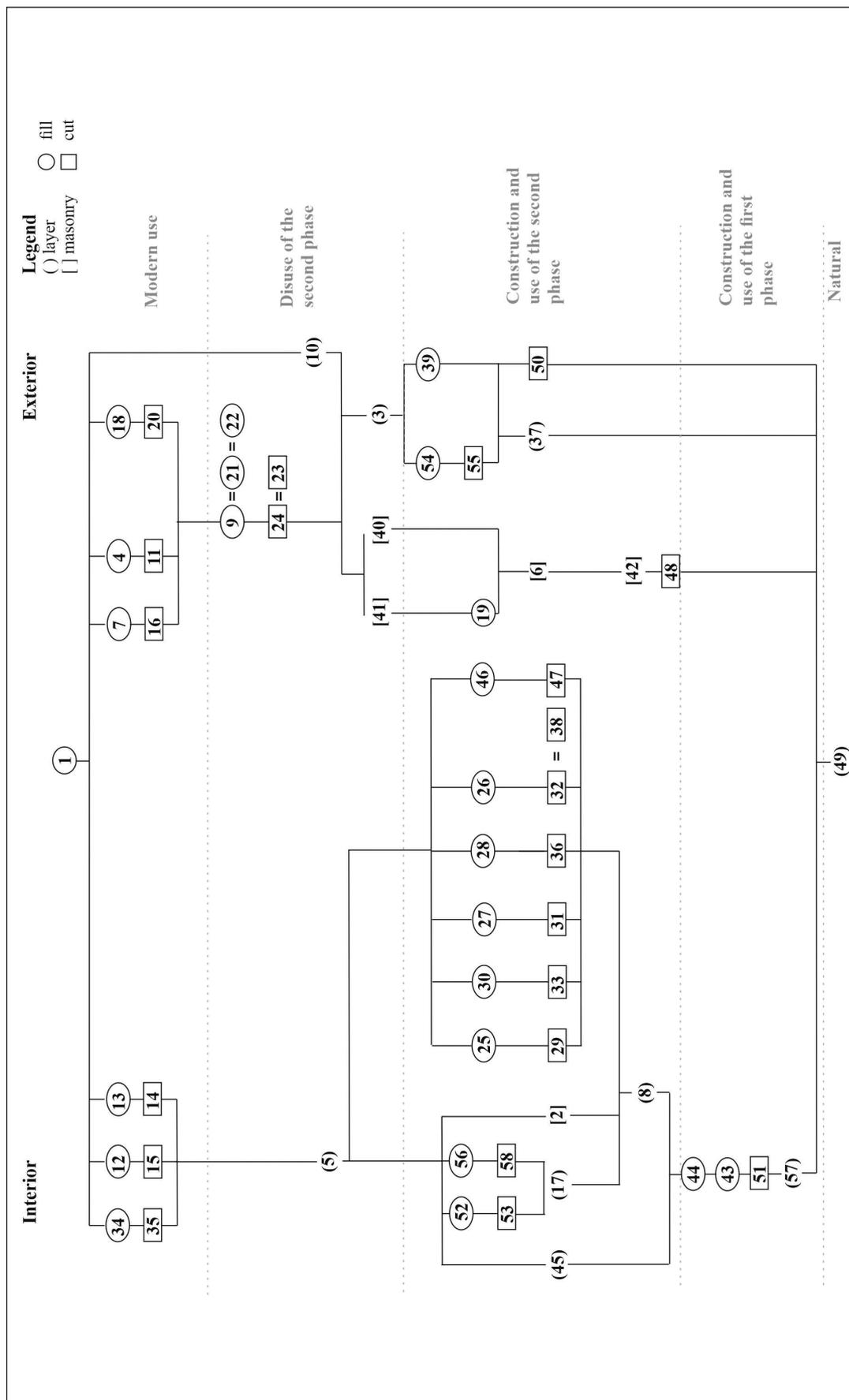


Plate II. General stratigraphic matrix of trench D1.

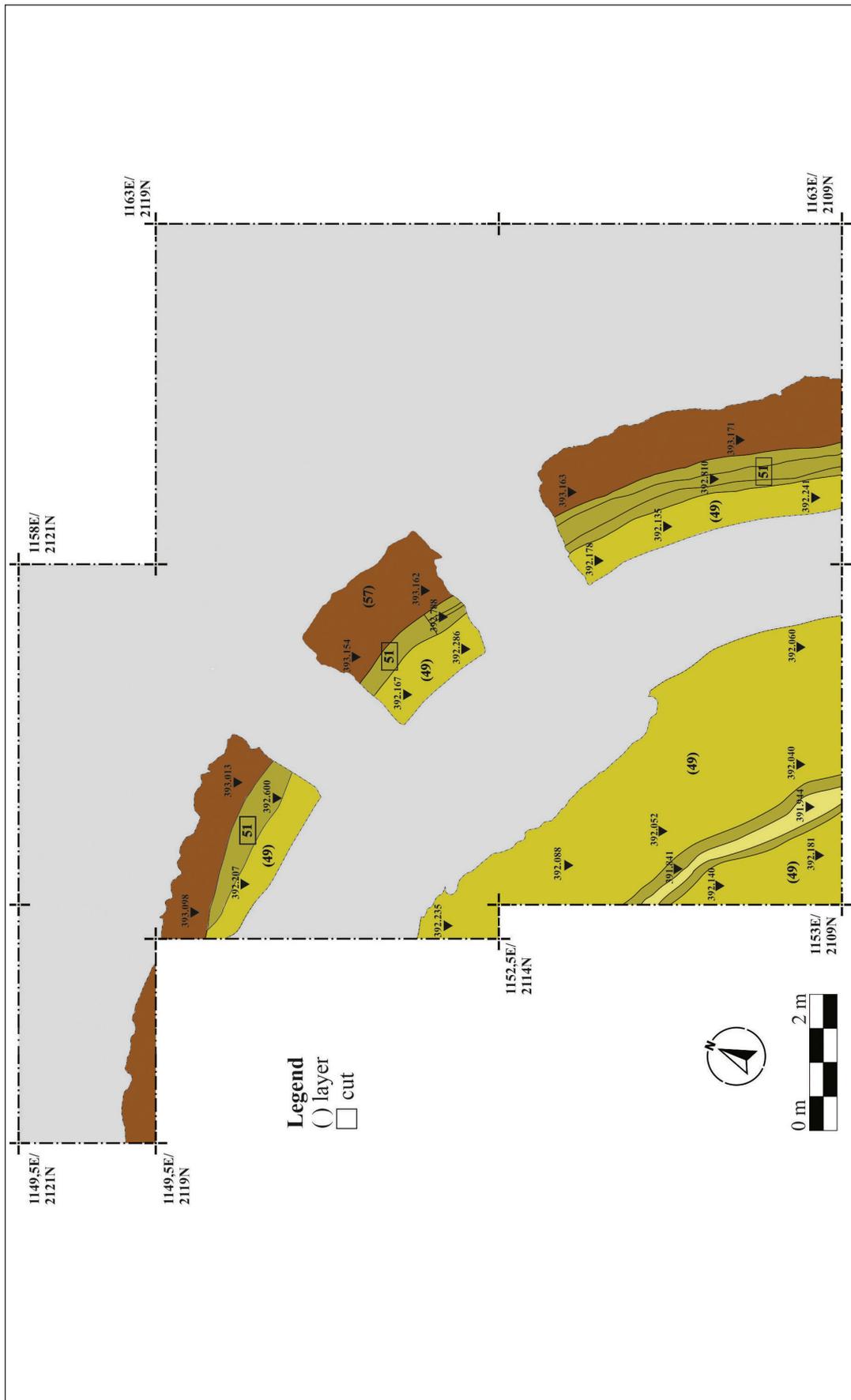


Plate IV. Archaeological features belonging to the first phase of the fort in trench D1.

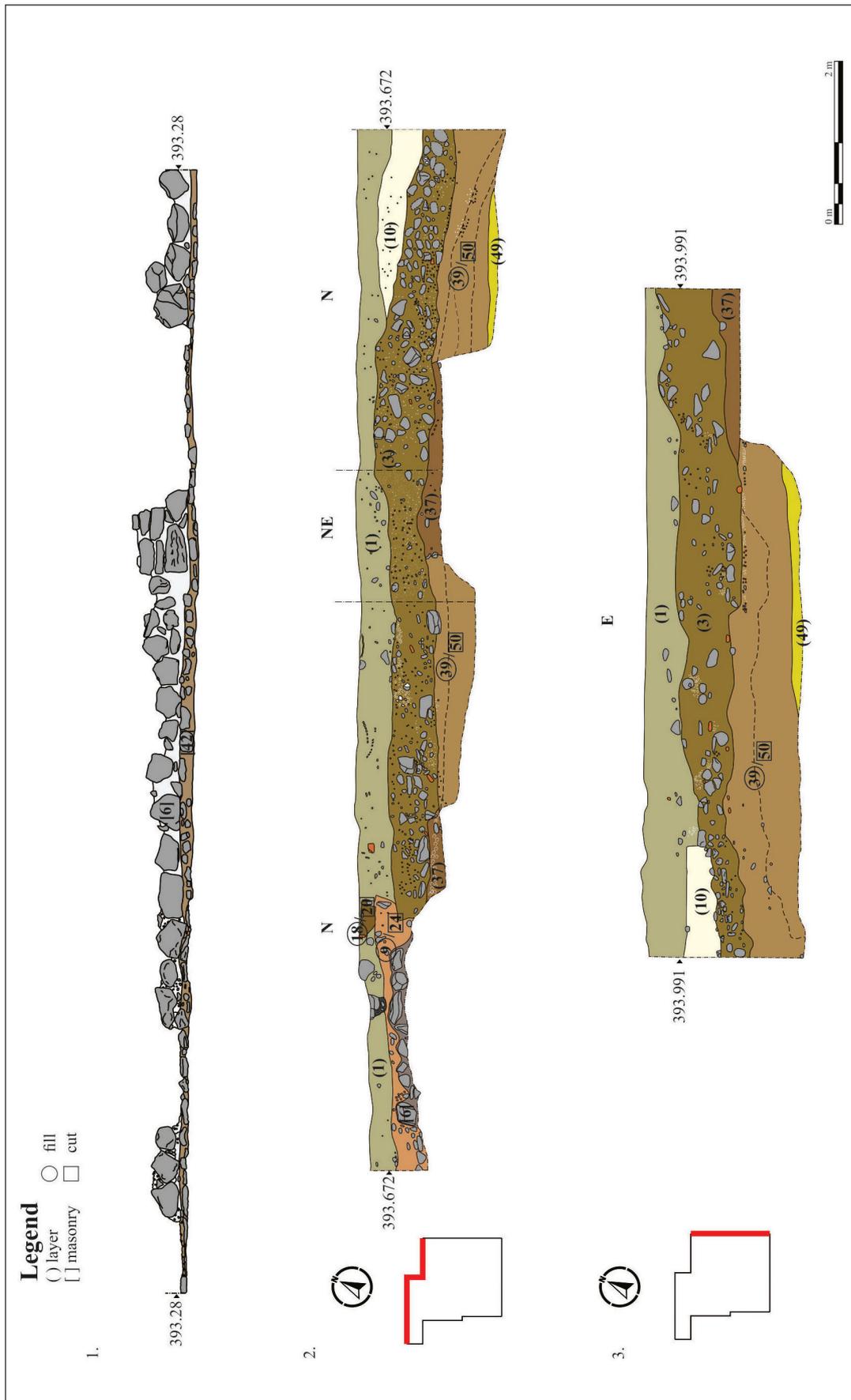


Plate V. 1. External façade of Cx. 6 and Cx. 42; 2. Northern sections; 3. Eastern section.

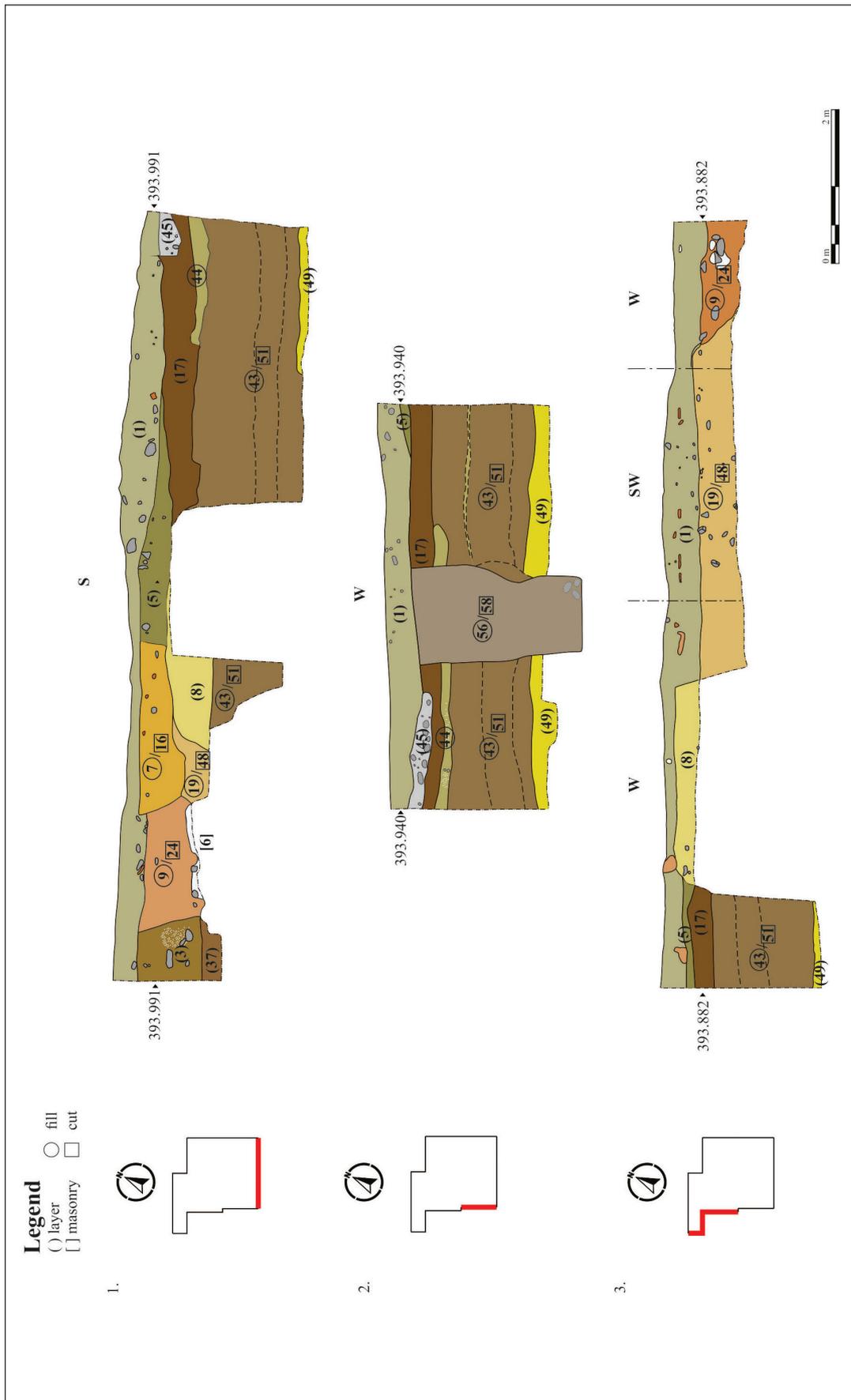


Plate VI. 1. Southern section; 2-3. Western sections.

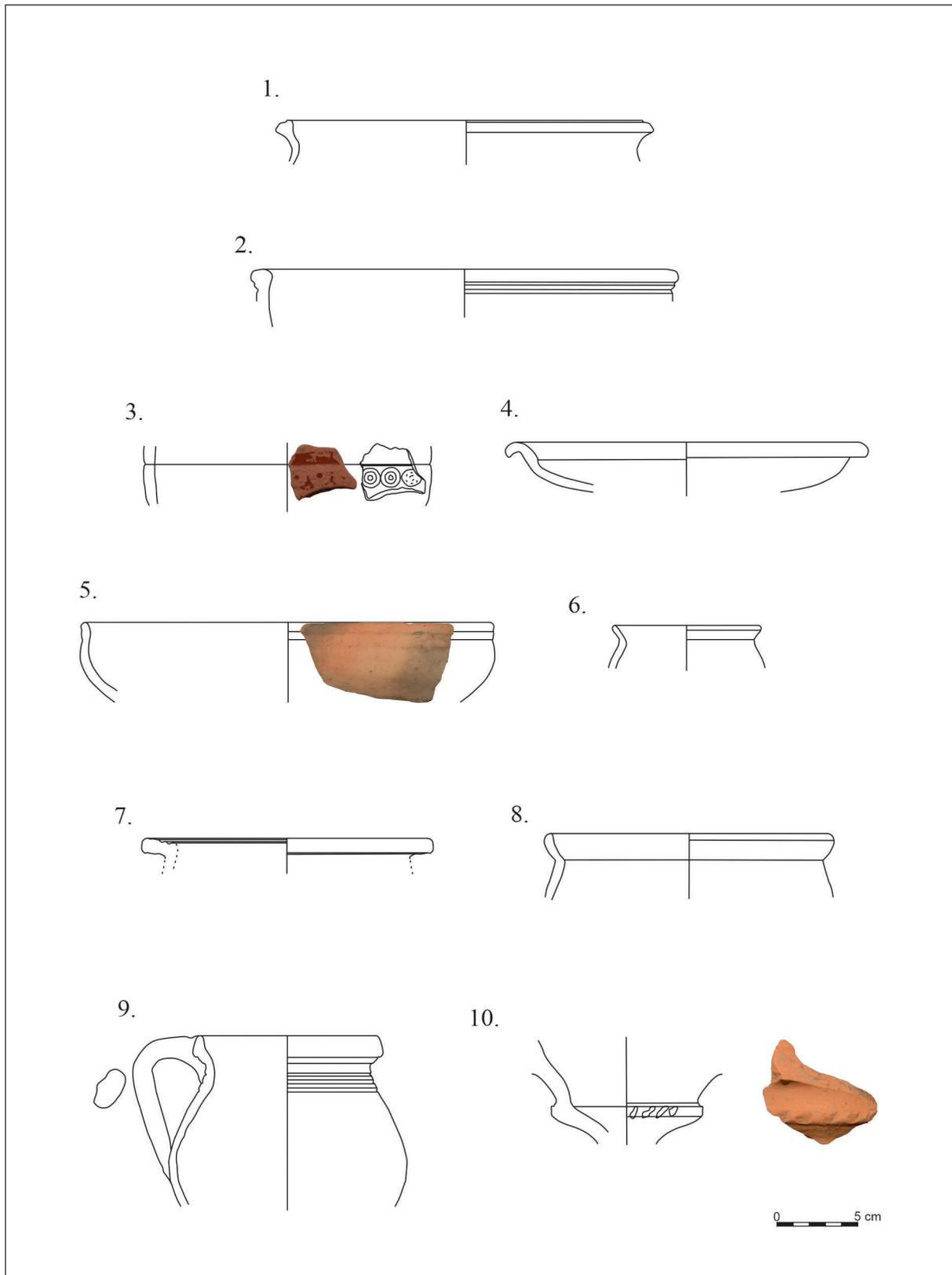


Plate VII. Ceramic vessels.

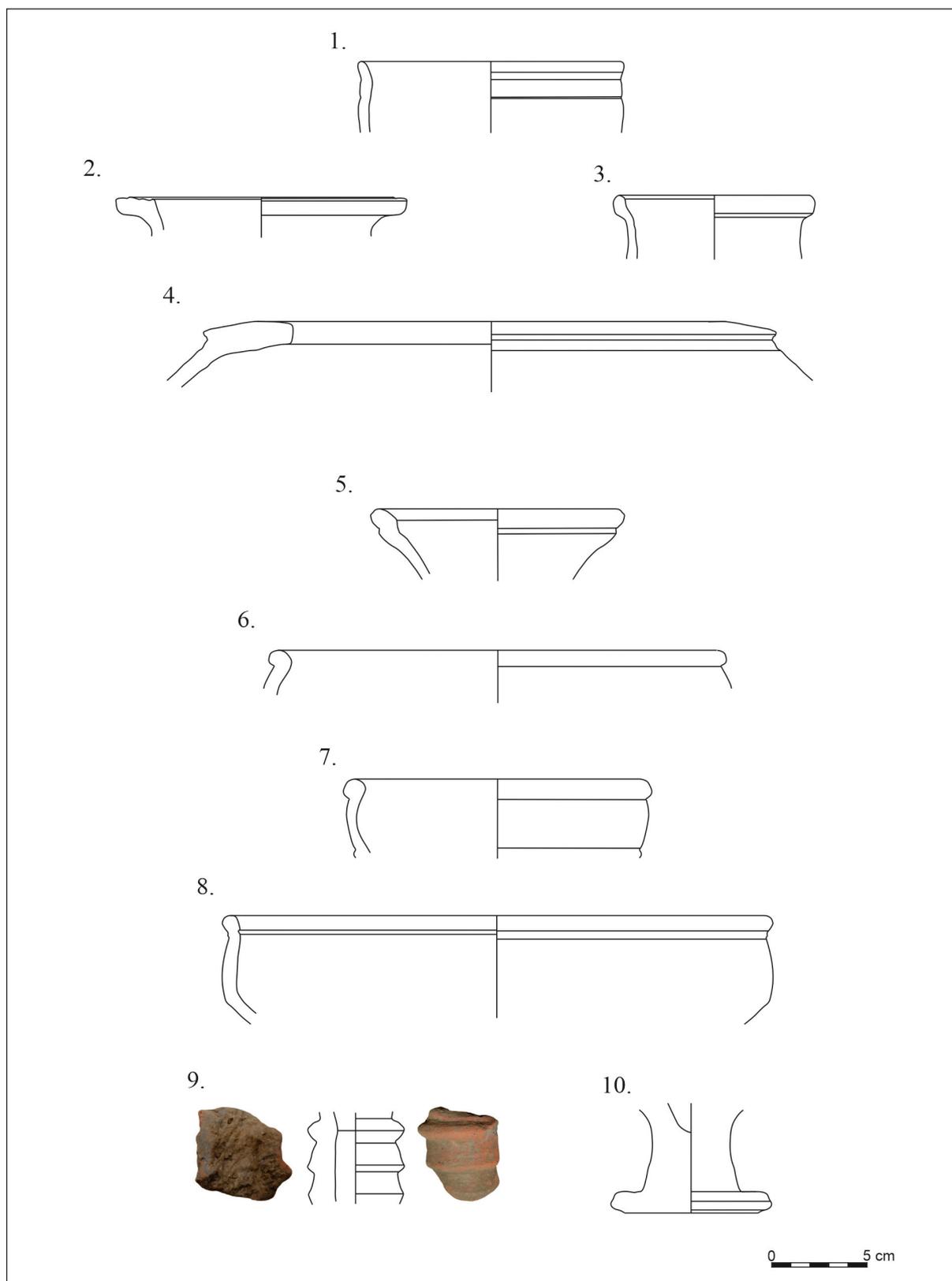


Plate VIII. Ceramic vessels.

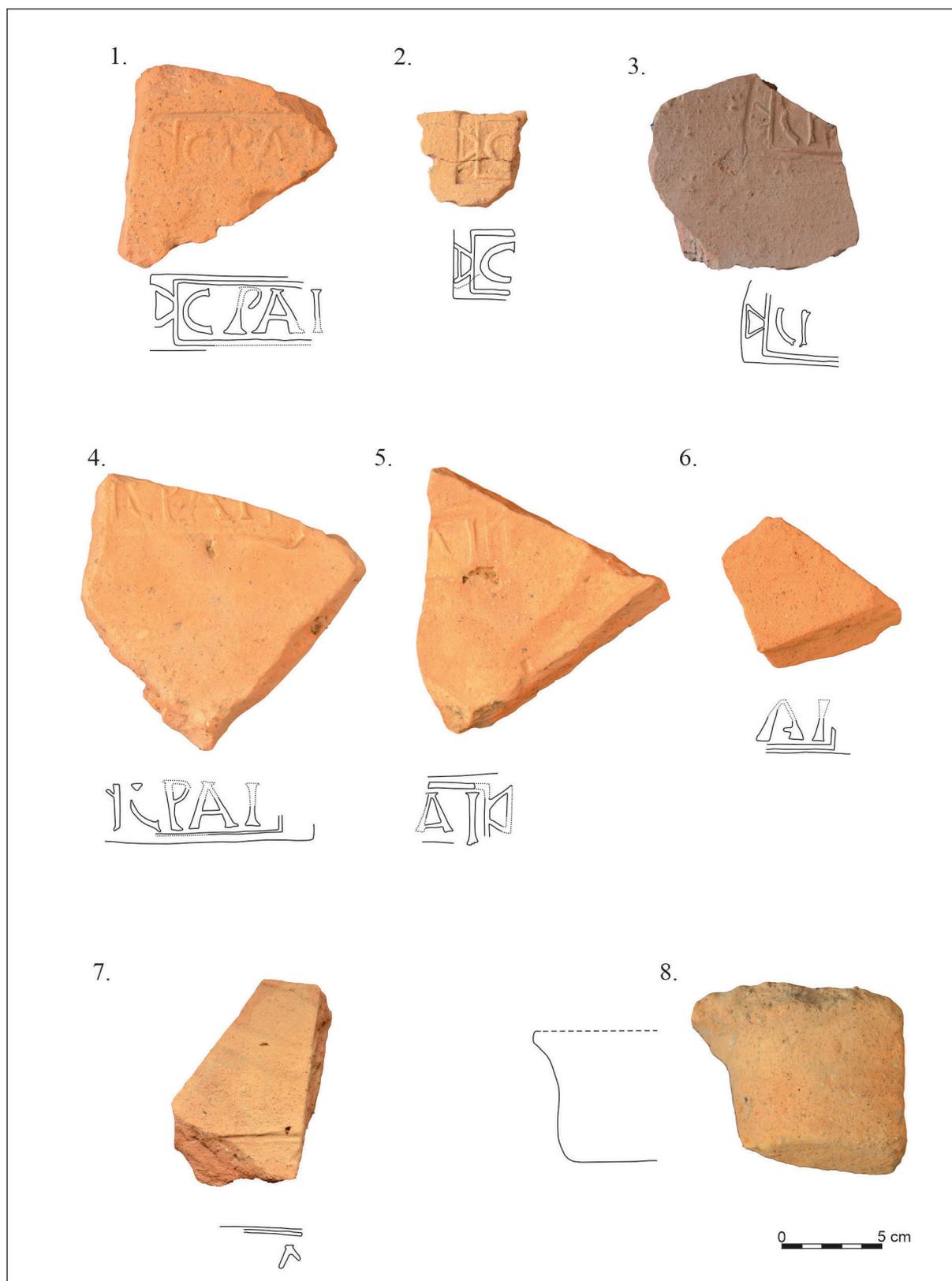


Plate IX. Ceramic building material small finds.

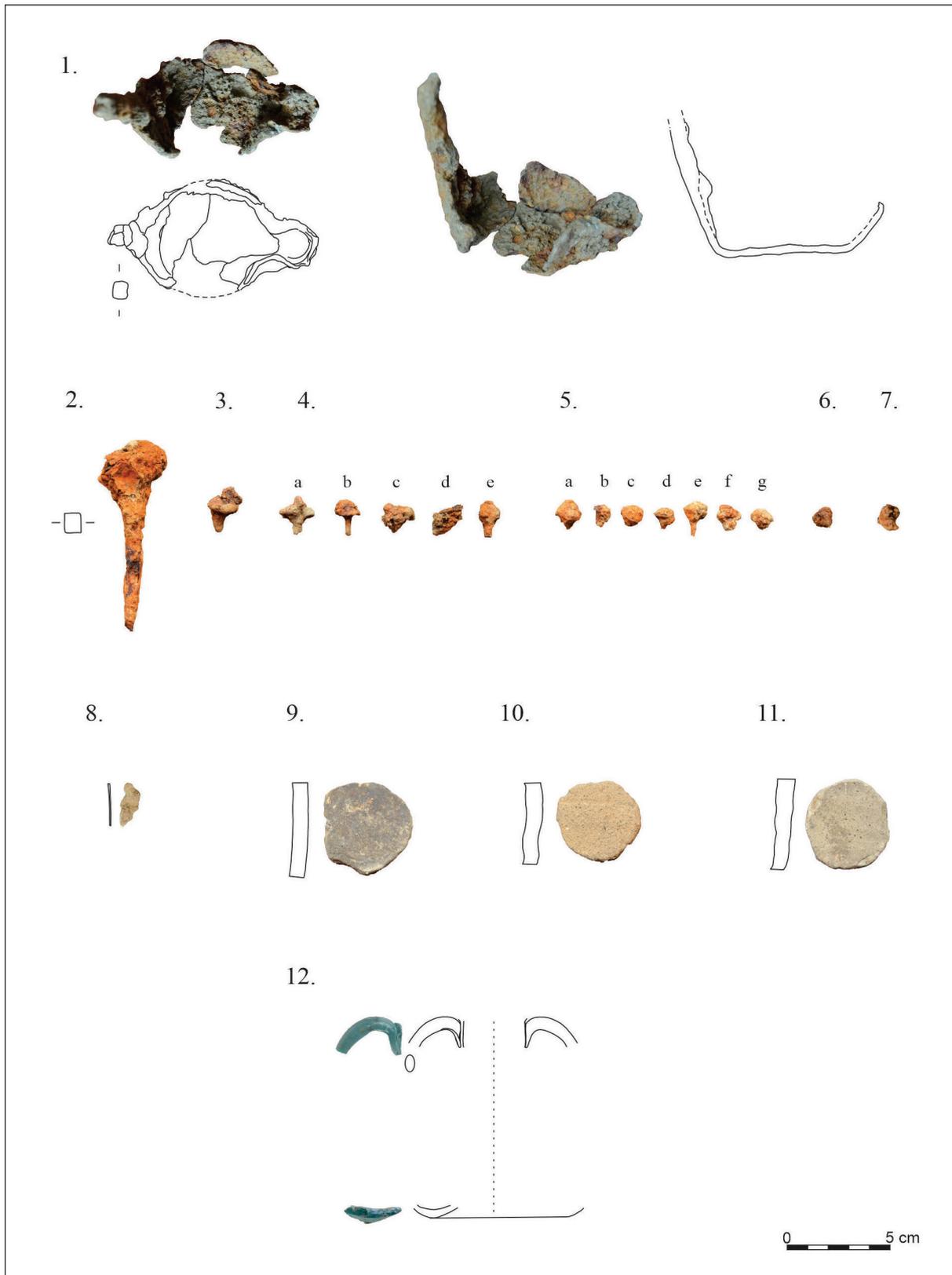


Plate X. Metal, ceramic and glass small finds.

ROMAN ROTARY QUERNS FROM CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA

László SZEKERNYÉS* – Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL**

The present paper analyses the possible provenience, the morphological and technological aspects of the Roman rotary querns' lithic raw material discovered at the military site of Călugăreni / Mikháza located on the eastern limes of Roman Dacia. Even though the querns provide only a glance on aspects of Roman everyday life, the daily subsistence of the military and civilian population can be grasped through the process of grinding.

Keywords: rotary querns, legionary type, *limes*, andesite, Gurghiu Mountains

Cuvinte cheie: rășnița, tipul legionar, *limes*, andezit, Munții Gurghiu

The Roman military site of Călugăreni / Mikháza is located in the Transylvanian basin on the eastern limes of Roman Dacia at the foot of the Gurghiu / Görgény Mountains in the Niraj / Nyárád Valley. The Roman auxiliary fort of the *cohors I Augusta Itureorum* was surrounded by a military *vicus* (Fig. 1).¹ Since 2013 the archaeological excavations and field walking surveys have revealed a wide range of Roman artefacts, among them 30 rotary quern components.

In Europe the rotary quern was originally used by the Celtic communities. The earliest archaeological evidence concerning the use of this household implement are from the Iberian peninsula and are dated to the 5th century BC.² This tool (Fig. 2), apparently a banal object, was composed of two stone discs: the lower stationary bedstone (lat. *meta*) with a central axe made of wood or iron, and an upper rotating stone, the runner (lat. *catillus*) with a central hopper

hole, an attached iron or wood crossbar called rind and a handle. The quern revolutionized the cereal grinding process, and the diet of Europeans changed considerably as a result.³

We don't know exactly when the Romans (Fig. 3) adopted this invention, but it is mentioned by Cato⁴ as a widespread and indispensable tool, named *molas hispanensis*. Although Pliny the Elder mentioned it as a Volscus invention,⁵ which could raise some questions related to its origins, the historically accepted opinion is that the Romans adapted it from the Celtic communities.

Virgil is the first author who described the use of the rotary querns.⁶ The Romans optimized and improved it for roughly three hundred years, until the 2nd century AD, when it reached the rank of a veritable ancient "kitchen machine". Not accidentally was the rotary quern called also *molas versatiles* (multipurpose

* Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, laszloszekernyes@gmail.com.

** Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș, RO, pszilamer@yahoo.com.

¹ For research history and recent results see: PÁNCZÉL–BAJUSZ 2021; HÖPKEN ET AL. 2020.

² ALONSO–FRANKEL 2017, 416.

³ GRÜLL 2013, 29.

⁴ CATO, *De agri cultura* 10.4.

⁵ PLINIUS, *Nat. Hist.* 36.135.1.

⁶ VERGILIUS, *Moretum*.

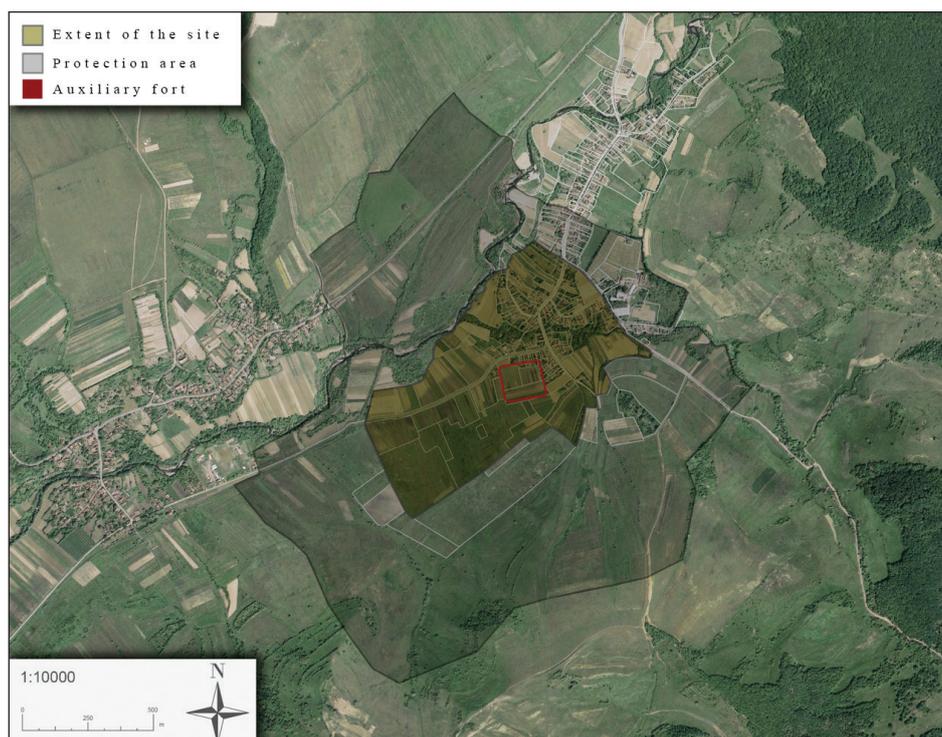


Fig. 1. The extent of the Roman military site of Călugăreni / Mihháza (Made by N. Laczkó and Sz. P. Pánczél).

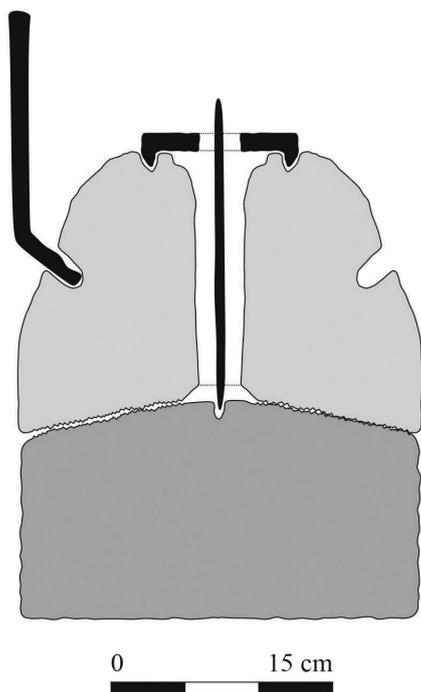


Fig. 2. Sketch of a Celtic quern (After PEACOCK 2013, 68, fig. 4.5/c).

quern) or *molas legionaria*.⁷ The growing popularity of the rotary quern goes hand in hand with the expansion of the Roman Empire and the modernisation of the military due to the reforms of Marius. The army needed to organize the supply of the soldiers stationed permanently in the forts and their daily cohabitation with comrades in the *contubernia*.⁸ This meant, that they needed to process, grind, bake or cook their grain supplement for themselves. On the other hand, they needed to maintain their mobility and march long distances with their weapons and equipment, including their stone querns.⁹ These two issues led to the optimization of the rotary querns.

The Celtic rotary quern was used for grinding and/or dehusking cereals for everyday consumption. Their crop production and alimentation habits were based mostly on spelt, barley, rye, oats and millet due to the climate conditions.¹⁰ These cereals are less adequate for

⁷ PEACOCK 2013, 74.

⁸ GOLDSWORTHY 2004, 90.

⁹ JODRY 2011, 87.

¹⁰ GRÜLL 2013, 3–4.

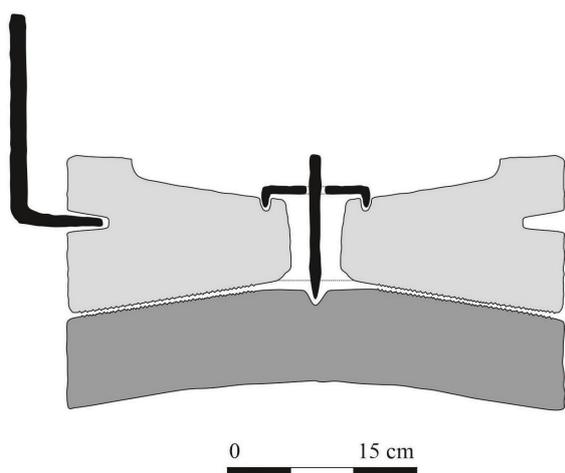


Fig. 3. Sketch of a standard Roman quern.

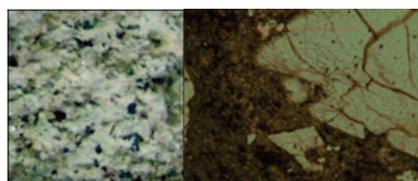
proofed bread baking because they are poor in gluten. For this reason, they processed the cereals for mainly porridge or soups. The technical characteristics and morphology of the Celtic querns were suitable for these aspects. The main attributes are a relatively heavy upper stone, smaller diameter, typical beehive, conical or cylindrical shape.¹¹ Relevant versions are the Dacian type appearing mainly in Transylvania, the puddingstone type characteristic mainly for

Great Britain and the Iberian type, popular on the Iberian Peninsula.¹² The Celtic quern was ideal primarily to crush the cereals with only one milling sequence, in a short time.

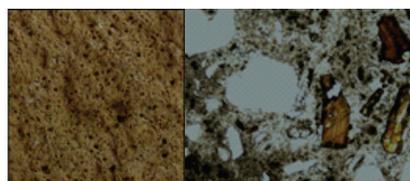
The Roman improvements changed not only the shape, but also other aspects in order to adapt the quern for a specific diet. The standard Roman quern characteristics are a relatively flattened biconcave lighter upper stone, with the working surface designed primarily for cutting, not crushing, and a relatively large diameter.¹³ This way, the Romans could grind the cereals for groats and for different coarse types of flour to make proofed bread and even quality bakery products.

The military site of Călugăreni has the advantage that we have a set of 30 quern fragments used by civilians and soldiers of the military unit alike. The querns are composed of 21 *catilli* and 9 *metae* fragments made of volcanic rocks.

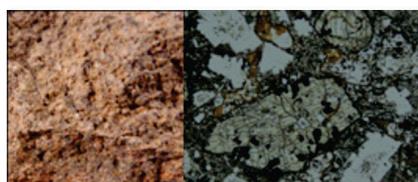
Petrographic analysis¹⁴ of the raw material revealed that the lithic substance of the querns is andesite originating probably from the nearby sources (Fig. 4). This is also supported by the fact that the Gurghiu Mountains located in the vicinity, are formed of the same type of andesite



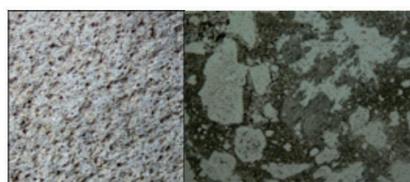
Sample 1



Sample 3



Sample 4



Sample 5

Fig. 4. Micro and macro photos of the samples (Made by Á. Gál and A. Szakács).

¹¹ HÖRTER 1994, 22.

¹² PEACOCK 2013, 70–71.

¹³ GAULTIER 2008–2009.

¹⁴ The petrographic analysis of the samples was done at the Geological Department of the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca by Dr. Ágnes Gál and Dr. Alexandru Szakács to whom we are grateful.

and since medieval times, the local population has been quarrying the stone material from areas bearing names like *Kőlik* (Stonepit), *Köves hegy* (Stony mountain), *Köves mező* (Stony field), *Kőliki vályú* (Sink at the stonepit) and *Köves bérce* (Stony cliff). It is justified to presume that the Romans also exploited this raw material from the vicinity, the quarries are easily reachable within a 5–15 km radius.

In the case of querns, the typological variety is larger on the *catilli*, because the *metae* are static and show less options for diversification. It is an almost impossible task to make a generally valid chrono-typology in case of ancient molinology. The querns are two-piece household tools, which are rarely discovered together. They are very durable, and were therefore used for a long time and are also partially replaceable or even repairable. Last but not least, on a long term daily use, they certainly suffer external deterioration, go through reshaping processes and abrasion of the grinding surfaces. We can only remark some clear and very distinctive technical differences, which form the basis for typological differentiations.

For the analysis of the Călugăreni material, the major geometrical characteristics recommended and used by David Peacock¹⁵ have been taken into account, such as the cylindrical, hemispheric and conical shapes. According to him we can subdivide the main types based on particular morphological characteristics such as the shape of the hopper hole, rind form, handle position (Fig. 5) and the presence or absence of a rim on the upper part of the *catillus*.

It is also worth noting that two specialists in ancient molinology, Nicolae Gudea¹⁶ and Nicolae Branga,¹⁷ also used mainly this guideline in their work concerning the material from Roman Dacia. Our material has been structured following the Gudea typology,¹⁸ and even if it needs updating, it is at the moment the one which allows us to compare our material to the finds from Dacia Porolissensis (Fig. 6). As a general tendency we can state that *catilli* fragments usually have rims (Gudea

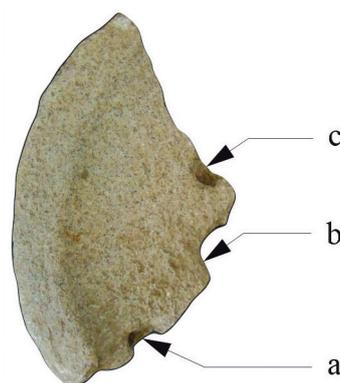


Fig. 5. Technical elements of a *catillus* (1C): a. handle hole; b. hopper; c. rind hole.

Var. 1a), if it was preserved the hopper was rectangular (Gudea Var. 2a), the most popular rind type is the one with short metal bar (Gudea Var. 3b) and the handle was fixed usually on the side

Quern fragments

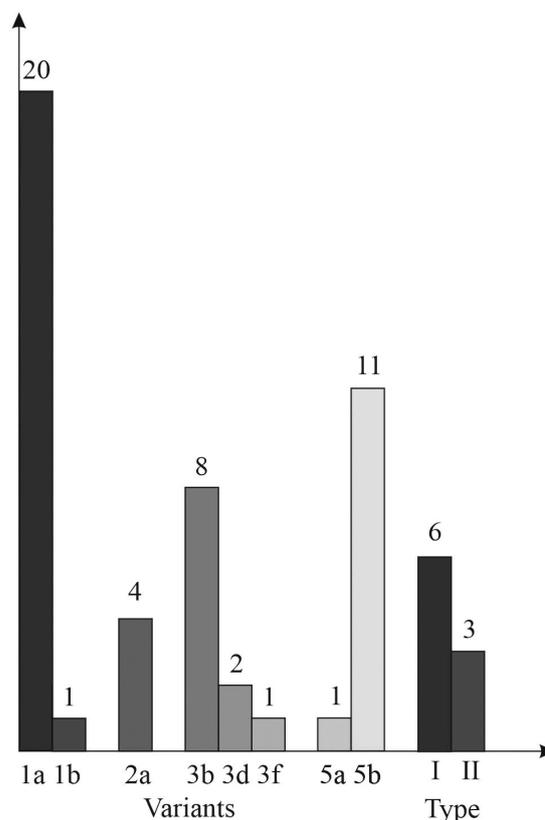


Fig. 6. Distribution of the querns based on the types and variants after Gudea's typology.

¹⁵ PEACOCK 2013, 61.

¹⁶ GUDEA 1997.

¹⁷ BRANGA 1969–1973.

¹⁸ GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3.

(Gudea Var. 5b). The meta have mostly flat base (Gudea Type I) and in some cases can be concave as well (Gudea Type II).

Except for two complete *metae* (3M, 7M), the material is quite fragmentary, so only some morphological aspects were detectable on certain objects. According to Peacock’s main cylindrical type and the average diameter vs. height proportion, analogies for the Călugăreni querns from other provinces have been found also at Meldi,¹⁹ Argentomagus²⁰ and the Eiffel region.²¹ Concerning their dating, based on analogies and the chronology of the site, we can presume that the quern stones from Călugăreni can most probably be dated roughly from the late first, until the middle of the third century.

For the analysed material the following aspects could be observed:

1. The diameter of the stones. In the case of *catilli* the diameters range from 32 cm to 44 cm, in case of *metae* from 32 cm to 40 cm. The measurements fit well into the dataset of the typical Roman querns from the 2nd–3rd century. A quantification in accordance to their place of discovery (Fig. 7) combined with the diameter suggests that the smaller *catilli* were preferred by the military.

2. Approximate weight. Based on our fragments, a complete quern with an

average diameter of 37 cm, made of local andesite weighed around 30 kg. Of course, during use, the quern loses some weight due to the abrasion of the grinding surfaces. The concave base of the type II *metae* (8M–9M) was carved out probably to facilitate transportation without influencing the quality of the grinding process.

3. Height of the stones. The external height of *catilli* is between 8.3–14 cm, the *metae* are between 5.5–10 cm, which is typical for the standard Roman querns.

4. The position of the handle. We can observe two types of fixing position in case of the handle (Fig. 8) on the *catilli*. In 11 cases the handle hole is preserved on the lateral side (2C, 3C, 4C, 5C, 6C, 7C, 8C, 9C, 12C, 13C, 14C) and 1 shows possibly both fixing positions: beside a clearly visible lateral hole a possible upper hole can be observed (1C), later can be a fixing point of the rind as well. On one fragment clear evidence of reparation marks are visible (9C) attesting the maintenance and care of the owner for his tool.

5. Form of the hopper. In most cases the querns are broken at the hopper, so their exact shape is difficult to establish, only in four cases we can state that the hopper was rectangular (1C, 2C, 3C, 11C).

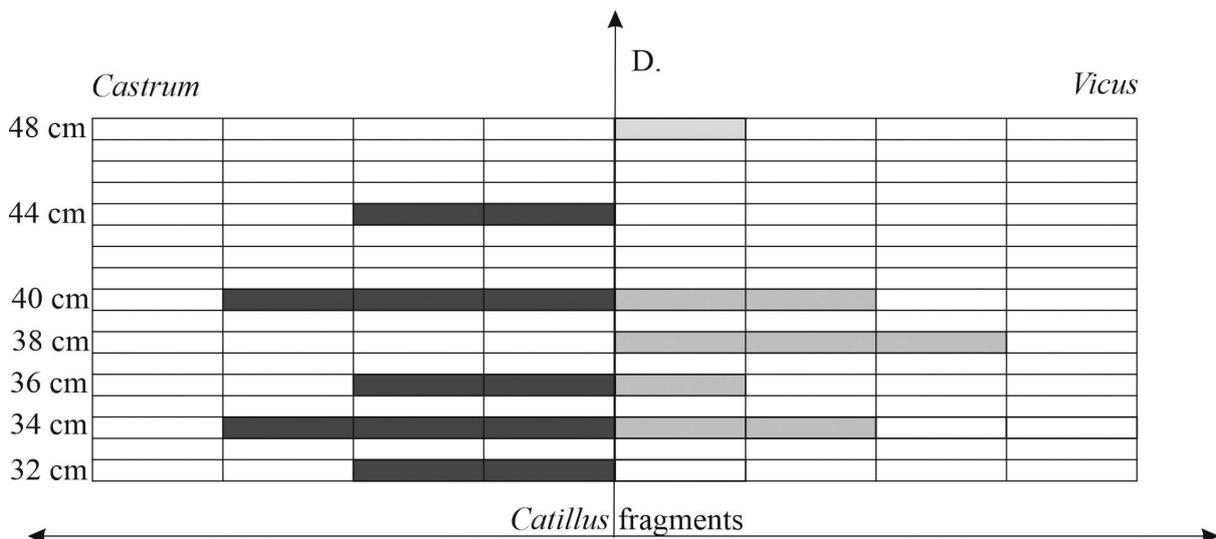


Fig. 7. Distribution of the *catilli* based on their diameter.

¹⁹ LEPAREUX-COUTURIER 2011.

²⁰ GAULTIER 2008–2009.

²¹ HÖRTER 1994.

6. Position and type of the rind. Some of them have a longer rind (2C, 8C) and most of them only had a short rind slot (1C, 3C, 4C, 5C, 6C, 7C, 10C, 11C). One *catillus* had possibly a cross shaped rind slot (9C)

7. The presence of a rim. The upper rim and the biconcave shape of the *catillus* is a typical Roman invention present on querns since the 1st century AD.²² This prevents the seeds of grain from spreading due to the centrifugal force, but it could also serve as a measuring unit.²³ The concave shape is also useful, because it allows the continuous alimentation of the hopper and the speeding up of the grinding process. The



Fig. 8. Lateral handle hole in section (9C).

dimensions of the rim vary from 1–2 cm in height and a width of a few centimetres.

8. The angles of the working surfaces. The angle helps to eliminate the grind by the centrifugal force generated during the rotation. A sharper angle (higher than 15 degrees) speeds up the grinding process, but the result is a rough grout, which is ideal for crushing and dehusking cereals. A lower angle (from 0 to 15 degrees) makes the grinding process slower and the result is a close grain. It seems that the Romans optimized the angle of the working surface somewhere between 6–13 degrees.

9. Dressing patterns. The hardness and texture of the stones are the major factors which influence the results of the grinding process,



Fig. 9. Radial dressing patterns (3M).

therefore the Romans, and not only them, preferred volcanic rocks (granite, basalt, andesite, trachyt, dacit).²⁴ The texture of the stones is also crucial, the compact stone is abrasion-resistant, but the working surface is less abrasive and the



Fig. 10. Geometrical dressing patterns (1M).

shear force is low. This results in lower working efficiency, but the grist is cleaner and does not include stone particles. The shear force and efficiency increase with a more porous texture, but

²² LEPAREUX-COUTURIER 2011, 414, fig. 8.

²³ Roughly two *sextarius* (1 *sextarius* is ca. 546 ml) of grain would fit in such a *catillus*, and this was enough for a two day portion of leavened bread for a person.

²⁴ GRÜLL 2013, 27.

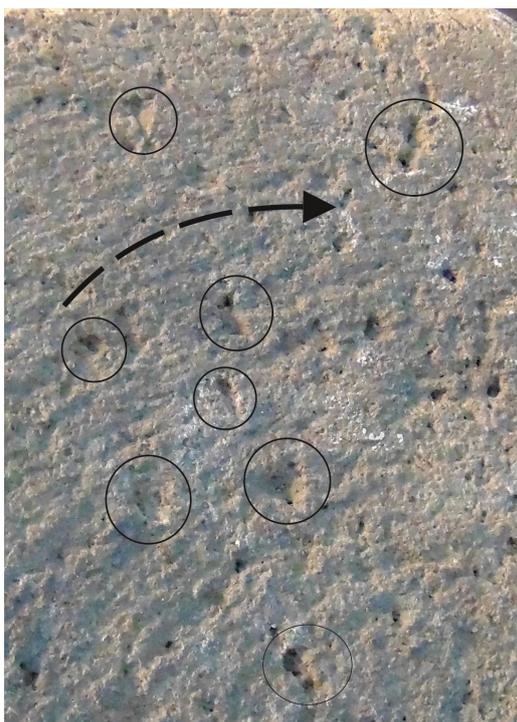


Fig. 11. Picked dressing patterns (12C).

so does the fretting and the grist will be contaminated with stone particles. Not to mention, that in this case the querns are more friable and their lifetime will be shorter. To increase the grinding efficiency of stones with a harder texture, the surface was dressed using different patterns of great variety. On the Călugăreni material four types of dressing patterns could be identified: radial (Fig. 9), geometrical (Fig. 10) picked (Fig. 11) and mixed (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Mixed dressing patterns (4C).

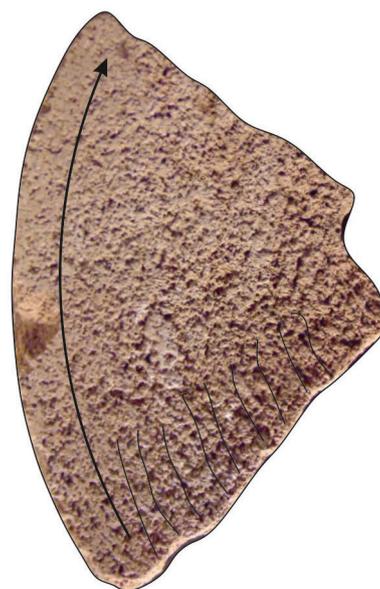


Fig. 13. Concentric traces of abrasion on the work surface (11C).

10. Traces of abrasion. We have prominent marks of abrasion on all of the querns, resulting in a rubbed work-surface (Fig. 13), attesting their daily use.

11. Fastening the central axe. On a sole *meta* (3M) an iron pivot with lead bonding was preserved as well (Fig. 14). Lead was probably used to fix both the handles (2C) and the rind (9C), as visible on a *catillus* fragment (Fig. 15).



Fig. 14. Iron pivot with lead bonding in a *meta* (3M).



Fig. 15. Lead traces in the handle hole (2C).

The quite homogenous character of the material from Călugăreni could be explained with the presence of a local stonemason's workshop using the local andesite to produce querns. Even if, there is a slight variation in the morphological aspects of the quern stones discovered in the *vicus* or the fort, we can presume that this workshop produced for civilians and soldiers alike.

A possible explanation for the shortage of *metae* could be, that the lower stone disc was far more resistant than the upper one and if a *catillus* was broken, a new one was made to fit with the old *meta*. Of the 21 *catilli* 13 fragments are from the fort and 9 are from the *vicus*, and the diameter suggests that the smaller *catilli* (Fig. 7) were preferred by the military. It seems like the damaged pieces were thrown away or reused as building material.

The morphological and petrographic analysis illustrates, that in the case of Călugăreni they had an excellent local source (Fig. 16), wherefore they didn't need to import querns from other regions of the province or other provinces of the Empire.

The use of lead as bonding material, a veritable "super glue" of ancient times, was common in construction, but is surprisingly rarely noticed in the case of querns. The typically and frequently mentioned leather-fastened lateral elbow handle, which seems to be common in the provinces from Western Europe²⁵ is not

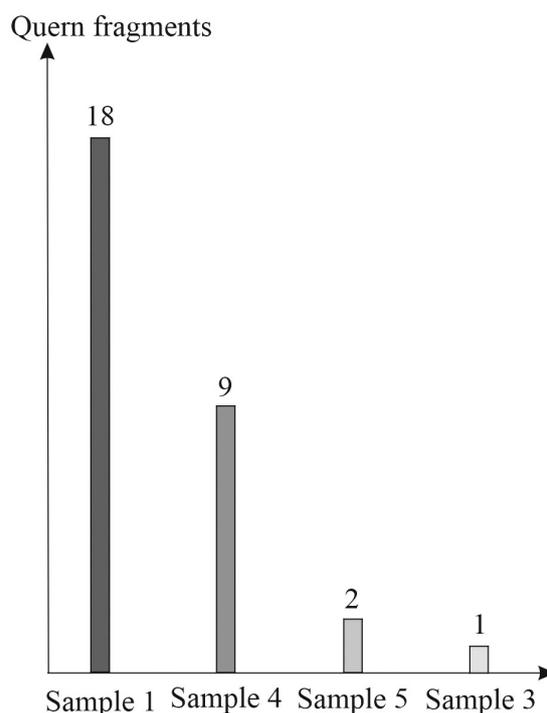


Fig. 16. Distribution of the quern fragments based on their raw material.

present in our material, although this fastening type is listed by N. Gudea in the case of Dacia Porolissensis.²⁶

The lack of larger millstones suggests for now, that the grinding of the cereals had rather a domestic character in Călugăreni and did not reach the level of industrialization known from larger urban centres.

CATALOGUE²⁷

1C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. I/1C)

Dimensions: Cs. 25%; Ed. 36 cm; dp. 27.5 cm; L. 19.4; w. 14.3 cm; H. 9.5 cm; h. 5 cm; Rw. 4.3 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: bevelled lateral with d. 3 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim, handle hole of 1.5 × 2.4 cm, hopper of 2.4 × 3.5 cm

and rind slot of 2.5 × 2.5 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the hopper/rind/handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2014), context spoil; SF. 10286, Inv. no. 16327.
Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 2a, 3b, 5a/b.

²⁵ LEPAREUX-COUTURIER 2011, 418, fig.13.

²⁶ GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 5c.

²⁷ All the objects belong to the Archaeological collection of the Mureș County Museum. The following abbreviations have been used: Cs.= circle segment; Ed. = external diameter; dp. = upper diameter; d. = diameter; L. = length; w. = width; H. = exterior height; h. = hopper height; Rw. = rim width; Rh. = rim height; Inv. no. = inventory number; SF. = small find number, Var. = type variant, Type = major type.

2C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. I/2C)

Dimensions: Cs. 24%; Ed. 40 cm; dp. 32 cm; L. 23; w. 14 cm; H. 11 cm; h. 2 cm; Rw. 4 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: straight lateral with 2.3 × 2 cm rectangular handle hole and lead traces, upper face with rim, hopper of 2 × 4 cm and rind slot of 1.2 × 1.3 cm, self-sharpened, biconcave, rubbed work-surface, broken at the hopper/rind/handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A5/2016) context 288; SF. 10561; Inv. no. 16331.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 2a, 3d, 5b.

3C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. I/3C)

Dimensions: Cs. 27%; Ed. 34 cm; dp. 27 cm; L. 26; w. 16 cm; H. 14 cm; h. 5 cm; Rw. 3.5 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: bevelled lateral with d. 3 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim, hopper of 2 × 3.3 cm and rind slot of 2 × 1 cm, self-sharpened, biconcave, rubbed work-surface, broken at the rind slot and possible vertical handle hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2016) context 268; SF. 10450; Inv. no. 16330.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 2a, 3b, 5b.

4C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. I/4C)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 36 cm; dp. 27 cm; L. 10; w. 10 cm; H. 11,5 cm; h. 8 cm; Rw. 4.5 cm; Rh. 2.0 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: straight lateral with d. 2.5 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim and possible rind slot, biconcave, self-sharpened (radial and cross carving marks present), rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle/rind.

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (fieldwalking/2013); SF. F1; Inv. no. 16320.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3b, 5b.

5C. Two joining *Catillus* fragments (Pl. II/5C)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 34 cm; dp. 27.5 cm; L. 14.5; w. 12.0 cm; H. 9.2 cm; h. 4.4 cm; Rw. 5.2 cm; Rh. 2.0 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: straight lateral with 2.3 × 2.3 cm rectangular handle hole, upper face with rim and rind slot of 1 × 2.8 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle/rind.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A1/2015) context 108; SF. 929; Inv. no. 16326.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3b, 5b.

6C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. II/6C)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 44 cm; dp. 37 cm; L. 15; w. 4.4 cm; H. 10 cm; h. 3 cm; Rw. 3.5 cm; Rh. 2 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: straight lateral with d. 2.5 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim and rind slot of 2.8 × 4.6 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A1/2015) context 233; SF. 10364; Inv. no. 16328.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3b, 5b.

7C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. II/7C)

Dimensions: Cs. 11%; Ed. 38 cm; dp. 31 cm; L. 20; w. 12 cm; H. 11,5 cm; h. 6 cm; Rw. 4.5 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: bevelled lateral with d. 2 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim and rind slot of 1 × 3 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle/rind.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C3/2016) context 2085; SF. 5374; Inv. no. 16323.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3b, 5b.

8C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. II/8C)

Dimensions: Cs. 15%; Ed. 38 cm; dp. 30 cm; L. 17; w. 15 cm; H. 14 cm; h. 4 cm; Rw. 4.5 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1. Description: bevelled lateral with d. 4 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim and rind

slot of 3 × 3 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface with concentric lines, broken at the hopper/handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AIII/80 CM 12–13/2018) context 204; SF 306; Inv. no. 16335.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3d, 5b.

9C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. III/9C)

Dimensions: Cs. 15%; Ed. 48 cm; dp. 39 cm; L. 20; w. 10 cm; H. 15 cm; h. 9 cm; Rw. 4.5 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral with 2 × 2.6 cm rectangular handle hole, upper face with rim and cross shaped variant rind slots of 1.8 × 1.8 cm with lead traces, reparation marks on the rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface with concentric lines, broken at the hopper/rind/handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench A/2019) context 587; SF. 11909; Inv. no. 16338.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3f, 5b.

10C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. III/10C)

Dimensions: Cs. 15%; Ed. 34 cm; dp. 26 cm; L. 15; w. 14.5 cm; H. 11 cm; h. 6.3 cm; Rw. 4 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral, upper face with rim, rind slot of 2 × 2 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the rind.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AV/78 CM 10–11/2018) context 425; SF 591; Inv. no. 16336.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 3b.

11C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. III/11C)

Dimensions: Cs. 25%; Ed. 36 cm; dp. 27.5 cm; L. 19.4; w. 14.3 cm; H. 9.5 cm; h. 5 cm; Rw. 4.3 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 4.
Description: bevelled lateral, upper face with rim, hopper of 3 × 4 cm and rind slot of 2.2 × 2.2 cm, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the hopper/rind.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2014), context spoil; SF. 658, Inv. no. 16337.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 2a, 3b.

12C. Four joining *Catillus* fragment (Pl. III/12C)

Dimensions: Cs. 23%; Ed. 40 cm; dp. 33 cm; L. 13.5; w. 20 cm; H. 13.5 cm; h. 9 cm; Rw. 3.5 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: bevelled lateral with d. 2.5 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim (picked carving marks present), biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface with traces of burning, broken at the handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A3/2015) context 233; SF. 10107; Inv. no. 16324.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 5b.

13C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. IV/13C)

Dimensions: Cs. 8%; Ed. 38 cm; dp. 30.4 cm; L. 13.4; w. 11.3 cm; H. 9 cm; h. 2 cm; Rw. 3.6 cm; Rh. 2 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: bevelled lateral with d. 3 cm circular handle hole, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C/2013) context 2007; SF. 2546; Inv. no. 16321.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 5b.

14C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. IV/14C)

Dimensions: Cs. 25%; Ed. 32 cm; dp. 23 cm; L. 13.2; w. 12.6 cm; H. 11 cm; Rw. 4 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: bevelled lateral with 2 × 2 cm rectangular handle hole, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface, broken at the handle.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A5/2016) context 288; SF. 10572; Inv. no. 16332.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a, 5b.

15C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. IV/15C)

Dimensions: Cs. 17%; Ed. 44 cm; dp. 34 cm; L. 18; w. 15 cm; H. 10 cm; h. 2.5 cm; Rw. 5 cm; Rh. 2 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2016) context 268; SF. 10444; Inv. no. 16329.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

16C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. IV/16C)

Dimensions: Cs. 21%; Ed. 40 cm; dp. 34 cm; L. 16; w. 20 cm; H. 8.3 cm; h. 4 cm; Rw. 3 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed and damaged work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AIII/80 CM14–15/2018) context 123; SF. 208; Inv. no. 16334.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

17C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. V/17C)

Dimensions: Cs. 17%; Ed. 40 cm; dp. 32 cm; L. 22; w. 10 cm; H. 11 cm; h. 6 cm; Rw. 4 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C3/2016) context 2091; SF. 5902; Inv. no. 16319.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

18C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. V/18C)

Dimensions: Cs. 27%; Ed. 34 cm; dp. 26 cm; L. 24; w. 14 cm; H. 9.5 cm; h. 4 cm; Rw. 4 cm, Rh. 2 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: straight lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2016) context 268; SF. 10448; Inv. no. 16322.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: Gudea 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

19C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. V/19C)

Dimensions: Cs. 12%; Ed. 34 cm; dp. 28 cm; L. 13.2; w. 12.4 cm; H. 8 cm; h. 2 cm; Rw. 3 cm; Rh. 1.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: bevelled lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C3/2015) context 2095; SF. 53332; Inv. no. 16333.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

20C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. V/20C)

Dimensions: Cs. 25%; Ed. 32 cm; dp. 23 cm; L. 18; w. 20 cm; H. 9 cm; h. 4.2 cm; Rw. 4.5 cm; Rh. 1 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.
Description: bevelled lateral, upper face with rim, biconcave, self-sharpened, rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A/2014), context 67; SF. 704; Inv. no. 16325.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1a.

21C. *Catillus* fragment (Pl. VI/21C)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 40 cm; L. 18; w. 16 cm; H. 7 cm, h. 7.5 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: possibly carved out of a *meta*, straight lateral, convex upper face with carving marks, concave and rubbed work surface, self-sharpened, broken at the hopper.

Provenance: Călugăreni *principia* (trench A3/2015) context 113; SF. 957; Inv. no. 16339.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Var. 1b.

1M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VI/1M)

Dimensions: Cs. 28%; Ed. 40 cm; L. 15.6; w. 13 cm; H. 8.5 cm; h. 11 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: straight lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface (geometrical carving marks present), d. 3 cm circular pivot hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AV78 CM9/2019); context 547; SF. 654; Inv. no. 16344.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

2M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VI/2M)

Dimensions: Cs. 8%; Ed. 38 cm; L. 22; w. 8.8 cm; H. 7 cm; h. 9 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.

Description: bevelled lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface (radial carving and pecking marks present), d. 3 cm circular pivot hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AIII 80CM 4–5/2018) context 65; SF. 130; Inv. no. 16342.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

3M. *Meta* (Pl. VIII/3M)

Dimensions: Cs. 100%; Ed. 38 cm; H. 8.5 cm; h. 15 cm.

Material: pyroxene andesite, sample 5.

Description: straight lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface (radial carving and pecking marks present), d. 2.5 cm circular pivot hole with iron pivot and lead bonding.

Provenance: Călugăreni, *castrum* (collection of Kovács Dénes); Inv. no. 16353.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

4M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VII/4M)

Dimensions: Cs. 30%; Ed. 37 cm; L. 25; w. 7 cm; H. 10 cm; h. 16 cm.

Material: pyroxene andesite, similar to sample 5.

Description: straight lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface (carving marks present), d. 2 cm circular pivot hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (fieldwalking/2013); SF. F2; Inv. no. 16318.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

5M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VII/5M)

Dimensions: Cs. 49%; Ed. 32 cm; L. 36; w. 16 cm; H. 6.7 cm; h. 8.8 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to sample 4.

Description: straight lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface, d. 3 cm circular pivot hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench AIII 80CM 12–13/2018); context 175; SF 274; Inv. no. 16343.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

6M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VIII/6M)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 36 cm; L. 18; w. 18 cm; H. 6 cm, h. 6.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.

Description: straight lateral, flat base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C3/2016) context 2084; SF. 5375; Inv. no. 16341.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type I.

7M. *Meta* (Pl. VII/7M)

Dimensions: Cs. 100%; Ed. 40 cm; H. 9 cm; h. 13 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 3.

Description: straight lateral, concave base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface, d. 3.5 cm circular pivot hole.

Provenance: Călugăreni, *castrum* (collection of Kovács Dénes); Inv. no. 16354.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type II.

8M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VIII/8M)

Dimensions: Cs. 11%; Ed. 38 cm; L. 15.3; w. 12.6 cm; H. 6.0 cm, h. 7.5 cm.

Material: amphibole andesite, similar to sample 1.

Description: straight lateral, concave base, self-sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface.

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C/2013), context 2003, SF. 2398; Inv. no. 16340.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type II.

9M. *Meta* fragment (Pl. VIII/9M)

Dimensions: Cs. 20%; Ed. 36 cm; L. 18; w. 13 cm;
H. 5.5 cm; h. 7 cm.

Material: pyroxene or basalt andesite, similar to
sample 4.

Description: straight lateral, concave base, self-
sharpened, convex and rubbed work-surface
(pecking marks present).

Provenance: Călugăreni *vicus* (trench C/2013);
context 2001; SF. 2195; Inv. no. 16345.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Type: GUDEA 1997, Abb. 2–3, Type II.

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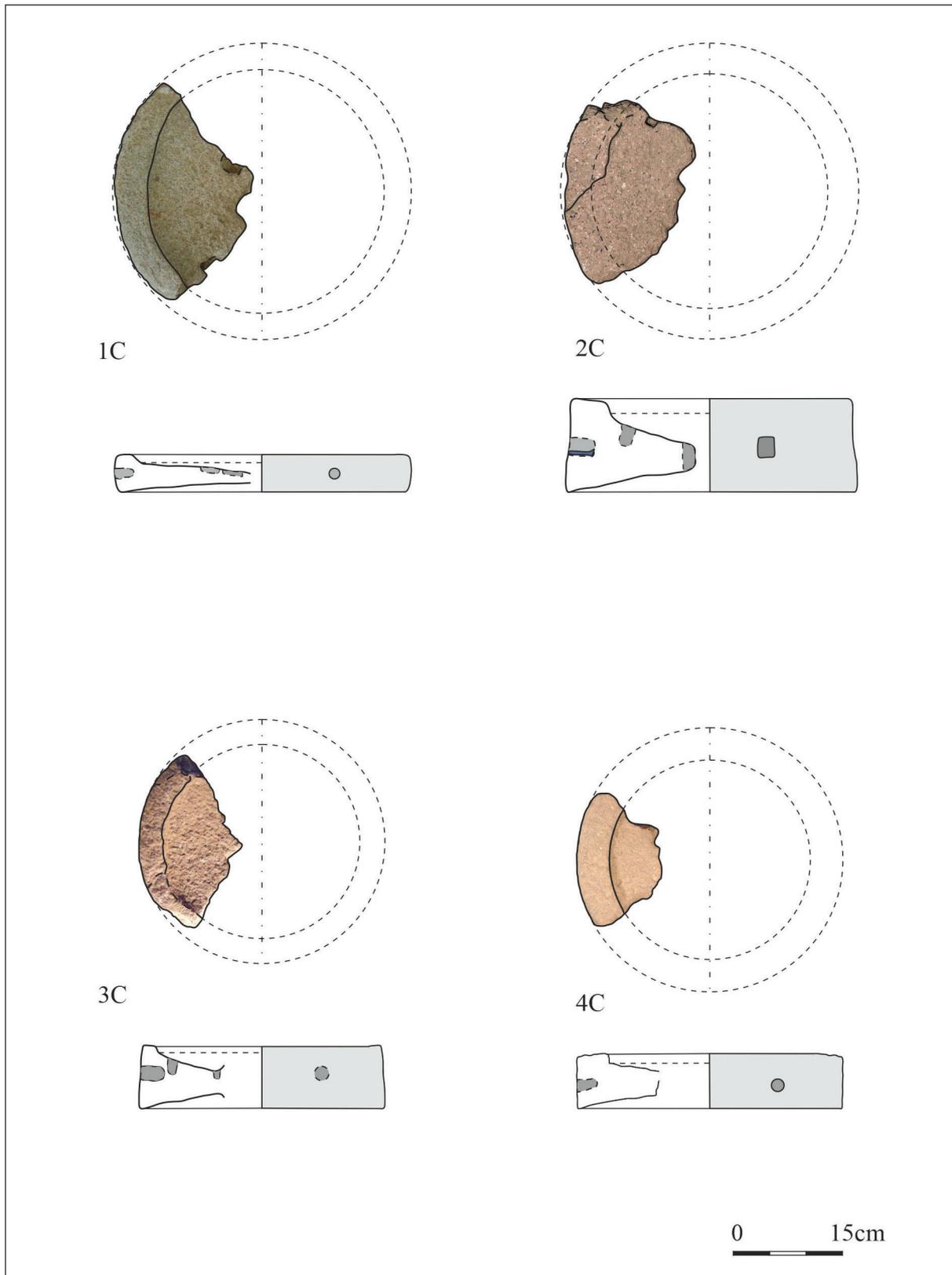


Plate I. *Catillus* (1C–4C).

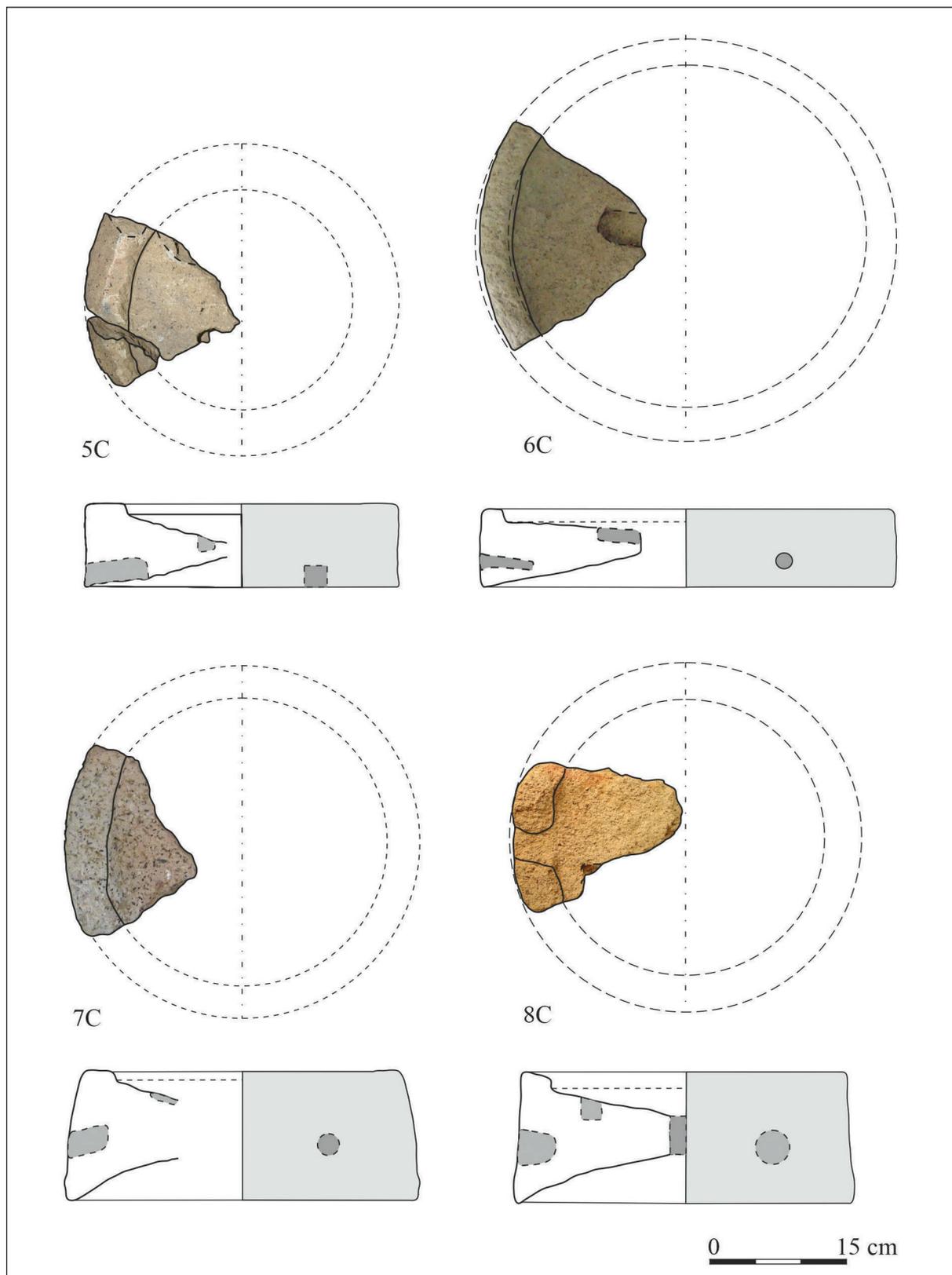


Plate II. *Catillus* (5C–8C).

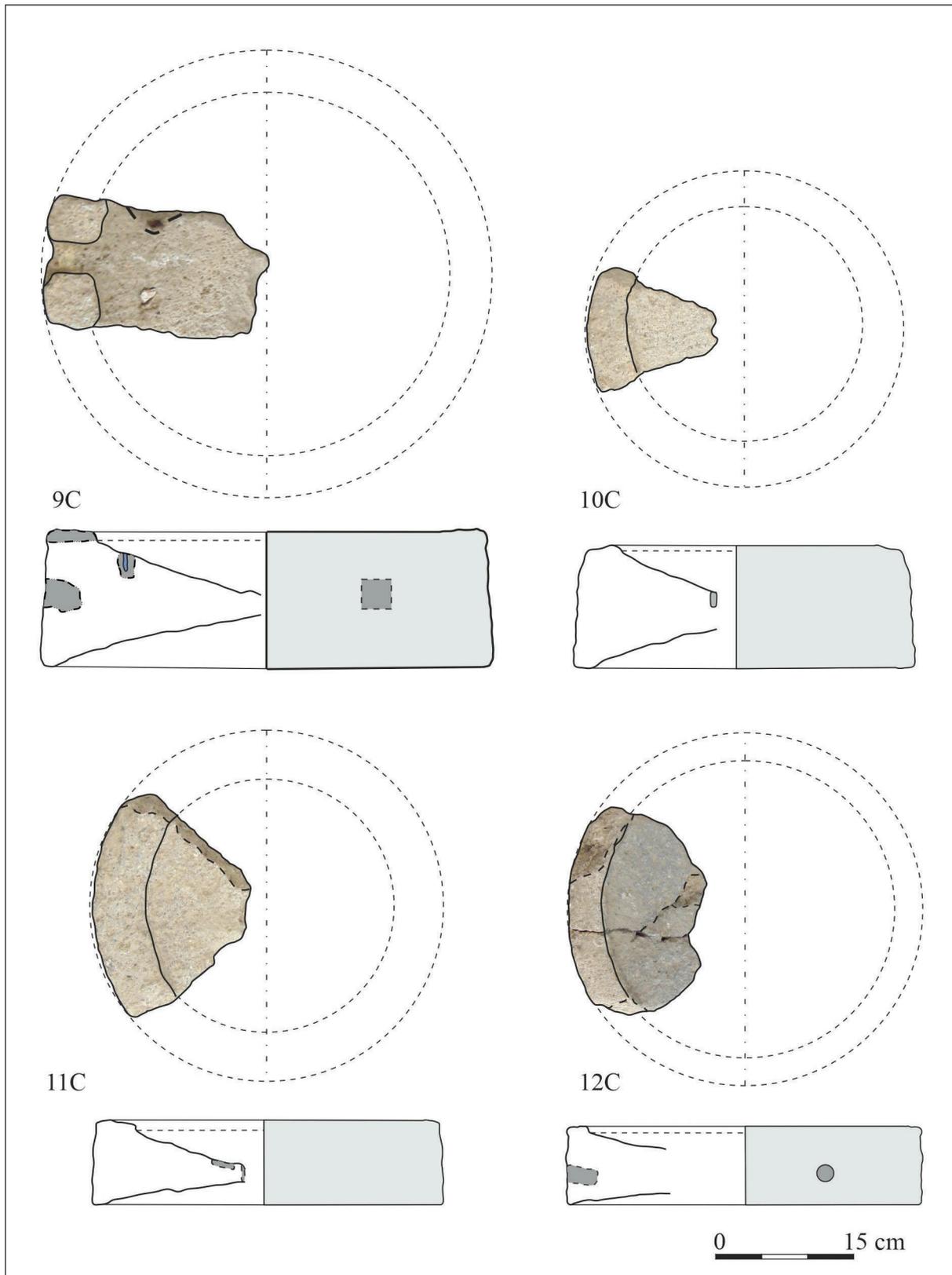


Plate III. *Catillus* (9C–12C).

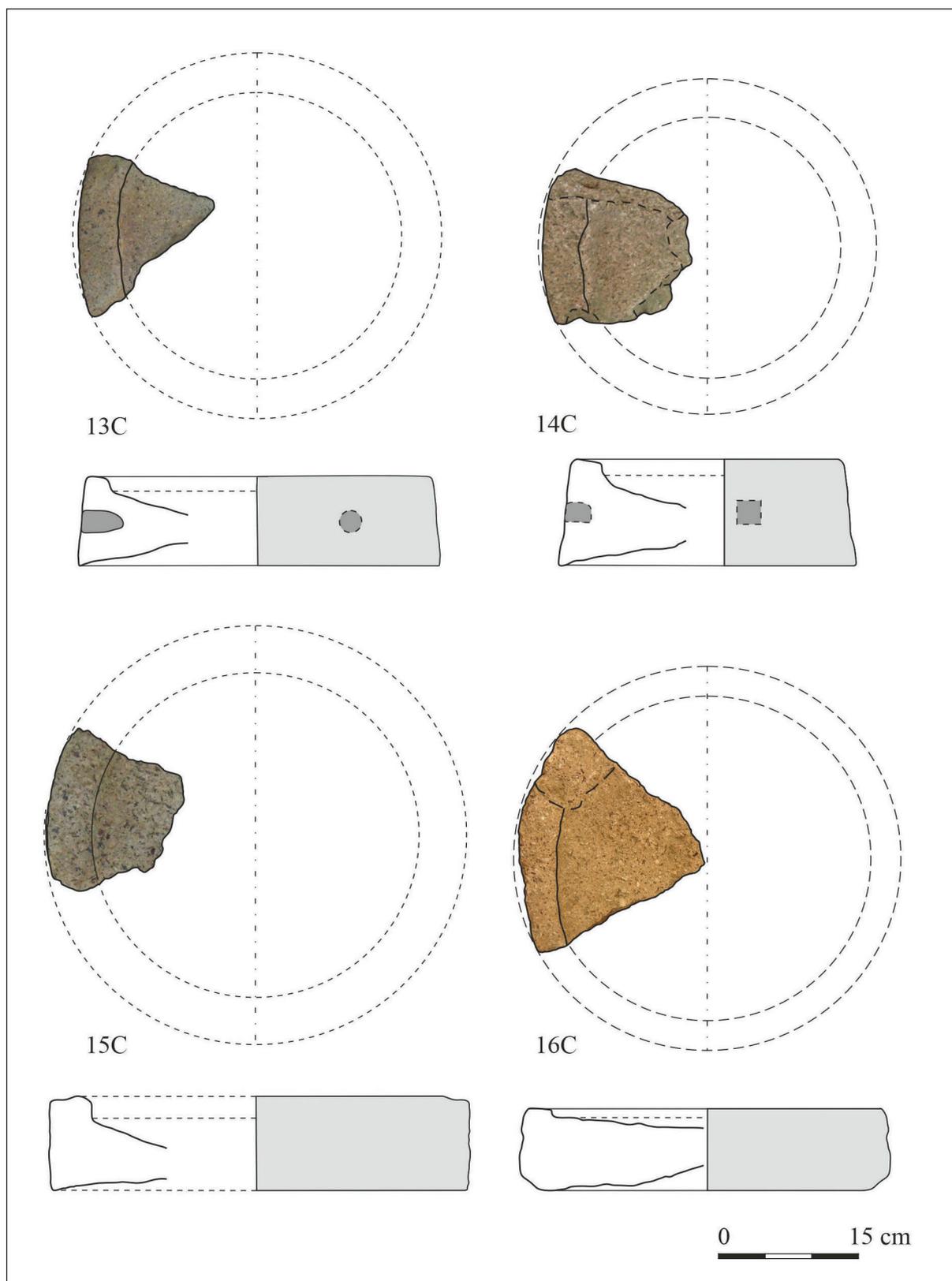


Plate IV. *Catillus* (13C–16C).

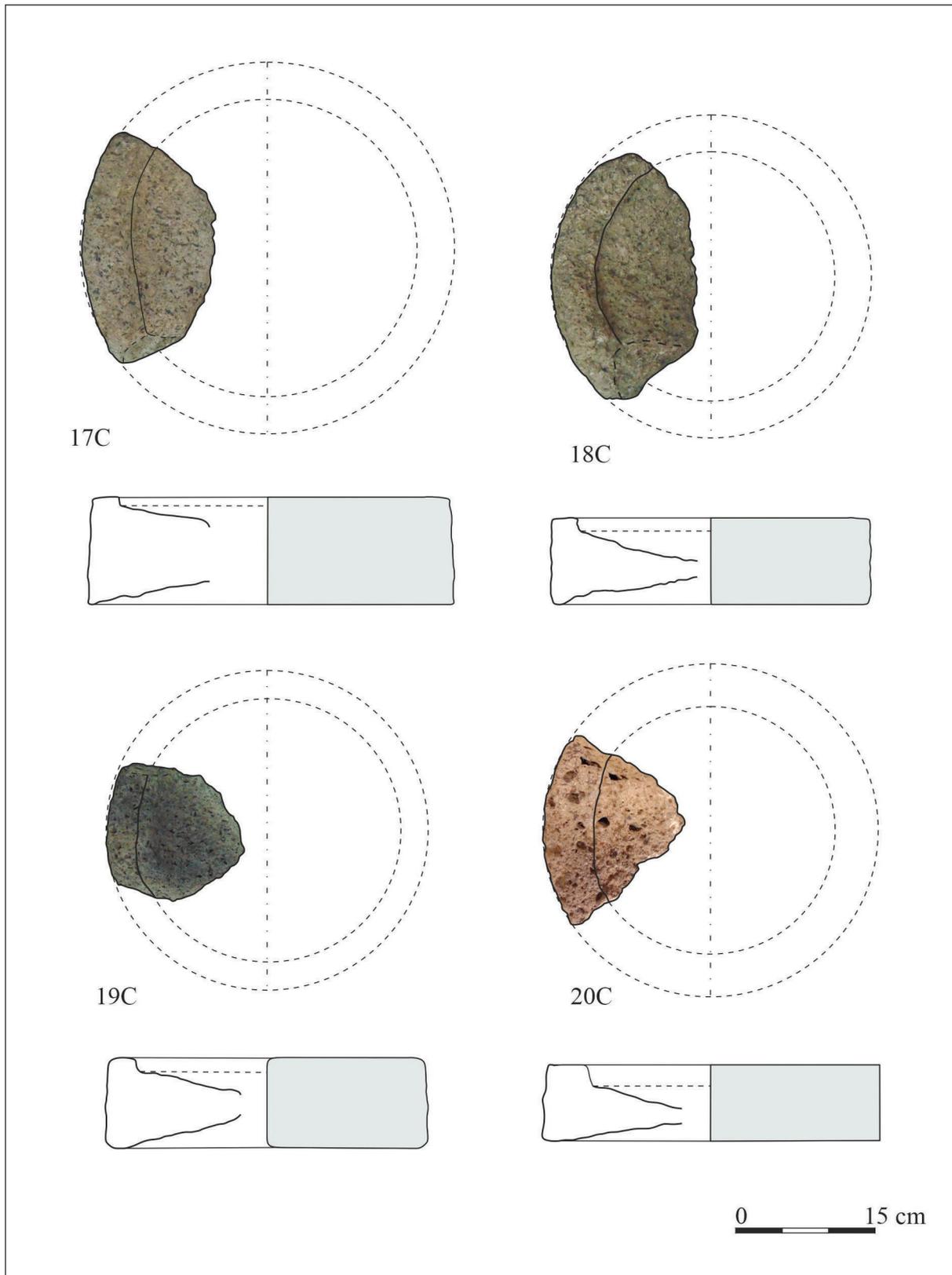


Plate V. *Catillus* (17C–20C).

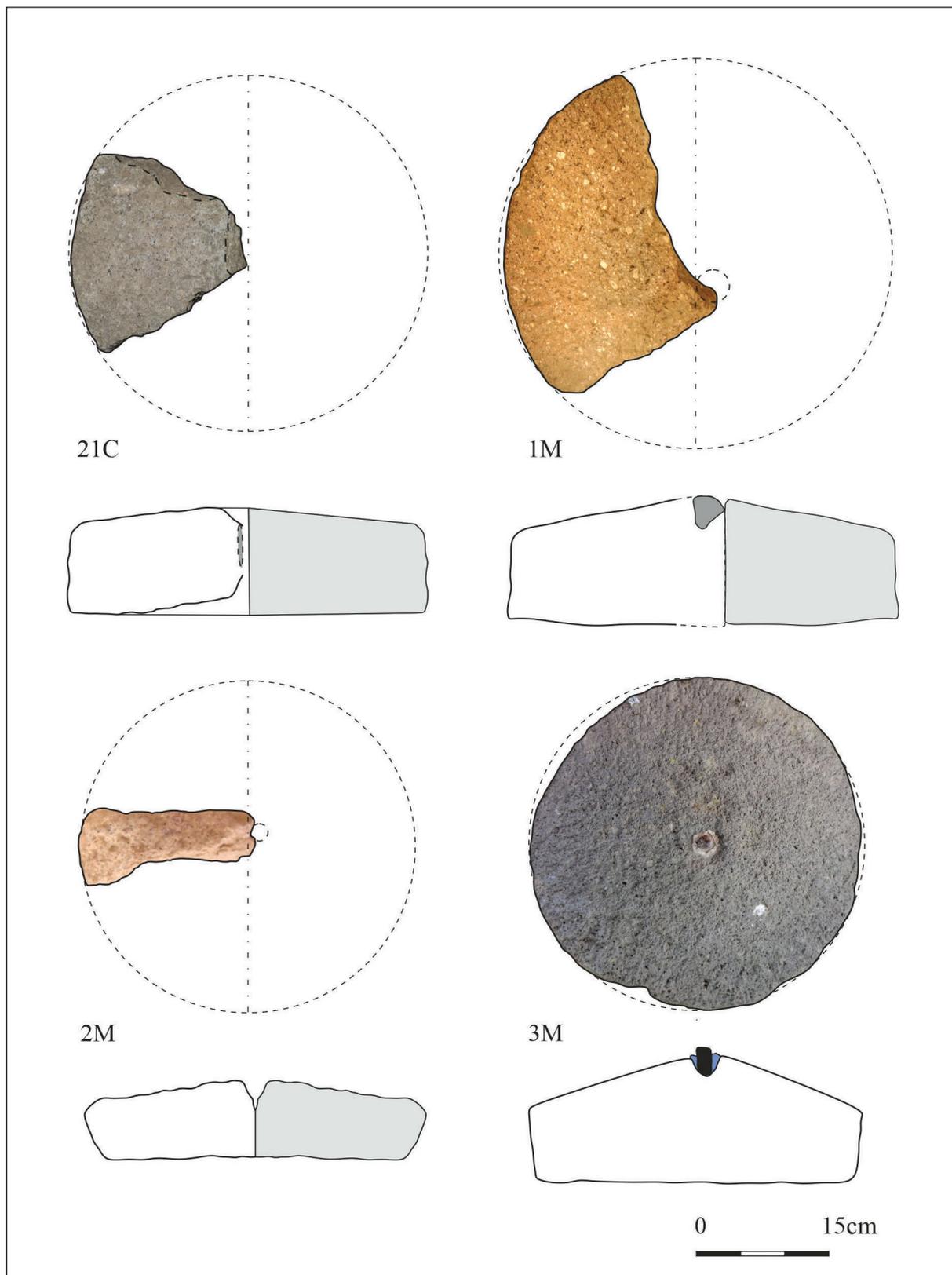


Plate VI. *Catillus* (21C) and *meta* (1M–3M).

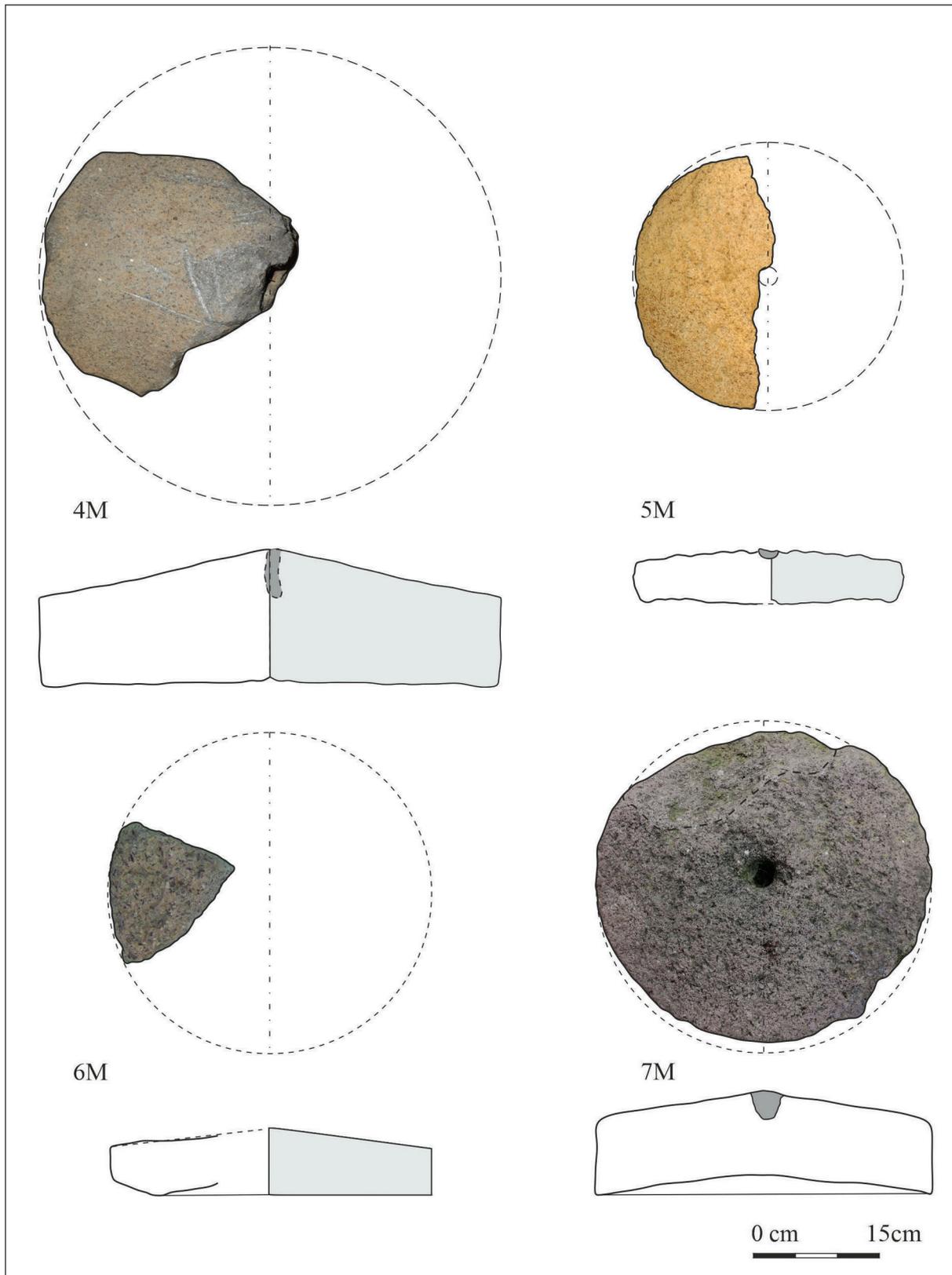


Plate VII. *Meta* (4M–7M).

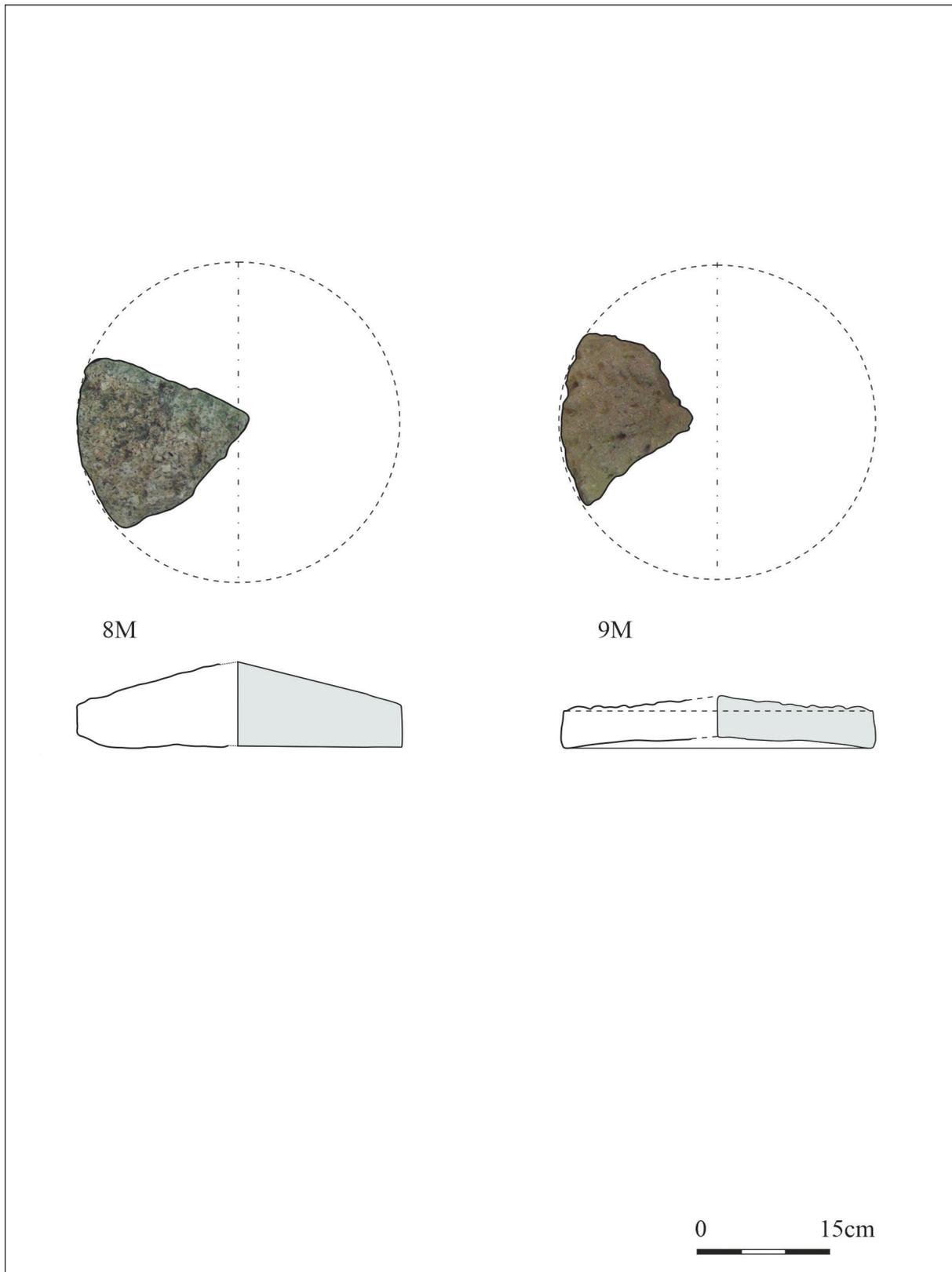


Plate VIII. *Meta* (8M–9M).

WHEN A LONG-LOST INSCRIPTION (CIL III, 944) SUDDENLY GROWS. ABOUT A MANUSCRIPT REGARDING ROMAN DISCOVERIES FROM CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA¹

Dorottya NYULAS*

This paper presents and comments on a manuscript, written by count József Kemény in 1847 about a few Roman finds from Călugăreni (HU: Mikháza, Mureş County). Even if most of the information present in this manuscript were already published by Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur, it does bring some clarifications regarding the inscription of the collegium utriculariorum (CIL III, 944 = IDR III/4, 215), the four coins and other objects found in the summer of 1847 at Călugăreni. In addition, this paper also touches upon the scientific networking present around the count in this period, as well as the background of the manuscript.

Keywords: József Kemény, manuscript, Călugăreni / Mikháza, inscription, collegium utriculariorum
Cuvinte cheie: József Kemény, manuscris, Călugăreni, inscripție, collegium utriculariorum

COUNT JÓZSEF KEMÉNY AND HIS ARCHAEOLOGICAL NETWORK

Count József Kemény (1795–1855),² born at Lunca (HU: Aranyosgerend, Cluj County), belonged to the branch from Mănăstireni (HU: Magyargyerőmonostor, Cluj County) of the well-known Kemény family, being a direct descendant of János Kemény (1607–1662), prince of Transylvania. He started off by pursuing a career as a state official, but without ever being very successful in this field. On the other hand, belonging to one of the greatest aristocratic families of the time in Transylvania enabled him to resign in 1835 from all his official functions in order to work solely on what he always was

passionate about: history. In 1844 he became a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (he was a corresponding member since 1831), and in 1847 also of the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*. He is best known for his work on medieval charters, publishing several very important sourcebooks with commentaries.³ However, as any wealthy historian in the 19th century, his interests were not limited to any one period, and the Roman era was very well represented among his large collection of antiquities, as well as his excessive library.⁴ Though Kemény was mentioning already since 1837

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, RO, nyulasdorottya@gmail.com.

¹ I would like to express my greatest gratitude towards dr. Ioan Dordea for transcribing the original manuscript and thus allowing me – and others – to read the lines of count J. Kemény. I would also like to thank Professor dr. Radu Ardevan for informing me about the existence of this manuscript and for entrusting its study and publication to me.

² The speech held by Imre Mikó, the founder of the Transylvanian Museum Society, at the Hungarian Academy in the memory of J. Kemény gives an insight into the life and work of the count, see MIKÓ 1860; but the most complete account of his biography can be found in the papers of Endre Veress: VERESS 1933a; 1933b; 1933c.

³ For his entire bibliographical list, containing 244 titles, see VERESS 1933c, 269–305. Unfortunately, Kemény is known for being the author of some forged charters as well, see VERESS 1933a, 7–8.

⁴ For a short overview of his collection see: BĂRBULESCU 2010, 189–190.

that he would donate his collection and library for such a purpose, the Transylvanian Museum Society could finally be established only in 1859, four years after the count's death, having Kemény's heritage at its very base.⁵

For the present paper's topic, besides his biography, Kemény's archaeological networking is even more interesting. He played a very important role in the realization of one of the first and most important corpus of Roman Dacia, Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur's *Dacien. Aus den Ueberresten des klassischen Alterthums, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen*, which was even dedicated to the count.⁶ As Gábor Téglás put it, this work would have never come to life without Kemény's recommendation letters that helped Neigebaur along his way all around Transylvania and its surroundings in the company of the priest Michael Ackner, who

later also published studies about Roman Dacia, and the publicist Anton Kurz, the latter being an "enthusiastic devotee" of Kemény.⁷ A. Kurz, born in Vienna, arrived in Kemény's household after fleeing from Austria and Germany for getting into tremendous debts, becoming a personal secretary of the count for several years.⁸ Later he became a journalist and editor in Braşov (HU: Brassó; DE: Kronstadt),⁹ where he published most of Kemény's scientific work, but also Neigebaur's corpus. Even after Kurz moved away, he and the count remained very close, regularly exchanging letters. Fortunately, most of these were later published by Eugen von Trauschenfels on the pages of the *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle Denk- und Merkwürdigkeiten Siebenbürgens*¹⁰ thus allowing a better understanding of the manuscript presented shortly.

GENERAL PRESENTATION AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOCUMENT

The document that can be found, among others,¹¹ in the special collection of Kemény's manuscripts in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library,¹² actually consists of three very different parts. The first one (also the longest) is represented by Kemény's signed manuscript entitled *Römische Alterthümer zu Mikháza in Siebenbürgen*,¹³ with a length of 17 pages on 9 leafs. The document however touches upon considerably wider subjects than just presenting some antiquities from Călugăreni / Mikháza, e.g. the general history of Roman Dacia or the research history of a curious artefact in the form of a sphinx from Potaissa. Even so, it is indisputable that the finds discovered

here in the summer of 1847, most of which came into his possession immediately, are the reason why Kemény has written this document in the same year. To whom or where it was intended though, is not clear from the manuscript.

Before the last page, rather randomly, two other leafs are intertwined. The first one, based on the matching handwriting, was written by Kemény and it consists of two notes: one about *Mithras*, the other about the term *sphinx*. The two definitions repeat (mostly word-to-word) parts of the entries under the headwords *Mithras*, *Oedipus* and *Sphinx* from Vollmer's mythology dictionary from 1836.¹⁴ This page was most likely included here during the archiving of

⁵ MIKÓ 1860, 434; VERESS 1933a, 4–5.

⁶ NEIGEBEUR 1851, III.

⁷ TÉGLÁS 1900, 261–262. A bit more masked, but the same idea appears also in the preface of Neigebaur's work: NEIGEBEUR 1851, V–VI.

⁸ VERESS 1933a, 30.

⁹ Most importantly, he was the editor of the *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle Denk- und Merkwürdigkeiten Siebenbürgens*.

¹⁰ TRAUŠCHENFELS 1860a; 1860b.

¹¹ BODOR 1995, 76.

¹² Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, Kemény, KJ 248, Miscellanea T. II.

¹³ For the transcript of the original manuscript see Appendix 1.

¹⁴ VOLLMER 1836, 1210, 1254–1255, 1453.

Kemény's documents, as it represents Kemény's notes, some of which he possibly used during the composing of the *Römische Alterthümer zu Mikháza in Siebenbürgen* – namely the definition of the term sphinx when he was analysing an artefact depicting one. A stone monument of Mithras is also briefly mentioned in the text. As this was simply copied from a dictionary, and does not represent any original thought, it will not be discussed any further in this study.

The second intertwined leaf on the other hand contains on both sides certain grammatical corrections and remarks on the content of the above mentioned manuscript, page by page, done by A. Kurz.¹⁵ It is not signed, but the different handwriting and the frequent “*Herr Graf*” form of address makes it obvious that it was written by somebody else. The fact that it can be only A. Kurz becomes clear once their correspondence from the year 1847 is read.

In the second paragraph of Kemény's letter to Kurz, dated to the 12th of November 1847,¹⁶ all the information needed regarding the manuscript is present: in the autumn¹⁷ of that year some discoveries were made at Călugăreni and

were sent to the count by the provincial (i.e. headmaster) of the Franciscans.¹⁸ He continues with saying that he found these discoveries so interesting that he is writing a separate treatise to the “*Wiener Akademie*”¹⁹ (of which he became a member earlier that year), but he will be sending it also to Kurz so that he would integrate it into Neugebauer's corpus, on which he was working quite hard as the beginning of the paragraph shows. After a week, on the 19th of November 1847 Kemény had sent the manuscript (or maybe a copy of it) to A. Kurz, accompanied by a short letter,²⁰ in which he asks his former secretary to revise his work and complete it with the number of a cited journal, but also to integrate the new information into Neugebauer's work. This, it is known he did,²¹ but not so detailed and indeed, with some mistakes, as it will be seen later on.

Thus the two pages added to the end of the document contain without a doubt the corrections made by A. Kurz. These remarks were generally applied to the text, in most cases the later intervention can be seen on them, but it seems that this was done by Kemény himself, based on Kurz's notes.

THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript can be divided into 7 different parts, ranging from the more general historical

insights to the very specific presentation of certain artefacts. Nevertheless, the central subject

¹⁵ For the transcript of this manuscript see Appendix 2.

¹⁶ “*Daß das Neugebaurische Manuscript viel Arbeit und Mühe Ihnen verursachen wird, wußte ich voraus, – auch muß ich Sie aufmerksam machen, daß diesen Herbst in Mikháza einige römische Alterthümer ausgegraben wurden, – der Provincial der Franciskaner schenkte solche mir, und ich fand sie so interessant, daß ich hierüber für die Wiener Akademie eine eigene Abhandlung schreibe, die ich, sobald sie fertig sein wird, Ihnen mittheilen werde, um das Neugebaurische Manuscript darnach in Bezug auf Mikháza zu berichtigen, – ich stelle über Manches eine ganz neue Ansicht in meiner Abhandlung auf, und beweise, daß zu Mikháza eine bedeutende römische Ansiedelung war, daß die Römer dort einen der Göttin Adriatica (Nemesis) geweihten Tempel hatten, und daß dort römische Sackpfeiffen Fabrikanten hauseten, die ebendort eine eigene Innung (Bruderschaft) hatten u.s.w.*” TRAUSCHENFELS 1860b, 241–242.

¹⁷ In the manuscript as well as in Neugebauer's publication (NEIGEBEUR 1851, 248) the artefacts were recovered during summer, not autumn.

¹⁸ A Franciscan monastery was functioning in the village since 1635, having also one of the richest libraries in the region.

¹⁹ Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

²⁰ “*Ich übersende Ihnen hiemit meine, für die Zeitschrift der Wiener Akademie bestimmte Abhandlung über einige römische Alterthümer, welche zu Mikháza ausgegraben wurden, – ich ersuche Sie daher: 1) diese Abhandlung zu revidiren; 2) nach den Andeutungen, die in derselben vorkommen, das Neugebaurische Manuscript (wenn Sie es für nöthig erachten sollten) zu berichtigen; 3) auf der 16. Seite dieser meiner Abhandlung, dort, wo ich über die, angeblich zu Thorda gefundene Sphinx rede, die betreffenden Nummern der Illustrierten Zeitung einzutragen, da ich hier kein Exemplar dieser Zeitung habe.*” TRAUSCHENFELS 1860b, 243.

²¹ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 247–249.

of the text is the analysis of the inscription found at Călugăreni (see part 3). Each part will be presented separately, including also Kurz's notes regarding the section (if they represent more than mere typographical or grammatical notes). Naturally, the sections about the artefacts and his original ideas will be detailed, while only concisely summarizing the general historical parts, which were mostly compiled, exemplifying the state of research at the middle of the 19th century.

The simply formulated and rather to-the-point title, *Römische Alterthümer zu Mikháza in Siebenbürgen* (EN: Roman antiquities from Mikháza in Transylvania), is followed by a Latin quote from the Roman poet Martial: "*Quid non longa dies, quid non consummitis anni*" (EN: "What does not time in the course of years destroy?").²²

1. Historical and geographical background of Roman Dacia

The first page of the document (the first two paragraphs) represents an introduction, starting off with a larger frame of Dacia. Though at first he does not go into detail regarding the founding of the province, in a later side-note Kemény tries to date this precisely, based on coins with *Dacia Capta* and *Dacia Augusta Provincia* legends. A. Kurz makes a note regarding the consul Julius Candidus referred to by the count, as he thinks of an Aurelius Candidus, who was a soldier in the 3rd century in Noricum (the inscription appears at Neigebaur as well with an erroneous interpretation of the finding spot in Dacia).²³

Also with an introductory character, Kemény mentions what is generally known of the geography and social history of the province, based

on Eutropius, Ptolemy, Cassius Dio and actual inscriptions.²⁴ Or, at least he mentions these sources, but in different parts of the manuscript it will become clear that the count usually uses just one or two sources and copies the citations from there. One can assume that he did the same with this small summary as well.

2. Presentation of the Roman site at Călugăreni / Mikháza

The introduction then is followed by 5.5 pages²⁵ of presentation of the site at Călugăreni.²⁶ He gives no new information unfortunately, more or less copying (usually actual quotes, also citing the page number) the rather erroneous data from the works of Antal Bartalis²⁷ and József Ercsei.²⁸ The Roman road mentioned by Bartalis²⁹ as the most beautifully preserved one from Dacia gets a special attention, from which topic he easily wanders off towards other known Roman road sections from Transylvania – and this seems equally important to him as it takes up roughly the same extent as describing Călugăreni and its surroundings. On this subject the work of István Szamosközy³⁰ plays an essential role in the eyes of Kemény, as it is the earliest one (1593) and thus probably he saw most of these roads – that are, very much like in the starting quote of the manuscript, slowly destroyed by time.

3. The "antiquities": the altar (CIL III, 944 = IDR III/4, 215)

On page 6 of the manuscript Kemény finally gets to the point: in the summer of 1847 somewhere on the border of Călugăreni, while digging a trench, villagers had accidentally found some Roman artefacts: an inscribed stone

²² MART. *Ep.* IX, no. 49.

²³ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 9; CIL III, 5476. The monument was found at Weisskirchen in Steiermark, Austria.

²⁴ Citing the corpus of GRUTER (1602, 354, no. 5), to which most probably he actually had access.

²⁵ Pages 2–6 of Appendix 1.

²⁶ For a more recent presentation of the site and its research history see PÁNCZÉL 2015.

²⁷ BARTALIS 1787.

²⁸ ERCSEI 1830.

²⁹ BARTALIS 1787, 25.

³⁰ SZAMOSKÖZY 1593.

monument, four Roman coins and two “tools”. The latter two groups of objects came in his possession, as it is affirmed, but because the monument had an artificial deepening on its top, it was destroyed by the villagers, hoping they would find gold inside it. Kemény thinks this is a clear sign that a statue was placed on the top of the monument, but Kurz’s note is even more relevant, as he interprets this as the specially arranged area where the offerings were placed – the *foculus*. And indeed, most probably this was the case.

Interestingly enough, on the bottom part of page 6 originally it just said that the monument was so shattered that it was really hard to decipher it. But it is visible that this was partly scratched out and instead on a side note Kemény gives more insight: it was really hard to decipher the inscription from the rubble by *him*. In his already mentioned letter to Kurz, he states that the “antiquities” were sent to him by the provincial of the Franciscans.³¹ In my opinion, the most plausible scenario would be that the provincial copied the lines probably before or maybe after the monument got destroyed and sent only this transcription to the count along with the coins and the other two artefacts, which makes more sense transport-wise as well. Also this could be the reason why Kemény does not have any comments on the appearance of either the stone or the inscription. Than why did Kemény correct his manuscript to say that he deciphered it? I believe the reason was to get solely the merit in the eyes of the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, into which he got recently accepted.

The dimensions of the monument, most probably measured and transmitted by the provincial of the Franciscans, were of 2.5 feet height and 2 feet width. The depth is not given but if it is accepted that it had a *foculus* than it was clearly

an altar, which have more or less the same depth as the width. Unfortunately one can only guess in which historical measurement system should this “feet” be interpreted, though most probably he used the Viennese “*Schuh*”, which is 31.6 cm, making this monument around 79 cm high and 63 cm wide.³²

On the next 5.5 pages (pages 7–12) this inscription is presented, followed by a meticulous analysis of each line, with special emphasis on the *collegium utriculariorum*. The inscription appears on page 7:

INHDD
ADRASTIAE
COLLEG
VIRICLARIORUM
SF

Which reads – and it is important to note that Kemény has read it almost correctly:³³

In H(onorem) D(ivinae) D(omus)
Adrastiae
Colleg(ium)
Utriculariorum
S(acrum) F(ecit)

Even though this manuscript re-emerged only recently, as already mentioned, the text got to A. Kurz who could complete the Neigebaur-book with it and thus it became a generally known inscription from Dacia.³⁴ But in all publications it comprises only 4 rows! Thus, it seems that Kurz made the mistake of omitting the last line (*SF*). It is missing in the Neigebaur-book too,³⁵ but apparently he “erased” it even before. The inscription was first published (also without the last line) already in 1848 in the *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* at Rome, in the report of the meeting of

³¹ TRAUSCHENFELS 1860b, 241.

³² The IDR, based on the same base data, gives the dimensions as 66 × 55 cm. See IDR III/4, 215.

³³ The accepted version of the first line is *In H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)*, so with a reversed order of the last two words, however this does not affect the meaning. This correct version first appears in a footnote of a study dealing with the Bronze Age in Transylvania: MÜLLER 1858, 341–342, footnote no. 18; followed by Ackner’s corpus: ACKNER 1865, no. 793.

³⁴ CIL III, 944 = ILS 3748 = IDR III/4, 215 = HD045404.

³⁵ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 248.

the institute held on the 18th February 1848.³⁶ It was presented by the well-known epigraphist Wilhelm Henzen, in whose later corpus of Latin inscriptions it is also featured.³⁷ In the *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* it states that the existence of the inscription was communicated to Henzen by Neigebaur, who got a letter from A. Kurz to notify him about it, but in this small report it also says that Kurz was the one who copied the inscription (which it is known for a fact is not true). Thus, it cannot be a surprise that at Neigebaur³⁸ it appears as if the fragments of the inscription were in Kemény's possession, whereas in his manuscript the count makes it clear that he has only the other artefacts. The inscription's appearance in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*³⁹ still missing the last line seals its fate, the four-line version became the official form of this monument. Mommsen, most probably based on Neigebaur, with some confusing wording also affirms that the fragments are at Kemény's domain at Gerend.⁴⁰ This dataset was copied then basically by everyone mentioning the inscription,⁴¹ from the beginning of the 20th century completed with Gábor Téglás's remark, that the monument, together with many other artefacts got lost when count Kemény's estate was ravaged during the revolution of 1848–1849.⁴² Again, most probably the fragments of the altar never even left Călugăreni.

Getting back to the manuscript, Kemény goes on with analysing the inscription line by line. Not only does he offer the correct read and translation, he also tries to give a detailed explanation for each formula – or, if he does not have

a clear answer, several explanations. Such is the *DD*, which was always read by archaeologist as *divina domus*, says he, meaning the divine house – i.e. a temple, in this case of Adrastia. But he goes on with mentioning that for the Romans these words can be representing the very much adored imperial family too. The fact that Kemény presents both ideas and cites Phaedrus as a source makes the impression that he is very well prepared. But just with a quick search it becomes obvious that he copied from somewhere at least the quotes.⁴³ For some time now, it is of course indisputable, that it should be read as *domus divina* and it refers to the imperial family.

To this it can be added that the *In Honorem Domus Divinae* formula is not particularly rare, it suggests a consecration in the honour of the imperial family, in this case possibly showcases a need to emphasize the connection with the official Roman culture, but it was also simply general practice to mention them. This term also gives some hints regarding the dating of the inscription, it being used mostly during the Severan dynasty, namely the end of the second century – first half of the third century.⁴⁴

Adrastia or Adrasteia, just as Kemény says based mostly on Ammianus Marcellinus, can be connected to Nemesis and interpreted as a goddess of fortune and necessity. The count connects it to Fortuna as well, citing an inscription from Apulum that mentions both Fortuna and Nemesis,⁴⁵ but he does not get into other details.

Adrastia – in this Latin form – appears only on this inscription, the Greek Adrasteia

³⁶ BULLETTINO 1848, 56.

³⁷ ORELLI–HENZEN 1856, no. 5803.

³⁸ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 248.

³⁹ CIL.

⁴⁰ CIL III, 944.

⁴¹ For a selective bibliography see IDR III/4, 215.

⁴² TÉGLÁS 1902, 272.

⁴³ These exact two quotes can be found for example in Hofmann's *Lexicon*, under the headword *Domus*, even with the same abbreviation of Laurentius's name instead of Phaedrus (Johannes Laurentius edited in 1667 an edition of Phaedrus's fables with commentaries), see HOFMANN 1698a, s.v. *Domus*, 99–100. Of course this is just one possible work that Kemény could have had access to, but it cannot be ruled out that he might have used a different encyclopaedia, that was maybe inspired by Hofmann's or vice versa.

⁴⁴ For the dating of the inscriptions with *domus divinae* formula see RUSSU 1967, 215–217. Ioan Piso proposed the reign of Septimius Severus as a date for this inscription, see PISO 2018, 39.

⁴⁵ IDR III/5, 294.

(*Ἀδραστεια*) is more frequently attested. She is a minor Anatolian deity, a guardian of the child Zeus, while her origins might be found in a Phrygian mountain goddess, sometimes recognized with Cybele.⁴⁶ Later began her identification with Nemesis, culminating in the merging of the two deities, Adrasteia becoming an epithet of the goddess of fortune. In the Roman world she is rarely attested, this inscription being the main Latin monument that mentions her, on the other hand the same *Ἀδραστεια* appears several times on Hellenistic Greek inscriptions, almost always together with the already mentioned Nemesis.⁴⁷ Based on how marginal and rarely attested Adrastia is, it is rather surprising that the only inscription attesting her was found on the Eastern *limes* of Dacia, thus it seems quite probable that the group of people adoring her arrived from Anatolia, from where her cult originated.⁴⁸

Even though the *collegium utriculariorum* is one term, Kemény treats them separately, first giving a rather general definition of the word *collegium* as a corporation, followed by a citation from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.⁴⁹ Interestingly, this quote, contrary to the others that can be found in the manuscript, is not identical with any of the used Latin versions. But this exact citation, with the same words and word order (it appears to be the authors own translation of the original Greek text) can be found in Christian Gottlieb Schwarz's study entitled *Diatriba de collegio vtriculariorvm*,⁵⁰ being the second chapter of a selection of various studies regarding Roman monuments.⁵¹ In his work Schwarz presented the inscription from Marga⁵² based on Marsigli's at the moment not yet published manuscript.

But by doing so he also gives a wide insight into the problematic of this *collegium*, being among the first ones to write about this topic. Kemény's access to and use of this work seems more and more plausible once one starts looking through it, for example the same Ammianus Marcellinus citation appears here regarding Nemesis and Adrastia, followed by the same example from Apulum mentioning also Fortuna.⁵³ Of course not just the quotes match, but the general argumentation too, as it will be shown later on. It must be also added, that Kemény does not mention at all Schwarz's work, even if the inscription he is presenting is the only other one from Dacia that attests this rarely mentioned *collegium*.

The main focus of this part of the manuscript falls on the interpretation of the term *utriculariorus*, taking up around 3.5 pages. The first problem is posed by the fact that it appears that the inscription was not copied correctly – as Kemény puts it, the word *VIRICLARIORVM* makes no sense, and proposes to be read as *VTRICLARIORVM*. The interchanging of the letters I and T is rather frequent either as a mistake done by the stone carver or by the reader, which can be further ensured by the slightest deterioration on the surface. He even gives other examples as well, but again, this mistake appears in the case of the Marsigli-inscription as well, and the same discussion was first held by Schwarz.⁵⁴ The fact that Kemény handles this so objectively and proposing so many possibilities seems to prove that he never has actually seen the monument. This is followed by the listing of ancient sources mentioning the term *utricularius* or *utricularius*, the only literary source being

⁴⁶ ROSCHER 1884, 77–78; POSNANSKY 1890, 68–91; KARANASTASSI 1992, 736. More recently see CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010, 307, 344–345; PISO 2018, 38–39.

⁴⁷ E.g. IG XII/4, 1:318 from Kos; SEG 33:345 from Rhodes; TAM III/1, 912 from Pisidia, Asia Minor; IGBulg IV, 2140 from Pautalia, Thrace. See also: ROSCHER 1884, 77–78; POSNANSKY 1890, 79–87.

⁴⁸ See CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010, 326, 344–345, 938. Perhaps the presence of some *cognomina* in Dacia with the same *Adrast-*root is also not incidental: Marcus Suronius Adrastus and possibly a freedman Adrastus from Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (IDR III/2, 443) and Tuticia Adrastilla from Apulum (IDR III/5, 584).

⁴⁹ PLUT. *Vit. Numa*, 17.2–3.

⁵⁰ SCHWARZ 1721, 28–29.

⁵¹ SCHWARZ 1721, 27–62.

⁵² CIL III, 1547 = ILS, 3747 = IDR III, 272 = HD046600. This is the only other inscription from Dacia mentioning this *collegium*.

⁵³ SCHWARZ 1721, 59–60.

⁵⁴ SCHWARZ 1721, 33.

Suetonius.⁵⁵ Kemény enumerates 8 inscriptions as well, but again, all this appears in the same way at Schwarz.⁵⁶

The main argumentation revolves around the actual interpretation of this *collegium*: what do these *utriclarii* do? – a question not answered till today in a satisfying manner. Starting with the word's simplistic etymology, the Latin word *uter* means prepared animal skin, either as a container for liquids (wineskin), or inflated with air (to be used as a raft or as a bagpipe). Hence the problem of interpretation. Kemény quickly mentions two books where one can find details about how ancient bagpipes looked – but this is also copied from Schwarz,⁵⁷ this time from a different study of his that appeared in the same volume, on Bacchic processions.

On pages 10 and 11 Kemény gives a more detailed presentation of all three possibilities, still relaying mostly on Schwarz's work, the first option being that the *utriclarii* are making containers of liquids from animal skin for easier transportation,⁵⁸ the second that inflated and sewn together, these skins can form a raft of which there are plenty of examples.⁵⁹ The third version has at its base Suetonius's work, where he mentions about Emperor Nero that he played on the water-organ, flute and bagpipe.⁶⁰ Of course the other ancient sources all copy Suetonius's remarks regarding the musical talents of Nero. Again, all the quotes are taken from Schwarz.⁶¹ Kemény copies even the summary of what other scientists of the Enlightenment era thought of this subject.⁶²

To take a modern look on the issue of the

collegium utriclariorum is something that exceeds the purposes of the present paper, nonetheless it is a subject that deserved a separate study.⁶³ Besides the three above mentioned theories regarding the profession of the *utriclarii*, two other ideas were proposed since Kemény's time: one that they formed a voluntary firefighting brigade⁶⁴ (not very likely) and one connecting them to wine trade, more precisely to the transportation of wine on land. This latter hypothesis,⁶⁵ elaborated on the basis of the frequent mentions on Gallic inscriptions, was widely accepted by scholars.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, some researchers are turning back to the older, and in many ways more logical explanation, i.e. the *utriclarii* were actually wineskin producers and sellers.⁶⁷

In the last paragraph from page 11 (continuing on page 12 as well) finally Kemény's own ideas regarding the inscription from Călugăreni also appear. He rather logically dismisses the idea that one can propose a shipwrights' guild here, as there are no navigable rivers (the nearby Niraj / Nyárád River is by far too small and shallow for such purposes). For some inexplicable reason he completely forgets about the wine-skin interpretation and gets to the conclusion that they were involved with the production and trade of bagpipes. For this he brings as an argument that the inscription was dedicated to Adrastia, a goddess of luck. And merchants always need luck.

Finally, he does not dwell too much upon the last line of the inscription, interpreting the term *sacrum fecit* as a sort of explanation, that

⁵⁵ Suet. *Nero*, 54.

⁵⁶ Schwarz 1721, 34.

⁵⁷ Schwarz 1721, 123–124.

⁵⁸ Schwarz 1721, 35.

⁵⁹ Schwarz 1721, 44. This was a fashionable idea also in the second half of the 20th century due to the work of Jean Rougé (1959).

⁶⁰ Suet. *Nero*, 54: “*proditurum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium*”.

⁶¹ Schwarz 1721, 36–38.

⁶² Schwarz 1721, 40, 42–43.

⁶³ Nyulas 2021.

⁶⁴ Lafer 2001, 58–60.

⁶⁵ Kneissl 1981.

⁶⁶ The writers of the two works dealing at some length with the Dacian *utriclarii* both accepted this view: Benea 1995; Ardevan 1998, 290–291.

⁶⁷ Most recently: Marimon Ribas 2017. In Nyulas 2021 also this idea is considered most plausible.

the *collegium* of the *utriclarii* has honoured the temple of Adrastia. It must be added to this that this term does not necessarily indicate the existence of an actual temple of Adrastia, the word *sacrum* refers generally to a religious sacrifice.

4. The “antiquities”: the coins

The next part of the manuscript (of one page length) presents the four coins that were found during the same earthworks at Călugăreni. Unfortunately, it is not known how close to each other these objects were initially discovered. This information appears at Neigebaur⁶⁸ as well, followed of course by later authors based on this, but the coins are always just mentioned, never described. As they were part of the count's personal collection, they unfortunately got lost during the 1848–1849 revolution.⁶⁹ From this point of view, this manuscript brings significant new data, even if Kemény was not able to exactly identify all four of them.

The first coin⁷⁰ the count describes is of roughly the size of a 6 Kreuzer,⁷¹ so around 33 mm in diameter, and it depicts Iulia Mamaea (the legend: IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA), the mother of Severus Alexander. On the reverse a female figure can be seen, holding a small person in the right hand and a long staff in the left hand, while from the legend only the starting V and ending A is visible. Kemény uses three different numismatic corpora to identify this and the second coin (rather interestingly he does not do the same with the other two coins): the seventh volume of Eckhel's monumental work,⁷² Rasche's numismatic lexicon,⁷³ and Arneth's at the time rather new collection of antiquities from Vindobona.⁷⁴ He does not seem to find

in any of these works this coin, but based on his description it can be identified as the RIC IV.2, 708 bronze sestertius with Vesta holding Palladium and sceptre in her hands. It cannot be more closely dated as 222–235 AD. Rather interestingly, it seems that it skipped his attention that this very coin appears in all three above mentioned works.

The identification of the second coin is a bit more problematic, mostly because it was in a worse condition and Kemény was not able to read the reverse legend. It must be even questioned what he could actually read, as he presents the obverse legend saying “... TRAI DECIVS AVG”. This abbreviation of the emperor's name, though not unheard of, is really rare and it seems more plausible that the count made a mistake while reading the inscription and it actually says IMP TRA DECIVS AVG. This would explain why he could not find it in the already mentioned numismatic handbooks.⁷⁵ The reverse, based on Kemény's description depicts most probably a Genius (even though the manuscript mentions a female figure) with a *patera* in the right hand and a *cornucopiae* in the left hand. Thus, this coin can possibly be identified as a RIC IV.3, 38b silver antoninianus,⁷⁶ dated to 250–251 AD.

Similarly, the third ‘small copper coin’ is also an antoninianus. Thanks to the well preserved legends (IMP GALLIENVS AVG and LIBERO P CONS AVG on the reverse), it could be quite surely identified as the RIC V.1, 229 – from Gallienus's sole reign. It is most probably a mint from Rome and thus dated between 260 and 268 AD. Rather interestingly, Kemény does not seem to look it up in the previously used numismatic works either this, or the fourth coin.

⁶⁸ NEIGEBAUER 1851, p. 248.

⁶⁹ His complete numismatic collection went missing during this incident, see VERESS 1933a, 6.

⁷⁰ Kemény talks about copper coins, but of course the greenish patina is well-known feature of bronze coins as well, which in this case is far more likely.

⁷¹ Even Kurz makes a note for him saying that it would be better to measure the diameter in inches, but apparently this did not convince Kemény. See Appendix 2, the note for page 12.

⁷² ECKHEL 1797, 287–288.

⁷³ RASCHE 1787, 144–145.

⁷⁴ ARNETH 1842, 148.

⁷⁵ ECKHEL 1797, 342–345; RASCHE 1785, 87–88; ARNETH 1842, 158–159.

⁷⁶ Kemény describes this as a small copper coin, but everything points to the fact that it is an *antoninianus* – a silver denomination well-known for its rather high bronze content, thus a greenish patina should not be a surprise.

The last presented coin is probably also not copper, but an antoninianus of Claudius Gothicus. Luckily, Kemény was able to decipher enough letters (IMP C CLAVDIVS... and ... IVS EXERC...) for it to be recognizable as a mint of Rome: RIC V.1, 48, that can be dated to the years 268–270.

Without trying to get into too much detail regarding these coins, it is important to underline how these coins, with the exception of the first one, all are from the late period of the Dacian provinces. This is new and important data for the site, where even if since 2013 intensive research is going on, there is not much information regarding the end of the military camp and the surrounding civil settlement (the latest phases were the most affected by later land use). Until now only scattered evidence attested that the site was used in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁷⁷

5. The end of Dacia and the abandonment of the province

Count J. Kemény does not make any remarks about the presence of these rather late coins in Călugăreni, but proceeds to discuss the end of the province (starting with the last paragraph from page 13 and ending with page 16). Though these three pages are structured together with the coins, in the same chapter, the two subjects are discussed rather apart.

He summarizes the events of the eighth decade of the 3rd century based on 4th century literary sources, namely Eutropius and the *Historia Augusta*. The way he cites these clearly shows the extent of his library: most probably he did not have direct access to Eutropius's work, as he only cites the book number ("Brev. Hist. Rom. Libr. IX") without the number of the chapter (15); while in the case of the *Historia Augusta*,

he most precisely mentions not only the pagination, but also the exact edition he used.⁷⁸ Without getting into too much detail, Kemény highlights the role of barbaric populations that were constantly attacking the province, thus a peaceful and well-organized withdrawal was not possible.

The count proposes three archaeological arguments to support the idea of the forced and hasty abandonment of the province. The first one is the high number of Roman coins that can be found on this territory, pointing to Szamosközy mentioning frequent coin-finds already in the 16th century, but also bringing up his own numismatic collection that he started only 6–7 years ago, but it already consisted of several hundred finds mostly from Potaissa, but also from Apulum, Sarmizegetusa and other sites where at almost any earth-works such discoveries were made. In Kemény's argumentation, if the Romans truly left the province in an orderly manner, they surely would have taken all these valuable coins with themselves.

His second argument is the existence of "unfinished" epigraphic monuments, i.e. inscriptions that were started but the sculptor could not complete it, supposedly because he had to flee from Dacia. As an example he proposes a then newly discovered mithraic relief that presents only a few letters from the beginning of both lines, whereas the guiding line is continuing further away. Based on this description the monument can be identified first in Neigebaur's work⁷⁹ and also in Mommsen's corpus – CIL III, 901. Both mention that the monument is part of Kemény's personal collection and both, erroneously, mark its provenance from Potaissa – possibly because of the great proportion of monuments from here that were present in the count's property.⁸⁰

The last evidence consists of the large

⁷⁷ DOBOS ET AL. 2017, 149; SIDÓ-PÁNCZÉL 2020, 145; TALABÉR 2020; HÖPKEN ET AL 2020, 106.

⁷⁸ *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* 6, Tom. 2, Lugduni Batavorum 1671.

⁷⁹ NEIGEBEUR 1851, 208, no. 58.

⁸⁰ Though this topic is not the subject of the current paper, attention must be drawn to this quite frequently met error in the case of CIL III, 901. Despite that Franz Cumont makes its origin "sans doute" Apulum (CUMONT 1896, 314, no. 196), almost all of the later studies regard it as a monument from Potaissa. Today it is part of the collection from National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca (inventory no. V 1135). Formerly part of the Kemény collection, the presented manuscript seems to settle this dispute, making Apulum the official findspot of this relief.

quantity of burnt archaeological material that were discovered on all sites in Dacia. These three arguments, together with the ancient sources, in Kemény's opinion clearly show that the Romans had to abandon the province in a hurry and under pressure, thus leaving all kinds of valuable items behind. In this context Kemény allows himself a short excursion to a slightly different topic, namely the presentation of a small copper alloy statuette of a sphinx found at Potaissa, together with the scientific debate of the time around it.⁸¹ He brings it into discussion as another possible example of valuable things left behind, but which he automatically discredits as a modern forgery based on its impeccable condition and on the fact that several scientists of the time could not decipher its inscription and considered it a fake. A. Kurz, in his already mentioned endnotes firmly disagrees with Kemény, pointing out that the count – as a member of the Vienna Academy – should not make such adamant declarations without conclusive proofs. Though at the time quite famous, once exposed as a modern forgery and thought lost during the 1848–1849 revolution, the small sphinx remained forgotten for a long time until more than 130 years later, when Nicolae Vlăsa put an end to the discussion, identifying the artefact as the tip of a standard or sceptre representing the Egyptian god *Tithoes*, the inscription with Greek letters also mentioning *Re-Harmachis*.⁸²

6. The “antiquities”: the “tools”

Right before the final paragraph, Kemény speaks very shortly about the other two discoveries made also in the summer of 1847 at Călugăreni⁸³ (it begins at the bottom of page

16 and follows on half of page 17). The subtitle “*Gerätschaften*” is somewhat confusing, as the first mentioned object is an iron projectile-head. Though the count uses the word “*Pfeilspitze*” which translates as arrowhead, the Latin term *telum* he uses suggests a javelin, which is further testified by its length of 3 inches (approx. 8 cm), but without a more precise description it is hard to exactly determine the object. Anyway, in the nearby of a Roman military camp such a discovery shall not be a surprise. All the comments he adds to this, e.g. how the term appears in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, are clearly taken from Hofmann.⁸⁴

The second find, a “Roman stone polishing bronze tool” is more likely a socketed axe dating from the Bronze Age or early Iron Age, as its description and the given reference make this clear.⁸⁵ Similar finds are not new at Călugăreni, there was even a large bronze hoard discovered, which was dated to the Ha1 period,⁸⁶ containing similar bronze socketed axes too. Though it is known exactly where this hoard was found (south-east from the modern village), this does not mean necessarily that Kemény's socketed axe or even more so any of the Roman artefacts were found in the same area.

7. Kemény's conclusions

The last paragraph (page 17) contains some final thoughts, concluding what was said before. Though of course in many aspects Kemény made mistakes in his study, but based on his premises, his conclusions are correct. Following his argumentation, the fact that all these clearly Roman artefacts emerged here, while there is also an attested Roman road, and not only did Adrastia have a temple here, but also

⁸¹ Kemény cites five articles, shorter hypotheses regarding the inscription, all appeared in 1847, in Leipzig, on the pages of the *ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG* (1847a; 1847b; 1847c; 1847d). The number 212 (24.07.1847) is also cited, but there the sphinx is only briefly mentioned on page 54 in regard with a different inscription. For the exact numbers of the newspapers he asked the help of A. Kurz in his letter (see *TRAUSCHENFELS* 1860b, 243).

⁸² *VLĂSA* 1980. Here most of the important bibliography regarding this find up to 1980 also appears.

⁸³ These appear also at *NEIGEBEUR* (1851, 248–249, no. 8–9).

⁸⁴ *HOFMANN* 1698b, s.v. *telum*, 496–497.

⁸⁵ Kemény cites it almost correctly, it is not in the second but in the third volume. See *MONTFAUCON* 1722, 339–340, Pl. 188.

⁸⁶ *VULPE-LAZĂR* 1989.

the bagpipe manufacturers had their own *collegium!* – all this proves without doubt that there was a very important Roman settlement here. While his “special opinion” is that one should not consider the Tabula Peutingeriana or Ptolemy’s accounts very reliable as a source for the ancient names of settlements, nevertheless he chooses to propose the names Napoca

or Octaviana (most probably he means Optatiana) as the Latin name for Călugăreni – against which even A. Kurz advises him in his last note.

Even with all these partly false conclusions, Kemény’s last sentence is an eternal final thought of archaeological studies: “*Vielleicht werden weitere Nachgrabungen mit der Zeit hierüber zuverlässigern Resultate liefern*”.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE MANUSCRIPT

The importance of this manuscript naturally lies in the monuments it presents: the four coins that Neugebauer⁸⁷ and many others mention finally can be dated, rather surprisingly mostly to the second half of the third century, which is a novelty in the research history of the site, as most later phases were highly affected by modern-day agriculture.

On the other hand, through this very first presentation of the truly important stone monument (altar) found at Călugăreni (CIL III, 944 = IDR III/4, 215), first and foremost a fifth, new line is gained for the inscription at the end of it, consisting of *S(acrum) F(ecit)*. The relevance of such development cannot be disregarded, but having more insight on the story of the discovery and of the manuscript is equally important. Two aspects make this inscription rather spectacular, namely the only mentioning of the goddess Adrastia on a Latin inscription,⁸⁸ and the appearance of the *collegium utriculariorum*, which, outside of the Gallic region, is almost never attested (the only other mention is also from Dacia – CIL III, 1547 = IDR III, 272).

Tangentially the manuscript even draws attention to an unrelated monument (CIL III, 901) that lately was wrongly associated with Potaissa, but it comes from Apulum.

The biggest shortcoming of the count is that he did not (could not?) pinpoint the exact location of the findings, the term “at the border of the village” unfortunately is rather vague. One can presume that such important artefacts must have come from the civilian settlement or the auxiliary fort, situated in the south-western part of the modern village.

Naturally, after almost two centuries it is easy to smile at some of J. Kemény’s original ideas or to disregard the declared (or concealed) copied citations and thoughts of even older lexicons and dictionaries. But one must also appreciate that the count, though mainly interested in medieval history, made an effort to present these newly emerged finds the best way he could. Though probably in a different matter than what he might have imagined, but the posterity finally makes use of his hard work.

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⁸⁷ NEIGEBAUER 1851, 248.

⁸⁸ This is also the only inscription from Dacia that honours both an oriental deity and the *domus divina*, see CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010, 529; 938.

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APPENDIX 1: TRANSCRIPT OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF JÓZSEF KEMÉNY⁸⁹

Römische Alterthümer zu Mikháza in Siebenbürgen

„*Quid non longa dies, quid non consummitis anni*”

[1] Das Siebenbürgen, einstens ein Theil bewohnt, und bebauet wurde, ist allbekannt Daciens, durch den Kaiser Trajan erobert, in „Trajanus (sagt Eutropius Libr. VIII. Cap. 6) eine römische Provinz verwandelt, und durch victa Dacia, ex toto orbe romano infinitas eo römische Kolonisten beiläufig 170 Jahre lang copias hominum transtulerat ad agros, et urbes

⁸⁹ Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, Kemény, KJ 248, Miscellanea T. II. This transcript, done by dr. Ioan Dordea, represents the truthful reproduction of the manuscript. Kemény's side- and footnotes are marked by the signs «... » and the page numbers are marked with [..].

colendas.” «Die Eroberung Daciens wurde durch Trajan unter dem Consulat des Julius Candidus, und des A. Quadratus vollendet, als Trajan zum achten –und neuntenmal Volkstribun, zum vierten Imperator, und zum fünften Consul war, d(as) i(st) zwischen 105, und 106 nach Christi Geburt. Dieses wird bestätigt durch eine trajanische Münze mit der Umschrift „DAC.CAP.” (d(as).i(st). Dacia Capta) Siehe Eckhel „Doctr.Num.” VI. 418). – Zur römischen Provinz wurde Dacien verwandelt unter dem sechsten Consulat Trajans, und dem ersten des Sextius Africanus, als Trajan zum fünfzehnten, und sechzehntenmal Volkstribun, und zum sechsten Imperator war, d(as)i(st) zwischen 112, und 113 nach C(hristi). G(ebuhrt)., wie solches eine Trajanische Münze mit der Umschrift „DACIA. AVGVST.PROVINCIA” andeutet. Siehe Eckhel VI. 428. » Diese römische Provinz hatte eine Million Schritte, d(as).i(st) tausend englische, oder 200 geographische Meilen im Umfang „Ea provincia (sagt derselbe Eutropius) decies centena millia in circuitu tenet”, – und umfaßte nach der Bezeichnung des Geographen Ptolemaeus (edit. Colon.1597. p. 71) das gegenwärtige ganze Temeswarer Banat, Siebenbürgen nebst der Bukovina, und der südlichen Seite Galiciens, die Moldau so weit sie dem Pruth westlich liegt, und die Walachei. Sie word(en) von einem kaiserlichen Legaten unter dem Titel eines Proprätors regiert (Siehe Gruter p. 354. No 5). Gleich nach ihrer Eroberung wurden dort neue Strassen, und Festungen, in welche man starke Besatzungen legte, erbauet, und die neuen Pflanzorte, und besonders die Städte waren Militairkolonien, in welchen die Veteranen der Herre unterbracht wurden (Dio Cassius. Traj.cap. 14. – Eutrop VIII.3.4.)

Wir kennen zwar einige dieser durch die Römer in Siebenbürgen angelegten Kolonien, Städte, und Ansiedelungsorter, doch nicht alle, und auch nicht all’diejenigen heutigen Örter, wo einstens derlei römische Ansiedelungen lagen, auch – werden oft unzweifelhaft römische Alterthümer in solchen Gegenden Siebenbürgens gefunden, allwo die einstige Existenz einer uns bis jezt noch ganz unbekanntem römischen Ansiedelung(en) nur einziglich durch den zufälligen Fund derlei Alterthümer mehr gehahnet,

als erwiesen werden kann. Zu solchen Gegenden rechne ich unter andern, auch zu Mikháza in Siebenbürgen.

[2] Mikháza ist ein Dorf des Maroscher- Sekler- Stuhls, am linken Ufer des kleinen Flußes Nyárád, beiläufig fünf Stunden von der Stadt Maros-Vásárhely, und von dem Fluß Maros entfernt, – es wird durch die Dörfer Kószvénes, Kendő, und Deményháza begrenzt, und liegt in der Nähe des höchsten Berges des Maroscher Stuhls, Bekecs genannt, auf welchem noch im J(ahre) 1787, als Anton Bartalis sein Werk: „Ortus, et progressus imperii Romanorum in Dacia mediterranea. Posenii. 1787” schrieb, die Überreste einer angeblichen alten Römerburg sichtbar waren „Extant (sagt Bartalis Seite 56) non plane uno, a vico Mikeháza lapida vasta satis rudera aedificiorum ad radicem, qui versus Maiaam (ein Dorf in der Nähe von Mikháza) exurgit, montis, sed et fundamenta domorum alveum praeterfluentis Nyárád (fluvii) despiciente, spectare licet”. – 1817 im Sommer bereisete diese Gegend H. Joseph Ercsei, Geometer des Thordaer Komitats in der Absicht: die Trümmer dieser vermeinten Römerburg aufzufinden, und solche zu besichtigen, allein was er dort fand, und sah, war viel zu wenig, um daraus etwas bestimmt schließen zu können, und ich lasse daher seine eigenen Worte, die er in ungarischer Sprache in „Nemzeti Társalkodo 1830.” Seite 411 drucken ließ, hier folgen, „Diese Burg ist durch die eiserne Hand der Zeit bereits vernichtet, und nur ein Sitz- förmiges Etwas, vielleicht ein auszuhauener Stein, einige mit Gras bewachsene Mauerruinen, und einige Schanzen-förmige Schichtungen der Erde erhalten noch die Erinnerung an eine Burg, deren Flächeninhalt 4, bis 5 Joch ausgemacht haben mag, –über die äußern Form, und Gestaltung dieser Burg vermag ich nichts zu sagen.” Es scheint daher, daß für die einstige Existenz einer, in der Nähe von Mikháza gestandenen alten Römerburg, oder Kolonie heut zu Tage nichts anderes, als nur eine durch die Sekler der dortigen Gegend erhaltene mündliche Sage, oder Überlieferung, und einige kaum bestimmbareren Ruinen sprechen, über welche derselbe H. Joseph Ercsei (ebendort Seite 410) folgendes berichtete: „Zwischen Mikháza und Deményháza, an

der Landstraße, näher zu Mikháza, als zu [3] Deményháza, ist das Fundament eines runden kleinen Gebäudes sichtbar, welches einstens aus Stein, und Ziegel erbauet war, die Ziegel führen aber kein Legionszeichen. In der Nähe dieses Fundaments waren einige dickere Geschiercherben zerstreut zu finden; diese können etwa einstens Aschengefäße gewesen sein, und es konnte folglich hier ein römischer Gottesacker, und das in der Nähe befindliche kleine Gebäude ein Opferort gewesen sein”.

Wenn indessen aber bis jetzt auch kein hinlänglicher Beweis für die einstige Existenz irgend einer zu Mikháza, oder in dessen Nähe bestandenen Kolonie, oder sonstigen Ansiedelung(en) der Römer geführt, und entdeckt werden konnte. So scheint es doch so ziemlich gewieß zu sein, daß einstens durch Mikháza eine Römerstraße ging, denn solche war im J(ahre) 1787, als Anton Bartalis sein eben benanntes Werk schrieb, in ganz Siebenbürgen nirgends so deutlich erkennbar, und sichtlich, als gerade auf dem Gebiete der nahe an einander liegenden Dörfer Szent-Márton, Csikfalva, Buzaháza, und Mikháza “Extant (sagt Bartalis Seite 25) equidem in Dacia nostra (Siebenbürgen) elegantissima, admirandaque planae viarum romanarum vestigia, quippe ab Ulpia Trajana (heute Várhely im Hatzeger-Thal) viae geminae excurrunt, una Valachiam versus in vicinorum montium angustis desinens; altera magnifica, e lapidibus nimirum in quadrum dolatis complanata, Sargetii amnis ripas praeterlegens, versus Apulum (heute Karlsburg) se extendit, unde geminae iterum propagantur, quarum una Claudiopolin, * «Eine kurze Strecke dieser Römerstraße von Thorda an gegen Klausenburg zu, bin ich selbst in meiner Jugend gefahren, – sie wurde vernichtet, als von Thorda aus nach Klausenburg eine neue Kommercialstraße angelegt wurde, bei welcher Gelegenheit, nicht weit vom Gipfel des fast an Klausenburg an, sich erhebenden Berges Felek, das Mittelstück einer römischen Kupfer tafel mit Inschrift gefunden wurde (Siehe Hermayers Archiv 1828. Seite 322) und dieser Fund scheint anzuzeigen, daß die alte Römerstraße von Thorda aus nach Klausenburg, den niederseitigen Rücken des Berges Felek berührt habe, obschon übrigens Herr Abt Johan Szabo in

seinem werthvollen Werk „A Szentirás, és a természet szava, Kolosvárt. 1803” Seite 25 aus geognostischen Gründen behauptet: diese Römerstraße sei nicht durch den Berg Felek, sondern durch das Thal bei Ród geführt worden. » alia vero transmisso [4] fluvio Aurario (Aranyos) ad Forum Sicularum (Maros Vásárhely) ducit. ** «Eine Strecke dieser Römerstraße ist auch noch heute zwischen Gerend (wo ich gegenwärtig diese Zeilen schreibe) und M. Kocsárd nicht nur sichtbar, sondern auch noch fahrbar. » Haec uno infra Forum Sicularum lapide, a vico nimirum Nárádtó, ubi fluvius cognominis in Marusium sese exonerat, in orientem vergit, inque agris pagorum Szent Márton, Csikfalva, Buzaháza usque Mikháza longe amoenius, ac alibi uspiam conspicua est,” und Seite 55: „Nullibi, etiam si totam pererraverit Transilvaniam, reperias viae romanae splendidiora, vividioraque vestigio, quam ad Mikházam.” Diese so deutliche, und noch so sichtbare Spur einer Römerstraße zu Mikháza existierte noch 1794, als J.C. Engel seine „Commentatio de expeditionibus Trajani ad Danubium- Vindobonae 1794” schrieb, denn er wiederholt Seite 234 fürwörtlich die Worte des Bartalis, indem er schreibt: „Ab Apulo (Karlsburg) geminae iterum viae propagantur, quarum una Claudiopolin, alia vero transmisso fluvio Aurato (Aranyos), sive Chrysio (unrichtig), ad Forum Sicularum (Maros Vásárhely) ducit. Haec uno infra Forum Sicularum lapide, a vico nimirum Nyárádtó, ubi fluviolus in Marusium se exonerat, in orientem vergit, inque agris pagorum Szent Márton, Csikfalva, Buzaháza usque Mikházam longe amoenius, ac alibi uspiam conspicua est”.

Allein der Zahn der Zeit, und besonders die menschliche Unachtsamkeit mußte auch hier, namentlich seit 1787, und 1794 gewaltige Verrichtungen herbeigeführt haben, denn al im J(ahre) 1817 der oft benannte H(err) Joseph Ercsei diese Gegend bereisete, waren diese, im J(ahre) 1787 noch so deutliche Spuren einer Römerstraße bereits schon fast verloschen, denn derselbe berichtet in „Nemzeti Társalkodó. 1830.” Seite 409: „Ich durchging in kurzer Zeit die Dörfer Jobbágyfalva, Csikfalva, und Szent Márton, fand aber keine Spur irgend einer Römerstraße. Oberhalb Szent Márton bis

Buzaháza sind hie, und da einige straßenförmige Schichtungen sichtbar, ich habe jedoch keinen Grund zu behaupten, daß diese Schichtungen Überreste einer Römerstraße wären. Von Buzaháza an, über Deményháza, in gerader Richtung bis nach Mikháza [5] befindet sich eine Strecke einer erhöhten Straße, welche, der Überlieferung Tradition nach, ein Überrest einer alten Römerstraße ist, sie ist aber nicht mit gehauenen Steinmaßen, wie z(um) B(eispiel) bei Karlsburg, sondern mit Kieselsteinen des Flußes Nyárád unterlegt". Indessen mag sich Ercsei, der mit der römischen Straßenbauart weniger bekannt zu sein scheint, hier geirrt haben, denn es ist ja bekannt, daß die Römerstraßen nicht immer nur Mauerwerk waren, dessen behauene Steine mit einem sich allmählig versteinerten, aus Tuffstein bereitetem Mörtel verkittet wurden, sondern daß die Römer in Ermanglung größerer Steinmassen ihre Straßen oft auch aus Kieselsteinen erbauten. Der allerdings sachkundige Archaeolog Ackner berichtete noch im J(ahre) 1845 über die oben erwähnte Straße folgendes: „die Strecke (der Römerstraße) im Maroscher Stuhle von Jobbágyfalva bis Mikháza hatte sich bis jetzt trefflich erhalten, soll jedoch nun auch größtenteils zerstört sein, indem man das mit Fleiß, und Mühe zusammengelegte Material, welches durch seine Festigkeit so vielen Jahrhunderten trotzte, auflockerte, und zur Verbesserung neuer Wege benützte" (Siehe „Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde I. B. 3 Heft" Seite 19). Diese Römerstraße war einstens eben so aus Kieselsteinen erbaut, als jene ebenfals Römerstraße, welche noch heut zu Tage zwischen M. Kocsárd, und Gerend existirt, und welche aus dicht an einander gepflasterten Kieselsteinen des Flußes Aranyos besteht, – Diese Kieselsteine sind aber so dicht, und so stark in Sand, und Erde eingekeulet, daß sie durch kein Regenwasser, Koth, oder Übergewicht einer Fahrlast locker gemacht werden können. Übrigens aber beschreibt Stephan Zamoscius in seinem bereits schon äußerst selten gewordenen Werk: „Analecta lapidum vetustorum, et nonnullarum in Dacia antiquitatum. Patavii. 1593" Seite 77 die Beschaffenheit der zu seiner Zeit, folglich im J(ahre) 1593 in Siebenbürgen noch vorhandenen häufigen Römerstraßen mit folgenden Worten:

„Praeter oppidorum autem ruinas, viarum quoque monumenta multa in Dacia conspiciuntur, quae admirando plane eperere, totam, quam longa est, Transilvaniam transmittunt. Nec vero illae, uti nunc solent urbium pavimenta sterni, caementis tantum sabulo glareaque inculcatis [6] munitae spectantur, sed quibusdam in locis, addita etiam calce, ita solide silices (Kieselsteine) sunt ferruminatae, ut a tanta vetustate aboleri penitus adhuc non potuerint". Dann Seite 78: „A Salinis (heute Thorda) quoque geminae utrinque propagantur viae, quarum altera transmissio fluvio, qui oppidum proxime alluit, rectae Forum Siculorum (nach Maros-Vásárhely) tendit, campos Mari (Maros) fluvii ubique praeterradens." (Als Fortsetzung dieser Straße, ist jene zu Mikháza zu betrachten.) Und endlich Seite 29: „Nec vero loca ista ideo silicibus (Kieselsteine) strata fuerunt, quod campi caenosa alluvie defaediti, transituris curribus difficilem viam praebuissent, hoc enim incommodo non usque adeo laborat Regio, cum cliuosa sit tota, calculosaque glarea referta, quam ut hac quoque in re magnificentiam romani nominis Coloniae praeseferrent".

Mögen indessen aber die oben erwähnten Spuren einer Römerstraße bei Mikháza immerhin auch zweifelhaft sein, so wurden doch in diesem Sommer (1847) auf dem Hatter des soeben genannten Dorfers bei der Grebung einer Schantze, folgende, unzweifelhaft römische Überreste zufällig gefunden:

I. ein 2 ½ Schuh hoher, und 2 Schuh breiter Stein mit einer römischen Aufschrift,

II. vier Stück römische Münzen, und

III. einige römische Geräthschaften

Diese Münzen, und Geräthschaften sind gegenwärtig in meinem Besitz, der oberwähnte Stein aber (da derselbe auf der oberen Breitenfläche eine künftige Vertiefung hatte, welche anzudeuten scheint, daß auf diesem Stein einstens etwa eine Statue befestigt gewesen sein) wurde durch die Finder, in der Hoffnung: in der erwähnten Vertiefung verborgenes Geld zu finden, so jämmerlich verstümmelt, und zerschlagen, daß die darauf befindliche Aufschrift nur «aus den Trümmern der Steinstücke, und nur mit genauer Mühe erst durch mich » entziffert werden konnte.

Da dieser ganze Fund, einzeln genommen

nicht ohne archaeologischen Werth zu sein scheinet, und da aus demselben, in Bezug auf die alte Geschichte Siebenbürgens doch so manche Folgerungen gemacht werden können, so [7] verdient er wohl einen kleinen archaeologischen Kommentar, den ich hier nach der Reihe der gefundenen Gegenstände beifüge.

I. Steinschrift

Die Aufschrift des besagten Steines ist folgende:

INHDD
ADRASTIAE
COLLEG
VIRICLARIORUM
SF

Der Sinn dieser Steinschrift ist:

In Honorem Divinae Domus
Adrastiae,
Collegium
Utriclariorum
Sacrum Fecit

Das „DD“ in der ersten Zeile der obigen Steinschrift, kömmt in römischen Steinschriften sehr häufig vor, und wird durch Archaeologen einstimmig für „Divina Domus“ gelesen, und deutet ein irgend einer Gottheit geweihtes Haus, d(as) i(st) einen Tempel an, und zwar in dieser Steinschrift den Tempel der Göttin Adrastia. Die Römer, die sehr geneigt waren ihre Kaiser zu vergöttern, gebrauchten die Worte „Divina Domus“ übrigens auch zur Benennung der kaiserlichen Familie daher sang einstens Phaedrus Libr. V. fab 7. „Superbiens honorem vidit divinae domus“ und daher fügt Laurent: diesen Worten folgenden Kommentar bei: „Divinae Domus, id est: Augustae, imperatoriae, principalis“.

„Adrastia“, auch Adrastea genannt, war nach Plutarch: die Tochter des Jupiter, und der Nothwendigkeit, und nach Ammian war selbe die Schiedsrichterin der guten sowohl, als auch der bösen Handlungen, folglich eine Göttin der Gerechtigkeit übrigens aber war Adrastia auch nur ein Beinahme der Göttin Nemesis, d(as) i(st) der Vollzieherin der göttlichen Rache „Haec, et hujus modi quaedam innumerabilia

(sagt Ammian Libr. XIV. cap. XI) ultrix facinorum [8] impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrice aliquoties operatur Adastria, atque utinam semper; quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus“. Übrigens wurde die Nemesis dann und wann auch für die Göttin Fortuna genommen, wie solches aus einem alten römischen Steinschrift bei Gruter, Seite LXXX N-ro 1 zu ersehen ist, welche so beginnt:

DEAE NEMESI
SIVE FORTVNAE u(nd) s(o) w(eiter)

„Collegium“ nannten die Römer gewisse Corporationen von Personen, die einerlei Zweck, und Verrichtungen hatten, und unter, und für sich eine eigene Klasse bildeten. Zu solchen Corporationen wurden nicht nur religiöse, oder politische, sondern auch andere Bruderschaften, besonders Zünfte, und Innungen gezählt. Dergleichen Vereine fanden sich nicht nur zu Rom, und in den andern Städten Italiens, sondern auch in den römischen Prowinzen, und folglich auch in Dacien; sie hatten ihre eigenen Schutzgotheiten, Feste, Aufzüge, Vorrechte, und Vorgesetzten. Die Einrichtung dieser Innungen schreibt Florus I.6. dem Servius Tullius, Plutarch aber dem Numa Pompilius zu, indem er in dessen Lebensbeschreibung (Num.17) hierüber folgendes berichtet: „Divisit civitatem per artes tibicinum, aurificum, fabrum tinctorum, sutorum, coriariorum, aerariorum, figulorum, reliquas artes in unum coegit, fecitque ex omnibus corpus unum, et unicuique generi suos peculiares conventus, et religiones praescipit, adeoque tum primum sustulit ex urbe eam diversitatem, qua alii Romani, alii Sabini, alii Tatii, hi Romuli censebantur, suaque divisione id consecutus est, ut omnibus cum omnibus conveniret“. Endlich aber wurden sie theilweise abgeschafft, weil sie Unruhen in Staate erregten.

Das Wort „Viriclariorum“ in der vierten Zeile der obigen Steinschrift hat keinen Sinn, es ist daher zu muthmaßen, daß entweder der damalige Steinmetz irgend einen Buchstaben aus Unachtsamkeit ausgelassen, oder verschrieben habe; oder aber, daß die Steinschrift ursprünglich zwar durch den Steinmetz ganz richtig in Stein gehauen, mit der

Zeit aber irgend ein Buchstab derselben Steinschrift zufällig in einen andern Buchstaben dadurch verwandelt [9] worden sei, daß irgend ein Bestandtheil des betreffenden Buchstabens durch den nagenden Zahn der Zeit verwittert, abgestoßen, abgewierben, oder sonst wie immer vernichtet wurde. Solcher Metamorphose ist besonders das T leicht ausgesetzt, denn sollte der obere Querstrich desselben zufällig vernichtet werden, so wird aus dem T ein I. Auf diese säufig mögliche Verwandlung des T in I hat bereits schon Caspar Scioppius „De arte critica“ Seite 49 die gelehrte Welt aufmerksam gemacht, und nachgewiesen, daß solcher Metamorphose zu Folge in einer Stelle des Catullus statt „Saltus“, „Salius“, in einer andern das Plautus, statt „altus“ – „alius“, und statt „sicut animus sperat“ – „si cui animus sperat“ ganz irrig gelesen worden sei. Eben derselben zufälligen Verwandlung erlag ein T auch in der vierten Zeile der obigen Steinschrift, allwo ursprünglich das Wort „VTRICLARIORVM“ stand, indem aber der zweite Buchstab dieses Wortes, nämlich das T seinen oberen Querstrich zufällig einbüßte, verwandelte sich das ganze Wort in „VIRICLARIORVM“.

„Utriclarius“, oder „Utricularius“ erscheint bei den alten römischen Schriftstellern nur einmal, und zwar nur bei Suetonius „in vita Neronius“ cap. 54, in alten römischen Steinschriften aber, namentlich bei Gruter nur sechsmal, als: Seite 413. Nro 4, Seite 428 Nro 10. Seite 448 Nro 5. Seite 483 Nro 1. Seite 547 Nro 8. Seite 649 Nro 7. einmal bei Reinesius Class XI Nro 36 und einmal bei Sponius „Miscell. eruditae Antiqua“ Seite 61, eben daher mag es folglich kommen, daß die Meinung über die Bedeutung dieses Wortes verschieden sei, indeme einige behaupten: Utriclarii, oder Utricularii wären Schiffsleute, deren Schiffe aus Schläuchen gemacht waren; andere: sie wären Sackpfeifenfabrikanten, und andere: sie wären Tonkünstler gewesen, die auf derlei Sackpfeifen bliesen. Die Beschaffenheit der damaligen Sackpfeifen theilt uns übrigens Pignorius „Comment. de Servis“ Seite 162, und Sponius „Miscell. erud. Antiqua“ Seite 310 mit.

Das Stammwort des Wortes Utriclarius, oder Utricularius ist ganz gewiß das Wort Uter, das einen aus Leder verfertigten Schlauch bedeutet.

Derlei Schläuche wurden aber im grauen Alterthum gebraucht [10]:

a) um darinnen Wasser, Oel, Wein, oder andere Flüssigkeiten aufzubewahren, oder leichter transportieren zu können „Utrarii, sagt Livius, utribus afferunt aquam“.

b) Um sie aufzublasen, solche dann als Schiffe zu gebrauchen, und somit Leute, und Kriegsvolk über einen Fluß zu setzen. So berichtet z(um) B(eispiel) Florus Libr. III c.s. „Lucullus, horribile dictu, per medias hostium naves, utre suspensus, et pedibus iter adgubernans, videntibus procul, quasi marina pistrix evaserat“. Hieher gehört auch folgende Stelle des Frontinus „Stratag.L.III.c. 13“. „Lucullus militem e suis, sciolum nandi, et nauticae peritum jussit insidentem duobus inflatis utribus, literas insutas habentibus, quae ab inferiore parte duabus regulis inter se distantibus commiserat, ire septem millium passum trajectum. Quod ita perite gregalis fecit, ut crucibus velut gubernaculis dimissis, cursum dirigeret.“ Dasselbe beschreibt auch Salustius mit folgenden Worten: „Duos quam maximos utres levi tabulae subjecit, qua super omni corpore quietus, in vicem tractu pedis, quasi gubernator existeret“.

c) um damit Musik zu machen, daher schrieb der H. Hieronymus an Dardanus: „Antiquis temporibus fuit Chorus simplex pellis cum duabus cicutis aercis, et per primam inspiratur, secunda sonum emittit“. – und Suetonius „Vita Neronis“ cap. 54 sagt: „sub exitu quidem vitae (Nero) palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permanserit, proditurum se, parta victoria, ludis, etiam Hydraulam (Hydraulum war eine Art von Orgel, – Hydraula war daher eine Art von Orgelspieler) et Choraulam (Choraulum war ein Blasinstrument), et Utricularium, ac novissimo die histrionem saltatarum Virgilii Turnum.“ Daß hier unter „Utricularius“ wirklich ein Blastonkünstler zu verstehen sei, wird auch aus einer Stelle des Dive Chrysostomus „oratio de Philosopho“ ersichtlich, in welcher derselbe über Nero folgendes schreibt: „Perhibent eundem (Neronem) eximium esse fistulis canendo, eoque, ut ori, et axillis utrem dextre admoveat, et subjiciat“. Daher mag es denn auch kommen, daß Sertorius Ursatus „Comment [11] de notis Romanorum“ Seite 176 folgendes behauptet:

„Utriclarios, hoc est Utricularios scio fuisse, et esse illos, qui canunt tibiis applicitis utriculo, quae tibiae utriculares sunt appellatae. Unde Nero, teste Suetonio cap. 54. noverat, se proditurum hydraulam, et choraulam, et utricularium”.

Indessen ist es aber doch auffallend, daß erstens in den meisten alten römischen Steinschriften, die Gruter uns mittheilet, die Utricularii in der Gesellschaft der Klasse der Schiffsleute erwähnt werden, und das zweitens eben dieselben Steinschriften in Städten gefunden wurden welche in der Nähe irgend eines größeren Flusses liegen. Dieser Umstand mag daher zwei berühmte Archaeologen Reinesius, und Sponius bewogen haben, zu behaupten: Utricularii, oder Utriclarii wären eine Art Schiffsleute gewesen, denn Reinesius „Syntagma inscript. Antigua” Seite 621 sagt: „Utricularii sunt, qui rem naviculariam exercent, et nautis plerumque junctos legi”, und Sponius „Miscell. Erud. Antiq” Seite 61 schreibt: „Utricularii erant nautarum species sicut et lenuncularii, et lintrarii, a variis navicularum formis nomen desumptes”, und Seite 238 „Utricularii erant nautarum species, ita dicti ab utriculis, sive naviculis in utris formam fabrefactis, unde saepissime in antiquis lapidibus cum naviculariis, et lenunculariis conjunguntur”.

Ob nun aber auf der zu Mikháza ausgegrabenen alten römischen Steinschrift, unter dem Worte „Utriclariorum” Sackpfeifer, oder Sackpfeifenfabrikanten, oder aber eine Art Schiffsleute zu verstehen sei ? ist mit Bestimmtheit schwer zu entscheiden, indessen muthmasse ich aber doch, letztere darunter nicht verstehen zu dürfen, da Mikháza keinen schiffbaren Fluß hat, und folglich kaum zu glauben ist, daß dort je eine Bruderschaft (Collegium) irgend einer römischen Schiffeultklasse ansässig gewesen wäre; indessen aber können römische Sackpfeifenfabrikanten einstens zu Mikháza immerhin eine eigene Innung gehabt haben, und dieses muthmassen zu dürfen, berechtigt mich vielleicht der Umstand, daß die Göttin Adrastia, oder Nemesis auf römischen Steinschriften (wie solches bereits schon früher angezeigt worden) auch für die Göttin des Glückes (Fortuna) gehalten wurde, und daß folglich die einstens zu Mikháza ansässigen Sackpfeifenfabrikanten

[12] ein mit ihrem Fabrikate etwa glücklich ausgeführter Handel veranlaßt haben konnte, die oben erwähnte Steinschrift der ihnen so günstigen Glücksgöttin verfertigen zu lassen. Daß aber übrigens die römischen Kolonisten Daciens einstens einen bedeutenden, und ausgebreiteten Handel trieben, ist auch aus dem Umstande ersichtlich, daß in Siebenbürgen mit den römischen Münzen zugleich auch gleichzeitige Münzen der Nachbarprovinzen häufig gefunden werden.

„Sacrum fecit” deutet die, durch die römischen Utricularios zur Ehre des Tempels der Göttin Adrastia veranlaßte Weisung der oben beschriebenen steinernen Dankplatte an.

Da nun aber diese Steinplatte, und Steinschrift zu Mikháza samt einigen alten römischen Münzen, und Geräthschaften ausgegraben wurde, so kann man nicht ganz ohne allen Grund behaupten, daß zu Mikháza zur Zeit der Römerherrschaft in Siebenbürgen ein Tempel der Göttin Adrasia stand, – daß damals eben dort die römischen Sackpfeifenfabrikanten, die mit ihrem Fabrikate wahrscheinlich einen ergiebigen Handel treiben, eine eigene Innung hatten, und daß folglich Mikháza zu jener Zeit durch Römer bewohnt worden sei.

II. Münzen

Wurden zu Mikháza folgende gefunden:

1) eine Kupfermünze von der Größe eines Sechskreuzerstückes, mit folgender Umschrift der Vorderseite: „IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA”, in der Mitte der Kopf der Mamana, Mutter des Kaisers M.A. Severus Alexander, der vom J(ahre) 221 bis 235 regierte. Auf der mit grünlichen Kupferrost umzogenen Rückseite ist die Umschrift aber fast ganz erloschen, indem nur der erste, und letzte Buchstab der Umschrift, nämlich ein V, und A leserlich blieben. Das Mittelbild dieser Rückseite zeigt eine stehende Frau, die in der rechten Hand einen kleinen Cupido, oder eine Victoria, in der linken aber einen länglichen Stab hält. Da bei Eckhel „Doct. Num.” VII. 287.288, Rasche „Lex” III. 144.145, und Arneth „Synops. Num. Rom.” S(eite) 148 keine Münze der Mamaea erscheint, welche auf der Rückseite eine mit V beginnende, und mit

A endigende Umschrift hätte, so dürfte diese Münze allerdings einen numismatischen Werth haben. [13]

2) Eine kleine Kupfermünze mit der auf Vorderseite halbleserlichen Umschrift: „..... TRAI. DECIVS. AVG.“. In der Mitte das strahlenförmig gekrönte Haupt des Kaisers Decius, der vom J(ahre) 249 bis 251 regierte. Auf der Rückseite ist die Umschrift, den letzten Buchstaben, der ein C oder G ist, ausgenommen, ganz unleserlich. Das Mittelbild, bestehend aus einer stehenden weiblichen Figur, die in der rechten Hand einen gesenkten Kranz, in der linken aber einen abwärts stehenden Stab zu halten scheint, ist ebenfalls durch den Zahn der Zeit stark verwischt; so viel ist indessen aber gewiß, daß dieses Mittelbild auf keine derjenigen Umschriften paßt, welche Eckhel VII. 342–345, Rasche II, 87–88, und Arneth S(eite) 158–159 angiebt, folglich dürfte auch diese Münze zu den weniger bekannten gehören.

3) Eine kleine Kupfermünze mit der auf der Vorderseite leserlichen Umschrift: „IMP. GALIENVS. AVG.“. In der Mitte des strahlenförmig gekrönte Haupt des Kaisers Gallienus, der vom J(ahre) 254 bis 268 regierte. Die Umschrift der Rückseite lautet: „LIBERO. P. CONS. AVG.“. In der Mitte ein Pantherthier.

4) Ein Fragment einer kleinen Kupfermünze mit der halben Umschrift auf der Vorderseite: „IMP. C. CLAVDIVS.....“. In der Mitte des strahlenförmig gekrönte Haupt des Kaiser Claudius Gothicus, der vom J(ahre) 268 bis 270 regierte. Das Fragment der Umschrift der Rückseite lautet: „..... IVS. EXERC....“ (Genius Exercitus). In der Mitte ein stehender Genius.

Nach dem Tode des soeben benannten Kaiser Claudius, der zu Sirmium in Pannonien im J(ahre) 270 an der Pest starb, und nach einer darauf erfolgten 17 tätigen Regierung des Kaiser Quintillus, folgte in der Regierung Kaiser Aurelianus, der letzte römisch-dacische Oberherr, der zwar die Gothen, und Barbaren, die ganz Moesien, und Illyrien verwüsteten, und Dacien stets gewaltig beunruhigten, anfänglich besiegte, doch endlich die Hoffnung: Dacien, welches Trajan vor 170 Jahren eroberte, und zu einer römischen Provinz umschuf, länger behaupten zu können, aufgeben mußte. Er zog beiläufig im

J(ahre) 274 die römischen Kolonien, und Truppen aus Dacien [14] heraus, und übersetzte sie zwischen dem beiden Moesien, d(as) i(st) zwischen das heutige Bosnien, und Bulgarien, auf das linke Ufer der Donau, welche Landesstrecke dann zu einer neuen römischen Provinz, unter der Benennung das Aurelianischen Daciens umgestaltet wurde, und hiemit war das alte Trajanische Dacien, folglich auch das heutige Siebenbürgen, den Gothen, und Barbaren preisgegeben. Dieses berichten Eutropius, indem er „Brev. Hist. Rom. Libr. IX sagt: „Provinciam Daciam, quam Trajanus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermisit (dereliquit), vastatoque omni Illirico, et Moesia, desperans eam posse retinere: adductorque Romanos ex urbibus, et agris Daciae, in media Moesia collocavit, appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit, et est in dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in laeva“. Und Vopiscus „Hist. Aug. Script. Lugd. Bat. 1671“ Tom II 523: „Provinciam trans Danubium Daciam a Trajano constitutam, sublato exercitu, et provincialibus, reliquit“.

Nach dieser Erzählung römischer Schriftsteller scheint zwar die Preisgebung des Trajanischen Daciens, und die Übersiedelung der römischen Kolonien, und Truppen auf das linke Donauufer in gehöriger Ordnung, und Ruhe, vorsichgegangen zu sein, allein, daß sowohl diese Preisgebung, als auch die Übersiedelung zu Folge einer ganz unverhofften, durch die Barbaren gewagten, und siegreich ausgeführten Überrumpelung, in der größten Eile, und Unordnung von Seite der Römer geschehen sei, ergethet aus dem höchst merkwürdigen Umstand, daß in dem meisten Örtern Siebenbürgens, wo bekanntlich einstens römische Kolonien, Städte, und Ansiedelungen waren, die deutlichen Spuren einer durch die Römer ganz unerhofft erlittenen gewaltigen Überrumpelung, Plünderung, und Vertreibung, auch noch heut zu Tage zu finden sind. Zu diesen Spuren rechne ich:

a) das so häufige Auffinden unzähliger Röermünzen jener Zeit in zerstreuten Massen; denn hätten die Römer das Trajanische Dacien, und folglich auch Siebenbürgen im J(ahre) 274 in aller Ordnung, und Ruhe verlassen können, so würden sie gewiß so viel Geld zerstreut nicht

[15] zurückgelassen, sondern solches mit sich genommen haben. Die große Zahl, und Maße derlei in Siebenbürgen fast zu jeder Zeit ausgegrabenen Römermünzen läßt sich leicht ermeßen, wenn man dasjenige beachtet, was der im XVI Jahrhundert lebende Zamoscius in seinem Werk „Analecta lap” über derlei, noch zu seiner Zeit in Siebenbürgen so häufig aufgefundenen Römermünzen berichtet, und wenn man berücksichtigt, daß ich, bloß aus jenen Römermünzen, welche seit 6, 7 Jahren zu Thorda (zur Zeit der Römerherrschaft Salinae genannt) zugleich, theilweise, und zerstreut ausgegraben wurden, eine Münzsammlung von vielen 100 Stücken zusammen bringen konnte. Derlei Münzen werden aber nicht nur zu Thorda, sondern auch zu Karlsburg (Apulum der Römer), zu Várhely (Ulpia Trajana) u(nd) s(o) w(eiter) fast bei jeder Grabung, und Umarbeitung der Erde gefunden.

b) Hiezu rechne ich auch die eben nicht seltene Ausgrabung solcher römischen Steinarbeiten, auf welchen die begonnenen, allein nicht vollendeten Steinschriften, und Bildhauereinen anzudeuten scheinen, daß der Künstler an der Vollendung seiner Arbeit unverhofft gehindert worden sei; so besitze ich z(um) B(eispiel) einen zu Karlsburg (Apulum) vor 2 Jahren zufällig ausgegrabenen Mystrasstein, auf welchen die Linien noch deutlich zu ersehen sind, zwischen welchen der damalige Bildhauer die dazu gehörige Steinschrift, deren Anfangszüge durch ihn hie und da nur leicht angedeutet wurden, einhauen wollte.

c) Hiezu zähle ich endlich die, an dem Orte, wo einstens römische Kolonien standen, so häufig aufgefundenen verbrannten Gegenstände jener Zeit, so wurden z(um) B(eispiel) zu Várhely (Ulpia Trajana) zu Thorda (Salinae) u(nd) s(o) w(eiter) häufige Massen verbrannter, und im verbrannten Zustande nach so vielen Jahrhunderten zu Stein gewordener Frucht ausgegraben.

All diese Umstände zusammen genommen, und das Zeugniß der alten römischen Geschichtschreiber, die selbst unverhohlen berichten, daß das trajanische Dacien, besonders unter Kaiser Claudius Gothicus, und Aurelian, durch die [16] Gothen, und Barbaren fast

unausgesetzt, und stets heftig beunruhiget, und überfallen worden sei, lassen füglich schließen, daß die Römer, zu Folge eines unwiderstehlichen, und ganz unverhofften Überfalles, in der größten Unordnung, und Eile, und ohne Zeit gehabt zu haben, ihre Sachen retten, und mitnehmen zu können, Dacien verlassen mußten, und daß folglich Aurelian nicht zu Folge einer weisen Vorsichtsmaßregel, sondern ganz unverhofft gezwungen, den überfallenen, und aus Dacien durch Gothen, und Barbaren rasch vertriebenen römischen Kolonien eine andere Heimath anweisen mußte.

Wenn die, in der „Illustrierten Zeitung” 1847 Nro 188 edirte, und vielseitig kommentirte, angeblich zu Thorda ausgegrabene, und nun in meinem Besitze befindliche, aus Kupfer gegossene Sphinx «und ihre so abentheuerlich entzifferte Aufschrift in den Nummern 200, 212, 218 und 221 derselben Zeithschrift » nicht ein trägerisches Machwerk neuerer Zeit wäre, und wenn folglich der durch H. Thalson in derselben Zeitung, mit der Fülle einer höchstgewagten poetischen Lizenz prangenden Entzifferung derselben Aufschrift, zu trauen wäre, so würde auch diese Sphinx meine oben geäußerte Meinung bekräftigen; da aber der, dieser kupfernen Sphinx künstlich aufgetragene, und mehr Pulver- als Patina =artig daran nur klebende grüne Rost, – und da ferner der, nur all’zu gut erhaltene, und vom Roste fast gar nicht angegriffene eisern untere Nagel derselben, – und da endlich das unsinnige Gemisch hetrurischer, und vermeintlicher hunnischer Buchstaben in der Aufschrift dieser Sphinx, nur all’zu deutlich verrathen, daß dieselbe nie in der Erde lag, und durchaus kein Alterthum so vieler Jahrhunderte sein könne, so kann diese Sphinx, und ihre Aufschrift nie zu irgend einen Beweise dienen, und gebraucht werden.

III. Gerätschaften

Wurden zufällig im Sommer 1847 zu Mikháza folgende ausgegraben:

a) eine, 3 Zoll lange, und fast schon ganz aus Eisenrost bestehende Pfeilspitze (Telum). Es ist zwar bekannt, daß die Grichen wenig, die Römer aber auf Pfeil, und Bogen, als Kriegswaffen, gar

nicht hielten, es ist aber indessen [17] doch gewiß, daß auch die Römer diese Waffen gebrauchten, denn in den XII Gesetztafeln der Römer heißt es ausdrücklich: „Qui noctu furtum faxit, aut interdiu telis se defenderit, eum domino cum clamore testificantis occidere jus esto. Si neque noctu, neque telo defendesprehendatur, virgis caesus, ei, cui furtum fecit, addictor”.

b) Ein Keilförmiges Werkzeug aus Bronze, 5 Zoll lang, und 2 Zoll breit, oben mit einer Vertiefung, um es an Holz, oder Eisen zu befestigen, und an der einen äußeren oberen Seite mit einem fest angemachten kleinen Ring versehen, um daran etwa eine kleine Kette, oder Schnur anzubringen. Dieses Werkzeug ist ganz ähnlich jenem, welches Montfacon „Antiquité” T.II. Tab. 188 abzeichnete, und über welches derselbe, Seite 339 folgendes sagt; „Scalprum, quo lapides poliebantur”. Übrigens werden solche Werkzeuge von verschiedener Größe, in Siebenbürgen fast überall, wo einstens Ansiedlungen der Römer waren, sehr häufig gefunden.

Diese Gerethschaften sowohl, als auch die bereits oben beschriebene Steinschrift, und

Münzen sind unzweifelhaft römische Alterthümer, und da solche zu Mikháza, wo auch noch die Überreste einer Römerstrasse kennbar sind, ausgegraben wurden, so darf man eben nicht ohne allen hinlänglichen Grund annehmen, daß dort zur Zeit der Römerherrschaft in Siebenbürgen, eine nicht unbedeutende Ansiedlung der Römer bestanden habe, da eben dort nicht nur die Göttin Adrasia ihren eigenen Tempel, sondern auch die damaligen römischen Sackpfeifenfabrikanten ihre eigene Innung hatten. Welchem Namen aber diese Ansiedlung zur Zeit der Römer geführt haben mag, ist schwer zu ermitteln, da, meiner speziellen Ansicht nach, weder die Peutingerische Tafel noch dasjenige, was Ptolemäus über einzelne römisch-dacischen Örter angedeutet hat, hiezu einen zuverlässigen Anhaltspunkt darzureichen vermag, – indessen wäre ich doch fast geneigt: zu Mikháza das einstige Napoca, oder Octaviana der Römer zu suchen. Vielleicht werden weitere Nachgrabungen mit der Zeit hierüber zuverlässigere Resultate liefern.

Graf Joseph Kemeny

APPENDIX 2: TRANSCRIPT OF KURZ'S NOTES AND CORRECTIONS⁹⁰

[1] Zu Seite 1. „unter dem Consulat des Julius Candidus” – in Weisskirch? nach Katancsich II.p.251 CCXL ist ein Denkstein mit dem Namen Aurelius Candidus gefunden worden. Der H(err) Graf finden die Inschrift p. 9 der beikommanden ersten Bogen des Neigebourischen Werks

Zu Seite 3. – Die in der Note „durch den Berg Felek” vielleicht wäre richtiger gesagt: über den Berg etc. Zeile 12 von oben statt gewieß „gewis”, statt gieng „ging”

Zu Seite 4 – Die Note **). Hier konnten der Herr Graf erwähnen, daß eine noch sehr gut sichtbare Römerstrasse bei Horosztos vorbei nach Thorda zu führen, welche wahrscheinlich das erst kürzlich aufgefundene Castrum bei

Maros Földvár mit Salinae oder Várfalva zu verbinden bestimmt war und entweder in die von Bartalis erwähnte Hauptstrasse einmündete oder die Hauptstrasse selbst war; dies um so mehr, da auch in Maros Ujvár Spuren römischer Salzbaues und einer Niederlassung in jungster Zeit aufgefunden worden sind.

Zu Seite 5 – Zeile 3 von oben, statt „Kie=steine” wird es wohl Kieselsteine heißen sollen? das sel ist dem Herr Grafen in der Feder geblieben. 6. Zeile von oben ist bei der Abtheilung des Wortes Ma-uerwerk das u noch zu Ma zu ziehen Mau„erwerk. Eben den Zeile 10 von unter „eingekeilet” – soll heißen eingekeulet.

Zu Seite 6 – In der Klammer: Die künstliche

⁹⁰ Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, Kemény, KJ 248, Miscellanea T. II., at the end of Kemény's paper. This transcript, done by dr. Ioan Dordea, represents the truthful reproduction of the manuscript. Kemény's side- and footnotes are marked by the signs «... » and the page numbers are marked with [..].

Vertiefung auch der obere Breitenfläche des gefundenen Steines dürfte vielleicht zur Verrichtung des Opfers angebracht gewesen sein, denn weil diese Vertiefung künstlich war, und der Stein ein Altar gewesen zu sein scheint. Auf derselben Seite 2 Zeile von unten soll die letzte Silbe von archäologischen – schem – schen heißen. Aocniolio

Zu Seite 7 – Am Ende der 5. Zeile von unten statt Schied – „Schieds“

[2] Zu Seite 8 – Die 7-te Zeile von unten „abgeschafft“ – soll mit ff geschrieben sein folglich „abgeschafft“. Die erste Zeile statt Buchstabs „Buchstabens“.

Zu Seite 9 – die 8-te Zeile von unten soll woll „Schläuchen“ statt Schlauchen heißen. – eben so in der letzten Zeile auf derselben Seite unten die bevorletzte Zeile statt gewieß „gewiß“

Zu Seite 10 – Hydraulus war nach Cic. Und A eine Wasserorgel? auch bey hydraulicum organon

Zu Seite 11 – Die 10-te Zeile von unten sollte vielleicht heißen ß „letzte darunter nicht verstehen zu dürfen, da u(nd) s(o) w(eiter) weiter unten“ zu glauben ist, statt sei – noch 6 Zeilen tiefer: „wie solches bereits schon weiter oben angezeigt worden“ weiter und oben steht im Widerspruch – meiner Ansicht nach: wie solches bereits schon früher d.ö

Auf den 12. Zeile von oben: Steinplatte dürfte dieser Stein nicht zu nennen sein villeicht Adon?

Zu Seite 12 – „von der Größe eines 6 Kreuzerstückes“ das ist doch zu unbestimmt; wollten der Herr Graf nicht die Größe in Zollen und Linien des durch messers angeben?

Zu Seite 15 – Und dann sammle nebst dem Herr Grafen auch noch viellandere, so daß Sie auch das während diesen kurzen Zeit Gefundene nicht ganz allein erhalten. Die Flucht der römischen Kolonisten aus Dacien beweist auch der Marmorbruch bei Bantzer p. 16 der mit «folgenden Blätter 11 Zeile von unten statt dessen „deren“. »

Zu Seite 16 – Was der Herr Graf aber die Unechtheit der Sphinx sagen, damit bin ich daraus nicht einverstanden und selbst wenn alle diese Merkmale der angeblichen Unechtheit stichhältig wären, so würde es, als Mitglied der Wiener Akademie eine zu gewagte Sache sein, sie als ein trügerisches Machwerk zu erklären. Kann sie denn nicht unter solchen Verhältnissen in der Erde gelegen oder in Mauerschutt gewesen sein, daß ihr die Fruchtigkeit gar nicht geschadet? doch darüber will ich mir weiter keine Bemerkung erlauben und beziehe mich auf mein Eräusers

Zu Seite 17 – Das Napoca hier gestanden habe wurde ich an der Stelle des Herrn Grafen auch nicht entfernt conjunktur dasselbe vermutet man von Poka Vassarhely in anderen Orten.

GERMANIC STAMPED POTTERY VESSELS FROM EARLY AVAR AGE CEMETERIES IN TRANSYLVANIA

Beáta BARBOCZ*

A specific decoration technique for Germanic pottery vessels, both in Gepidic and Langobard society is the use of stamps. The present paper analyzes a particular group of vessels with this type of decoration from Transylvania's Early Avar period cemeteries. As far as shape and stamp patterns are concerned, the vessels have good analogies from the western part of the Carpathian Basin.

Keywords: Early Avar age, row-grave cemeteries, vessels with stamped decoration, grave goods, Band-Vereşmort group

Cuvinte cheie: epoca avară timpurie, cimitire cu morminte în şiruri, vase cu decor şampilat, inventar funerar, grupul Band-Vereşmort

Since prehistoric times, ceramic vessels have been used as utensils and containers, but they also carried ceremonial and magical functions. Vessels were used in funeral rituals as containers of food and liquid offerings. The vessels in a grave may reflect the social status of the deceased and their family. Their absence, or presence might reveal the hierarchy within society.¹

Margit Nagy states that the ceramic material from the settlements differs from the vessels used as funerary offerings. In graves, it is mostly vessels for drinking that have been found (such as mugs, cups, jars and jugs) and in some cases there are small bowls as well. The ceramic inventory of a settlement is composed of cooking pots, larger bowls, lids and storage vessels. Pottery with decorative purposes was made on fast potter's wheel and decorated with smoothed decoration, stamps or polishing. In terms of typical forms, biconical and pear-shaped vessels are very common.²

It is a generally accepted opinion that in the Early Avar period stamped decoration is typical for both Transylvania and Transdanubia. Attila Kiss defined three main groups of stamps among the finds of the Germanic material culture during the Avar period. The vessels of his first group have stamped decoration, using patterns such as rounded, oval, rhombic, rectangular or trapezoid shapes, forming grids, nets and striate patterns. The vessels of the second group have triangular stamps facing each other, round stamps with grid patterns, ring stamps. These types of stamps have not been known so far from the Langobard material, so they are most probably of Gepidic origin. The third group of stamps consists of "S"-shaped and triangular stamps, which are neither Langobard, nor Gepidic models.³

Using Zsuzsanna Hajnal's classification of vessels and that of stamps (Fig. 1–4) I analysed the shape of the vessels and the grave inventory,

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, RO, barbozczbeata@gmail.com.

¹ COSMA 2011, 129–133.

² NAGY 1999, 37–38.

³ KISS 1992, 55, Tab. 2; KISS 1996, 255, Tab. 13.

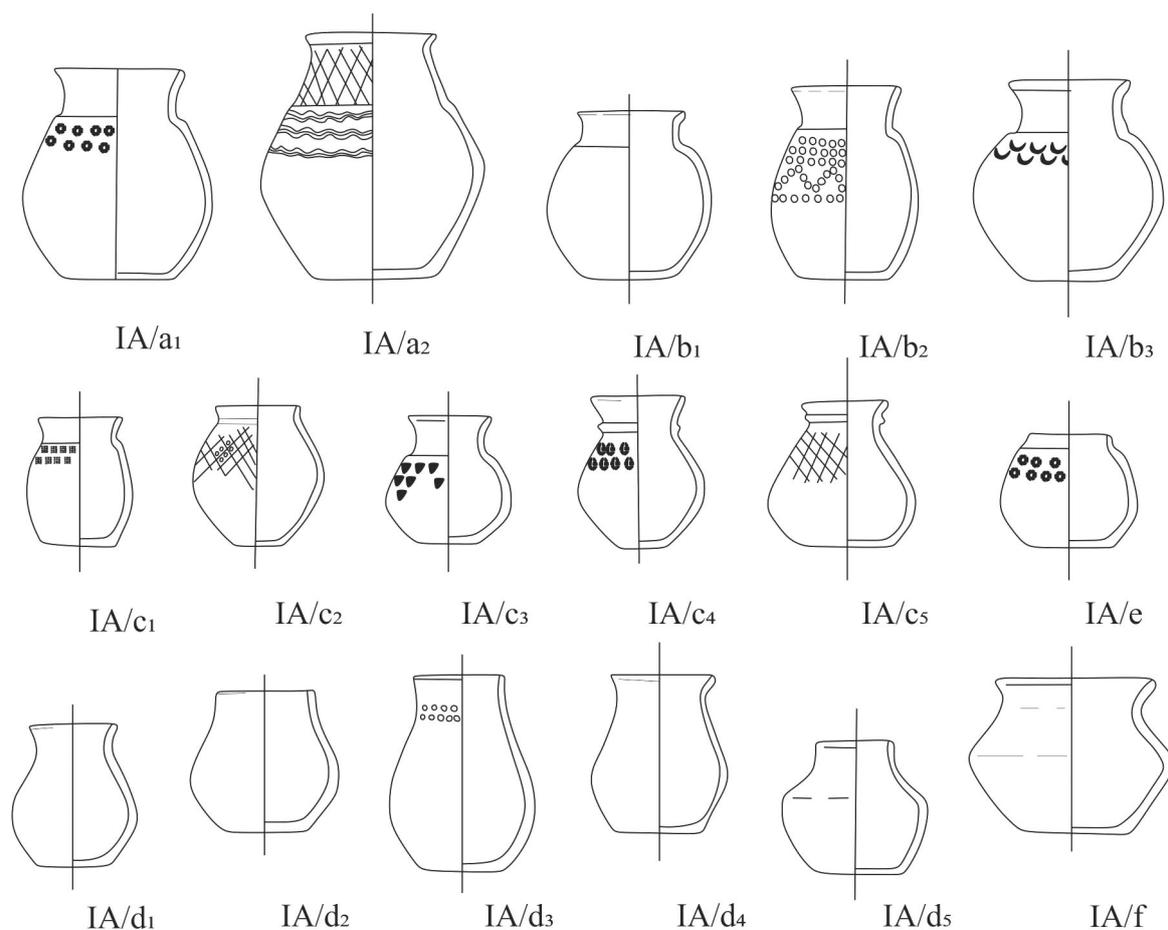


Fig. 1. IA vessel types (HAJNAL 2013, 189, Abb. 11).

and sought for analogies of the stamps and their combinations to see whether these are local variants or rather generally used types.

Zs. Hajnal affirms that these stamps appear on the pottery of group IA, ceramic vessels made after Germanic traditions as Tivadar Vida⁴ defined it. The paste of these vessels is made of fine, pure clay. Subtype IA/a₁ vessels contain in their paste 5–10% of very fine sand with the particle size: 0.2–0.5 mm and 5% of lime with the particle size between 1–2 mm. The vessels of the IA/a₂ subtype have in their composition 5–10% fine sand with the particle size between 0.2–0.5 mm. The thickness of their wall is between 4–7 mm, they are made on a potter's wheel and the traces of rotation

can be observed on their interior. They were burned using the reductant technique, their colour may vary: light grey, brownish grey, or dark brown. Most of these vessels have a polished surface.⁵

Group IB, or grey pottery, can be dated to the Early Avar period. These vessels were made using the potter's wheel, traces of the wheel can be observed on their interior. The rotation speed of the potter's wheel is not even, their bottom was rolled faster, and the speed slowly decreased near the rim. The vessels are of good quality, less than 5% fine granulation sand, with the particle size 0.2–0.5 mm (in some cases 0.5–1 mm) and *chamotte*, with the particle size 0.2–0.5 mm was used in their fabric. Most of these vessels have

⁴ VIDA 1999, 33–35.

⁵ HAJNAL 2013, 188–190.

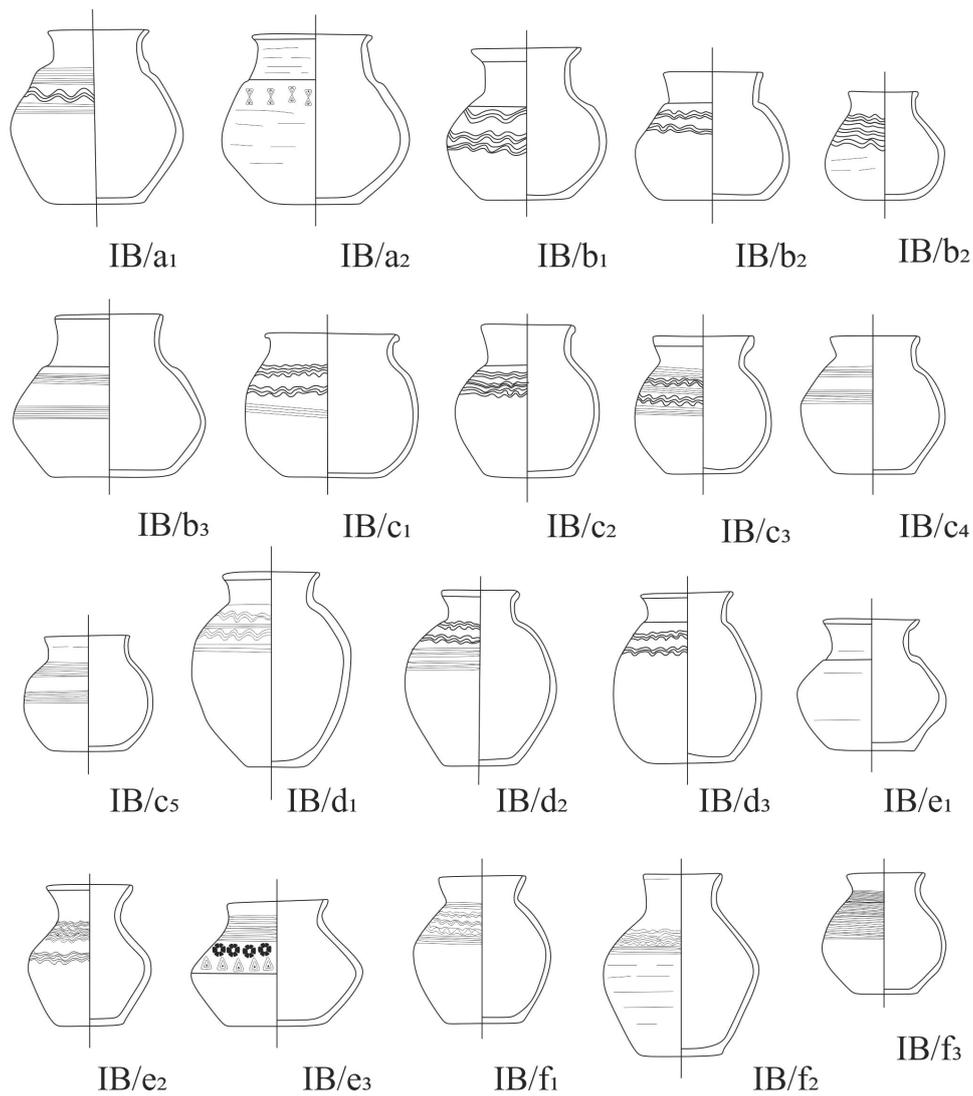


Fig. 2. IB vessel types (HAJNAL 2013, 195, Abb. 13).

incised decoration, but in some cases, stamped decoration can be observed as well.⁶

In Hajnal's typology the type IA/c₂ corresponds to Vida's IA/c₂, the type IB/a₂ to IA/a₂, and the type IB/c₃ to IA/b. The types IA/a₂, IA/b₃, IA/d₂, IA/d₄, IA/d₅, and IA/f are absent from Vida's typology (Fig. 1–2).⁷

Hajnal affirms that the large variety of motifs (Fig. 3–4) might mean that the stamps were made of cheap material, and were quite easy to

produce. Their absence in the Carpathian Basin could imply that they were made of organic materials.⁸

Francesca Garanzini and Youri Godino explain the stamping process in their article about the Langobard cemetery at Momo with the help of experimental archaeology. One important aspect is that the stamps were used on a rather wet clay (different levels of dryness result in different marks on the edges of the stamped

⁶ HAJNAL 2013, 194–199.

⁷ HAJNAL 2013, 188–202; VIDA 1999, 33–42.

⁸ HAJNAL 2013, 184.

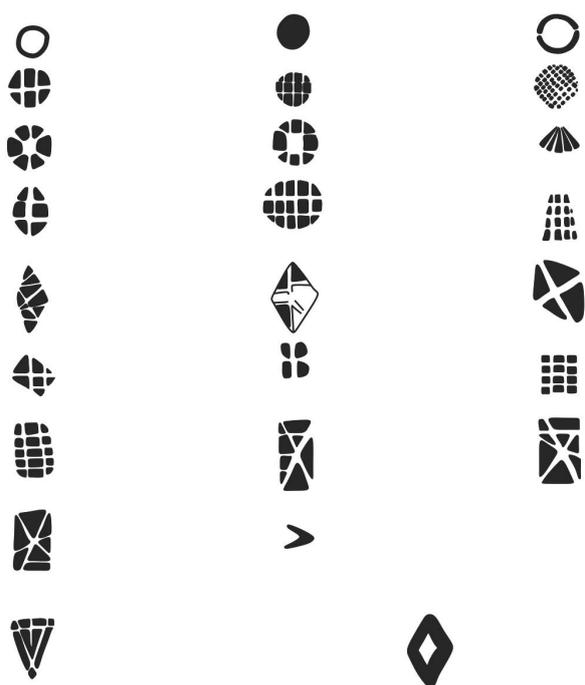


Fig. 3. Germanic type stamps at K lked–Feketekapu and Tiszagyenda–Lakhatom after (HAJNAL 2013, 182, Abb. 6).

decoration, and it also influences the sharpness of the motifs). Due to the impression on the inner side of the vessels, deformations might appear. Stamps are placed in specific parts of the vessel (most often in the area between its neck and shoulder) to create a model.⁹ The materials of which the stamps were made are: bone, horn, wood, metal and ceramic.¹⁰

The analysis of the ceramic material at Santa Giulia from Brescia also made it possible to observe some lines engraved on the vessels as guiding marks of the craftsman during the decorative process.¹¹

Alp r Dobos lists the row-grave cemeteries of the Early Avar period as: Archiud–H nsuri (Bistri a–N s ud County), Band (Mure  County), Bistri a (Bistri a–N s ud County), Bratei cemetery no. 3 (Sibiu County), F nt nele–D mbul Popii (Bistri a–N s ud County), Gala ii Bistri ei (Bistri a–N s ud County), Luna (Cluj County), No lac (Alba County), T rgu Mure  (Mure  County), Uni-rea–Vere mort (Mure  County) and Valea Larg  (Mure  County).¹²

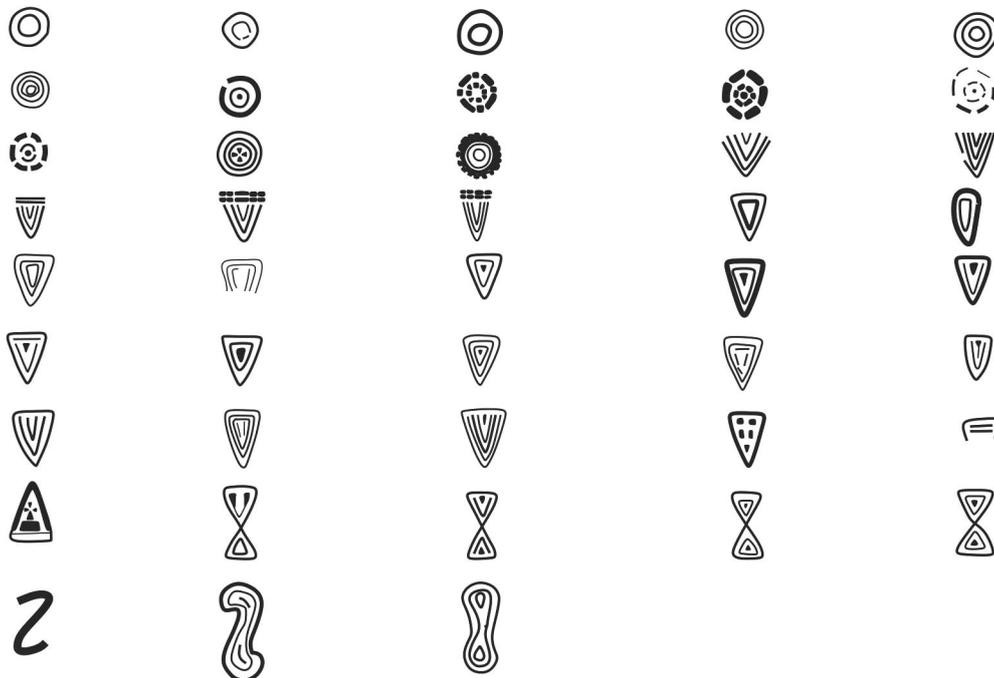


Fig. 4. Avar type stamps at K lked–Feketekapu (HAJNAL 2013, 183, Abb. 7).

⁹ GARANZINI–GODINO 2019, 17–18.

¹⁰ GARANZINI–GODINO, 2019, 18.

¹¹ VITALI 1999, 202.

¹² DOBOS 2018, 636.

At Bandu the vessels with this type of decoration have been discovered in graves 167¹³ and 180.¹⁴ In grave 167 the vessel (Fig. 5/1) was found on the S side of the grave, alongside with another ceramic vessel (IB type—decorated with wavy incisions), and a horse scapula.¹⁵ This vessel can be associated with the form IA/c₂ from Hajnal's typology. It is a mug with the maximum diameter at the middle of the body, with a rounded, easily splayed rim.¹⁶ There are a total of eight indents, two in every line, on the stamp of this vessel, which is classified as a "Germanic" stamp.¹⁷ Similar ones have been found in Hungary at Kölked–*Feketekapu*, in grave A191 (with 6 indents), and at the house 15 (with 10 indents), in both cases on IA type of vessels (Fig. 3).¹⁸

In the case of grave 180, the vessel (Fig. 5/2) was found in the W corner of the grave with no other funerary inventory.¹⁹ The vessel can be associated with the type IA/a₂. It is a mug/small pot with biconical body, with prominent shoulder, and high, slightly splayed rim.²⁰ A similar geometrically shaped pattern was applied to this vessel too. The stamps are ovoidal, and have a total of twelve square-shaped indents in four rows. An analogy of this stamp can be observed on a IIIE type vessel (handmade vessel, Prague type²¹), which was found at Kölked–*Feketekapu* house 79 (Fig. 3).²² Another analogy for this vessel and its stamp would be the vessel found in grave 17 at Szentes–*Nagyhegy* cemetery²³ or at Hódmezővásárhely–*Kishomok* cemetery in grave 52.²⁴

At the cemetery of Bistrița a strayfind vessel (Fig. 5/3) is present²⁵ which is not surprising considering the funeral interferences and rites

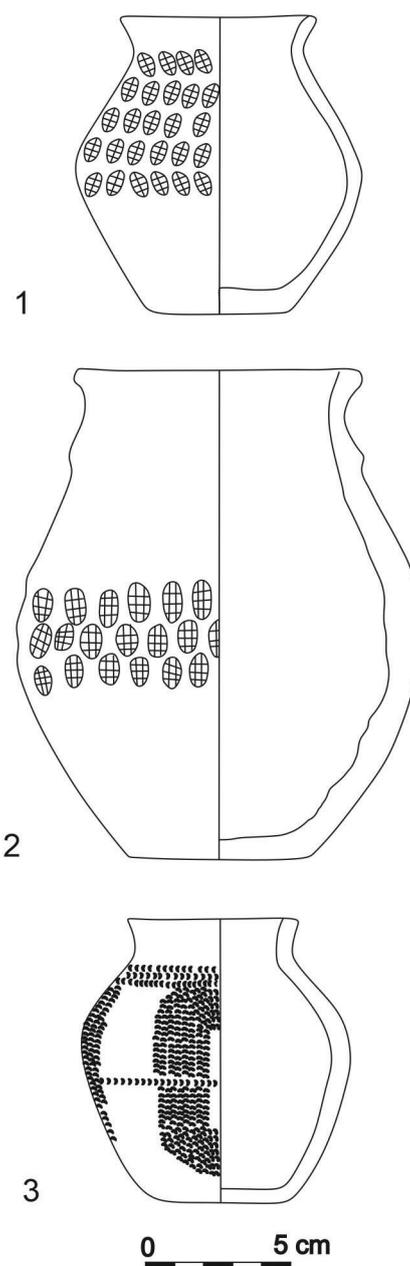


Fig. 5. 1. Bandu cemetery, grave 167 (BARBOCZ 2020, 175, fig. 3/3); 2. Bandu cemetery, grave 180 (BARBOCZ 2020, 175, fig. 3/4); 3. Bistrița cemetery, stray find (GAIU 1992, 120, fig. 4/12).

¹³ KOVÁCS 1913, 359; BARBOCZ 2020, 170, 175, fig. 3/3.

¹⁴ KOVÁCS 1913, 363; BARBOCZ 2020, 170, 175, fig. 3/4.

¹⁵ KOVÁCS 1913, 359.

¹⁶ HAJNAL 2013, 188.

¹⁷ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

¹⁸ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

¹⁹ KOVÁCS 1913, 363.

²⁰ HAJNAL 2013, 188.

²¹ VIDA 1999, 107–110

²² HAJNAL 2013, 182.

²³ CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XLVII/2.

²⁴ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 290, Taf. 16.

²⁵ GAIU 1992, 8.

of the era.²⁶ The vessel belongs to the IA/d₄ type. These are medium high *Beutelgefäß* vessels, with a wide mouth, and the maximum diameter at the lower third of the body.²⁷ The stamp is the classical stapled one, and according to Hajnal's opinion, it is Germanic (Fig. 3).²⁸ As far as the decoration is concerned, we have the same stapled motifs at Magyarcsanád–Bökény but in this case the vessel shape differs.²⁹ An even better analogy (with both the vessel shape and the geometrical organization of the decorative motifs showing similarities) would be the vessel found at Szóreg in grave 69,³⁰ or at the cemetery Szolnok–Szanda in grave 130.³¹

In case of the cemetery no. 3 from Bratei, vessels with stamped decoration have been discovered in graves number 9,³² 11,³³ 17,³⁴ 58,³⁵ 165,³⁶ 264,³⁷ and 280.³⁸ At grave 9, the funerary vessel has been discovered in the E part of the grave. The funerary inventory also contained: glass beads, fragments of a bronze object and a silver earring.³⁹ The shape of this vessel (Fig. 6/1) is the closest to type IA/f. It is a deep pot, with a wide mouth and prominent profile and splayed rim.⁴⁰ The vessel is decorated with the combination of two stamps applied in parallel rows. The first stamp forms the shape of the letter X or a cross symbol, and

the second one is a floral representation, made out of seven triangles placed as the petals of a flower. A similar floral pattern appears on the vessel from grave A52 (also an IA type vessel) at Kölked–Feketekapu (Fig. 3),⁴¹ or at the site Derecske–Gimnázium grave 1.⁴² An analogy for the X shaped stamp would be a stray found from Törökszentmiklós.⁴³

In grave 11 the vessel (Fig. 6/2) was positioned in the ENE part. Other grave goods were: bow-brooch, two bronze earrings, glass beads and horse bones.⁴⁴ The vessel belongs to the IA/d₄ type, which are medium high *Beutelgefäß* vessels, with wide mouth and the maximum diameter of the vessel at the lower third of the body.⁴⁵ The stamp has a rhomboidal shape and eight indents with rectangular shapes made of four rows of two indents, forming a symmetrical pattern. This type of stamp is absent from Hajnal's classification, but as far as composition and form are concerned, it could be considered a Germanic one. The closest analogy for the stamp shape is at Kétegyháza–Homokgödör in grave 5⁴⁶ or at Szandaszőlős.⁴⁷

In the case of grave 17 the vessel (Fig. 6/3) was found in the E corner. The grave contained no other grave goods.⁴⁸ The vessel fits into the typology of the IB/a₂ type. It is a small pot with

²⁶ DOBOS 2014, 135–162.

²⁷ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

²⁸ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

²⁹ CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLX/11.

³⁰ CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLXXXV/1.

³¹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 46.

³² BÂRZU 2010, 281, Taf. 3/G9.

³³ BÂRZU 2010, 281, Taf. 3/G11.

³⁴ BÂRZU 2010, 283, Taf. 5/G17.

³⁵ BÂRZU 2010, 290, Taf. 12/G58.

³⁶ BÂRZU 2010, 304, Taf. 26/G165.

³⁷ BÂRZU 2010, 322, Taf. 44/G264.

³⁸ BÂRZU 2010, 327, Taf. 49/G280.

³⁹ BÂRZU 2010, 174.

⁴⁰ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

⁴¹ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

⁴² CSEH ET AL. 2005, 232, Taf. 2/1.

⁴³ CSEH ET AL. 2005, 272, Taf. 42.

⁴⁴ BÂRZU 2010, 175.

⁴⁵ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

⁴⁶ CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLXXXVIII/4.

⁴⁷ CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CCXLVII/2.

⁴⁸ BÂRZU 2010, 178.

rounded body, with the maximum of the vessel at the middle, with a medium high, slightly splayed rim.⁴⁹ The vessel was decorated with two types of stamps, the aforementioned floral one, and a rectangular one with nine indents and with wavy incised lines around the body. Both stamps (Fig. 3) can be considered Germanic according to Hajnal.⁵⁰ The closest analogy for this vessel and stamp comes from Hódmezővásárhely–*Kishomok*, grave 63.⁵¹

In grave 58, which was a double burial, the vessel (Fig. 6/4) was placed next to the younger defunct on the N side of the grave. Other grave goods were: a sword, belt buckle, fire steel, knife and a bronze buckle.⁵² The ceramic vessel fits into the typology's IA/d₂ type, a mug with a round body, with the maximum diameter at the lower third of the vessel, with a wide mouth and vertical rim.⁵³ The vessel is decorated with semi-circular indents (these could be made by the nail of the potter, or with the edge of a sharpened stick). This stamp does not appear in Hajnal's classification, but as far as the shapes go, it could be considered Germanic. The closest analogy for the decoration appears at Kisköre–*Pap tanya*, grave 1⁵⁴ or at Biharkeresztes–*Toldiútfél*, grave 3.⁵⁵

Grave 264 is also a double burial of an adult and a child. It has not been determined to which defunct the funerary vessel (Fig. 7/2) was added, and beside it the following grave goods were recovered: two earrings and a bronze belt buckle.⁵⁶ The ceramic vessel fits into the IA/d₂ type, a mug with a round body, with the maximum diameter at the lower third of the vessel, with wide mouth and vertical rim.⁵⁷ The vessel is decorated

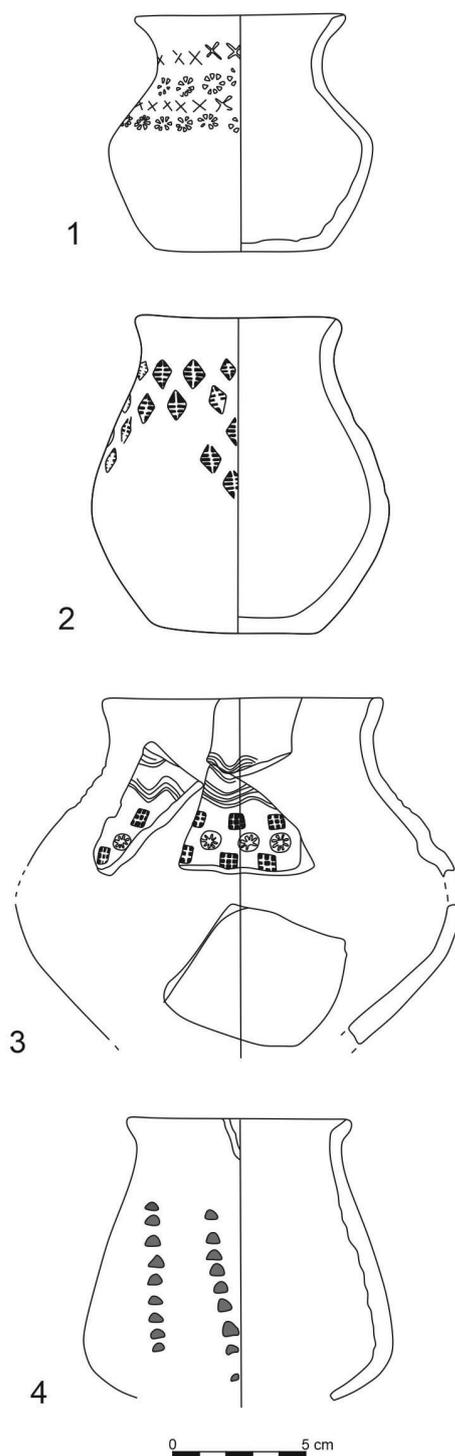


Fig. 6. 1. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 9 (BÁRZU 2010, 281, Taf. 3. G9/6); 2. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 11 (BÁRZU 2010, 281, Taf. 3. G11/1); 3. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 17 (BÁRZU 2010, 283, Taf. 5. G17); 4. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 58 (BÁRZU 2010, 290, Taf. 12. G58/7).

⁴⁹ HAJNAL 2013, 195.

⁵⁰ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

⁵¹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 291, Taf. 17.

⁵² BÁRZU 2010, 188.

⁵³ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

⁵⁴ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 302, Taf. 28.

⁵⁵ CSEH ET AL 2005, 233, Taf. 3.

⁵⁶ BÁRZU 2010, 258.

⁵⁷ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

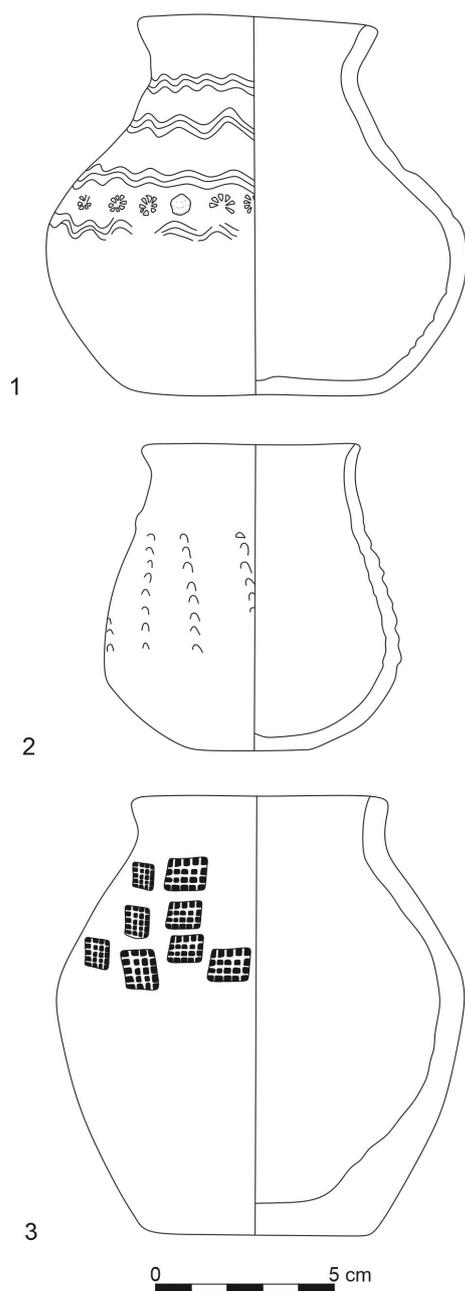


Fig. 7. 1. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 165 (BÂRZU 2010, 304, Taf. 26. G165/1); 2. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 264 (BÂRZU 2010, 322, Taf. 44. G264/ 6); 3. Bratei no. 3 cemetery, grave 280 (BÂRZU 2010, 327, Taf. 49. G280/3).

with the same stamp as the vessel from grave 58, and they also have the same shape.

⁵⁸ BÂRZU 2010, 266.

⁵⁹ HAJNAL 2013, 189.

⁶⁰ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

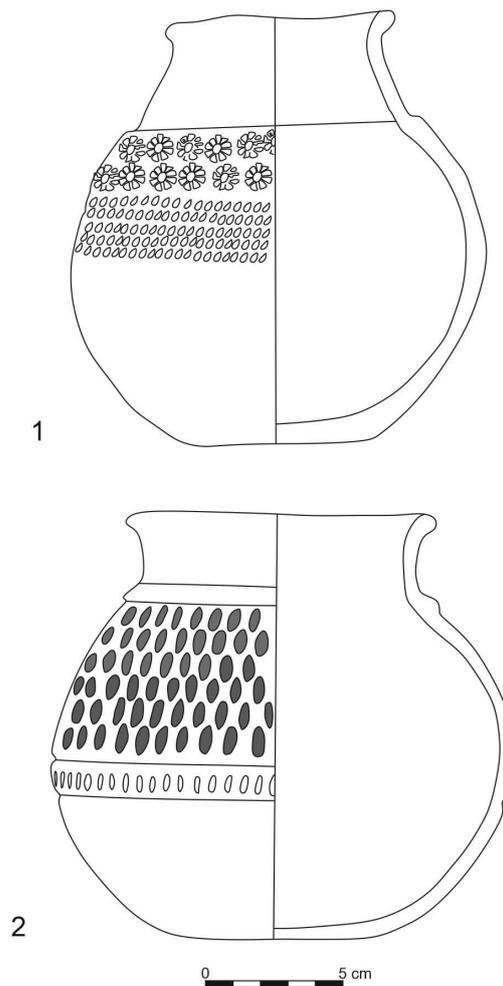


Fig. 8. 1. Noşlac cemetery, grave 18 (RUSU 1962, 278, fig. 5/2); 2. Noşlac cemetery, grave 53 (after RUSU 1962, 280, fig. 6/2).

In grave 280 the funerary vessel (Fig. 7/3) was found at the N edge of the grave. The funerary inventory also includes an arrowhead, and a bronze buckle.⁵⁸ The vessel has the shape of the IA/d₅ type. These are biconic, stout types of vessels, with highly arched profile, and conically shaped neck that narrows.⁵⁹ The stamp from this vessel is a rectangular one, and has twenty indents in 4 parallel lines. It does not appear in the typology of Hajnal⁶⁰ but similar shapes are considered Germanic. I have not found any perfect analogies for this stamp, but it is similar to

the stamp found on the jug from Szőreg–Téglagyár, grave 23.⁶¹

In the case of Noşlac cemetery the vessels are present in graves 18⁶² and 53.⁶³ The pottery vessel of grave 18 (Fig. 8/1) was placed at the SE corner of the grave, next to the head of the defunct. The grave goods were: girdle hangers, belt buckle, strap end, and belt buckle with a long branched cross.⁶⁴ This vessel fits into the typology in type IA/b₃. These small pots have rounded or rounded and flattened body, with prominent shoulders, and high, arched, slightly splayed rims.⁶⁵ The vessel is decorated with two parallel rows of the aforementioned floral patterns, and with a punched ornament in five parallel lines. Both decorations can be considered Germanic according to Hajnal's classification (Fig. 3).⁶⁶ As for the punched decoration, a good analogy would be the vessel from grave 2 at the cemetery at Biharkeresztes–Toldiútfél.⁶⁷

The vessel from grave 53 was found next to the dead's head, with no other gravegoods.⁶⁸ According to Hajnal's classification it is an IA/b₃ type of vessel. These are small pots with rounded and

flattened bodies, prominent shoulders, and high, arched, slightly splayed rims. The vessel is embellished with a punched decoration.⁶⁹

As a conclusion we can uphold that in relation with other grave goods these vessels were present both in female and male graves. The stamps on the vessels are Germanic, just as the vessel shapes in most cases. This type of pottery from the Early Avar age has analogies in contemporaneous cemeteries in the western part of the Carpathian Basin. The most common is the stamped decoration along with a polished finish or smoothed adornment. In case of graves 17 and 165 from the Bratei cemetery no. 3 we can observe a particular trait of the vessels. Both of them are type IB, and have incised wavy lines on their bodies and two types of stamps were used (a floral one, and a rectangular one). It is also worth mentioning that stamped vessels are present in settlements too, as in the case of Dipşa⁷⁰ and Stupini–Vătaştină.⁷¹

According to their typology these are drinking vessels used in funerary rituals and they might have contained beverages as grave goods.

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⁶¹ CSEH ET AL. 2005, 281, Taf. 51.

⁶² RUSU 1962, 278, fig. 5/2.

⁶³ RUSU 1962, 281, fig. 6/2.

⁶⁴ RUSU 1962, 281.

⁶⁵ HAJNAL 2013, 188.

⁶⁶ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

⁶⁷ CSEH ET AL. 2005, 296, Taf. 66/2.

⁶⁸ RUSU 1962, 271.

⁶⁹ HAJNAL 2013, 182.

⁷⁰ GAIU 1993, 96.

⁷¹ GAIU 2002, 113–158.

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A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF TWO DISPERSED SETS OF 17TH CENTURY BEAKERS

Mária-Márta KOVÁCS*

The Mureş County Museum's collection holds two stacking beakers, one of them was part of chancellor Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen's (1642–1716) collection, the other belonged to Sára Göcs (–1700), burgher of Cluj. One of the most frequent pieces of 17th century goldsmith's and representation was the stacking beaker. This was always part of a larger set of six, twelve or twenty-four pieces. Our study attempts to reconstruct two series. It describes through the surviving items of the scattered sets, the circumstances of their production and their history, thus providing an insight into the material culture of the 17th century Transylvanian nobility and bourgeoisie.

Keywords: goldsmith collections, stacking beakers, Miklós Bethlen, Sára Göcs, coat of arms, Renaissance, Baroque

Cuvinte cheie: colecții de argintărie, pahare îmbinate, Miklós Bethlen, Sára Göcs, blazon heraldic, renaștere, baroc

Nobiliary and bourgeois goldsmith collections of the early modern age are mostly known from archival sources and inventories. One of the most frequent pieces of 17th century representation was the stacking beaker. This was always part of a larger set of six, twelve or twenty-four pieces. Such cups were owned by high and middle aristocracy and town bourgeoisie alike. Along the centuries these sets were dispersed and items identified with great effort in collections of different museums, churches or private persons offer the possibility of reconstructing these sets and getting acquainted with their history. Archival research reveals the age-long history of such a piece, one can uncover the frequency and the ways these items exchanged their owner and the fate other pieces of the same set shared.

The Mureş County Museum's collection holds two stacking beakers, one of them was part of chancellor Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen's (1642–1716)¹ collection (Fig. 1), the other belonged to Sára Göcs (–1700),² burgher of Cluj (Fig. 2). Both procurers are well known figures in the history of Transylvania and Cluj.

Miklós Bethlen³ held important offices in Transylvanian political life. Starting from 1667 he was captain-general of Odorhei seat and Chioar, lord-lieutenant (comes) of Maramureş county, member of the princely council from 1689, and chancellor of Transylvania between 1691–1704. His activity and worldview was greatly influenced at first by his Transylvanian schoolmasters, Pál Keresztúri in Alba Iulia and János Apáczai Csere in Cluj, later by his study

* Mureş County Museum, Târgu Mureş, kovacsmm@yahoo.com

¹ Accession number of the Bethlen-cup: 4469. Height: 16,1 cm, sole diameter: 10,6 cm, rim diameter: 13,1 cm.

² Accession number of the Göcs-cup: 30001. Height: 14,5 cm, sole diameter: 8 cm, rim diameter: 11 cm.

³ Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen was the son of János (1613–1678), chancellor of Transylvania and Borbála Váradi, daughter of Miklós Váradi, tradesman in Cluj. LUKINICH 1927, 461; BERNÁD 1970, 23.



Fig. 1. Miklós Bethlen's stacking beaker.



Fig. 2. Sára Göcs's stacking beaker.

tour in Western Europe. During 1661–1664 he studied philosophy, theology, ancient history, as well as civil and military architecture at German and Dutch universities.⁴ After returning home, he engaged in Transylvanian political life, and attracted prince Apafi's attention on the occasion of the 1669 Diet. Miklós Bethlen was assigned an important role in imperial diplomacy in the 1680's and played a major part in drawing up *Diploma Leopoldinum*, a document that settled Transylvania's status within the Habsburg Empire.⁵ He obtained in 1696 the title of count for his family. He spent the last years of his life in prison, later in exile in Vienna, where he wrote his major work, his *Autobiography*.⁶ The castle in Sânmiclăuș that he designed and had built (1668–1683) is a remarkable monument of late renaissance Transylvanian architecture.⁷

In 1668 Miklós Bethlen married Ilona Kun of Osdola (1653–1685),⁸ and following her death in December 1685 he wed Júlia Rhédei of Kistréde (1669–1716)⁹ in February 1686.

It was with his second wife that he had the set of beakers made whose third piece is preserved at the museum. The series was made in the well-known South-German center of Augsburg, and according to the goldsmith's and authenticity mark on the cup's bottom it was created by master Johann Wagner who was active in the period 1677–1724.¹⁰ The town mark's shape dates the set somewhere between 1686 and 1700 (Fig. 3). Augsburg goldsmiths often worked for Transylvanian elites during the 17th century. Aristocracy ordered primarily different kinds of sets from the South-German center's numerous masters, as they were the fastest to deliver these products.¹¹

The beaker's slightly broadening cylindrical body is divided by decorative lines carved above the base and below the lip. Its central motif consists of a joint marital coat of arms set in a circular frame. Goldsmiths' works used for representation were often decorated with their owners' shield, armorial motifs were widespread in

⁴ SIPOS 1993, 13.

⁵ TAMÁS 2010, 11–12.

⁶ BERNÁD 1970, 7.

⁷ B. NAGY 1970, 162.

⁸ Ilona Kun was the daughter of István and Ilona Basa. LUKINICH 1927, 462.

⁹ Júlia Rhédei was the daughter of István and Mária Perneszi of Osztopán. LUKINICH 1927, 462.

¹⁰ ROSENBERG 1922, 148.

¹¹ TAKÁTS 1900, 94.

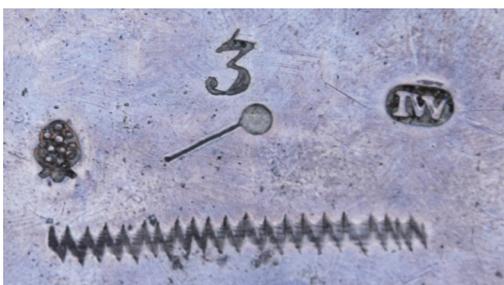


Fig. 3. Maker's mark on the Bethlen's beaker: Johann Wagner (1677–1724), silversmith from Augsburg.



Fig. 4. Maker's mark on the Göcs's beaker: Brassai Dániel (1655–1695), silversmith from Cluj.

17th century ironworks. Joint property of eating and drinking vessels was marked by the husband's and wife's coat of arms. In 16–17th century heraldry the spouses' shields next to each other (*alliance*) marked the couple,¹² with the husband's arms on the right, the wife's on the left. Their frame varied according to the object's grade and the master's standards, but contrary to previous views, interconnected wreaths were not necessarily the sign of marriage occasion.

The associated marital shields (Fig. 5) of Miklós Bethlen and Júlia Rhédei are encompassed by a finely engraved garland of acanthus leaves, batch of fruits and an earl's coronet closes the composition. The latter's importance in dating the beaker is unquestionable, since Miklós Bethlen received the title in 1696. The set was certainly made after this date, presumably for the occasion itself. The heraldic representation of the Bethlen family of Bethlen – a snake wearing a crown and holding a pome in its mouth – BETHLEN COMES NICOLAUS, and that of the Rhédei family – an armored arm holding a sword above a swan – IVLIA REDEI COMITINA was provided with a circular legend in

majuscules partitioned by flowers. The floral frame's baroque-style tracing with its high-standard finish reflects the goldsmith's great skill. The beaker's base and lip, as well as its interior are gold-plated, and the silver heraldic representation also unfolds from a golden background.

The second cup in the Mureş County Museum's property was part of Sára Göcs's¹³ set dating from 1691. Burgher of Cluj, its procurer was the granddaughter of Pál Göcs (1570–1622) famous Unitarian priest in Cluj,¹⁴ and daughter of Pál Göcs (–1661) centumvir. References often confuse her for the priest's daughter.¹⁵ The explanation lies in the sameness of her father's and grandfather's name, but her name is also identical with that of her aunt's.¹⁶ Sára Göcs's father was in the 1640's a member in Cluj's ruling body, the centumvirate,¹⁷ and acquired significant wealth and well-born relatives for his family.¹⁸ He died in 1661, and on the occasion of his funeral on 29th October the Unitarian parish in Cluj received 1 forint 10 denarius.¹⁹ His branch of the family died out in his two daughters (Sára and Kata)²⁰ who both married into noble families. Sára became on 13th May 1665 the wife of

¹² GHYCY 1932, 68.

¹³ He died on April 19th 1700. BENCZÉDI 1887, 253.

¹⁴ Pál Göcs Borbély was an academy-educated erudite man, elected director of the Unitarian School in Cluj on May 15th 1600. In March 1602 he became the vicar of the Unitarian parish. KÉNOSI–UZONI 2005, 396, 565.

¹⁵ RÁCZ 2016, 313; SZÉKELY 1839, 145.

¹⁶ Sára Göcs's aunt of identical name, widow of Márton Gyulai (–1640) goldsmith in Cluj, was buried on January 17th 1665. She probably had no heirs, since she left to the Unitarian church 8 forints, paid on June 13th 1665 by András Toldalagí, jr. Sára Göcs's husband. BENCZÉDI 1886, 223–224; JENEY 2004, 86.

¹⁷ JENEY 2000, 22; BINDER 1982, 303.

¹⁸ KELEMEN 1982a, 292.

¹⁹ BENCZÉDI 1886, 223.

²⁰ KELEMEN 1982a, 292.

András Toldalagi of Nagyiklód (–1703),²¹ while Kata married Pál Suki of Felsőzsuk,²² assessor of the Tabula Regia.²³ András Toldalagi and Sára Göcs were the main patrons of the Unitarian church in Cluj. She and her sister sold the house they inherited to the Polish Unitarian priest András Lachovius in 1680 on the condition that it served as the place of worship for Cluj's Polish Unitarians.²⁴ András Toldalagi donated in 1685 and 1687 a tenth of his incomes from his mill in Bobâlna and property in Iclod to the school in Turda, and also offered his lot in Cluj to the College in Market Square. He printed in 1695 on his own expense the prayer book of Unitarian bishop Boldizsár Solymosi Koncz.²⁵ Upon his death in 1703, he left 100 Hungarian forints to the Unitarian parish in Cluj and a stock of valuable clenodiums and textiles to the Saint Peter Church in Cluj.²⁶

The family's prestige is reflected by the fact that at Sára Göcs's funeral on 25th April 1700 it was the Unitarian bishop himself, Mihály Almási Gergely who preached and rector Pál Kolozsvári Dimjén was the orator.²⁷

Sára Göcs ordered the discussed set of beakers from a goldsmith in Cluj, fact proven by the striking master mark contained in a renaissance shield on the cup's bottom (Fig. 4). The mark reads BD and can be identified as Dániel Brassai. He was active in the period 1655–1695, he became a member of the goldsmiths' guild on 17th April 1655. He was key master in 1672, and guild master in 1680 and 1685. His name was last mentioned in guild documents in August 1695 when he was a guarantor on the occasion of

Pál Katona's admission into the guild.²⁸ Brassai's work defines him as a very significant goldsmith of the second half of the 17th century. Many of the pieces carrying his master mark have been kept and they all reflect his professional skill.²⁹ Of the goldsmiths from Cluj it was him who worked for prince Mihály I. Apafi's court, along with Kristóf Tokaji.³⁰ Brassai was often engaged by Mihály Teleki (1634–1690) who referred to him in his court-holding journal as Goldsmith Dániel.³¹ The lord lieutenant (comes) of Belső-Szolnok, János Kemény (–1701) and Anna Teleki ordered from Brassai in 1685 a set of two gilded silver tankards, chalices and patens, as well a communion plate for the Old Town Calvinist parish in Cluj.³²

The partially gilded silver cup's cylindrical body slightly broadens at the rim. The smooth body is divided by three horizontal renaissance bands, formed of finely carved leaf motifs on an arching trailer. The engraved band of ornament around the rim is gilded, the lower two decorative lines matching the upper one were carved later. The central motif is the Göcs family's coat of arms, contained in a laurel wreath (Fig. 6). The shield portrays a bird treading on a snake, holding a branch in its beak. The writing in majuscule reads: GOETS SARA ANNO 1691.

Sets of beakers identical in form and decoration were highly popular in the 17th century. It was a custom of Nürnberg goldsmiths to make series of similar objects. These sets consisted of objects of either the same, or gradually decreasing size.³³ The expression "stacking beaker" was used in sources and inventories for both types

²¹ KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 178; BENCZÉDI 1886, 224; András Toldalagi was the son of Ferenc and Kata Apafi. NAGY 1865, XI, 153.

²² Pál Suki was the son of Ferenc, commissionaire in Cojocna and Mária Bodoni. NAGY 1863, X, 401.

²³ KELEMEN 1982a, 292; RÁCZ 2016, 312–325.

²⁴ RÁCZ 2016, 313–315; KÜLÖNFÉLÉK 1885, 384.

²⁵ Solymosi Koncz Boldizsár's work called *Hetedszaki Reggeli és Estvéli könyörgések*. KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 182.

²⁶ The set consisted of a gilded silver cup decorated with coins, a gilded silver chalice, two gilded silver plates, a linen tablecloth and two Turkish kerchiefs embroidered with metallic thread. KELEMEN 1982b, 273.

²⁷ BENCZÉDI 1887, 253; KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 572.

²⁸ BUNTA 2001, 218; FLÓRA 2003, 57, 60.

²⁹ BUNTA 2001, 218; HALASU 1978, 359–365; KOVÁCS 2015, 39; KOVÁCS 2021, 106; MIHALIK 1893, 331.

³⁰ THALLÓCZY 1878, 429.

³¹ FEHÉR 2007, 54.

³² KOVÁCS 2021, 106.

³³ KISS 2015, 115.



Fig. 5. Miklós Bethlen's and Júlia Rhédei's double coat of arms on the beaker.



Fig. 6. Sára Göcs's coat of arm on the beaker.

of series.³⁴ These sets of six to twenty-four pieces decorated with their owner's coat of arms were preferred representational goldsmith pieces of Transylvanian elite.

The Mureş County Museum holds the fifth and the third piece of Sára Göcs's and Miklós Bethlen's twelve pieces set. A beaker's place in line is marked by the number carved on its side or bottom, the Bethlen beaker's bottom contains an Arabic 3, while the Göcs cup holds on its side, beside the family shield a Roman V. Three further pieces of the Bethlen set of cups are held by the Hungarian National Museum.³⁵ The set was dispersed along the 18th and 19th century, its seventh piece was the property of count Gyula Andrassy at the end of the 19th century,³⁶ and ended up in the Hungarian museum in 1969.

The sixth piece was bought in 1910 by the same museum at the Dorotheum's auction in Vienna of Szemere Miklós's collection.³⁷ Beside the items held by museums, another piece of the set was identified in a private collection in Budapest.³⁸ The Mureş County Museum's item was in the Bethlen family's property until the middle of the 20th century and was bought in 1962³⁹ from a descendant of the family, Gábor Bethlen (1914–1981)⁴⁰ an engineer living in Târgu Mureş.

The eleventh piece of the Göcs set is also kept at the Hungarian National Museum.⁴¹ It was bought in 1905 from antique dealer Benő Grünblatt from Sibiu, along with another cup carrying the engraving TOLDALAGHI ANDRÁS 1685.⁴² The Târgu Mureş item of the Göcs set had been part of a private collection in Western

³⁴ BUNTA 2001, 7.

³⁵ BETHLENEK 2010, 67–68.

³⁶ ÖTVÖSMŰKIÁLLÍTÁS 1884, Vth room. 21.

³⁷ The 1908–1913 Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum, 214.

³⁸ BETHLENEK 2010, 68.

³⁹ The Mureş County Museum's 1962 register.

⁴⁰ Gábor Bethlen was the son of Bálint, Aiud district delegate and lord lieutenant and Mariann Bánffy. LUKINICH 1927, 561; TAMÁS 2010, 50.

⁴¹ BUNTA 2001, 244.

⁴² The 1904–1906 Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum, 35.

Europe⁴³ and proves that ironworks were often subsequently modified. Based on the Budapest piece one may conclude that the set's pieces were initially decorated with an engraved renaissance band of ornament only along the rim. The decorative lines in both the piece's middle and bottom were added later.

The Bethlen set consisted of gradually decreasing cups, its third piece is 16,1 cm tall, the seventh is only 12,3 cm.⁴⁴ The Göcs set contained beakers of identical size, both its fifth and eleventh items are 14,5 cm tall.

The Târgu Mureş beakers reflect the history and circumstances of creation of two dispersed sets of drinking vessels made in the 1690's. Customers of different social status owned similar objects, indicating that by the last decades of the 17th century well-to-do burghers' beloved goldsmith products of representation and investment are equal to those of the aristocracy. The only difference lies in the origin of the goldsmiths entrusted with the work. While Miklós Bethlen ordered his set from an Augsburg master, Sára Göcs had her set made by a local goldsmith.

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⁴³ KLUSCH 2011, 284, 325. This erroneously identified it as the work of a master from Făgăraş.

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ATTILA DEASUPRA ORAȘULUI. PROGRAMUL ICONOGRAFIC AL GRUPULUI STATUAR REALIZAT DE JÓZSEF RÓNA PE FAȚADA MUZEULUI INDUSTRIAL SECUIESC*

Miklós SZÉKELY**

The sculptural decoration of the Szekler (Székely) Museum of Industry in Târgu Mureș is an early work of the important turn-of-the-century Hungarian sculptor, József Róna. It represents Attila the Hun enthroned and surrounded by the allegories of Transylvania and Hungary accompanied by a young girl and a boy, the allegories of textile and metal industries, referring to the double mission of the museum of industry. The newly founded institution aimed at modernizing the traditional textile and home industries of the Hungarian-speaking Szeklerland at the Eastern periphery of Historic Hungary and introduces the technology and materials of modern metal industry into local building industry. The sculptural decoration representing Attila enthroned is a special and rare iconographic type; the sculptural composition had been formed in the early 1890s at the time of the competing visions to commemorate the Hungarian millennium.

Cuvinte cheie: muzeu industrial, industrializare, Expoziția Milenară, sculptură, arhitectura muzeelor
Keywords: museum of industry, industrialization, Millennial Exhibition, sculpture, museum architecture

În frontonul fațadei principale a Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc din Târgu Mureș, finalizat în 1893, se găsește un grup statuar turnat în zinc, proiectat de József Róna. În mijlocul compoziției se află regele hunilor, Attila tronând, încadrat de două figuri feminine alegorice, Ungaria și Transilvania, iar în flancuri un tânăr și o tânără, simbolizând dezvoltarea industrială (Fig. 1).¹ În ciuda faptului că József Róna (1861–1939), autorul grupului statuar, a fost o personalitate marcantă a sculpturii

maghiare de sfârșit de secol al XIX-lea, această lucrare timpurie a sa este necunoscută.² Probabil nu era altfel nici în timpul vieții sale. În articolul lui Géza Lengyel, publicat în 1910 în revista *Művészet*, această lucrare nu este amintită.³ Sculptorii perioadei concureau pentru realizarea monumentelor de for public și considerau sculptura arhitecturală ca fiind un gen secundar de artă. Astfel s-ar putea explica de ce Róna însuși a scris doar două rânduri despre această operă de început de carieră⁴, iar la moartea

* Studiul a fost realizat în cadrul programului *Művészetek és tudomány a nemzetépítés szolgálatában a 19. századi Magyarországon* (OTKA K 108670). Aduc mulțumiri și pe această cale celor care au sprijinit realizarea cercetării, colaboratorilor proiectului Topografia Monumentelor Istorice din Târgu Mureș, în special cercetătorului János Orbán, respectiv directorului Muzeului Județean Mureș, Zoltán Soós. Traducere de Zoltán Vincze. Studiul a apărut în limba maghiară la Budapesta, în revista *Ars Hungarica* (an XLII, nr. 4), în anul 2016.

** Academia Maghiară de Științe, Centrul de Cercetare al Științelor Umaniste, Institutul de Istoria Artei, Budapesta, szekely.miklos@gmail.com

¹ Azi în clădire funcționează Secția de Științele Naturii a Muzeului Județean Mureș.

² NAGY 1994, 3–5.

³ LENGYEL 1910, 23–26.

⁴ RÓNA 1929, 534.

sa, survenită cu zece ani mai târziu, textele de comemorare o ignorau cu desăvârșire.

Din păcate, nici viața și cariera arhitectului clădirii nu ne sunt mai bine cunoscute, fapt care îngreunează atribuirea paternității ideii. Arhitectul István Kiss (1857–1902), deși nu poate fi considerat unul dintre inovatorii de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul celui de-al XX-lea, totuși de numele său sunt legate clădiri publice importante de pe teritoriul Ungariei istorice: tribunalele din Banska Bystrica, Brașov, Deva, Kalocsa, Komarno, Levoča, Miskolc, Nitra, Oradea și Târgu Mureș; Clinica de Ginecologie și Obstetrică nr. 1 de pe str. Baross și

multe alte spitale din Budapesta; spitalul din Zrenjanin și cel din Banska Bystrica; sediul prefecturii din Veszprém.⁵

Cercetările referitoare la construcția și istoricul instituției muzeale din Târgu Mureș reprezintă importante rezultate științifice ale ultimelor două decenii.⁶ Prezentul studiu s-a născut ca o continuare și completare a amintitelor cercetări și își propune să interpreteze conceptul iconografic al grupului statuar din perspectiva colecțiilor muzeului și a discursurilor publice din Ungaria epocii, ce se pregătea să își sărbătorească existența statală milenară.

FUNȚIONAREA ȘI COLECȚIILE MUZEULUI INDUSTRIAL SECUIESC ÎNTRE 1886 ȘI 1893

Prin anii 1870–1880, la scurt timp după transformarea în instituție bugetară a Muzeului Artelor Aplicare și al Industriei (Mű- és Iparmúzeum) din Budapesta, s-au înmulțit proiectele legate de înființarea muzeelor industriei, instituții devenite tot mai importante în conceptul dezvoltării industriale. Economistul și statisticianul Károly Keleti, împreună cu Soma Mudrony au înaintat în 1880 un *Memoriu în chestiunea muzeului industriei (Emlékirat az iparmúzeum ügyében)*, în care s-a formulat pentru prima oară necesitatea întrepătrunderii educației estetice cu dezvoltarea industriei și a comerțului, toate acestea imaginate pe un fundament muzeal. În memoriul lor, prin expresia de *muzeu al industriei* ei înțelegeau o serie întreagă de instituții legate de dezvoltarea industrială, de modernizare, un concept bazat pe trei piloni: cel al muzeului artei aplicate, cel al muzeului industriei și cel al muzeului „oriental”. Rolul celui dintâi, al muzeului artelor aplicate era legat de educația estetică, de dezvoltarea gustului artistic, de alegerea corectă a culorilor și materialelor, respectiv prezentarea

pieselor rezultate din oricare ramură a artelor aplicate. Al doilea pilon, muzeul industriei (uneori completat cu termenul – *tehnologic*), prezenta cunoștințele despre materiile prime, instrumentele, sculele și mașinile folosite în diferite ramuri industriale. Al treilea pilon era cel denumit „oriental”, care desemna relațiile cu Balcanii („statele și popoarele de dincolo de hotarele noastre sud-estice”), o direcție din ce în ce mai importantă pentru industria și exportul Ungariei. „Muzeul Oriental” din Budapesta a fost conceput mai degrabă ca o colecție de produse și a fost menit să sprijine exportul articolelor produse în Ungaria către Serbia, România, Bulgaria și Turcia europeană.⁷ Până la urmă, instituția nu s-a înființat, funcția sa fiind preluată începând cu anul 1886 de Muzeul Comerțului.⁸ Muzeul din Târgu Mureș a devenit un element principal de dezvoltare regională a Ținutului Secuiesc, care, în lipsa condițiilor proprii ale modernizării, a fost organizat din inițiativă centrală, guvernamentală.⁹ Datorită poziției sale geografice, Ținutul Secuiesc a reprezentat o placă turnantă

⁵ HUSZTHY 2015, 5–6.

⁶ BÓNIS 2003; KARÁCSONY 2011.

⁷ K. Keleti – S. Mudrony, *Emlékirat az iparmúzeum ügyében [1880]*, in: JELENTÉSEK ÉS JAVASLATOK 1881, 8–9. Pe lângă materialul din Orientul Îndepărtat conservat în Muzeul Industriei din Cluj, obținerea piețelor orientale a apărut și în profilul muzeului din Târgu Mureș.

⁸ SINKÓ 2012, 254.

⁹ PÁL 2016a, 297–300.



Fig. 1. Grupul statuar din timpanul Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc (fotografia autorului, 2014).

în expansiunea economică spre piețele statelor balcanice. Acest fapt a influențat și colecțiile muzeului din Târgu Mureș, îmbogățite cu modelele produselor ce urmau să fie exportate în România, Serbia și Bulgaria.¹⁰

Luând drept model Muzeul Industrial și Tehnologic din Budapesta, în muzeele din Cluj și Târgu Mureș s-au organizat prelegeri profesionale și prezentări educaționale. Cu toate că prima expoziție a Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc s-a deschis în 1886, nevoia unei asemenea instituții a fost deja formulată cu cinci ani mai devreme, într-un proiect al consilierului ministerial Lajos Hegedüs.¹¹ Dezvoltarea industrială a orașului, denumit în acest proiect „capitala Ținutului Secuiesc”, nu se justifica prin semnificația sa istorică, ci prin legăturile feroviare, industria funcțională și alegerea sa ca sediu al Camerei de Comerț. Datorită demersurilor orașului, ale asociației cu sediu budapestan înființate în acest scop, respectiv ale unor localnici, a fost posibilă deschiderea instituției încă din vara anului 1886, la început într-o locație temporară, în foaietul teatrului de vară.¹² Înainte de 1893, anul finalizării clădirii

muzeului, acesta nu-și putea îndeplini funcția, neavând săli pentru dezvoltarea și conservarea colecțiilor și pentru procesul educațional.

Transformarea într-un centru de colecționare și educare de anvergură națională a Muzeului Industrial și Tehnologic din Budapesta s-a datorat, bineînțeles, poziționării în capitală, dar și rolului însemnat jucat de unele asociații civile cu acoperire națională. La Cluj, ideea fondării muzeului industrial a venit din partea persoanelor fizice, a asociațiilor industriașilor și a unor funcționari ai orașului.¹³ În înființarea muzeului de la Târgu Mureș, un rol decisiv a jucat Ministerul Comerțului, ce coordona proiectele centrale de dezvoltare ale Ținutului Secuiesc, alături de organizațiile civice și persoanele fizice din capitală care au susținut inițiativa. Misiunea Asociației Secuiești pentru Cultură și Economie (Székely Művelődési és Közgazdasági Egylet) a fost modernizarea economică și socială a Secuimii, program în care se încadra și înființarea Muzeului.¹⁴ În calitate de secretar de stat al transporturilor, Gábor Baross a promovat și a susținut financiar ideea fondării

¹⁰ BÓNIS 2003, 73–79, 81–82.

¹¹ Hegedüs Lajos m. kir. miniszteri tanácsosnak a dél-németországi iparmúzeumok s a Budapesten felállítandó műszaki iparmúzeum tárgyában tett jelentése, in: JELENTÉSEK ÉS JAVASLATOK 1881, 41. Inaugurarea a coincis cu începutul războiului vama româno-ungar, în urma căruia a scăzut vânzarea produselor meșteșugărești și casnice în România, a doua cea mai importantă destinație pentru exportul maghiar. BALATON 2016, 140–143.

¹² BÓNIS 2003, 29–34.

¹³ SZÉKELY 2015, 189–208.

¹⁴ BÓNIS 2003, 25.

muzeului, construit pe strada care ulterior i-a purtat numele.

Deschiderea muzeului a fost urmată, în anul 1892, de întemeierea Școlii Profesionale de Stat pentru Industria Prelucrării Lemnului și Metalelor, Baross având un rol decisiv și în acest proiect. Crearea școlii a fost inițiată de Asociația Secuiască pentru Cultură și Economie încă în adunarea generală din 1886, deschiderea ei coincidând cu construcția clădirii muzeului. Elevii au putut vizita noul muzeu încă din al doilea an de funcționare a școlii. Și această instituție de învățământ și-a început activitatea într-un sediu temporar, în încăperile spațioase ale casei Jenei.¹⁵ În deceniul de după deschidere, instituția muzeului a contribuit la dezvoltarea industriei orașului și a regiunii prin colecționarea produselor industriale, expoziții temporare și prin organizarea diferitelor cursuri. Modernizarea activității meșterilor constructori, tâmplarilor și prelucrătorilor de metale a devenit sarcina școlii și a muzeului. Noile spații muzeale au făcut posibilă educarea meșterilor locali și din împrejurimi, precum și instruirea elevilor școlii. Expoziția deschisă în 1886 a fost completată cu ocazia inaugurării noii clădiri a muzeului. Astfel, a luat ființă secția de distribuție la nivel național și internațional a produselor casnice și meșteșugărești tipice pentru Ținutul Secuiesc.

Colecția muzeului din Târgu Mureș a reflectat schimbarea dinamică a modernizării, baza ei constând în produsele ramurilor industriale practicate tradițional în Secuime: olăritul, prelucrarea metalelor, a lemnului, a pielii, industria textilă și artizanatul. Colecția de bază, precum și prima expoziție, a însemnat un amestec *sui-generis* al celor mai simple unelte, eșantioane ale unor firme budapestane și austriece, instalații din fabrici, statui, reliefuri și copii galvanoplastice.¹⁶

O parte importantă au reprezentat-o obiectele olăritului din regiune.¹⁷ Problemele inițiale, din vremea sălilor temporare de expoziție au fost rezolvate prin așezarea definitivă a colecțiilor în sediul permanent, care dispunea de șase săli la nivelul parterului și de o sală festivă la etaj. În plus față de caracterul etnografic al colecțiilor muzeului din Cluj, la Târgu Mureș s-a propus colecționarea produselor industriei casnice secuiești.¹⁸ Din anul 1886 a început să se separe profilul industrial de cel etnografic, dobândind caracteristici mai degrabă de industrie casnică, decât de colecție etnografică, separarea fiind oficializată prin statutul din 1897.

Scopurile dezvoltării industriale au fost deservite de obiecte din categoria tehnologică, cele mai moderne unelte și mașini necesare în industriile tradiționale secuiești și eșantioane de produse ale acestora. Colecția eșantioanelor industriale consta din produsele vandabile ale industriei tradiționale secuiești, care includeau și piesele secției de industrie casnică. În conformitate cu viziunea dezvoltării materialelor și tehnicii a lui Gottfried Semper – reflectând totodată practica contemporană a muzeelor industriei și a celor de artă aplicată – expozițiile noii clădiri au fost grupate pe baza tipurilor de materiale.¹⁹ Structura expoziției de la Târgu Mureș demonstrează o certă apropiere față de cea adoptată de Giuseppe Devincenzi, fondatorul și directorul Muzeului Regal Italian al Industriei din Torino (Regio Museo Industriale di Torino), în care colecția era împărțită în două secțiuni mari (urmând practica expozițiilor mondiale). Secțiunea ce prezenta produse fabricate din materii prime (lemn, piele, textile vegetale, metale) era separată de cea a produselor obținute prin prelucrare mecanică (hârtie, fier, ciment, asfalt, ceramică, sticlă etc.).²⁰

¹⁵ BÓNIS 2003, 55–57.

¹⁶ BÓNIS 2003, 69.

¹⁷ BÓNIS 2003, 70–72.

¹⁸ BÓNIS 2003, 72–73. Concepția din spatele colecției de cusături secuiești vechi și mai noi, broderii, sculpturi în lemn și ceramică a fost similară cu cea a Muzeului Industriei din Cluj (axată pe colecționarea produselor de industrie casnică din Ungaria și în special din Țara Călatei).

¹⁹ PRÜGEL 2015, 70.

²⁰ Concepția muzeală a lui Giuseppe Devincenzi (politician, agricultor, ministru al lucrărilor publice, dezvoltator feroviar) poate fi considerată o analogie a celei de la Târgu Mureș. A înființat o școală industrială și un muzeu al industriei în cadrul aceleiași instituții, a dorit să transforme economia Italiei, bazată în primul rând pe agricultură, într-una industrială modernă, considerând muzeul industriei un instrument important pentru acest scop. PAGELLA 2009, 116, 120.



Fig. 2. Figura alegorică a țesutului
(fotografia autorului, 2014).



Fig. 3. Figura alegorică a torsului
(fotografia autorului, 2014).

În prima sală a muzeului, din partea dreaptă a intrării, au fost expuse eșantioane de produse ale industriei prelucrării pietrei, a ceramicii și a sticlei, produse de ceramică tradițională locală, precum și cele mai fine produse de faianță din străinătate. A doua sală era destinată pieselor și instrumentelor din metal, unde, pe lângă uneltele folosite la prelucrarea metalelor, erau înșiruite pe rafturi diferite piese și ornamente din metal: aparate de cafea, lacăte, lămpi, lucrări de tinichigerie în construcții, eșantioane de piese turnate și ornamentele turnate sau presate din metal ale turnătoriei Schlick din Budapesta. Diferite articole din fier închideau seria în cea de-a treia sală. În prima sală din stânga intrării puteau fi admirate eșantioane din industria prelucrării lemnului și din industria mobilei,

produse și unelte ale meșterilor dulgheri, rotari, dogari și strungari, colecția de eșantioane de lemn folosit în producția firmei vieneze Burkart. În sala a cincea erau expuse jucării, pe când în cea de-a șasea, cu exponate mixte, puteau fi văzute eșantioane de piese împletite, dantele, țesături și piese de pasmanterie, împreună cu un model de război de țesut de tip Jacquard.²¹

Muzeul s-a concentrat pe ocupațiile tradiționale ale Ținutului Secuiesc, artizanatul și industria casnică, încercând să răspundă celor trei misiuni instituționale expuse anterior.²² Muzele înființate pe plan național în perioada 1880–1890 erau caracterizate în mare parte prin profilul industrial și al artelor aplicate, dintre acestea remarcându-se cel din Târgu Mureș prin faptul că a deținut a doua clădire (după Muzeul

²¹ BÓNIS 2003, 75–77; KARÁCSONY 2011, 367.

²² BÓNIS 2003, 27.

Național Maghiar) finalizată la scurt timp după înființare.²³ În cele două nișe din flancurile intrării principale a Muzeului este reprezentat câte un personaj feminin, unul simbolizând torsul, iar celălalt țesutul (Fig. 2–3). Ele fac referire probabil la artizanat și la industria casnică, în proiectul din iunie 1890 apărând doar schițate cu ajutorul câtorva linii, fapt care nu permit o interpretare iconografică. Pe locul grupului statuar din timpan se putea vedea la acea vreme doar schema unei steme.²⁴ Pare totuși misterioasă prezența celor două personaje feminine și este evidentă lipsa figurilor alegorice ale altor meserii precum tâmplăria, strungăria, fierăria sau olăritul, prezente de mai multe secole în Secuime. O rezolvare a problemei iconografice ne-o poate oferi organizarea colecției în funcție de materiile prime și cele prelucrate cu ajutorul

mașinilor. În partea stângă, unde au fost expuse piese din materii primare, neprelucrate industrial, stă alegoria țesutului, iar în nișa din dreapta, corespunzând exponatelor din materiale prelucrate industrial, era așezată alegoria torsului /filării.

Legătura dintre statuia din nișa fațadei și conținutul expoziției se poate remarca începând cu Gliptoteca lui Leo von Klenze din München. Muzeele industriale aveau însă un dinamism mult mai accentuat al colecțiilor decât celelalte muzee,²⁵ astfel că era posibilă situația în care personajele simbolice de pe fațadă să nu mai corespundă obiectelor din expoziție (diferență existentă poate chiar între concepția originală din 1890 a arhitectului și momentul de inaugurare a muzeului din anul 1893).

IDEEA DE CAPITALĂ SECUIASCĂ ÎN PROIECTAREA MUZEULUI INDUSTRIAL

Arhitectul István Kiss a scris în *Magyar Mérnök és Építész Egylet Közlönye (Gazeta Asociației Inginerilor și Arhitecților Maghiari)* un articol de sinteză despre vizita la Târgu Mureș a miniștrilor Gábor Baross, Sándor Wekerle și a secretarului de stat, Béla Lukács în luna iulie a anului 1889.²⁶ În cadrul acestei vizite, prepozițitul Ferenc Kovács a solicitat sprijin în vederea înființării unui muzeu al industriei subliniind că, „deși secuii sunt un bastion de necucerit al intereselor maghiare în estul Ungariei, deși ei sunt un popor destinat pentru a face industrie, guvernul maghiar a făcut prea puține pentru acest popor de bine; iar pentru orașul Târgu Mureș n-a făcut nimic”. Poate ca urmare a acestui discurs, Gábor Baross și Ministerul

Comerțului pe care îl conducea au devenit principalii susținători ai cauzei dezvoltării industriale și al construirii muzeului din Târgu Mureș, subvenționând construcția cu 16 000 forinți din costul total de 32 000 forinți.²⁷

Necesitatea dezvoltării industriei din Ținutul Secuiesc a fost demonstrată de însăși construcția muzeului: capitala secuiască în aceea vreme nu dispunea de meșteri pregătiți, cunoscători ai tehnologiilor moderne. În afara maistrului constructor, aproape toți meșterii au fost contractați din Budapesta. Ușa de stejar a edificiului din Târgu Mureș a fost realizată de tâmplarul János Bartolffy, feroneria ușii și cele două grilaje ale ferestrelor de la parter sunt rezultatul muncii lăcătușului Antal Risch, capitellurile fațadei

²³ Muzeul de Arte Aplicate și al Industriei, fondat în 1872, cu cei 25 de ani de provizorat a trebuit să facă față celei mai lungi perioade de funcționare temporară dintre toate muzeele industriale și de arte aplicate, deoarece clădirea ei a fost finalizată doar în 1896, urmând a intra în folosință abia anul următor. La cealaltă extremă avem Muzeul Tehnologiei și Industriei din Budapesta, care a fost fondat în 1883, iar clădirea sa a și fost dată în funcțiune în 1889. Muzeul Industriei „Franz Jozef I.” din Cluj și-a început activitatea în 1884, prima sa clădire a fost preluată abia 14 ani mai târziu, iar pentru propria sa clădire a trebuit să mai aștepte până în 1904.

²⁴ Kiss 1893, 236, vezi și A Székelyföldi Iparmúzeum, *Vasárnapi Ujság* 40. 28. (9 iulie 1893) 1–2.

²⁵ Modelul operațional al muzeului industriei s-a bazat pe eliminarea tehnologiei și pieselor învechite, respectiv a transferului acestora către instituțiile de învățământ, astfel încât colecția acestor instituții obișnuia să se schimbe continuu. Pe larg aici: SZÉKELY 2015, 200.

²⁶ Kiss 1893, 233–238.

²⁷ BÓNIS 2003, 47–48.

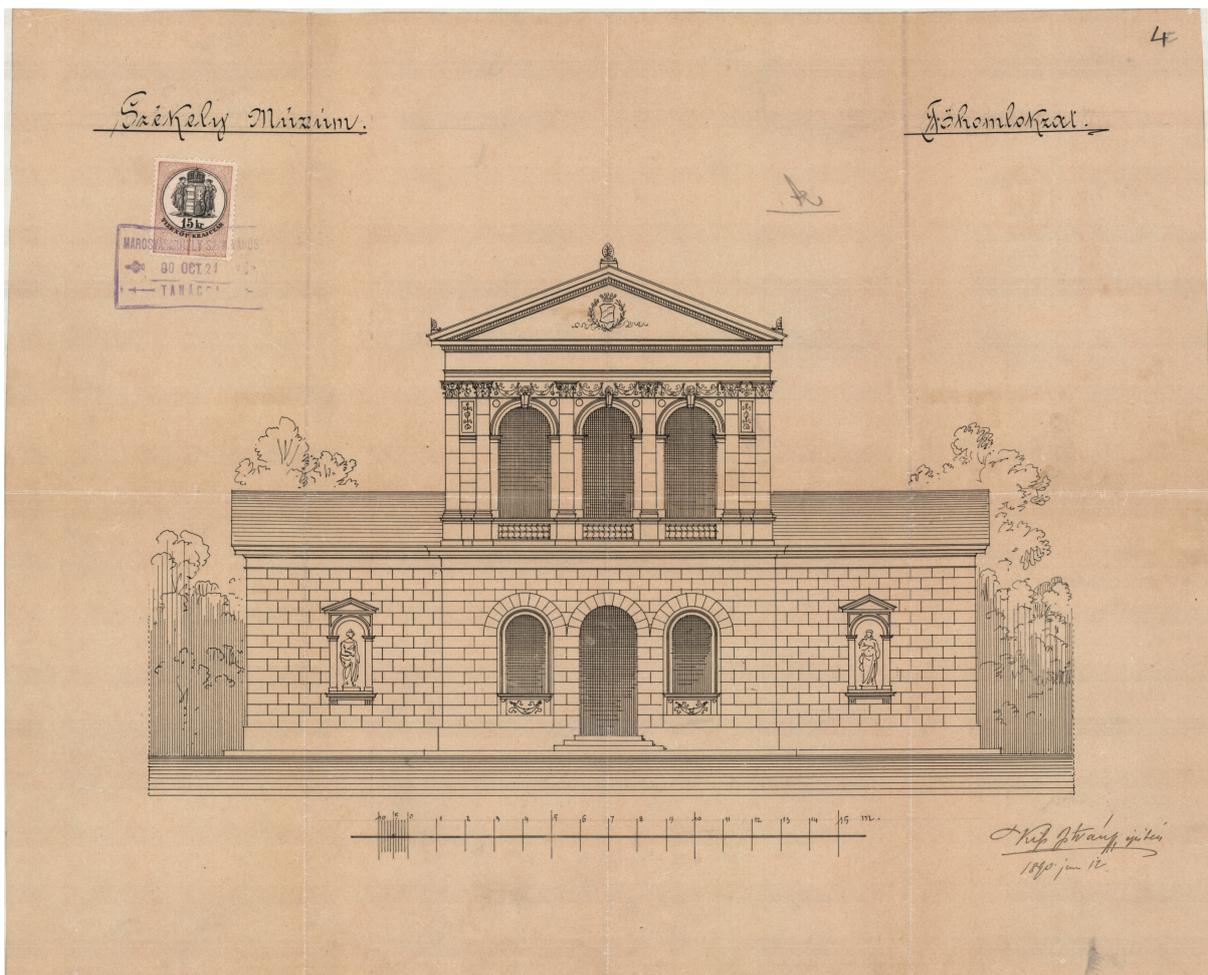


Fig. 4. Planul de autorizare a faţadei, 12 iunie 1890 (CONSILIUL ORAŞULUI, 8826/1890).

au sosit tot din capitală, din atelierul lui Antal Szabó, vitraliile din casa scării au fost create în atelierul Forgó & Co.²⁸ Uşa sălii festive – folosită și ca sală de expoziție – a fost confecționată în fabrica Thék, pictura murală decorativă a sălii, bazată pe un roșu de Pompei și inspirată din mitologia greacă, a fost pictată tot de un meșter din Budapesta, Adolf Götz. Lipsindu-ne sursele, nu știm care au fost criteriile după care arhitectul Kiss a ales executanții, dar putem presupune o lipsă de încredere față de meșterii locali. Aparent, muzeul industriei și școala profesională industrială, ambele active începând cu anii 1890, au avut un rol important în modernizarea industriei orașului, astfel că, după un deceniu, construcțiile de bună calitate din perioada

primarului György Bernády au putut fi realizate deja în mare parte de meșteri locali.

Pentru îndeplinirea misiunii muzeului, clădirea permanentă a fost deosebit de importantă. În dezvoltarea instituției, rolul lui Gábor Baross a fost decisiv, ministerul condus de el respingând primul proiect al clădirii, realizat în martie 1890 de inginerul local Dénes Losonczi. Planurile câștigătoare la concursul Asociației au fost semnate de István Kiss (12 iunie 1890) și au fost puse în operă între 1890–1893 pe strada Hajós (mai târziu Baross, azi Horea) de către meșteri locali apreciați, Pál Soós și József Sófalvi (Fig. 4–5).²⁹ István Kiss și-a început cariera în biroul arhitectului Alajos Hauszmann, iar pe când a realizat proiectul pentru Muzeu era

²⁸ KARÁCSONY 2011, 365.

²⁹ KARÁCSONY 2011, 364.

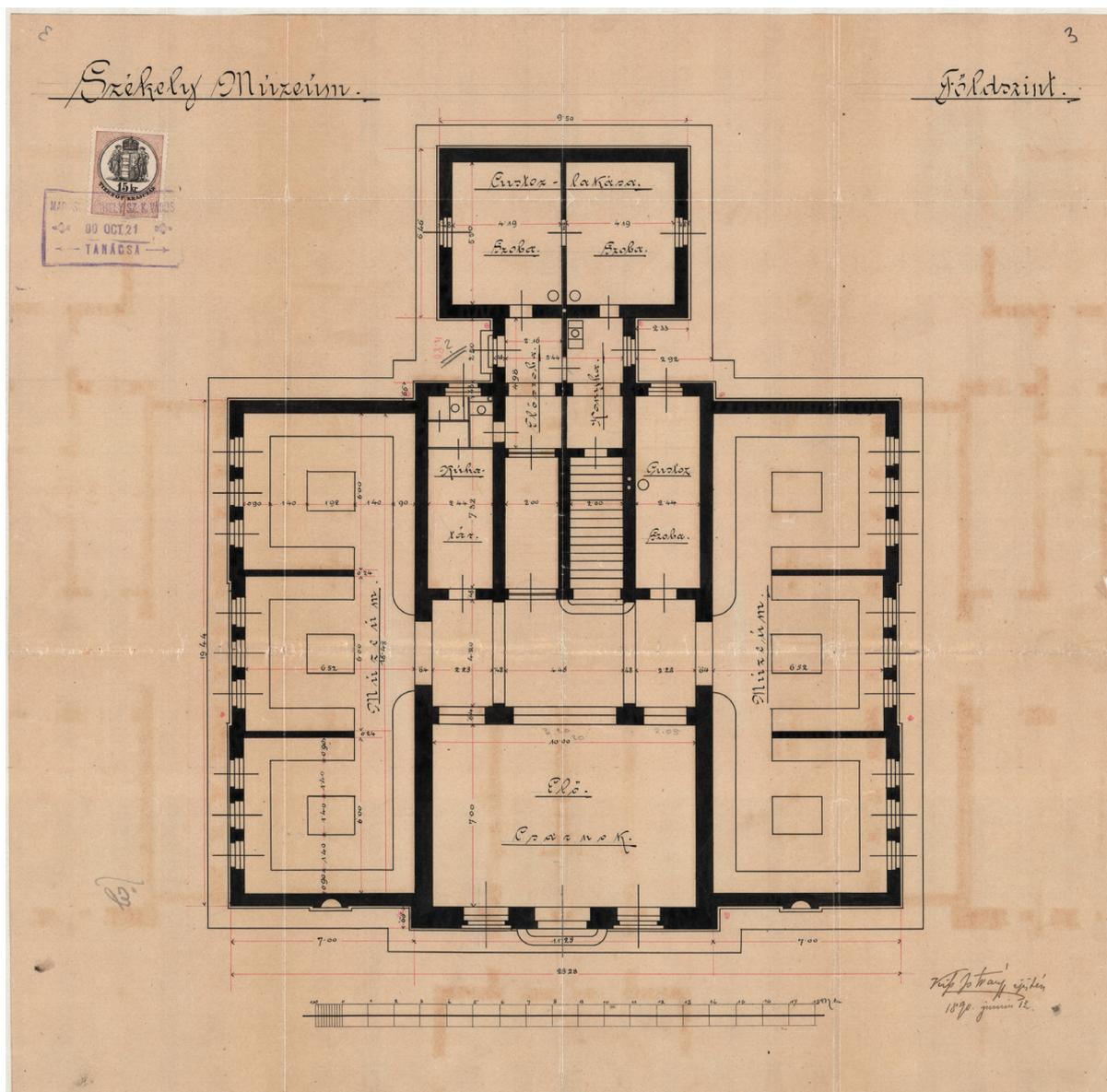


Fig. 5. Planul de autorizare a parterului, 12 iunie 1890 (CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI, 8826/1890).

profesor la Universitatea Politehnică din Budapesta. În 1878 a făcut o călătorie de studiu în Germania, Franța și Anglia; între 1882–1885 s-a perfecționat la Viena, la școala lui Theophil Hansen, apoi a lucrat în biroul lui Friedrich Schmidt.³⁰ Stilul lui, deci, s-a format în mare parte în birourile marilor măștri vienezi ai stilului clasicist-neorenescentist, în orașul imperial având ocazia să vadă construcția clădirilor surori ale Muzeului de Istoria Artei și ale

Muzeului de Istorie Naturală (1872–1891), precum și construcțiile civile și imperiale de mare anvergură de pe Ring și din împrejurimi.

Corpul central al muzeului din Târgu Mureș cuprindea un hol la parter, o sală mare la etaj, iar pe laterale erau câte trei săli de expoziție ce se întindeau doar la nivelul parterului. Corpul central este ușor scos în rezalit, în flancurile intrării principale existând două ferestre cu închidere semicirculară. Cele trei ferestre ale

³⁰ Studiile lui István Kiss arată asemănări cu cele ale lui Lajos Pákei, arhitectul muzeului și școlii industriale din Cluj, absolvent al Politehnicii din Budapesta în 1872, care în 1873 și-a continuat studiile la München, iar între anii 1876–1879 a urmat cursurile lui Theophil Hansen la Academia din Viena. SISA 1996, 172.

etajului asigură iluminarea sălii festive, deasupra aflându-se frontonul care încadrează grupul statuar al faşadei. Aceste soluţii arhitecturale – timpanul accentuat, articularea faşadei prin nişe de statui în locul ferestrelor – sunt idei binecunoscute în arhitectura muzeelor europene începând cu Gliptoteca din München (Leo von Klenze 1816–1830).

Clădirea muzeului, construită pe locul stabilit de municipalitate ne arată şi viziunea de mare anvergură a lui István Kiss asupra modernizării urbanistice a oraşului la începutul anilor 1890. Precedând cu mai mult de un deceniu legendara activitate a primarului György Bernády, care s-a străduit să dezvolte oraşul prin diferite construcţii cultural-administrative, István Kiss a aşezat modernizarea oraşului pe o bază industrial-educativă, organizând un nou spaţiu public în jurul unor instituţii de educaţie şi dezvoltare industrială. Muzeul industriei construit în strada Hajós, o stradă secundară a oraşului, cu case simple de locuit în aceea vreme, ar fi putut să-şi îndeplinească rolul reprezentativ visat de arhitect numai prin transformarea capătului străzii în piaţă. Citându-l pe Kiss: „a se deschide în faţa muzeului o stradă largă, ca o piaţă, până la următoarea stradă paralelă, iar clădirile ce urmează a fi construite, care vor trebui să aibă oricum legătură organică cu cea a muzeului (şcoală industrială, şcoală orăşenească), să fie aşezate pe lateralele acestei străzi; prin aceasta s-ar asigura cele mai potrivite condiţii, esenţiale pentru dezvoltarea modernă şi continuă a capitalei secuieşti”.³¹ Muzeul ca element organizator al oraşelor a fost un concept cunoscut încă de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea. Königliches Museum din Berlin, proiectat de Karl Friedrich Schinkel, împreună cu Domul, cu Arsenalul şi cu palatul familiei Hohenzollern, era un element cheie al spaţiului public din noua capitală a Prusiei şi al forumului reprezentativ al burghezimii. Dar putem evoca şi Königsplatz din München, conceput de Karl von Fischer pentru regele Bavariei, Ludovic I. după

modelul Acropolei din Atena, ori clădirile surori ale Kaiserforumului vienez, Kunsthistorisches şi Naturhistorisches Museum, finalizate în perioada construcţiilor de la Târgu Mureş, la o scară incomparabil mai mare.³²

Amplasarea clădirii cu aspect monumental în capătul unei străzi înguste, modeste din punct de vedere arhitectural, se poate explica aşadar şi la Târgu Mureş cu acest plan de perspectivă: crearea unui spaţiu public nou, încadrat de clădirea muzeului şi cele ale instituţiilor de învăţământ. Noutatea fundamentală în concepţia lui Kiss trebuie căutată tocmai în acest spaţiu public modern, definit de muzeu şi mărginit de clădiri construite în stil unitar, cu o funcţionalitate omogenă.³³ Această concepţie pe termen lung a lui Kiss, atât la figurat, cât şi la propriu, explică adăugarea ulterioară la proiect a grupului statuar reprezentativ.

În spatele respingerii variantei lui Losonczy putea să se fi conturat în viziunea echipei lui Baross o soluţie mai potrivită pentru „capitala secuiască”. În persoana lui István Kiss au găsit şi arhitectul pregătit pentru acest proiect, el imaginându-şi muzeul ca element al unei unităţi urbanistice de mare amploare. Această viziune trebuie să-şi fi avut rădăcinile în experienţa dobândită în străinătate. Noile clădiri vienez de pe Ringstraße, date în funcţiune între 1882–1885, clădirile burghezimii şi cele împărăteşti, mai ales clădirile surori ale muzeelor care erau aproape finalizate, călătoria de studii în străinătate din anul 1878, ar fi putut să influenţeze viziunea târgumureşeană a lui Kiss.³⁴ Toate acestea explică monumentalitatea faşadei principale a clădirii de la Târgu Mureş, deschizând-o spre (eventuala) dezvoltare ulterioară a zonei. Această concepţie reprezentativă, ce depăşea construcţiile locale de până atunci, ne oferă explicaţia pentru aşezarea clădirii în cadrul parcelei, retrasă de la frontul străzii, respectiv pentru amplasarea unui grup statuar monumental în timpanul faşadei:³⁵ era necesar un spaţiu larg

³¹ Kiss 1893, 235.

³² BISCHOFF 2010, 59–75.

³³ SISA 2013a, 367–370.

³⁴ HUSZTHY 2015, 5.

³⁵ Faşada principală a clădirii a fost autorizată cu o retragere de 5,7 metri faţă de linia străzii. CONSILIUL ORAŞULUI, 8826/1890.

pentru ca acesta să fie vizibil. Această perspectivă însă până la urmă nu s-a înfăptuit, iar conceptul urban mai amplu proiectat de István Kiss a rămas un fragment nefinalizat.

Viziunea urbanistică a lui Kiss, ce se baza pe principiul pedagogic al colaborării dintre muzeul industriei și școala profesională, respectiv pe administrarea comună a acestor instituții, după exemplul Muzeului Tehnologiei din Budapesta

sau cel al Muzeului Industriei Francisc Iosif I. din Cluj, n-a putut fi înfăptuită. Până la urmă, Școala Profesională de Stat pentru Prelucrarea Lemnului și a Metalelor a fost construită departe de muzeu, în capătul de vest al orașului (pe actuala stradă Gheorghe Doja). De aceea, colaborarea dintre Muzeul Industrial Secuiesc și Școala Profesională de la Târgu Mureș n-a putut deveni exemplară, asemenea instituțiilor din Budapesta sau din Cluj.

PROGRAMUL SCULPTURAL AL EDIFICIULUI

Pentru a înțelege grupul sculptural de pe fațadă, trebuie să ne îndreptăm atenția spre colecțiile muzeului. Înființată în același timp cu muzeul, Școala Profesională de Stat a lărgit spectrul industriei tradiționale a Ținutului Secuiesc cu *prelucrarea metalelor* – o zonă nouă de formare, cu nevoi tehnologice speciale – folosită în ornamentare arhitecturală și în arhitectura interioarelor. Personificarea acestei ramuri industriale este tocmai acea figură din partea stângă a personajului central, care privind spre oraș se sprijină cu dreapta pe un ciocan, odihnindu-și stânga pe o roată dințată (Fig. 11). În centrul holului au fost prezentate în 1893, anul deschiderii, produsele firmei budapestane a lui Henrik Engelsmann: piesele expuse la loc de frunte chiar și în hala temporară a muzeului aparțineau tinichigeriei pentru construcții, prezentând în primul rând folosirea colilor de oțel zincat în construcții. Elementele arhitecturale au fost prezentate vizitatorilor grupate într-o instalație în jurul unei piese centrale cu cupolă (Fig. 6). Datorită produselor lui Engelsmann, prin inaugurarea muzeului industriei din Târgu Mureș au apărut elemente moderne de decor orășenești ale perioadei istorismului, ce puteau fi produse mult mai ieftin, decât cele de piatră. Eșantioanele de ornamente metalice, de tinichigerie pentru construcții, diferitele piese ornamentale zincate din expoziție au devenit importante modele ale industriei prelucrării metalelor, introduse în oraș prin școala profesională. Importanța lor este marcată și de faptul că în catalogul primei

expoziții temporare, redactat în 1886 de Károly Ráth, unica imagine de interior prezintă tocmai această instalație a produselor Engelsmann, realizată de arhitectul budapestan Ferenc Novák.³⁶

Ca să ajungă la acest element central din cadrul expoziției inaugurale, vizitatorul trebuia să treacă printre două rânduri de statui de dimensiuni mici: în partea dreaptă reprezentanți ai istoriei statului și ai dreptului maghiar (István Werbőczy, Ferenc Deák, József Eötvös), în stânga reprezentanți din trecutul apropiat al istoriei literaturii (Mihály Vörösmarty, János Arany, Sándor Petőfi), urmate de statuete ale unor regi maghiari. Aceste busturi, ale unor personaje ce nu aveau legătură directă cu obiectul colecțiilor sau cu istoria orașului, conduceau vizitatorul spre statuia ministrului Gábor Baross, decedat în timpul lucrărilor de construcție, statuie așezată pe un pedestal de faianță Zsolnay (realizată de János Geibinger, profesor al școlii profesionale).³⁷ Muzeul Industrial Secuiesc era considerat de către contemporani o instituție cheie pentru dezvoltarea industrială, una dintre misiunile primordiale ale statului. Personajele immortalizate de busturi, reprezentanți ai istoriei și ai trecutului apropiat, pe lângă munca lor în literatură și în domeniul dreptului au înființat și au condus instituții de stat și asociații care au netezit dezvoltarea culturii naționale. István Werbőczy este autorul *Codicelui Tripartit (Hármaskönyv)* redactat după 1514, înainte de desființarea statului maghiar medieval, care a sistematizat cutumele și procedurile legale maghiare, unele dintre

³⁶ RÁTH 1886, 7, 53.

³⁷ BÓNIS 2003, 74.

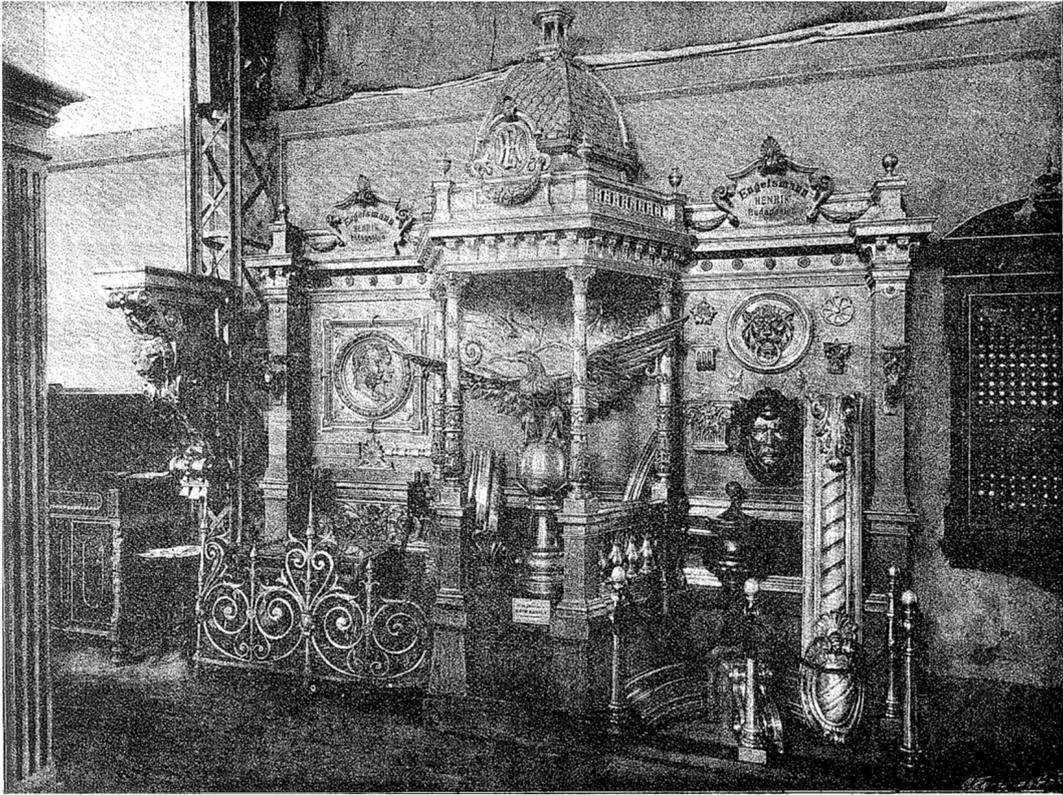


Fig. 6. Produsele lui Henrik Engelsmann expuse în expoziția de deschidere din 1886 (RÁTH 1886).

articolele acestuia fiind încă în vigoare și în anii 1890. Mihály Vörösmarty a fost fondatorul Societății Kisfaludy (Kisfaludy Társaság), cea mai importantă organizație literară, poate, a secolului al XIX-lea. János Arany, directorul de mai târziu al acestei societăți a îndeplinit și funcția de secretar general al Academiei Maghiare de Științe. Revoluția de la 1848 și Compromisul austro-ungar din 1867 se leagă de cariera lui József Eötvös, el îndeplinind funcția de ministru al cultelor și educației în guvernele Batthyány și Andrassy, în timp ce îndeplinea și funcțiile de președinte al Societății Kisfaludy, dar și al Academiei. Ferenc Deák a fost ministrul justiției în guvernul Batthyány, iar mai târziu plăsmuitorul Compromisului austro-ungar. Sándor Petőfi, chiar fără orice funcție oficială de conducere, a fost o figură iconică a literaturii naționale.

Actul Compromisului austro-ungar (Ausgleich) din 1867, în urma căruia Transilvania a redevenit parte a Ungariei, în discursurile

publice din perioada festivităților mileniului a fost considerat ca un al doilea descălecat, a fost înțeles ca momentul refondării statului maghiar, apărând ca element recurent și în simbolistica sau coreografia festivităților.³⁸ În lucrarea sa de pe fațada muzeului din Târgu Mureș, sculptorul József Róna l-a înfățișat pe Attila, strămoșul mitic al secuilor, șezând pe tron în centrul compoziției, purtând o coroană în patru vârfuri (Fig. 7). În această iconografie, la prima vedere neclară din punct de vedere ideologic, diferit de reprezentările obișnuite ale lui Árpád (conducătorul celor șapte triburi maghiare din perioada descălecatului), supremația politică maghiară din Secuime e reprezentată prin Attila, iar descălecatul, culminând în întemeierea statului medieval maghiar, este înlocuit cu fenomenul migrațiilor petrecute cu câteva secole mai devreme.³⁹ Prin figura lui Attila și cele ale personificărilor Ungariei și Transilvaniei, grupul statuar unește două elemente principale. Se

³⁸ SINKÓ 2000.

³⁹ KISS 1893, 234.



Fig. 7. Personajul lui Attila, alături de alegoria Transilvaniei și Ungariei (fotografia autorului, 2014).

face referire la imperiul hun condus de Attila ca precursor al descălecării, precedentul formării statalității maghiare medievale, și în același timp la reîntemeierea statului prin compromisul austro-ungar. Radiind o forță calmă, îmbrăcat în stil antic și ținându-și relaxat pe genunchi sabia în teacă, conducătorul hunilor are la dreapta sa alegoria Transilvaniei, o tânără ținând în mână ramuri de palmier, simbolul victoriei, în spatele ei fiind așezat un scut cu stema istorică a Transilvaniei, iar la stânga apare figura Ungariei, o femeie tânără cu o torță în mână. Aceste două figuri secundare se referă la proaspăta unire a celor două regiuni (Fig. 8–9).

Pregătindu-se de serbările mileniului maghiar din 1896, pe lângă Ștefan cel Sfânt, întemeietorul statului, a devenit foarte populară în diferitele reprezentări artistice și figura lui Árpád, asociată adeseori cu ideea statului național maghiar, cât și cu cea a supremației etnice. Figura domnitorului hun Attila apare relativ rar în secolul al XIX-lea. Cunoaștem exemple din secolul al XVIII-lea ale reprezentării lui Attila și ale fratelui său, Buda, statuile

celor doi frați întemeietori ai imperiului hun decorând intrarea universității iezuiților de la Buda. Însă în anii anteriori creării grupului statuar târgumureșean, presupusul mormânt al lui Attila a inspirat și cercetările științifice. În 1886 Imre Henszlmann și-a publicat referatul despre cercetările sale pe această temă. O epopee din 1831 a lui Endre Pázmándi Horvát, intitulată *Árpád*, interpreta descălecarea ca reocuparea mormântului lui Attila, iar în următoarele decenii numeroase creații literare au avut ca tema ocuparea palatului lui Attila de la Óbuda de către Árpád.⁴⁰

La fel ca în bine-cunoscuta pictură a lui Mór Than, *Ospățul lui Attila*, domnitorul hun este reprezentat la Târgu Mureș în îmbrăcăminte antică. Poartă o togă deasupra armurii, este încălțat în sandale, mâna dreaptă sprijinindu-și-o pe tron, cu stânga ținând mânerul sabiei ce se odihnește în teacă, îndeplinindu-și, așadar, misiunea divină a „descălecării secuilor”, după care poate urma vremea pașnică a edificării statului. Reprezentarea iconografică a regelui hun iese în evidență și dintre figurile timpanului și

⁴⁰ SINKÓ 2000, 7, 11 și nota 77.



Fig. 8. Personificarea Transilvaniei în dreapta lui Attila (fotografia autorului, 2014).



Fig. 9. Personificarea Ungariei în stânga lui Attila (fotografia autorului, 2014).

ale fațadei principale. Personajul bărbos, purtător de coroană, așezat pe un tron antic – ca exemplu al popularizării imaginii umanizate a lui Attila creată de istoricul francez Amédée Thierry – apare ca un domnitor atins de spiritul antichității, civilizat, lucrând la ridicarea națiunii sale.⁴¹ Ideea dezvoltării statului maghiar este surprinsă atât în grupul statuar din timpan, cât și în seria busturilor holului de intrare. Attila, cel care a cucerit patria strămoșească a secuilor, apare de fapt ca întemeietor al statului, munca lui fiind continuată de personajele reprezentate în hol, pe lângă care se poate ajunge la expoziția uneltelor și pieselor moderne ale industriei ce ascund în sine dezvoltarea viitorului.⁴² Cele două figuri așezate în colțurile timpanului fac

trimitere la perioada calmă a construcției, care pune capăt vremurilor de război, în același timp și la industrializarea Secuimii. În partea dreaptă a lui Attila, lângă personificarea Transilvaniei, avem o tânără ce reprezintă țesutul și torsul, adică industria casnică secuiască (Fig. 10). În partea stângă, lângă personificarea Ungariei, figura sprijinită pe ciocan și cu roata dințată, privind orașul, se referă la industria modernă ce urmează să fie implementată în Ținutul Secuiesc (Fig. 11). Potrivit unei alte interpretări posibile, aceste personaje secundare fac trimitere la prezent și la viitor: la industria provincială din Transilvania, primordial casnică, de manufactură și cea modernă a Ungariei al cărei teritoriu, mulțumită reformelor ministrului Baross, era



Fig. 10. Personificarea industriei casnice (fotografia autorului, 2014).



Fig. 11. Personificarea industriei prelucrării metalelor (fotografia autorului, 2014).

⁴¹ Despre posibilele modele/antecedente iconografice din arta maghiară vezi: RÉVÉSZ 2010, 190.

⁴² Despre complexe conexiuni dintre simbolismul descălecării și întemeierea statului: SINKÓ 2000, 6–12.

deja la acea oră străbătută de calea ferată. Împreună, cele două statui se referă la prioritățile dezvoltării industriale din Ținutul Secuiesc, la cultivarea industriei casnice și la implementarea

unor noi ramuri de industrie, exprimând și dubla direcție a colecționismului muzeului industriei: obiecte din domeniul industriei casnice și cel al tehnologiei.⁴³

PRIMA REPREZENTARE A ÎNRUDIRII DINTRE HUNI ȘI SECUI

Cel mai interesant substrat de interpretare a grupului statuar de la Târgu Mureș este cel care transmite ideea înrudirii huno-secuiască, un exemplu timpuriu pentru perioada dualismului. Reprezentări asemănătoare au apărut doar mai târziu, la începutul secolului XX, în primul rând în lucrările Școlii artistice de la Gödöllő.⁴⁴ Spațiile și instituțiile publice ale statului au făcut loc în anii ce precedaseră festivitățile sărbătorii mileniului, unei multitudini de diferite reprezentări istorice, fresce, cicluri de fresce și statui de for public. Între acestea, un grup separat au format reprezentările descălecatului, care, trimitând la ideea întâietății maghiarilor, îl așezau în centru pe Árpád. Opera care a provocat cele mai multe discuții pe această temă a fost *Descălecatul* lui Mihály Munkácsy, comandată pentru Camera Deputaților din Parlament și realizată între 1890–1893, în același timp cu grupul statuar de la Târgu Mureș. După aducerea în discuție a realizării sale în 1882 de către scriitorul Mór Jókai, aceasta, vreme de mai mult de un deceniu, a rămas în mijlocul atenției vieții artistice și politice. Pictura reflecta poziția oficială în legătură cu mileniul maghiar a lui Zsolt Beöthy, unul dintre liderii literaturii și științei literaturii maghiare conservatoare: prin supunerea pașnică a popoarelor Bazinului Carpatic se voia stimularea renunțării la aspirațiile de independență a naționalităților, în paralel cu

îndemnul către maghiari de a fi toleranți față de acestea.⁴⁵

În lipsa izvoarelor, nu putem determina momentul proiectării grupului statuar. După cum se poate observa în proiectul original, aprobat la data de 12 iunie 1890, apare doar o schiță a unei steme și a figurilor feminine de lângă intrare. În baza actelor și desenelor înaintate, consiliul orășenesc a aprobat construcția clădirii în ședința din 8 noiembrie 1890, fără însă a se face referire la ornamentația sculpturală în procesul verbal al ședinței.⁴⁶ Arhitectul însuși, István Kiss, s-a referit la grupul statuar ca la o idee formulată după acceptarea proiectului, ceea ce ne duce spre anii 1891–1892. În această perioadă, Ministerul Comerțului condus de Gábor Baross, cel care patrona și cauza Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc, coordona pregătirea sărbătorilor mileniului. Cei doi poli ai festivităților s-au maturizat pe la mijlocul anului 1891.⁴⁷ Aceștia s-au materializat în Expoziția Milenară de mai târziu, susținută de guvern, respectiv în înălțarea unor coloane milenare propuse de Kálmán Thaly, aflat în opoziție, proiect mult discutat. În grupul statuar al lui Róna, și mai ales în interpretarea lui Kiss, ne întâlnim cu concepția etnico-teritorială a coloanelor milenare ale lui Thaly: „acest pământ este teritoriul statului maghiar și vrem ca acesta să existe și în continuare, ca un stâlp de fier, în mileniul al

⁴³ BÓNIS 2003, 49; KARÁCSONY 2011, 371.

⁴⁴ Tema va apărea și în Parlament, în programul decorativ al tavanului vorbitorului camerei deputaților, în cele trei câmpuri centrale ale lucrării lui Varga Zsigmond putând fi observate secvențele *Visul lui Emese*, *Armata eroică a regelui Attila*, *Hunor și Mașor la vânătoare de cerbi*. Câmpurile sunt înconjurate de figurile pe tron ale lui Attila, Csaba, Árpád și Buda. Vezi PILISI NEY 1906. Cea mai importantă lucrare a epocii pe această temă însă se regăsește tot la Târgu Mureș, în Sala de Oglinzi a Palatului Culturii, vitraliile lui Sándor Nagy după planurile lui Ede Wigand Toroczka, cu scene inspirate din folclorul secuiesc: *Grădina cu cort a Doamnei Réka*, *Leagănul lui Csaba*, *Stâlpul funerar al doamnei Réka*, *Fereastra cu scânduri a doamnei Réka*. GELLÉR 2003, 14–17.

⁴⁵ VESZPRÉMI 2010, 302–303.

⁴⁶ CONSILIUL ORAȘULUI 8826/1890.

⁴⁷ BÓNIS 2003, 46; VADAS 1996, 8.

doilea”.⁴⁸ În acest caz, descălecarea nu se referă de fapt la ocuparea teritoriilor de către maghiari, ci la cucerirea lui Attila, care a făcut posibilă descălecarea maghiară ulterioară. Lărgind interpretarea temporală, și principiul teritorial a primit un nou sens, secuii stabiliți în Transilvania cucerită de huni în secolul al V-lea devenind purtătorii continuității legăturii cu imperiul hun. Compoziția concepută ulterior reflectă elocvent ideea originii huno-secuiești și a relației de rudenie dintre secui și maghiar, idei prezente și în cuvintele prepozitului Ferenc Kovács.

În catalogul expoziției, apărut în 1886, Károly Ráth scrie despre secui ca fiind „cei mai vechi și cei mai patrioți fii ai țării noastre”.⁴⁹ Când despre grupul statuar, rândurile lui István Kiss ne aduc oarecare lumină în teoria întrucâtva confuză: „În grupul statuar de pe fronton, Attila reprezintă migrația și descălecarea secuilor, întemeierea statului ce a rezultat din această migrație, uniunea dintre Ungaria și Transilvania – ambele fiind reprezentate prin câte un personaj feminin – și misiunea principală a acestui stat unitar, dezvoltarea industrială, reprezentată de figura celor doi copii; [...] concepția artistică a sculpturii anunță cu fidelitatea istoriografului esența clădirii și destinația ei, precum și vechimea ancestrală de un mileniu și jumătate a națiunii ce a creat-o.”⁵⁰

Identitatea huno-maghiară, descrisă în cronica din secolul al XIII-lea a lui Simon Kézai, retipărită la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și la începutul celui de-al XIX-lea de mai multe ori, părea să pălească către sfârșitul secolului, concomitent cu noile idei despre descălecat ale epocii.⁵¹ Personajul principelui Árpád a fost cel ce a ajuns în centrul atenției publice în contextul descălecatului, apărând, pe lângă pictura lui Munkácsy, în nenumărate creații sculpturale.⁵² Povestea cuceririlor din Pannonia ale lui Attila, redată de cronica lui Simon Kézai,

este interpretată ca o justificare a descălecării maghiarilor și o dovadă a dreptului asupra fostelor teritorii ale hunilor și asupra centrului imperiului lui Attila, drept datorat legăturii de rudenie huno-maghiară. În această natațiune, secuii, ca descendenți ai hunilor, întrupează baza puterii statale maghiare, ei primindu-i pe maghiarii ce se „întorceau” în Bazinul Carpatic.⁵³ Pe lângă înălțarea columnelor milenare de către stat, și în comemorările locale găsim referiri asupra mitului originii huno-secuiești. Pe columna din Odorheiu Secuiesc, ridicată în 1897, putem vedea împreună cu stema țării, a județului și a orașului – stema secuilor, de asemenea, inscripția comemorează „descălecatul” secuilor. Asemenea teme sunt întâlnite des și în presa secuiască a vremii.⁵⁴ Seria creațiilor vizuale cu tema mitului originii huno-secuiești de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea a fost deschisă de grupul statuar al muzeului de la Târgu Mureș.

În identificarea semnificațiilor personajului Attila, purtător de coroană, primim un ajutor și de la arhitect. În concepția lui Kiss, grupul statuar al lui József Róna necesită unele interpretări de drept public și economic: momentul descălecării și al întemeierii statului condensat într-o singură compoziție se întrecește cu efectele benefice ale industrializării, una dintre principalele aspirații ale statului maghiar modern. Uniunea modernă, de drept comun a teritoriilor ungare și transilvănene, unite și în trecut în imperiul lui Attila, aduce cu sine promisiunea înălțării Secuimii din punct de vedere economic și cultural. Abordarea de drept public a compoziției o leagă de *Monumentul milenar (Milleniumi emlékmű)*, opera lui Albert Schickedanz, construită tot în stil neorenascentist după festivitățile milenare.⁵⁵

Construcțiile festivităților milenare, precum lucrările de pictură, sculptură și cele de decorațiune arhitectonică, și mai ales reprezentările multi-figurale de pe fațade, au depășit în

⁴⁸ VADAS 1996, 8, 9.

⁴⁹ KISS 1893, 234.

⁵⁰ RÁTH 1886, I.

⁵¹ Temă dezbătută în această perioadă și în etnografia maghiară, pe paginile revistei *Ethnographia*. VESZPRÉMI 2010, 302.

⁵² SINKÓ 2000, 6–12; CIEGER 2015, 25–48.

⁵³ PÁL 2016b, 345–347.

⁵⁴ PÁL 2013, 349.

⁵⁵ BÓNIS 2003, 49; KARÁCSONYI 2011, 371; SISA 2013b, 613–616.

dimensiuni orice închipuire, publicul din Ungaria cunoscând asemenea exemple doar de peste hotare. Înaintea febrei construcțiilor legate de festivitățile milenare, abia se putea observa pe alocuri câte o clădire clasicizantă ce avea în timpan grupuri statuare, iar în provincie, lipseau cu desăvârșire. Ca predecesor al timpanului de la Târgu Mureș ar putea fi amintită iconografia timpanului și casei scârilor ornamentale de la Muzeul Național Maghiar: ambele desemnează sarcinile instituției respective printr-un context de modernizare și al dreptului teritorial și

public. Personajul central al timpanului Muzeului Național, Pannonia, face referire la originea hunică a nobilimii maghiare, pe baza căreia și-a format dreptul asupra pământului Pannoniei, precum și asupra obiectelor găsite în acest pământ; aceste drepturi sunt simbolizate prin figurile așezate în colțuri, ce personifică Dunărea și Drava. Această logică teritorială se repetă și în cazul timpanului de la Târgu Mureș, prin personificarea Transilvaniei și Ungariei, figuri ce îl încadrează pe Attila șezând pe tronul din centrul grupului.

CONCLUZII

Programul iconografic al grupului statuar conceput în paralel cu lucrările de construcție, probabil în timp ce Kiss își puna pe hârtie ideile de urbanism, denotă o bună cunoaștere a discuțiilor din epocă. Nu ne este cunoscut creatorul programului, dar pe baza scrierilor sale îl putem bănuși tocmai pe István Kiss, sau pe cel ce a îmbrățișat cauza muzeului industriei, Gábor Baross. József Róna, cel care mai târziu a devenit o figură importantă ca sculptor, nota scurt în autobiografia sa despre această lucrare timpurie: „A sosit o nouă comandă. István Kiss construia muzeul secuiesc la Târgu Mureș și a trebuit să fac mai multe statui pentru nișe și un fronton”.⁵⁶ Memoriile sumare ale artistului și lipsa de informații din perioada timpurie a carierei sale nu ne ajută în găsirea unui răspuns, și în ciuda calității grupului statuar, a caracterului timpuriu, unic, acesta lipsește din lista operelor cunoscute ale lui Róna.⁵⁷

Importanța grupului statuar de la Târgu Mureș e dată atât de specificul programului iconografic, cât și de faptul că a fost finalizat. Este o raritate între construcțiile de muzeu ale Ungariei acelor vremuri, fiind primul grup statuar ce ornează un timpan, de la statuile lui Raffaello Monti create pentru decorarea Muzeului

Național Maghiar, și precedând cu aproape un deceniu și jumătate copia de grup statuar antic așezat în frontonul Muzeului de Arte Frumoase din Budapesta. Este un fenomen unic și între muzeele industriei și artelor aplicate, ornamentația clădirii Muzeului Tehnologiei Industriale din Budapesta a lui Alajos Hauszmann limitându-se la portretele de pe fațada principală, iar cea a Muzeului de Arte Aplicate al lui Ödön Lechner se rezumă la patru statui ce reprezintă ramurile industriale. Costurile ridicate pot fi explicația pentru care grupurile statuare, proiectate de Lajos Pákei pentru cele două clădiri ale muzeului industriei din Cluj, n-au ajuns să fie realizate.⁵⁸ De fapt construcțiile publice ale Ungariei în perioada dintre 1867 și sărbătoarea mileniului conțin arareori ornamente statuare amplasate în timpan.

Misiunea Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc din Târgu Mureș a fost modernizarea regiunii defavorizate a Secuimii. Obiectivele formulate în legătură cu fondarea muzeului, adică programul modernizării industriei meșteșugărești și industriei casnice din Ținutul Secuiesc, a primit o reprezentare vizuală în timpanul fațadei principale. Ridicarea grupului statuar, și prin aceasta materializarea vizuală a programului

⁵⁶ RÓNA 1929, 534.

⁵⁷ József Róna, membru al unei familii de industriași, a primit comanda la începutul anilor 1890 datorită talentului său indiscutabil, însă pe lângă bursele de la Viena, Berlin și Roma, ce-i recunoșteau activitatea profesională, a terminat numai trei clase elementare. NAGY 1990, 4.

⁵⁸ Cele cinci statui ale lui Róna, realizate din zamac, au costat 2 750 forinți, reprezentând 10% din costul total al construcției (mai mică, decât cel al muzeelor industriei din Cluj și Budapesta). BÓNIS 2003, 48.

de modernizare etnică, trebuie să fi avut o semnificație aparte. Acest ornament sculptural nu este doar primul decor arhitectonic al oraşului Târgu Mureş, ci totodată programul vizual al modernizării regiunii, definitoriu pentru construcțiile publice ale lui György Bernády, premergător al ideilor de planificare urbană. La începutul anilor 1890, iconografia timpanului de la Târgu Mureş stă ca o mărturie a „exportului” principiilor originii comunitare, a normelor politice și istorice ale Ungariei ce se elaborau în febra mileniului. O caracteristică a grupului statuar de la Târgu Mureş constă și în raritatea

subiectului central al reprezentării. Cu toate că figura lui Attila era deja prezentă în mediul laic sau ecleziastic încă din secolul al XVIII-lea – dar într-un mod diferit față de Árpád sau de Ștefan cel Sfânt – în jurul persoanei acestuia nu s-a desfășurat un proces de transformare în simbol care să fie acceptat în diferite straturi ale identității naționale maghiare. Tocmai în vremea organizării festivităților milenare, contemporan cu proiectarea grupului statuar de la Târgu Mureş, contradicțiile și tensiunile dintre aceste niveluri de identitate au ajuns să transforme fundamental peisajul vizual al întregii țări.

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IZVOARE DE ARHIVĂ

CONSILIUL ORAŞULUI

Serviciul Judeţean Mureş al Arhivelor Naţionale, Fond Primăria Municipiului Târgu Mureş, Seria Consiliul oraşului

**ATTILA OVER THE TOWN. THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME
OF THE STATUARY GROUP CREATED BY JÓZSEF RÓNA ON THE
FAÇADE OF THE SZEKLER MUSEUM OF INDUSTRY**

(Summary)

The second of the industrial museums in Hungary was the Szekler Museum of Industry in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), built in 1890–1893. The tympanum of the façade contains a sculptural group cast in zinc by József Róna. It depicts Attila seated on a throne, flanked by the allegorical female figures of Hungary and Transylvania, with the figure of a boy and girl at either end, representing industrial development. The Târgu Mureş sculptural group is significant not only for its unique iconographic programme but also by virtue of its being made at all. This monument is a rare architectural example of a sculptural group decorating the tympanum of a Hungarian museum. The Szekler Museum of Industry in Târgu Mureş was meant to aid in the modernization of the region, inhabited primarily by Szeklers and possessing historical privileges. The aims formulated when the museum was founded, that is, a programme for modernizing Szekler handicraft and cottage industries, were expressed visually in the tympanum on the museum's façade. The

installation of the statue group, and thus the visual presentation of the ethnicized modernization programme had special significance. The sculptural decoration was not only the first architectural sculpture in the modern history of Târgu Mureş but was also a visualization of the modernization of the Szeklerland, which preceded the urbanistic vision that defined the public building projects of the mayor of the city from 1902 to 1912, dr. György Bernády. The iconography of the Târgu Mureş tympanum bears witness to the 'export' to the Szeklerland in the early 1890s of political and historical principles and the notion of a community of origin, feverishly discussed in the excited atmosphere of the approaching Millennium. The unusualness of the Târgu Mureş sculptural group arises from what is omitted from the depiction. Beginning in the eighteenth century, religious and secular depictions included images of Attila. However, in contrast to Árpád and St. Stephen, the figure of Attila did not undergo symbolization through conceptual, historical or ideological

structures over the centuries, a process that was said to have become especially dynamic in the last third of the nineteenth century. Had this occurred, the figure of Attila would have become acceptable to the various layers of Hungarian national identity. The contradictions and tension between these layers of identity during the organization of the Millennial celebrations and the design and execution of the Târgu Mureş statue group fundamentally transformed every segment of the country's visual landscape. In this case, the conquest is not the Hungarians'

conquering of the region but rather Attila's earlier achievement, which made the Hungarian conquest possible. In a broader interpretation of the timeframe, the regional principle took on a new meaning; under Attila's leadership, the Huns conquered Transylvania in the fifth century and the Szeklers who settled there represent continuity with the Hun empire. The depiction, not part of the original plan, reflected the Hun-Szekler origin myth and the notion of a Szekler-Hungarian relationship.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ActaArchHung</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>AISC</i>	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice Cluj
<i>Aluta</i>	Aluta. Studii și cercetări
<i>AnB</i>	Analele Banatului (Serie nouă 2006–)
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni
<i>AnnUA-Hist</i>	Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica
<i>Antiquity</i>	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő
<i>ArchHung</i>	Archaeologia Hungarica
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt
<i>ArchSlovMonComm</i>	Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae: Communicationes
<i>Argesis</i>	Argesis. Studii și comunicări
<i>AVSL</i>	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan
<i>BB</i>	Bibliotheca Brukenthal
<i>BCȘS</i>	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești
<i>BeitUfGMMKR</i>	Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Kulturräum
<i>BerRGK</i>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
<i>BICA</i>	Bullettino dell' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica = Bulletin de l' Institut de correspondance archéologique
<i>BHAUT</i>	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis
<i>BJ</i>	Bonner Jahrbücher
<i>BMA</i>	Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis
<i>BMM</i>	Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis
<i>BudRég</i>	Budapest Régiségei
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice
<i>Carpica</i>	Carpica. Muzeul Județean Iulian Antonescu
<i>CCAR</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
<i>CH</i>	Cahiers d' Histoire. Publiés par les Universités de Clermont-Ferrand
<i>CommArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d' archéologie et d' histoire ancienne
<i>DDMÉ</i>	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>DissArch</i>	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae
<i>DM</i>	Dissertationes et monographiae Beograd
<i>DolgKolozsvar (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (Új sorozat 2006–)
<i>DolgSzeged</i>	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből
<i>EDR</i>	Ephemeris Dacoromana
<i>EMúz</i>	Erdélyi Múzeum

<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis
<i>HOMÉ</i>	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>IA</i>	Internationale Archäologie
<i>ICA</i>	Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology
<i>IPH</i>	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae
<i>JAHA</i>	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology
<i>JAAH</i>	Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History
<i>JASc</i>	Journal of Archaeological Science
<i>JbRGZM</i>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>KM</i>	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata
<i>KuBA</i>	Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica
<i>Lymbus</i>	Lymbus. Magyarágtudományi Forrásközlemények
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–XXXV): Studii și Materiale
<i>Marisia-AHP</i>	Marisia: Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice
<i>MFME (StudArch)</i>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, (Studia Archaeologica 1995–)
<i>MGLDMS (N. F.)</i>	Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle Denk- und Merkwürdigkeiten Siebenbürgens, Neue Folge
<i>Mousaios</i>	Mousaios. Muzeul Județean Buzău
<i>MSVFG</i>	Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte
<i>MűvtÉrt</i>	Művészettörténeti Értesítő
<i>NuclInstMethPhys-Sect. B</i>	Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research. Section B
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>PAS</i>	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
<i>Radiocarbon</i>	Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research
<i>ReiCretActa</i>	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
<i>RégFüz</i>	Régészeti Füzetek
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței. Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>Sargetia (S.N.)</i>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis
<i>SBA</i>	Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–)
<i>SlovArch</i>	Slovenská Archeológia
<i>StCl</i>	Studii Clasice
<i>StComSibiu</i>	Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>SUBB-Historia</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai, series Historia
<i>StudUCH</i>	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica
<i>Terra Sebus</i>	Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis
<i>Thraco-Dacica</i>	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul de Arheologie “Vasile Pârvan” Centrul de Tracologie
<i>Tisicum</i>	Tisicum. A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve
<i>Tyragetia</i>	Tyragetia. The National Museum of History of Moldova
<i>UPA</i>	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie
<i>VAH</i>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica
<i>WMMÉ</i>	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

MARISIA. ARCHAEOLOGIA, HISTORIA, PATRIMONIUM

With a publishing tradition since 1965, in 2019 the annual of the Mureş County Museum initiated a new series entitled: *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium*. The publication provides a panel for new research results in archeology, architecture and material heritage of the history of arts and culture. The studies mainly focus on the inner Transylvanian region that encompasses also Mureş County. Beyond local valuable contributions, the annual aims at a regional and global concern that is relevant for the whole of Transylvania. Among the annual's missions is to provide mutual interpretation of the research results produced by the Romanian and Hungarian scientific workshops. Therefore, the annual articles are mainly in English but based on the field of research and the approached topic studies in German, Romanian or Hungarian are also accepted.

Cu o tradiție din anul 1965, anuarul Muzeului Județean Mureş s-a relansat în 2019 sub titlul *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium*. Această publicație se descrie ca o platformă științifică care cuprinde rezultatele cercetărilor în domenii precum: arheologia, arhitectura și patrimoniul material din zona istoriei artelor și a culturii, studii localizate în regiunea centrală a Transilvaniei, din care face parte județul Mureş. **In extenso**, anuarul își propune să ofere un spațiu unitar contribuțiilor științifice valoroase, relevante din perspectiva geografică a ceea ce înseamnă întreaga regiune a Transilvaniei. Una dintre misiunile publicației este aceea de a oferi tuturor celor interesați spațiul de schimb pentru cele mai noi rezultate din atelierile științifice românești și maghiare. Articolele anuarului sunt scrise în general în limba engleză, existând totodată articole scrise în germană, română și maghiară, în funcție de specificul domeniului și a temei abordate.

A Maros Megyei Múzeum 1965 óta megjelenő évkönyvének 2019-ben útjára bocsátott új sorozata, a *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium* elsősorban a mai Maros megyét is magába foglaló belső-erdélyi régió régészeti, épített és tárgyi örökségére, nemkülönben az ezekhez kapcsolódó művészettörténeti, művelődéstörténeti kérdésekre vonatkozó újabb kutatások tudományos fóruma. A lokális perspektíván túl igyekszik kitekinteni a regionális és univerzális összefüggésekre, így a tágran értelmezett Erdély területére nézve is közöl kiemelkedő értékkel bíró tanulmányokat. Küldetésének tekinti a hazai román és magyar tudományos műhelyekben született eredmények kölcsönös tolmácsolását. A dolgozatok nyelve főként az angol, de szakterülettől és témától függően német, román vagy magyar nyelven is közöl írásokat.

