

# MARISIA

Studii și materiale

XXXIII

Arheologie



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Birthday*, 2012, Main Series 25, 633 pp. with BW and colour illustrations ISBN 978-963-9911-28-4  
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# CHURCHYARDS IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN FROM THE 11<sup>TH</sup> TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES. ON THE BEGINNING OF INSTITUTIONALIZED CHRISTIANITY

ERWIN GÁLL

**Keywords:** Christianity, church, burial custom, grave goods, settlement

**Cuvinte cheie:** creștinism, biserică, rit și ritual funerar, inventar funerar, habitat

*In our effort to summarise the churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin, although a lot of questions remained unanswered, we have managed to find some interpretations for several problems concerning the sociological and historical phenomena of the different segments of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century society.*

*Churchyards are the most obvious and reliable indicators of institutionalised Christianity. As opposed to the other regions of Europe, there is no clear archaeological evidence of institutionalised Christianity in the Transylvanian Basin from before the 11<sup>th</sup> century.*

*We also formulated the question: to what extent could the population of these cemeteries be Christian? The characteristics of these cemeteries seem to show that the members of these communities were Christian. In several cases, unusual or strange burial customs can be documented. Although the Christian church banned some rites in the fight against paganism, based upon the archaeological finds, we can suppose a continuity of these in a few cases.*

*In the analysis of churchyards we could draw a detailed picture of the formation and development of the structure of the medieval settlement network. The connection between the power centres and these types of cemeteries may have been detected only in an indirect way. The use of two or three cemeteries in the centres well-known from the written sources may emphasise the possibility of the classification of society.*

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In the past years, the research of 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century churchyards produced significant new results in the Transylvanian Basin. A series of scholarly studies were written about the latest discoveries, several former excavation results were re-evaluated, and many preliminary research reports were published about former investigations.<sup>2</sup>

Even so, among the specific fields of medieval archaeology, the survey of medieval Christian cemeteries can be regarded as the least favoured issues in the Carpathian Basin, and especially in the

Transylvanian Basin. In the Romanian archaeology, Kurt Horedt was the first who referred to the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned in the context of medieval churchyards;<sup>3</sup> later his ideas spread in archaeological reasoning as axioms, it also highlights the generality of the 'mixed argumentation' characteristic of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In archaeology the term 'gemischte Argumentation' is generally used for interpretations in Romania (independently of the national identity of the author). It means that when the analysis of archaeological finds or archaeological facts is made, it is supported by the interpretation of other archaeological data or hypotheses, or by historical facts and circumstances, or in some worse cases by historical hypotheses.<sup>4</sup> In this case it would mean that Transylvanian archaeology dated every cemetery from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century based on the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned without examining or carrying out a chronological analysis of each site. Nevertheless, in European

<sup>1</sup> This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU 89/1.5/S/61104.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to express my appreciation to some colleagues and friends for the data, information and correction they helped me with: Mátyás Bajusz, Ünige Bencze, István Botár, Zsolt Csók, Andrea Demjén, Csongor Derzsi, Zsolt Györfi, Radu Harhoiu, Keve László, László Kovács, Zsolt Nyárádi, Attila Petrovits, Péter Prohászka, Ágnes Ritoók, András Sófalvi and Csaba Tóth. Some of the drawings I used (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden) were made by Emese Apai. I am deeply indebted to Maxim Mordovin for proofreading this study.

<sup>3</sup> Horedt 1958a, 145.

<sup>4</sup> On the *gemischte Argumentation*, see Bálint 1995, 245–248; Niculescu 1997, 63–69; Brather 2004. The term was first used by Joachim Werner. Werner 1979, 9–10.

philosophy, which always tries to achieve certainty, it has been well known since the time of Aristotle that things of different characters or genders are very difficult to connect or to compare. It is possible only to a certain extent. In archaeology it means that historical facts and archaeological data can only be connected if the latter rely on a sound basis, otherwise a vague thing would be used to support uncertain fact that can hardly be connected to it.<sup>5</sup>

A very important aim of our research is, apart from the categorization and analysis of the archaeological data, to point out the non-scientific nature of this *mixed argumentation*.

I created a database on medieval cemeteries, which presently includes the information on 54 churchyards, which, compared to the Criş and the Nir Region, the Maramureş, or the Banat, seems to be more significant and better equipped with in depth studies.

## 2. The geography of the Transylvanian Basin

When studying the history of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, an unavoidable question arises concerning what the concept of the Carpathian Basin meant to those people who lived in that time. From an archaeological point of view, it is the excavation sites, particularly the culturally more specified cemeteries that give us the only guidance. Based on these archaeological sites it can be stated that in a demographic aspect in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (as far as it can be detected) the Carpathian Basin did not correspond to the geographical Carpathian Basin, which neither excludes nor proves the existence of a political-military rule over this area.

A major part of these areas appears as white spots on our maps in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It warns us to treat the existing or non-existing

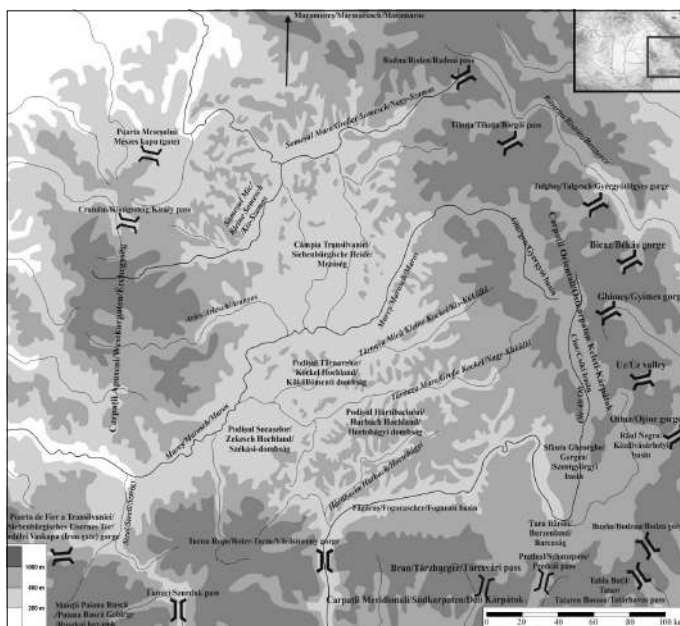


Fig. 1. Transylvanian Basin (basic map by Daniel Spânu)

connections between geographic concepts and the extension of a network of settlements with care not to mention the conclusions can be drawn based upon them. Geographically, the Carpathian Basin, which is situated in Central Europe, is divided into two parts: the central basins and the surrounding 1500-km-long and 150–200-km-wide mountain ranges. 51% of this 325000 km<sup>2</sup> is constituted by flatlands with altitudes lower than 200 m above sea level. The hills (201–500 ms) constitute 24%, the mountains lower than 1000 m 20% and the mountains higher than 1000 m 5% of the Carpathian Basin. The lowlands, the hills and the small intermountain basins provide good conditions both for breeding animals and for growing crops. The inner part of the basin is covered by a woody steppe surrounded by the thick forests which form zones changing according to the higher regions. The woody mountains of the Carpathian are connected to the central basins (the Great Plain/Nagyalföld and the Small Plain/Kisalföld, the Transylvanian Basin) by the terraced valleys of the concentric water system. The rivers arriving in the lowlands regularly flood huge areas. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these regions made up 15% of the Carpathian Basin.

Geographically the Transylvanian Basin (around 35.000 km<sup>2</sup>) is semi-independent of the Carpathian Basin. The Basin is the range of the SE Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps. It spreads from the Alps of Bucovina, from the Alps of Maramureş, from the valley of the Upper-Tisza/Tisa, and from the source of the river of Suceava to the valley of the Danube at the Porțile de Fier. It spreads in a semicircular arch shape. At the western region of this huge geographical unit stands the Transylvanian Range (its Romanian name

<sup>5</sup> In German archeology this method was criticized by Joachim Werner back in the 70s and with the motto 'Gettrent Marschier, vereint Schlagen' he promoted that archeology should adopt an independent standpoint and research position. Werner 1979, 9–10. As opposed to this, Reinhard Wenskus said that the aim of archeology could only serve historical purposes and they should be considered secondary to them. Wenskus 1961, 637.

is W Alps) (Carpații Apuseni/Westkarpaten/Ércheğység), and to the S can find the Alps of Banat. This relief is opened to the W at two places: along the Mureș river at a narrower area, and along the Someș river at a wider area. Besides, the range of the Carpathians is dissected by saddles and gorges in the NE and in the S as well (e. g.: Rodna-pass, Bârgău-pass, Tulgheș-, Bicăz-, Ghimeș-, Uz-, Oituz-, Buzău-gorge, Tabla Buții/Tatar-pass, the Predeal-gorge, the Bran-Rucăr-Dragoslavele-pass, Turnu Roșu-gorge). It should be noted that the width of the E-Carpathians decreases towards S: in the N it is 170 km, at Deda it is 100 km, at Târgu Secuiesc it is 90 km. The 500–1000 m high areas are dominated by beech-woods, the higher mountains by pin woods, in the lower hills there are mainly oak-woods. Wooded steppe can only be found on a small area on the Câmpia Transilvaniei (to the N, SE and E from Cluj-Napoca) – and this is important when examining the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Basin is rich in rivers, its soil is wealthy in precious metal and salt.

### 3. General characteristics of burial customs

Burial customs are considered the most important elements in the definition of the 10<sup>th</sup> century cultural ‘horizon’. The burial customs mainly reflect the emotional reactions of the family members, relatives and the community when someone passes away,<sup>6</sup> and the most important condition of the quality and the quantity of the grave furnishings was the wealth of the individual, the family or the community,

certainly in most cases it was closely related to the social status of the deceased. It is expressed clearly with the quality and quantity of the ritual sacrifices, weapons, clothes and jewellery placed in the grave. We have to bear in mind that the quantity of the objects and sacrifices largely depends upon the political or economic situation in a region, the significance of the roads crossing it, or whether it is in a central or peripheral situation and to all these the occasional foreign presents (!) should be added, which are palpable in some cases and might indicate the political significance of a person or a family.

The various aspects of burial customs are in close connection with the way the mourners’ grief is shown as the relationship of the deceased person with the mourners was differentiated during their lifetime and it stayed the same at the moment of death. The materialization of this psychological situation is the burial customs that can be seen in the graves, and the quality and quantity of grave furnishings connected to them. Therefore, one cannot talk about the grief of the mourners as it is different from time to time. So the ‘parcel of furnishings’ is also different in terms of its quality and quantity in each and every case. In our opinion, the feeling of grief is the core of the psychological phenomenon in connection with burials, the picture of the netherworld is a complementary element in the process of mourning and the burial, which can both relieve the grief of the mourners, on the other hand it can influence burial customs and the various objects placed in the grave, the grave furnishing. The process of this phenomenon is illustrated below:

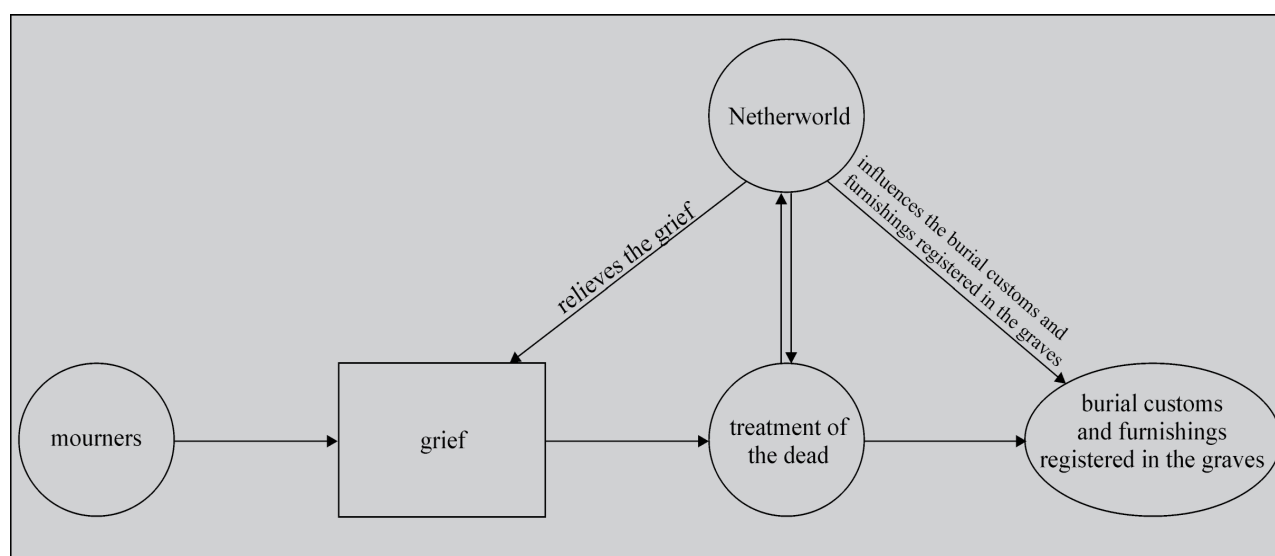


Fig. 2. The possible connection between the grief of the mourners and the picture of the netherworld

<sup>6</sup> Brather 2008, 255, fig. 5.

The properly excavated grave contains the remains of a deceased person or people, but the grave goods found in the grave might be the representations of the prestige of the deceased person by the mourners and they can emphasise the importance of the family (too).<sup>7</sup> It is quite understandable that the mourning community or family wants/wanted the deceased person to appear in shining glory when they escort/escorted him/her on their last way, in the presence of local community. So the 'furnishing parcel', found alongside the deceased person, was to indicate the economic potential, welfare, prestige, influence and power of the mourners and their legitimacy, and in consequence of this the acquired social position, status, rank of the deceased person.<sup>8</sup> So we can speak of the symbolisation of the status of the deceased person, although it must be admitted that it happens in an indirect way. Therefore it might be risky to see them as the univoque reflections of the mobile, frequently changing or stagnating social positions of individuals from different social groups but it is undeniable that there must have been a close relationship between them, although, at least in theory, it might not have prevailed into modern times.

It can be firmly stated that they could symbolise the last status of the deceased person, so we can talk about a static other world representation of the status the individuals of a society achieved until they died.

The grave furnishing is only 'temporarily' visible to those who are left behind,<sup>9</sup> but their mnemonic power is undeniable and this statement in the 10<sup>th</sup> century can absolutely be applied to the weapon and horse burials.<sup>10</sup> In contrast with this, the outer elements of burials/cemeteries, such as the topographical location, mounds etc, and their integration into the landscape do not only affect the landscape itself but the state and identity of the community too. Based on this important social-psychological aspect, the topographical location of the burials seems to be connected to the level of organisation in a community and to symbolise the social differences between communities or groups of people.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For example: Härke 2000; Parker Pearson 2001.

<sup>8</sup> In this sense we can cite Parker Pearson's words: *'Tombs are not just somewhere to put bodies: they are representations of power. Like ritual, funerary architecture legitimizes and extends the hegemonic order'*. Parker Pearson 2001, 196.

<sup>9</sup> Effros 2003, 175.

<sup>10</sup> Høilund Nielsen 1997, 129–148.

<sup>11</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Gâmbaş, besides the two big cemeteries (the Calvinist and the Orthodox) there was the graveyard of the Zeyk family containing a few graves. From this point of view see: Effros 2003, 122.

However, we have to draw attention to the fact that each society, each community and micro community construes their own values, including the practices connected to burial customs. Therefore each micro region, each cemetery and within them every single grave should be analysed in its own context, 'its own world'.

Therefore the question may arise whether in each grave with a weapon a warrior can be suspected or it is just a distinct feature of the above mentioned picture of the netherworld or a burial custom.

At the same time we should pay attention to another threat, namely that in the early Middle Ages the graves without furnishings might not reflect a true picture of a whole civilisation, they can represent a dynamically changing picture of the other world in a society, and provide an archaeological picture of death as a phenomenon.<sup>12</sup> For instance the Christian conception of the other world, which led to unfurnished graves, did not mean that the Christian societies were poorer than their predecessors.<sup>13</sup> Therefore the grave goods placed in the graves or left outside later also indicate the ideological discontinuity of funerary rites in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

It is very important when comparing and analysing the burial customs of the 'pagan' 10<sup>th</sup> century and those of the Christian era (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century) that the grave goods placed in the graves or left out later indicate an ideological discontinuity of funerary rites in these three centuries. It might mean a mental change in the picture of the after life, which, little by little, might have changed the concept of the other world of the community. This after life picture from the 11<sup>th</sup> century was changed radically by Christianity.

The received burial rite in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to the Christian standards, was the skeleton burial. The cremation burial rite, known in previous centuries, disappeared in the 9<sup>th</sup> century or at least became undetectable by archaeological means.<sup>14</sup>

Concerning the state of the spirit and the body between death and *parusia*, according to the Christian notion, a human being is the substantive combination of the soul and the body subsisting at a certain ontological level. In the investigated period, it was a widespread Christian opinion that in death the soul is separated from the body, the body perishes and the soul lives on and at the time

<sup>12</sup> Marthon 2005, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Rush 1941.

<sup>14</sup> In this sense, see: Gáll 2010, 375–378.

of *parousia*, on doomsday, the soul returns to the resurrecting body unifying with it and the whole intact human being becomes restored. So the soul is immortal, but it is only relatively immortal: only by way of divine mercy (according to an opinion) or by way of intelligence resembling to God (Genesis 1, 26–27) (according to another concept). In the absolute sense of the word, it is only god who is immortal (as opposed to e. g. standard Platonism).

In early literature, the word *coemeterium* or *cimiterium* (gr.: *koimeterion*) was used exclusively for the burial places of Jews and Christians. ‘*Ta kaloumena koimeteria*’, has appeared in an imperial edict of 259, but the word occurs in Tertullian’s *De anima* ( [...] *in coemeterio corpus corpori iuxta collocando spatium accessui communicasse* LI<sup>15</sup>) and must be even older. Originally, the part of a Christian cemetery above the ground was called *coemetarium*, the underground section was called *crypta* (gr.: *krypte*, hidden). The Hungarian folk version of the Latin word, *cinterem* means not just the cemetery itself, but the chamber of the church intended for wake and the graveyard around the church. The word *cinterem* found its way as a loanword into the Transylvanian dialect of the Romanian language as *țintirim*. The German name of the cemetery is *Friedhof*, ‘the yard of peace’ or ‘garden of peace’ with the right of an asylum, it is originally *Freithof* (= *umfriedeter Ort*), i. e. a closed yard in connection with asylum right (*Freiung* means ‘setting free’ or *asylum*).<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. The antecedents: Proto-Christian or half-pagan cemeteries?

The subject of our research is closely connected to the *Proto-Christian cemeteries*, both chronologically and geographically (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). According to my point of view it is very important to distinguish the characteristics of the transitional period from the 10<sup>th</sup> century pagan horse-weapon burials, which underwent major changes following the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Christianisation, to the churchyard cemeteries characteristic of the medieval Christian funerals.

Therefore I would like to make some important observations. The political-religious and social changes began in the 10<sup>th</sup> century became observable in the burials from the

first quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. According to their characteristics they can be considered the cemeteries of a ‘*transitional*’ period, so they show archaeological evidence of the more or less fast (mental) social process of conversion to Christianity.<sup>17</sup> In connection with these cemeteries a number of questions may arise. From our research point the most important of them is: to what extent was the population of the graves Christian or pagan? These cemeteries suggest continuity or discontinuity, between the pagan culture and Christianity?

One must first settle the theoretical benchmarks of these notions, stating what we understand by continuity and discontinuity and when can they be used. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, just as in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, historians believed it was possible to trace in a linear fashion cultural continuity until the most ancient times and that through this scientific method (sic!) it was possible to trace the history of a people down to its roots (it was not very clearly argued, but they must have envisaged the biological roots). We can thus state that they believed in a linear historical evolution most clearly indicated by language, equating languages and peoples. In fact, such terms of continuity and discontinuity do not exist. Absolute cultural and demographic discontinuities cannot be traced. This would be very unusual case. The phenomena of continuity and discontinuity can be followed in parallel in one and the same period and area. Which of these two receives more attention depends entirely on the specialist making the analysis. The concept of continuity cannot explain anything. It is in fact a relative (sentimental?) position towards an issue. Sebastian Brather noted that ‘... *ethnic identity can be preserved through cultural discontinuities and there are cultural continuities in the case of ethnic ruptures*’. Starting from this statement, it becomes clear that cultural continuity (archaeological artefacts) alone cannot lead to conclusions about ethnical continuity.<sup>18</sup>

Some of these 11<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries were direct continuation of 10<sup>th</sup> century pagan cemeteries without any temporal interruption (e. g. Halimba, Ibrány, Püspökladány, Sárretudvar).

<sup>15</sup> Tertulliani Liber de Anima: [http://www.tertullian.org/latin/de\\_anima.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/latin/de_anima.htm).

<sup>16</sup> MKL 2007.

<sup>17</sup> To give a comparison, in Poland horse-weapon burials, which refer to pagan mentality, are to be observed up to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. On this see: Jażdżewski 1949, 179; Gassovski 1950, 176; Miczkiewicz 1969, 300. As opposed to this, weapon burials are considered extremely rare in the Carpathian Basin in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. A few weapon burials have been registered from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The list of them is given in: Révész 1997, 169–195.

<sup>18</sup> Brather 2004, 537–538; Csányi et al. 2008, 519–534.

Such cemeteries are unknown in the Transylvanian Basin, the 11<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries had no 'pagan' phase (Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Brândușei street*, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Vânătorilor/Vadászok street*, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Păclișa/Poklisa*, Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur/Kolozsmonostor-the bust of George Rákóczi II*, Moldovenești).<sup>19</sup> In these cases it can be supposed that one can talk about a Christianised population, as these cemeteries were found on the territory of the political-religious centres known from the written sources, where logically worshippers of the ancient deity were not tolerated. However, some customs clearly lingered on: in Grave 2 in Hunedoara and in one grave in Alba Iulia–*Vânătorilor street* arrow heads were found, and an arrow head in a destroyed grave in Moldovenești is also a faint sign that this tradition was carried on. In these graves the horse-weapon burials, characteristic for the 10<sup>th</sup> century, are missing, along with such pagan features as food furnishing intended for the other world (the pottery and animal bones found in the graves indicate this) or in the case of some ethnic groups the inconsistent orientation of the graves. In these burials the coins of the first Hungarian kings are attested as *oboli*, which were also found in some 10<sup>th</sup> century graves, although in smaller quantity.<sup>20</sup> It can be stated that these people began to be converted to Christianity, they may be considered the first generation of official Christians. The considerable amount of jewellery among the finds and some everyday tools (knives, strike-a-lights) may indicate the fact that medieval Christian Puritanism was not a characteristic feature of these people. Therefore we think that these cemeteries can be called *proto-Christian* as their topographical location and the *oboli* found in the graves clearly indicate the presence of Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

Analysing these cemeteries, another question of social interest arises: what was the status of this population? The classes of *nobiles*, *miles* and *servus* are well-known from the laws of Stephen I (1001–1038),<sup>22</sup> but it would be impossible or not scientific to connect the population of these cemeteries to any of the social classes known from the written sources.<sup>23</sup>

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the burials with weapons and horse slowly disappear, and the social differentiations cannot or very rarely can be identified by archaeological methods. In this, however, the written sources of the institution system of the medieval realm can help. From this point on, archaeology can only play an insignificant role in the reconstruction of social stratification. We can divide the cemeteries into two groups in a very simple way:

1. Cemeteries (without church) of the castle folk ('proto-Christian' or the cemeteries of the transitional period).<sup>24</sup> During the establishment of the Christian realm's system, in the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Stephen I built a great number of castles.<sup>25</sup> In the vicinity or even in the inside precinct of these, a number of cemeteries were discovered of the castle warriors or the people who lived inside the castles, which is the best indicator of the construction period of these strongholds. Such cemeteries of the castle folk were discovered in: Alba Iulia–*Stația de Salvare/Mentőállomás*, Alba Iulia–*Vânătorilor Street*, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur-the bust of George Rákóczi II (?)*, Hunedoara, Moldovenești–*Jósika Gábor's garden*.<sup>26</sup>

2. Cemeteries (without church) of rural character: Alba Iulia–*Brândușei Cemetery 2*, Alba Iulia–*Păclișa*, Deva, Noșlac.<sup>27</sup>

As we have mentioned above, a significant number of these cemeteries were used already in the 10<sup>th</sup> century but the question remains if they were used by the same population or not. For example, in the case of the second cemetery in *Brândușei Street* it is very likely that a new population arrived and established a new cemetery next to the old one. This fact is attested, as we have explained it previously, also by the elements of the material culture besides the burial traditions (e.g. different types of knives, S-ended hair rings, square sectioned rings, bracelets and necklaces etc.). At the same time, we wish to draw attention to the possibility of a much larger list of possible cemeteries since we did not take into consideration the stray finds of unexplored cemeteries. This type of cemetery can be called a *proto-Christian*

<sup>19</sup> Gáll 2013c, Vol I: 293, 507–536.

<sup>20</sup> Gáll 2004–2005, 369–373.

<sup>21</sup> Gáll 2010, 268–270.

<sup>22</sup> ÁKÍF 1999, 52.

<sup>23</sup> Gáll 2010, 3–43.

<sup>24</sup> We could not discuss in our analysis some cemeteries of the castle folk, since they were used until the thirteenth, in some cases until the fifteenth century. The re-evaluation of the cemetery from Cluj–*Mănăstur* was made by us: Gáll – Gergely 2009, 97–98, Pl. 43–44.

<sup>25</sup> Until today one of the best and most conclusive about fortress is the work of István Bóna. Bóna 1995; Bóna 1998.

<sup>26</sup> Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 842, 299. kép, 922.

<sup>27</sup> Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 842, 299. kép, 922.



cemetery.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, important differences could have also existed among the cemeteries of rural character, but it is impossible to determine them because of the poorness of the inventories. The quantity of their inventory (in the first place jewellery) was defined largely by the fact whether they were rural, hidden village cemeteries or cemeteries attached to the larger centers, where the traffic of merchandise, market places, made the acquisition of different goods much easier. In the end, it is important to highlight that the 11<sup>th</sup> century social differentiation within a cemetery is almost impossible to research, since in many cases grave goods were found only in child graves. It can be stated that social structures cannot be investigated in these cemeteries, and we do not see the possibility of drawing a more exact picture of populations of different origins in the Transylvanian Basin in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Besides these types of cemeteries, churchyards are already known from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> In the Transylvanian Basin, the existence of cemeteries of this type can only be supposed but it is sure that the powerful individuals of the 11<sup>th</sup> century should be looked for in such burials.

## 5. The Churchyards in Europe

Medieval funeral is closely connected to the religious beliefs of the people of that time, therefore its every feature is in connection with the theological doctrines or the code of discipline of the church. In the prime of the Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) the church was responsible for the funeral of the deceased on its own right. The cemetery, compared to that of the early centuries of Christianity, underwent major changes, the bishop had the right to establish one either out of town or inside it, it was situated near or around the church, but the building of the church could have served the same purpose.<sup>30</sup>

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century on, there is a break, a discontinuity of rites in the European Mediterranean culture due to the spread of Christianity: the custom of cremation burials was abandoned switching to inhumations. Certainly, a part of the population of the Roman era also buried their dead, but the graves with W-E orientation without any grave goods have been connected

with Christianity with more or less justification. The Christians when adopted inhumation burial rite, just followed the example of Jesus Christ, for the dead body was full of the hope of immortality (1 Corinthians 15:43). However, it is important to note that since the beginning of the evolution of the human race people of different origins with various cultural traditions have buried their dead, therefore one cannot talk about a complete discontinuity in the context of the Roman and the pagan world. Having adopted Christianity, these people integrated their earlier cultural values into the Christian picture of the (other) world, creating the religious and cultural syncretism of their values characteristic of their environment.

An excellent archaeological example of the complex phenomenon of continuity and discontinuity or religious syncretism, which can be observed parallel in many cases, can be seen a few hundred kilometers from Dacia, in Dalmacia. The cremation urns of the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries found near Split/Spalato, mainly in Salona, were made in the shape of houses. This representation was retained and it was the only difference that we could register skeletons in the sarcophagi from the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but the shape of a house as the dwelling place of the dead in the other world was retained (Fig. 3).

So in this case a disruption of the picture of the after life and customs can be observed (cremation burial→inhumation), but the house type,<sup>31</sup> which had been retained from the pagan times and was successfully integrated into the framework of Christian values, can also be seen (maybe as group-identity symbol). Moreover, older religious values and a picture of the other world had also been retained along with this model, in this case in the culture of Dalmatian peoples. *'The living place is not an object, not a dwelling machine', but the universe itself, which man built for himself/herself when imitating cosmogony, the masterpiece of gods. The warming up or building of each living place is considered a new beginning, a new life'* - wrote Mircea Eliade. Certainly, the house-shaped urns and the sarcophagi, from a later period, can be interpreted from this point of view, i. e. the 'living' place of the deceased.

So in the case of the late Roman cemeteries excavated in the different regions of Europe, in the territory of the former Empire, no discontinuity

<sup>28</sup> Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 842, 299. kép, 922.

<sup>29</sup> For example Szombathely: Kiss 2005, 151–162.

<sup>30</sup> Szuromi 2005, 9–10.

<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that house-shaped urns appear in several cultures such as ancient Central Asia (Manichaeism), China and Etruria. Eliade 1987, 51, 168–169.

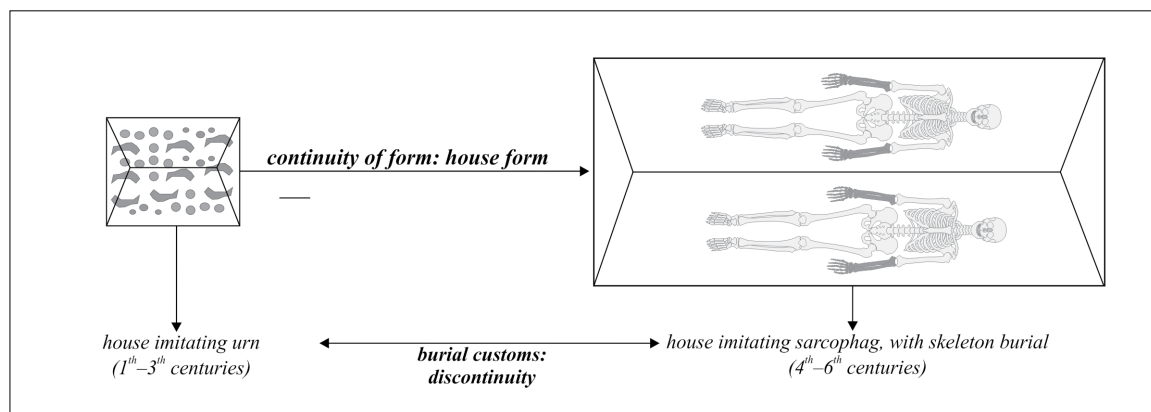


Fig. 3. House form graves

in the values and the picture of the other world of the pagan period can be detected. One can rather talk about a religious-mental syncretism.

In the early Christian period the graves of Christians were not separated from those of other religions, but from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century on memorials were built on the graves of the martyrs, which resulted in the creation of places of worship. After Constantine's edict of toleration (312), when peace was restored to the church, basilicas were sometimes built over portions of the catacombs, especially over the known burial place of some favourite martyrs. For instance, Ambrose Bishop of Milan (333–397)<sup>32</sup> was buried under the altar of the basilica later named S. Ambrogio after him, which lent a new symbolic content to it, emphasising the connection between Christ and the priest presenting the offering, which granted him the burial inside the church. Ambrose himself thought it to be a privilege of priests to be buried inside the church, but in the following period this custom changed significantly. By the time of Pope St. Gregorius<sup>33</sup> Ambrose's conception gained common ground, even the pope considered burials in the churches useful as the relatives of the deceased person can remember the person buried there and they can pray for him when glancing at their tombs. However, he prohibited the building of churches in the place of former pagan cemeteries so that the graves of heathens would not become sanctified by consecration. Therefore it can be stated that burials in churches were not prohibited in the early Middle Ages yet.<sup>34</sup> From the 4<sup>th</sup> century on the so called *ad sanctos* burials spread both in the W and in the E. Graveyards were out of the boundaries of towns until the 7<sup>th</sup> century – there were several

churches in a city, but there only a few individuals, mostly persons revered as saints, or privileged people (as the emperors in the Apostoleion) were buried. According to Roman, Jewish etc customs, graveyards were outside the boundaries of towns or alongside roads or in free lands forming smaller or larger clusters (depending on whether it was a big town or a small village).<sup>35</sup> There was not set rule in the territory of the E empire, therefore we cannot talk about a system, but there are certain cases, e. g. in Kom al-Ahmar, Egypt, where there are thousands of graves in different orientation around and inside the church.<sup>36</sup>

The conversion of people outside the antique world such as Germanic, Slavonic or 'eastern'<sup>37</sup> people to Christianity was the clash of a highly developed religion with a more simple one, a universal religious system with a gentile religious structure.<sup>38</sup> Simple religions lacked the theoretical and ideological foundations therefore we cannot talk about the confrontation of theories, but the triumph of Christianity or the everyday practical approach. A lot of conflicts may have arisen as millennia old values were facing other values: writing-reading, school, institutionalised jurisdiction, the Bible with its teachings such as sin, forgiving, temptation, redemption, and the father dwelling in heavens all contradicted the world of tribal legends, magic, tradition and oaths. According to Christianity, health, illness or recovery were not subject to the power of spirits, which constituted an integral part of more simple

<sup>32</sup> Dassmann 2004.

<sup>33</sup> Markus 1997.

<sup>34</sup> Duval 1988; Rebillard 1993, 975–1001.

<sup>35</sup> Bollók 2014.

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.uni-tue-bingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/altertums-und-kunstwissenschaften/ianes/forschung/aegyptologie/projekte/saruna.html>

<sup>37</sup> It is Csanád Bálint who draws our attention to the relative and in many cases incorrect use of this terminology in several articles. Bálint 1999, 13–16; Bálint 2004, 246–252; Bálint 2007, 545–567.

<sup>38</sup> Angenendt 2000, 14.

religions.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, conversion to Christianity has brought social demands from the New Testament, such as Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: '*There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus*' (GAL. 3, 28). Among its positive consequence there was the slow demise of slavery in the Carolingian era and by the 9<sup>th</sup> century *servus* did not mean slave but villein with important basic rights.<sup>40</sup>

Clerical synods already dealt with laymen's burials inside or around the church in the early Middle Ages: in 561 the synod of Braga banned burials inside churches and it allowed only burials near the walls of churches. As opposed to this, the synod of Auxerre (558/578) excluded only *baptisteries*<sup>41</sup> from burials. In the Langobard Kingdom it was only the bishops and the *custodes ecclesiastici* who could permit burials inside the churches after 774, however, the synod summoned by Charlemagne in Aachen strictly prohibited burials in the churches, but in as early as 813 bishops, abbots and priests of true faith were given exemption to this. Moreover, also in 813, the synod of Mainz allowed faithful laymen (*fideles laici*) to be buried in churches too. Later the synod of Trosly (878) banned the burials of clerical people inside churches and in 895, the synod of Tribur made it possible again. So from the 9<sup>th</sup> century on it can be observed that the number of people buried in churches were limited both by clerical and by secular powers.<sup>42</sup>

The evolution of the conversion to Christianity on the territory of the Merovingian realm and the involvement of the Germanic aristocracy in this process can be observed well. Whereas around 600 they were buried in the 'sacred area', which was in the possession of the community, in rows of graves (*Reihengräberfeld*); around 800 the dead were buried around churches in the settlements. Based on the analysis of the cemeteries in southern Germany<sup>43</sup> the nobility built numerous 'private churches' in their own courts by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Alemanni territories. They used them as burial places, as places of remembrance and as a representation of their social position and the symbol of their Christian religion.

So the cemeteries of this type may have appeared on the territory of the former

Merovingian realm in the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the Rhine region churches were built in the cemeteries used in earlier times and these cemeteries were used further, whereas on the left bank of the Rhine and S of the Danube churches were never built in the site of former temples but in other places (Marktobersdorf, Bad Dürnbheim, Leonberg-Eltingen, Flonheim, Morken, München-Aubing).<sup>44</sup> Cemeteries with rows of graves were abandoned around the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, although there are some data that they were used later too (e. g. Griesheim).<sup>45</sup> During the Carolingian era common people were forced to bury their dead around churches, and were regulated by the decrees of the synod of Aachen in 836 and the synod of Tibur in 895.<sup>46</sup>

Taking these into consideration, pagan burial rites in that *proto-Christian* cemetery were abandoned between 750 and 800 in the territory of the realm. However, it is still subject to debates when burials around churches became common and how they gained ground in the different regions of the empire.<sup>47</sup>

The spread of churchyards in Europe in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries is the most important and obvious sign of institutionalised Christianity in the territories occupied or influenced by the Carolingian empire as far as Carantania (before 828: Molzbichl, Moosburg; after 828: in the St Daniel church in Gailtalban, the church of St. Jacob and the church of St Martin in Villach, the churches in Hermagor, Lorenzenberg, the church of St Peter of Edling, the church of St Cross of Perau and St Peter),<sup>48</sup> and Pannonia ruled by the Franks (*Zalavár-Vársziget*, *Zalavár-Récéskút*, *Zalasabár-Borjúállás sziget*),<sup>49</sup> and the cemeteries of the folk of Sopronkőhida–Pitten/*Pottenbrun* stretching from the southern bank of the Danube and from the Enns as far as the Transdanubian regions, where Christian burials rite can be observed from the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century on (e. g. Mautern–Agapit church).<sup>50</sup>

After 811, under Carolingian influence old Moravian and Nitra principalities were established north of *Pannnonia provincia* and

<sup>39</sup> Diószegi 1971.

<sup>40</sup> Weidemann 1982, I. 264–320.

<sup>41</sup> On the baptistery, see: Vanyó 1988, 106.

<sup>42</sup> Kötting 1965, 29–35.

<sup>43</sup> Böhme 1993, 397–534; Böhme 2000, 75–109.

<sup>44</sup> Kötting 1965; Bierbrauer 1986, 19–40; Martin 1974, 139–142; Scholkmann 2000, 117; Fehring 1987, 79.

<sup>45</sup> Szőke 2005, 23.

<sup>46</sup> Hassenpflug 1999, 61–62.

<sup>47</sup> Stein 1967.

<sup>48</sup> Glaser–Karpf 1989; Fuchs 1991; Karpf–Vetterling 2006; Eichert 2010, 219–232.

<sup>49</sup> Szőke 2000, 310–342; Szőke 2002, 247–266; Szőke 2005, 19–29; Mordovin 2006, 9–32.

<sup>50</sup> Friesinger 1965, 79–114.

the Danube, and an old Croatian principality south of the River Sava.<sup>51</sup> This is the time when churchyard cemeteries appear in the territory of the Moravian principality such as the churches in Mikulčice, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště Sady, Modrá (Moravia), Levý Hradec, Budeč (Bohmen), Devin, Nitra (actually Slovakia, northern part of the former Hungarian Kingdom), which meant the (temporary) triumph of Christianity.<sup>52</sup> However, the Christian faith of these communities was superficial. Although their deceased were buried near churches, there is a great amount of grave goods in their graves, mainly ornamented spurs and weapons (axes, sabres).<sup>53</sup> In the territory of the western Hungary churchyards were abandoned after the Hungarian conquest. The noble families coming from the eastern or southeastern regions of the Carolingian Empire, from Bavaria and the region of the Alps, who had been brought up in Christianity through generations, withdrew to the safer western regions and only those remained who had little to lose.<sup>54</sup> After the battle of Bratislava in 907, in the first half of 10<sup>th</sup> century the typical 'pagan' cemeteries of the conquering Hungarians appeared in these regions.<sup>55</sup>

From the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Christianity and its state institutions triumphed in Central- and Northern Europe. As a result, from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, churchyard cemeteries can be documented in Poland,<sup>56</sup> as well as in Northern-Europe, mainly in Denmark, the southern regions of Norway and Southern-Sweden, here probably due to missionaries coming from the East.<sup>57</sup>

In conclusion it can be stated that churchyards, which 'came into fashion' in the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, became the obvious archaeological symbol of institutionalised Christianity in time. Churches and the graveyards around them are the archaeological signs of the western Christian state, bishoprics, parishes and Christian communities. In short: medieval (western) Europe.

Finally, it must be mentioned that no regulations similar to those made in Central and Western Europe (by the aforementioned synods) were made in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>58</sup>

## 6. The research of churchyards in the Carpathian Basin

The results of the research of churchyards (including burials inside the churches) in the Carpathian Basin were on the highest level in European research until the middle of the 1990's.<sup>59</sup> Until the early 70's of the past century the matter of the churchyards was particularly researched by Hungarian archaeologists. All western European synthesis papers were based on their results (for example: G. P. Fehring, I. Fingerlin).

The beginning goes back to the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1882 when the cemetery from the Árpadian era was excavated by Béla Pósta in Rákospalota. Pósta's main achievement was that he did not only collect the finds but he also recorded the positions of skeletons and the structure of the cemetery section.<sup>60</sup> This was the conception he taught to his students, István Kovács, Márton Roska and János Banner in Cluj. Such burial elements as armor on the coffin or skeleton laid on ashes were first observed in the 30 graves excavated during the reconstructions of the cathedral in Alba Iulia in 1912–1913.<sup>61</sup>

The work pioneered by Béla Pósta was continued by Kálmán Darnay and Gyula Kisléghy Nagy with more or less professionalism.<sup>62</sup> All in all, science in the Monarchy at the turn of the century was not interested in cemeteries that were difficult to research or those with poor furnishings.

After 1920 churchyards of this kind were mainly excavated on the Great Plain. These excavations were conducted by Kálmán Szabó, Alajos Bálint (Kaszaper) and László Gerevich (Csút).<sup>63</sup> László Gerevich was the first to analyse the map of the cemetery in Csút, and he managed to follow the changes in burial customs such as grave orientations and arm positions. Based on

<sup>51</sup> Burić 2007, 105–123; Perkić 2008, 63–122; Petrinec 2005, 173–212.

<sup>52</sup> Ruttkay 2005, 31–59; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993, 557–620.

<sup>53</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993, abb. 12, abb. 23, abb. 29, abb. 36, abb. 41.

<sup>54</sup> Szőke 2005, 26.

<sup>55</sup> K. K. 1996.

<sup>56</sup> Zoll-Adamikowa 1988, 183–229; Zoll-Adamikowa 1995, 174–184; Kara – Kurnatowska 2000a, 323; Kara – Kurnatowska 2000b, 530.

<sup>57</sup> Kieffer-Olsen 1997, 185–189; Lagerlöf 1999; Staecker 2001, 187–258; Rundkvist 2003, 79–82; Vretemark – Axelsson 2008, 209–219.

<sup>58</sup> The connection between the churches and cemeteries in the late Antiquity stemmed from the issue of *ad sanctos* and medieval Byzantine cemeteries constitute a direct continuation of this. Bollók 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Ritoók 2010, 473.

<sup>60</sup> Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. Manuscript. in. nr.: 5/35/4. Ritoók 2010, 474.

<sup>61</sup> Pósta 1917.

<sup>62</sup> Darnay 1896, 254; Kisléghy Nagy 2010.

<sup>63</sup> Szabó 1938; Bálint 1936, 222–239; Bálint 1938, 139–190; Bálint 1939, 146–164; Gerevich 1943, 103–160, 500–513.

the topography of the graves containing furnishings, he recorded the changes in the use of this area and the chronology of the cemetery. It was István Méri, who established the methodology for churchyards excavations in his investigations carried out in Chidea during World War II which have remained valid up to this date.<sup>64</sup>

In the states from the territory of the former Monarchy, only in Czechoslovakia churchyards were excavated between the two world wars.<sup>65</sup>

After World War II the research of churchyards became an underestimated field of archaeology. The reasons are understandable: cemeteries that are difficult to research and have poor grave goods did not attract archaeologists. On the other hand, two trends became the mainstream: find-centred and construction-centred research.<sup>66</sup> Due to find-centred research the 12<sup>th</sup> century cultural horizon has been clarified with the fact that hair rings with S-shaped ends do not give exact dates, they can just roughly dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the big sized rings with churns were not used as bracelets but earrings, etc.<sup>67</sup> However, during this period some churchyard cemeteries were completely excavated in Czechoslovakia (e. g. the cemetery in Ducové excavated in 1968–1975, the cemetery in Krásno was excavated in 1952–1955).<sup>68</sup>

Hungarian archaeology managed to catch up only in the 90s: in the last two decades the sites in Főnyed–Gólyásfa, Esztergom–Zsidód, Zalavár–Kápolna, Budapest–Kána, Hajdúdorog–Kati-dűlő<sup>69</sup> were completely excavated, but none of them have been published completely so far.

Ágnes Ritoók observed in one of her studies what bears major significance in the future analysis of the churchyards in the Carpathian Basin: except for the churchyards in Ducové,<sup>70</sup> no cemetery can be dated to a time earlier than the Árpadian era, apart from the 9<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries which were abandoned at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>71</sup>

## 7. The present stage of the research of churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin

Although his achievement bore international importance,<sup>72</sup> mainly in the research of prehistory, the Roman era and the time of the Great Migration, no cemetery was excavated besides the early modern age cemetery in Alba Iulia. During the Roman era excavations in Moigrad a few graves were excavated by Árpád Buday indicating a cemetery, but this excavation was not continued (there were some stray anonym *denarii* finds from the 12<sup>th</sup> century too). However, as it has been mentioned above, the methodology of the excavations of churchyard cemeteries was defined by István Méri during World War II, based on his excavations in Chidea.<sup>73</sup> The excavation carried out in the main square of Cluj in 1943 is connected to Méri too,<sup>74</sup> where János Herepei had already collected eight hair rings with S-shaped end since 1927, which led to his removal from the university.<sup>75</sup>

As a result, this area of medieval archaeology did not yield too much in the field of the research of the cemeteries of the time of the Great Migration until the 1950s. Unfortunately, the situation has not changed too much up to this date as no site has been fully excavated for different reasons. As has been mentioned above, Kurt Horedt was the first who defined the upper chronological limit of these Christian cemeteries in the Romanian literature in 1958, based on the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned.<sup>76</sup>

Based on our data collection carried out until the beginning of the autumn of 2013, we have managed to compile a data base (Fig. 4).

## 8. The geographical spread of churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (Pl. 1)

About the geographical spread of the cemeteries one can see that they can be found ranging from the northern part of the basin to the SE part of Transylvania. Their clusters only indicate the present stage of excavations. These churchyard excavations gained momentum when the early medieval castles were excavated in the 1960s

<sup>64</sup> After the reunion of Hungary and northern Transylvania in 1940 I. Méri worked in Cluj: Méri 1944.

<sup>65</sup> Ruttkay 2005, 31.

<sup>66</sup> Ritoók 2010, 474.

<sup>67</sup> Szőke 1962, 88; Parádi 1975, 119–161; Bóna 1978, 99–157.

<sup>68</sup> With the statistics of churches and churchyard cemeteries: Ruttkay 2005, 31–39.

<sup>69</sup> Főnyed–Gólyásfa: M. Aradi 1998, 113–154; Esztergom–Zsidód: Molnár 2005, 109–114; Zalavár–Kápolna: Ritoók 2005, 173–183; Budapest–Kána: Terei 2010, 81–112; Hajdúdorog–Kati-dűlő: Fodor 2005, 197–212.

<sup>70</sup> Ruttkay 2005, 31–49.

<sup>71</sup> Ritoók 2010, 477.

<sup>72</sup> On Béla Pósta's archaeological school: Gáll 2013a, 128–160 (with all relevant literature).

<sup>73</sup> Méri 1944, 3–4.

<sup>74</sup> Méri 1986.

<sup>75</sup> Herepei 2004, 82–83.

<sup>76</sup> Horedt 1958a, 145.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	<sup>14</sup> C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
1. Cluj-Napoca– <i>Mănăştur</i> (g.: Abstdorf; h.: Kolozsmonostor) (Gáll et al. 2010, 140–164, Pl. 44–55) (Pl. 6–19)	142				1977, 1978
2. Cluj-Napoca (g.: Klausenburg, Kleusenburch; h.: Kolozsvár; j.: גרובנזירלוק, Klotznburch; lat.: Claudiopolis; old-r.: Clush) <sup>1</sup> – <i>Piața Centrală</i> , actually: Piața Unirii (Fő tér) (Gáll et al. 2010, 165–171, Pl. 56–58) (Pl. 20)	31	1 (Gáll et al. 2010, 173–174)			1943, 2007
3. Dăbâca (g.: Dobeschdorf h.: Doboka)– <i>A. Tămaș's garden</i> (Gáll 2013b, 159–210) (Pl. 35–38)	approximately 95				1966–1967
4. Dăbâca– <i>Castle Area IV</i> (Gáll 2011) (Pl. 21–34, 38.A)	577 graves in which approximately 679 human skeletons				1964, 1965, 1968, 1969, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1986
5. Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă/Boldogasszony</i> (Unpublished) (Pl. 39)	138 <sup>2</sup>				1982, 1985
6. Jucu (g.: Schucken; h.: Nemeszúk)- Nokia Tetarom (Unpublished. Ioan Stanciu's data)	approximately 80 human skeletons				2007
7. Chidea (h.: Kide) (Méri 1944)	116 <sup>3</sup>				1943
8. Alba Iulia (g.: Karlsburg, Weissenburg; h.: Gyulafehérvár; old-r.: Bălgrad)– <i>Roman Catholic Cathedral</i> (Marcu-Istrate 2008) (Pl. 46)	50 <sup>4</sup>				1953, 2001–2002
9. Alba Iulia– <i>Roman Bath</i> (Horedt 1958b, 49–63)	56 ?				1902–1905, 1906–1908
10. Orăștie (g.: Broos; g.: Szászváros)– <i>Round Church</i> (Unpublished. C.c.a. 1995, 62–65; C.c.a. 1997, 33; Pinter 2011, 9–38) (Pl. 48.A)	?				1993–1997
11. Streisângeorgiu (h.: Sztrigyszentgyörgy) (Popa 1976, 37–64) (Pl. 49–50)	approximately 38 human skeletons				1975–1976
12. Geoagiu de Jos (g.: Gergesdorf; h.: Algyógy) (Petrov 1996, 403–413) (Pl. 40)	218				1994–1995, 1997–1998, 2000, 2003, 2004
13. Simeria Veche (h.: Ópiski) (Heitel 1972, 2, 154: note 6, 142: Harta 1)	?				1960–1970

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations of names of the settlements: g.: German; h.: Hungarian; j.: Jiddish; lat.: Latin; old-r.: old Romanian

<sup>2</sup> Some burials are datable to 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> It is not exactly known how many graves can be dated to the

11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>4</sup> After the archaeologist, 'the second and the third burial horizon' could be dated from the finish of 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Marcu Istrate 2008, 110–112.



Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	<sup>14</sup> C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
14. Rodna (g.: Altrodenau, Rodne; h.: Óradna; old-r.: Rogna, Rocna) (Vătăşianu et al. 1957, 215)	2				1955
15. Moreşti (g.: Mühlendorf; h.: Malomfalva; old-r.: Malomfalău)– <i>Citfalău/Csittfalva</i> (Horedt 1984) (Pl. 44–45)	55				1952, 1954
16. Sighişoara (g.: Schässburg, Schäsbrich, h.: Segesvár)– <i>Dealul Viilor/Reiselberg/Malomdomb</i> (Harhoiu–Ioniţă 2008, 199–223; Gáll 2014) (Pl. 47.2)	135				1978–2005
17. Sighişoara– <i>Biserica din Deal</i> (CCA 2000, 96)	?				1998–1999
18. Sighişoara– <i>Biserica mănăstirii</i> (CCA. 2006, 328–329; Crângaci-Țiplic 2004–2007, 58, note 86)	?				2005
19. Ulieş (h.: Kányád) (Derzsi-Sófalvi 2008, 267–285; Fóthi et al. 2012, 522–523, 37. táblázat)	56 <sup>5</sup>	56 human skeletons			2005–2006
20. Feldioara– <i>Lutheran Church</i> (g.: Marienburg, Märrembirg; h.: Barcaföldvár, Földvár) (Ioniţă et al. 2004, 44) (Pl. 43)	109				1990–1995, 1998–1999, 2006 <sup>6</sup>
21. Drăuşeni (g.: Draas; h.: Homoróddaróc) (Dumitrache 1979, 155–198) (Pl. 47.1)	98 <sup>7</sup>				1973, 1976–1977, 1994 (un- published)
22. Viscri (g.: Deutsch-Weisskurch; h.: Szászfehéregyháza) (Dumitrache 1981, 253–285; Velter 2002, 186, 352) (Pl. 48.B)	?(2 <sup>8</sup> )				1970–1971
23. Mediaş (g.: Mediasch; h.: Medgyes) (Crângaci Țiplic 2004–2007, 56–57, notes 71–73)	3				?
24. Cricău (g.: Krakau; h.: Boroskrakkó) (Heitel–Bogdan 1968, 483–496)	?				1961, 1964–1966
25. Sebeş (g.: Mühlbach, Melnbach; h.: Szászsebes; old-r.: Sebeşul Săsesc, Sas-Sebeş) (Heitel 1969, 6–7; Crângaci Țiplic 2004–2007, 57, note 79)	?				1961
26. Sibiu (g.: Hermannstadt; h.: Nagyszeben) (Marcu-Istrate et al. 2007, 65–70; Marcu-Istrate 2013, 371–391)	1833 <sup>9</sup>				2005

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>5</sup> The most graves can be dated to the 12–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 267–285.<sup>6</sup> The graves excavated in 2006 are unpublished.<sup>7</sup> Graves are dated to the 12–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>8</sup> Dumitrache has mentioned 2 graves with inventory from these centuries.<sup>9</sup> It is not exactly known how many graves can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries out of the 1833 graves.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	<sup>14</sup> C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
28. Odorheiu Secuiesc–Sântimreu/ Szentimre (g.: Oderhellen, Hofmarkt; h.: Székelyudvarhely; lat.: Areopolis) (Nyárádi 2012, 155–192; Fóthi et al. 2012, 523–524, 38. táblázat)	destroyed graves	30			2006
27. Mugeni (g.: Begesen; h.: Bögöz) <sup>10</sup> (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	1?				2009
29. Șirioara (h.: Sajósárvár) (Iambor 2005, 196–197) (Pl. 51)	78				1972–1973
30. Sângeorgiu de Mureș (g.: Sankt Georgen; h.: Marosszentgyörgy) (Benkő 2012, note 397; Zrínyi 1976, 146)	destroyed graves				old collection, 2010
31. Gârbova (g.: Urwegen, Urbijen, Ausendref; h.: Szászorbó; old-r.: Gârbova Săsească) (Heitel 1972, 143, fig. 3)	?				?
32. Moșna (g.: Maešn, Meschen ; h.: Szászmuzsna; old-r.: Moșna, Mojna, Meşindorf) (CCA 2000, 65)	destroyed graves from the 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> centuries <sup>11</sup>				?
33. Târgu Mureș (g.: Neumarkt am Mieresch; h.: Marosvásárhely, Székelyvásárhely; lat.: Novum Forum Siculorum)–Castle (Heitel 1972, 154)	?				?
34. Sânvășii (h.: Szentlászló) (Unpublished. Zoltán Soós's information)	3				2009
35. Reci (h.: Réty)–Dobolyka (Unpublished) (Székely 1990, 8–9, 15. ábra)	?				1988
36. Forțeni (h.: Farcád) (Unpublished) (Benkő 2012, note 405)	Few destroyed graves (?)				2001
37. Bâra (g.: Kreutzdorf; h.: Berekeresztúr) (Unpublished)	destroyed graves				2004
38. Moldovenești (g.: Burgdorf; h.: Várfalva; old-r.: Varfalău)–Unitarian Church (Horedt 1952, 318–320)	8				1951
39. Avrămești (h.: Szentábrahám) (Benkő 1992, 213, 223, 34. kép; Fóthi et al. 2012, 507–519, 21. táblázat)	176 graves <sup>12</sup>	185 human skeletons			1986–1987
40. Miercurea Ciuc–Șumuleu (g.: Schomlenberg; h.: -Csíksomlyó)– parish church (Botár 2009, 61–65)	2		1		2005

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries

<sup>10</sup><http://www.szekelyhon.ro/archivum/offline/cikk/78057/arpad-kori-sirt-tartak-fel>.

<sup>11</sup> 'Pe latura de N a incintei a fost cercetată latura de S a navei

bisericii vechi. Au fost descoperite mai multe morminte tăiate de acesta...'. <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=1272>.

<sup>12</sup> Unknown number of graves dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	<sup>14</sup> C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
41. Gilău (g.: Julmarkt; h.: Gyalu)– György Rákóczy I's castle (Isac et al. 2012a, 165–176; Isac et al. 2012b, 301–312) (Pl. 41–42)	6				1997
42. Văleni (h.: Magyarvalkó) (Unpublished. Unknown graves from the 12 <sup>th</sup> century. Csongor Derzsi's data)	destroyed graves				1974
43. Săcădate (h.: Szakadát) (Heitel 1972, 154)	?				?
44. Sâncraiu de Mureș (g.: Weichseldorf; h.: Marosszentkirály) (Unpublished. Unknown graves)	destroyed graves				beginning of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century
45. Cârța (g.: Kiertz; h.: Kertz) (Unpublished. Unknown graves from the 12 <sup>th</sup> century?)					1976
46. Cipău-Sfântu Gheorghe (h.:Csapószygyörgy) (Vlassa 1965, 25–27; Rusu 1966, 402–405, fig. 6/ 1–2, 4–8, 10–13)	cemetery from the 11 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> century				before 1965
47. Moigrad–Porolissum–Archaeological park (h.: Moigrád; ) (informations from Ünige Bencze; Exhibitions from Cluj- Napoca, april 2012)	12 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>13</sup>				1914, 2010–2011
48. Sic (g.: Secken, Markstuhl; h.: Szék, Székakna) <sup>14</sup> (informations from Zsolt Csók)	13 <sup>th</sup> century (6 human skeletons)	4 (2006), 2 (2013)			2006, 2013
49. Cristuru Secuiesc (h.: Székelykeresztúr) (Benkő 1992, 153–154, 158; Fóthi et al. 2012, 520–522, 32. táblázat)	12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>15</sup>	70 skeletons			1968, 1979
50. Almașu (h.: Nagymás, Almás) (Horedt 1986, 139, Note 327)	12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century				before 1955
51. Brădești (h.: Fenyéd) (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century				2010
52. Petriceni (h.: Kézdikővár, Peselnek) (Székely 1990, 7–8, 12, 13a. ábra)	destroyed graves				between 1977 and 1989
53. Chiliești (g.: Kilön; h.: Kilyén) (Székely 1986, 215–224)	destroyed graves				1981
54. Lueta (h.: Lövéte) (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	few graves <sup>16</sup>				2010, 2011, 2013

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>13</sup> 39 graves excavated in 2010–2011.<sup>14</sup> <http://www.cultural-heritage.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2008/rapoarte/158.html>.<sup>15</sup> Unknown number of graves datable to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

in many cases with political aims,<sup>77</sup> and these archaeological sources 'were stumbled upon'.<sup>78</sup>

It was not pure coincidence as these were churches in the castles and the churchyards in Dăbâca, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*, Şirioara. Most of these churchyards were explored along the Someşul Mic were found (Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*, Jucu, Gilău), respectively in the valleys in its tributary (Chidea, Dăbâca, Sic).

Another cluster of sites is to be found along the middle and lower reaches of the Mureş: one group was found around the centre of County Fehér, Alba Iulia (Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, Alba Iulia–*Roman Bath*, Cricău), and to the E, in the side valleys of the River Mureş (Gârbova, Sebeş). Two other sites were found in the lower reaches of the Mureş (Orăştie, Simeria), and in the valleys of Strei (Streisângeorgiu), and Geoagiu (Geoagiu de Jos). As the geographical environment in the lower of Mureş is similar to that of the Someşul Mic, it is not surprising that the churchyards, which can be connected to the cemeteries of the earlier pagan era and the transitional or proto-Christian period, were found in the western parts of the Transylvanian Basin.

Another group of churchyards was found near Târgu-Mureş in the upper reaches of the Mureş. A group of them was found in the close geographical region of the Mureş (Moreşti, Târgu-Mureş, Sâncraiu de Mureş, Sângeorgiu de Mureş) and another group has been excavated in the past few years in the valley of a stream on the left side of Mureş (Bâra, Maiad, Sânvăşii, Eremieni). This concentration of the cemeteries may be explained by the fact that such a great number of archaeological finds has been found on the territory belonging to the museum of County Mureş because several experts of this historical period work in this museum.

Another cluster of sites was found in the upper and lower reaches of the Târnava Mare (Brădeşti, Mediaş, Moşna, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Sighişoara), and the surrounding area (Avrămeşti, Drăuşeni, Viscri).

In the eastern part of the Transylvanian Basin cemeteries excavated in the upper and middle reaches of the Mureş and the Târnava Mare (Brădeşti, Mediaş, Moreşti, Moşna, Odorheiu

Secuiesc, Sighişoara, Sâncraiu de Mureş, Sângeorgiu de Mureş, Sânvăşii, Târgu-Mureş) are the signs of the 12<sup>th</sup> century network of settlements.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from these clusters of sites we know a cemetery, found on the border of the Carpathian Basin, at Cârţa, probably used by the abbey and its servants. 12<sup>th</sup> century finds were excavated in the cemetery in Văleni (near Gilău). A few graves were excavated in Moldoveneşti, near the River Arieş. Three other sites are known from this era in the Olt valley (Cârţa, Săcădate), and in the region of its side river, the Cibin (Sibiu). In the upper reaches of the Olt, in the Szekler Land (Ciuc, Sfântu Gheorghe and Râul Negru basins), the churchyard of Miercurea Ciuc–Şumuleu, Chilieni, Petriceni, Reci was excavated a few years ago. Feldioara (Țara Bârsei) was also investigated in the Olt valley.

What conclusions may be drawn?

1. The map of the sites shows that huge areas have remained unresearched such as the region of Câmpia Transilvaniei, the whole region of the River Târnava Mică, the lower reaches of the Târnava Mare, the whole upper reaches of the Mureş, north of Târgu Mureş.

2. Despite the present poor stage of research, in the valleys of the larger rivers (Mureş, Olt, Someş, Târnava Mare) and in the valleys of smaller rivers and streams (Cibin, Geoagiu, Niraj, Strei, etc.) a big amount of archaeological finds of this kind was found.

3. The above mentioned, stray finds from Văleni also indicate that in this region churchyards indicate both institutionalised Christianity and the network of settlements.

4. The churchyard cemeteries excavated in the valleys of small rivers and streams and at high altitudes seem to prove that:

4.a. The theory of Kurt Horedt about the territorial integration of the Transylvanian Basin in the Hungarian Kingdom (from a chronological, sociological, political and military aspect) cannot be defended (later it will be discussed in detail).

4.b. Our next observation is connected to this: in the future the territory of research should be extended to the side valleys.

<sup>77</sup> On its scientific and political evaluation see: Bóna 1998, 35–37. It is perhaps best described with an appropriate remark by Bóna: '...so a new struggle has begun for the castles'.

<sup>78</sup> It was not a successful scientific attempt, but it is a fact that the castles were dated to an earlier period and the cemeteries to a later one. On such an attempt see e. g. Iambor 2005.

<sup>79</sup> Based upon the increasing numbers of cemeteries, settlements and stray finds excavated in the upper valley of the Târnava and the Ciuc Basin we can talk about a network of 12<sup>th</sup> century settlements: Gáll 2014.

## 9. The topographical location of the churchyards

(Pl. 1, Pl. 6–7, Pl. 20–21, Pl. 40, Pl. 41, Pl. 51)

The choice of the burial site was also – although indirectly – a part of the burial customs of community. There is another characteristic feature of the churchyards which István Méri already drew our attention to: i. e. medieval cemeteries were usually in the centre of the settlement so they were limited to the area of the settlement.<sup>80</sup>

As none of the cemeteries and settlements has been excavated so far, we have no idea how these cemeteries fitted in the landscape from a topographical aspect in the Transylvanian Basin.

We can do nothing else but sum up the available data:

### A. Castle cemeteries around churches

1. In a castle: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*, Feldioara (?), Orăştie–*Round Church*, Sighişoara–*Biserica din Deal*, Şirioara.

2. In an outer castle district: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*, Dăbâca–*A. Tămaş's Garden*.

Questionable: Târgu Mureş.

B. Churchyards excavated around castle: Alba Iulia–*Roman Bath*, Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*, Moldoveneşti–*Unitarian Church*.

C. Churchyards in rural settlements: Avrămeşti, Bâra, Cârţa, Chidea, Drăuşeni, Eremieni, Feldioara, Gârbova, Geoagiu de Jos, Jucu, Moreşti, Moşna, Mugeni, Odorheiu Secuiesc

–*Sântimreu*, Săcădate, Sânvăşii, Sfântu Gheorghe, Sighişoara–*Dealul Viilor*, Simeria Veche, Sâncraiu de Mureş, Miercurea Ciuc–Şumuleu, Viscri, Ulieş. Problematic, questionable: Gilău.

E. (Perhaps) the cemetery of a monastery surrounded by walls: Moigrad–*Porolissum*, Sighişoara–*the cemetery of the monastery*, Sic (?). Without data: Cricău, Mediaş, Sebeş, *Târgu Mureş*.

## 10. Churches

(Fig. 5; Pl. 6, Pl. 22, Pl. 35, Pl. 39, Pl. 40A, Pl. 44, Pl. 47.1.A–48, Pl. 49)

The spiritual centre of the (Christian) cemetery is the church.<sup>81</sup> However – in spite of most other sites – in Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur* or Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* it was not found in the middle of the cemetery, but in its E half of the cemeteries. The simple small church was excavated almost on the NE edge of the plateau.

The orientation of the churches is E–W with the shrine on the E side and the nave in the W.<sup>82</sup>

The churches of the Árpáadian era cemeteries found in the Transylvanian Basin are relatively small just like most of the others known in other areas of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>83</sup> In this region even the largest one is shorter than 15 metres, which is in connection with the economic capacity and demographic size of the communities. Unfortunately, the churches from Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur* Abbey are not known.

Church	Length	Width	Inner of the nave	Foundation	Width of foundations
Dăbâca– <i>Castle Area IV</i>	11,50 m	6,00 m	6,00 × 4,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1, 25; 0,75 – 0,80 m
Dăbâca– <i>A. Tămaş's garden Church</i>	6,90 m	cca. 4,80 m	4,30 × 4,00 m	clay, stone, carved limestone	0,80 m
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 1</i>	13,19 m	5,75 m	6,10 × 4,75 m	lime+sand, stone	1,00 m
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 2</i>	17,70 m	?	13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	?
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 3</i>	19,70 m	?	cca. 13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1,25 m
Ulieş– <i>Church 1</i>	-	-	-	rammed earth, black earth, yellow clay, stones	0,90–1,00 m
Geoagiu de Jos	9,00	5,5 m; 2,00 m	7,00 m; 5,5 m	roman brick	0,70 m
Orăştie– <i>Round Church</i>	10,66 m	9,33 m	6,87 × 6,56 m	earth, sand, mortar	1,06 m
Streisângeorgiu	10,00 m	5,75 m	8,5 m; 5,75 m	stones	1,00 m

Fig. 5. The measurements data of churches.

<sup>80</sup> Méri 1944, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Rush 1941.

<sup>82</sup> Szatmári 2005, 28.

<sup>83</sup> For example, see: Szathmári 2005; Valter 2005.

## 11. Burial customs

### 11.1. *The preparation of the grave*

In many cases there is no way to examine the graves in churchyards. Unfortunately, it is a fact that in many cases the archaeologist did not observe their shape even when they had the opportunity, for example towards the edge of cemeteries with a small number of graves, not to mention any possible wooden constructions or coffins found in the graves (e.g. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Şirioara).

### 11.2. *The shape and size of the graves*

(Pl. 2, Pl. 15: Grave 77, Pl. 43, Pl. 47.2.B: Graves 170, 173)

In contrast to the subjective analyses of the depths of the graves, the length and width appearing in the ground can be documented in a more objective way. Unfortunately, in many cemeteries the shape of the grave was not noticed or could not be noticed. It is mainly valid for cemeteries in northern Transylvania: e.g. among the 577 graves in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV the shapes of the graves were documented only in five cases (Graves 45, 403–405, 408, 410).

The burials in the cemeteries in Dăbâca-A. Tămaş's garden and Şirioara were not examined from this point of view.

Where it has been observed, the graves had simple rectangular shape with rounded corners, in some cases they are trapeze-shaped, wider at the head of the skeleton, tapering towards the feet. In the much better documented S Transylvanian churchyards there is a grave shape completely unknown in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries: graves formed in the shape of a human body, which has been identified as 'mummy shaped' or 'head-niche' in literature.<sup>84</sup> In the Romanian literature these grave shapes were connected to the the incoming Germanic population,<sup>85</sup> but this ethnic concept can justly be criticised based on the present archaeological data.<sup>86</sup>

### 11.3. *The depth of the graves*

When analysing graves, it might seem subjective to examine their depth as opposed to their length and width which are conspicuous in the ground. This means a major problem to the statistical analysis of grave depths that one cannot be certain

to what extent their present day depths reflects their original depths. In our statistical analysis we should take the topographical situation of sites into consideration and the disturbances in the cemeteries caused for example by works.

Unfortunately, due to the inadequacy of the archaeological documentation there is not enough sufficient information concerning the grave depths in many churchyards in Transylvania. For example, in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, all the available such measures were registered between 20 and 120 cm (Fig. 6–7).

Summarising the previous data, according to the analysis above we can draw the conclusion that the grave depths registered in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca cemetery are in accordance with the depths registered in the he graves from the time of the Hungarian conquest.<sup>87</sup>

On contrary, grave depths in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur, were between 90 and 320 cm, but in case of most of them the depths values varied between 201 and 250 cm (Fig. 8–9).

These grave depths certainly may not reflect the medieval conditions; they can be explained away by the sediments built up during the centuries. Unfortunately, the archaeologists did not make an attempt to register the depths in the trenches where the remains of graves began to occur.

The documented depths of the graves in Cluj-Napoca-Piaţa Centrală are significant to the research. Méri measured the depths of graves at two levels: the first from the contemporary surface of 1943 (which was generally around 200 cm), whereas the original depth can be measured 50–80 cm lower than the medieval surface.

Radu Harhoiu's observations are very important too: owing to his research philosophical attitude similar to that of Méri, in the case of Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor the grave pits were never dug deeper than 50 cm measured from the original surface. In Feldioara grave depths of 95–192 cm were registered, and in the graveyard in Drăuşeni, they were between 100–210 cm, but as it has been demonstrated, there can be huge difference between the level of today's surface and that of the time when a grave was dug.

Surveying the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century data at our disposal, it can be stated that on the one hand, due to excavation technique No. 1, only the depths registered in the excavations in Cluj-Napoca-Piaţa Centrală, Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor and with some reservations those registered

<sup>84</sup> Ioniţă et al. 2004, 46–59.

<sup>85</sup> Ioniţă et al. 2004, 46–59.

<sup>86</sup> Gáll 2012b, 299–300; Gáll 2014.

<sup>87</sup> Gáll 2004–2005, 339–341; Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 595–597.

in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV can be accepted, on the other hand, we can assume that the depths of medieval graves were between 40–120 cm at the time of digging.

#### 11.4. The orientation of the graves (Pl. 7–9, Pl. 20, Pl. 22, Pl. 31, Pl. 35.B, Pl. 40, Pl. 41.2, Pl. 43–44, Pl. 49, Pl. 51.2.A)

One of the most characteristic features of the burial rites is the orientation of the graves. Most 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century graves in the Carpathian Basin are oriented W–E, or the variations of this.

However, some questions arise in connection with both the cemetery in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV and other cemeteries, namely, how can we evaluate the divergences within 45° from the dominant orientation (in this case it is W–E)?

There are only few graves whose orientation differs from the dominant one. Among the 577 graves (with 679 skeletons) registered in the cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV the orientation of 453 graves have been registered. There were only 20 graves with axis different from the W–E axis to a higher degree, i. e. 14.9 % of the 453 graves. SW–NE orientation was registered in 6 cases, NW–SE in 12 cases, NNW–SSE in 2 cases. From the Cluj–Mănăştur cemetery we knew 3 graves which are oriented in the NNW–SSE direction. According to a widely accepted view in the literature written on burial customs, they can be explained by objective reasons, namely by their connection with the position of the sun in different seasons.

However, in Dăbâca it is strange that these different orientations were found in a low percentage, approximately 4.19% of the burials. Scanning the cemetery map it becomes strange that NNE–SSE orientations are exclusively found in the SE zone of the cemetery with one exception; whereas graves

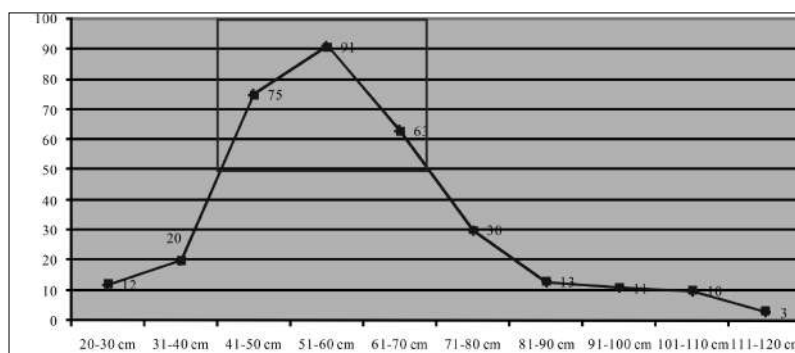


Fig. 6. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV on a scale of 10 cm and their number

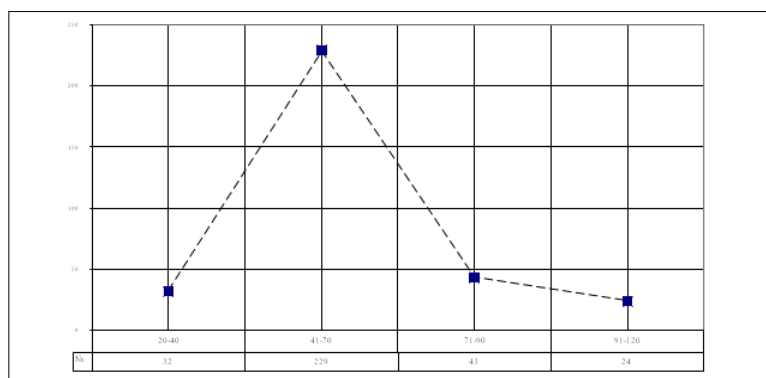


Fig. 7. The average grave depths in the churchyard cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV on a scale of 20–30 cm and their number

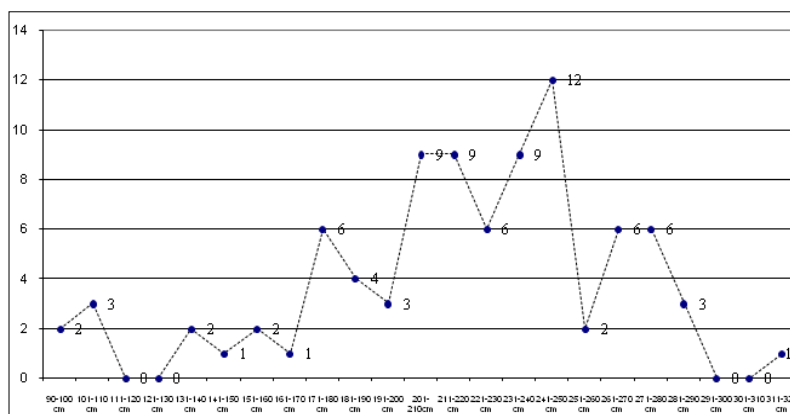


Fig. 8. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur on a scale of 10 cm and their number

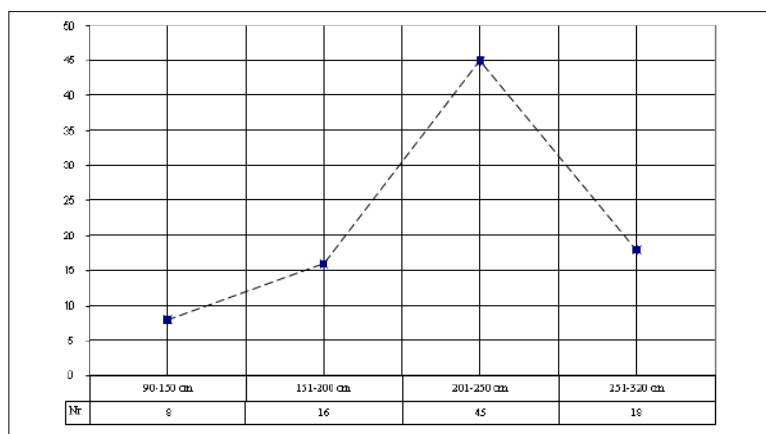


Fig. 9. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur on a scale of 50 cm and their number

with SW-NE orientation were found in the NE part of the cemetery with two exceptions found among graves oriented NW-SE. These observations testify the differences between the burials found in the NE part of the cemetery and those in the SW.

Certainly, these few cases might as well be considered accidental, but at the same time they draw attention to the fact that orientation can hardly be explained by the different position of the sun. Even these days graves are dug according to the orientation of the surrounding graves or tombs and it could not have been different a thousand years ago.<sup>88</sup> Therefore it is not understandable why some graves are oriented W-E and others differ from this orientation. It might be worth to make a seriation on the gender and age of the deceased and the degrees of orientation in the case of cemeteries with better documentation and anthropological research findings.

It can be firmly stated that Transylvanian communities oriented their graves W and E and in these cemeteries the assumption can hardly be defended that the graves were oriented according to the sunsets and sunrises in the different seasons.<sup>89</sup>

The Graves 141 and 432 oriented almost N and S are in the E side of the cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. In Hungarian literature reverse orientations are usually explained away by the fear of the return of the dead,<sup>90</sup> which is a logical assumption in the case of cemeteries where the percentage of reverse oriented graves is insignificant. In the case of Dăbâca it is possible that the body was oriented almost N for fear of the return of the deceased person. It can be noted that in this case a pagan custom or a prevailing version of a pagan custom can be observed, which allows us to suppose that the families of the community in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca must have known some customs reflecting pagan mentality, which were tolerated by Christianity. A great number of similar reversely oriented graves have been documented in Carpathian Basin from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>91</sup> so we can talk about the remains of a pagan custom prevailing in the Carpathian Basin in an 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century context.

It should be noted that later orientations opposite to the W-E orientation are the mental 'products' of the later Middle Ages when W-E orientation and the puritan grave furnishing lost its 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century symbolic importance as a result of the final victory of Christianity over 'paganism'.

### 11.5. Limestone, stone and brick cover graves, graves with brick or stone frames

(Fig. 10; Pl. 2, Pl. 28, Pl. 35.A)

Limestone and stone cover graves can be considered characteristic for the burials in the Carpathian Basin in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Almost thirty years ago Sarolta Tettamanti wrote: 'Brick graves (in many variants) can all be found in churchyards, except for Alba Iulia (389). Brick from the Roman times can only be found in the graves here and in Băta.'<sup>92</sup>

Those graves where stone/stones were found can be divided into two major groups based upon their functions:

1. Practical constructions (Pl. 2)

2. Stones placed in the graves for religious reasons (?)

1. Built graves (Pl. 2):

1.1. Graves with carved brick frame: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, Alba Iulia–Roman Bath, Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 21, Jucu: Graves 5, 13, 23 and 83, Sic.

1.2. Graves with carved brick frames in shape of human body: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur: Grave 92.

1.2.a. Partially surrounded with stones in the region of the head: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 251.

1.3.1. Graves with carved brick or stone frames and graves covered with them: Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur: Grave 93, Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Graves 1, 3–5, 8–14.

1.3.2. Partially surrounded graves with brick or stone frames and graves covered with them: Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 7, Morești: Grave 16/1952, Grave 7/1954.

2. According to the position of the stones in the graves, three cases can be distinguished: stones in the grave, stones on the body or its parts, and stone under the skull.

2.1. Stones in the grave: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 45, 120, 121, 195, 216, 320, 332, 334, 339, 350, 377, 383, 396, 465, 468 and 486.B–C, Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden: Graves 2–3, 22.A, 37, Jucu: Graves 72, 84 and 88.

<sup>88</sup> A similarly sceptical point of view is presented in the analysis made by Attila Kiss. See Kiss 1983, 122.

<sup>89</sup> Csalog 1967, 232; Csalog 1969, 191.

<sup>90</sup> Kiss 1983, 158; Szabó 1964, 120–129; K. K. 1996, 39.

<sup>91</sup> Reverse orientations registered in churchyard cemeteries have not been collected. Perhaps microregional research, which promise the most, could aim to carry out such analyses. Just a few examples: Tettamanti 1975, 98; Gáll 2004–2005, 343–347.

<sup>92</sup> Tettamanti 1975, 95.

2.2. Stones on the skeleton or a part of it: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 114, 129, 130, 162, 181,<sup>93</sup> 186.C, 192, 196, 205, 215, 220.B,<sup>94</sup> 254,<sup>95</sup> 274, 310, 330,<sup>96</sup> 349,<sup>97</sup> 375, 408 and 413, Jucu: Grave 65.<sup>98</sup>

Questionable cases: Gilău: Grave 3.<sup>99</sup>

3. Stone under the skull: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 316.

Concerning these graves, our first observation can be made on the geographical area of their occurrence. As can be seen on the maps, both the custom of built graves and the stones placed or thrown in the graves were registered in the graves excavated in the western part of the Basin. Certainly, it should be mentioned that this observation can be considered relative based on the present stage of research, but it is remarkable that in the properly excavated cemeteries in Feldioara and Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor this custom is completely missing. And if we take the example of stones placed in the graves, we cannot talk about the lack of any technological knowledge or community work requiring more physical energy.

It is also a remarkable fact that these burials are known from the cemeteries of county centres (Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăștur, Dăbâca) or the neighbouring areas (Gilău, Jucu). Graves 92–93 in Cluj–Mănăștur, which lie almost next to each other and have highly elaborated stone frames and covers, can be distinguished from the rest of the graves in the cemetery.

In the centre-periphery model, the archaeological evidence of the influence made by the later on the previous can be seen on the built graves. Possibly, a technologically much poorer imitation of the Cluj–Mănăștur–Calvaria: Graves 92–93 (see Fig. 10.A–B) with brick frames and covers can be observed in the case of the built graves in Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 21, Jucu–Tetarom: Graves 5, 13, 23 and 83 (and maybe Gilău: Grave 3?). It remains a question how far the cultural radiation of the centre in Cluj-Napoca–Mănăștur (a county centre and a Benedictine

monastery) reached. If we think of the quantity and the quality of the renovated built graves in the cemeteries lying 2, 4, and 18 km away from the castle, it seems clear that the highly elaborated and probably valuable tombs did not only have a mnemonic and memory keeping power but they could also have influenced or changed the cultural customs of those living in the surrounding area by representing the prestige of the deceased ones.

Some of built graves are constituted by the graves formed in the shape of human body and those called *head-niche graves* or *mummy-shaped grave* in the literature. In Romanian literature, *mummy-shaped graves* were interpreted as ethnic features and connected to immigrant hospites. A weak point in this theory, is the fact that graves built in the graves dug in the shape of human bodies required skill and material investment. Their parallels were mainly or exclusively registered in the centre of the vast County Fehér, in Alba Iulia. It is quite obvious that the graves built in the centre of the county could not follow this custom, they could not possibly have taken it over from the rural communities in S Transylvania, but it was a characteristic burial custom of the Christian elite in the contemporary Europe. In the case of Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral it cannot be ruled out that in the *mummy-shaped grave* were buried the bishops or archbishops of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania, a possibility that was also taken into consideration also D. Marcu.<sup>100</sup> Similar grave shapes were found in the excavations of the kindred centers (Babócsa–Nárciszos-Basakert), near basilica (Požega) and in monasteries (Cluj-Napoca–Mănăștur, Băta, Cikádor, Frumușeni Grave 111, Vokány, Somogyvár, Rakovac, Mačvanska Mitrovica, Ópusztaszer–Monostor: Grave 915 or Csongrád–Ellésmonostor: Grave 102) (see Fig. 10.H).<sup>101</sup> In conclusion it can be stated that brick graves built in human body shape did not indicate any ethnic identity but it was a burial fashion among the different elites in Christian Europe, which could have been imitated by ordinary people. However, we do not mean by this that no *hospites* were buried in the S Transylvanian cemeteries, we just want to point out that it would be a methodological mistake to see a *hospes* in each *mummy-shaped grave* pit (some ideas on this question see later).

Contrary to built graves, which may have been connected to the symbolisation of the

<sup>93</sup> The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the right foot.

<sup>94</sup> The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the left hand bone.

<sup>95</sup> The head of the deceased person was surrounded by stones and another large stone was placed on the head.

<sup>96</sup> The head of the deceased person was surrounded with stones and a small stone was placed on the head.

<sup>97</sup> The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the right shinbone, which has decayed.

<sup>98</sup> On the skull.

<sup>99</sup> Stones in the grave. Their positions was not registered.

<sup>100</sup> Marcu 2005, 238.

<sup>101</sup> Pap 2002, 4. kép 1, 4; Rusu – Burnichioiu 2011, 65–69; Sümegi 1997, 155; Sümegi 1997, 155; Sümegi 2006, 148; Stanojev 2000, 394; Stanojev 2005, 61, note 16.



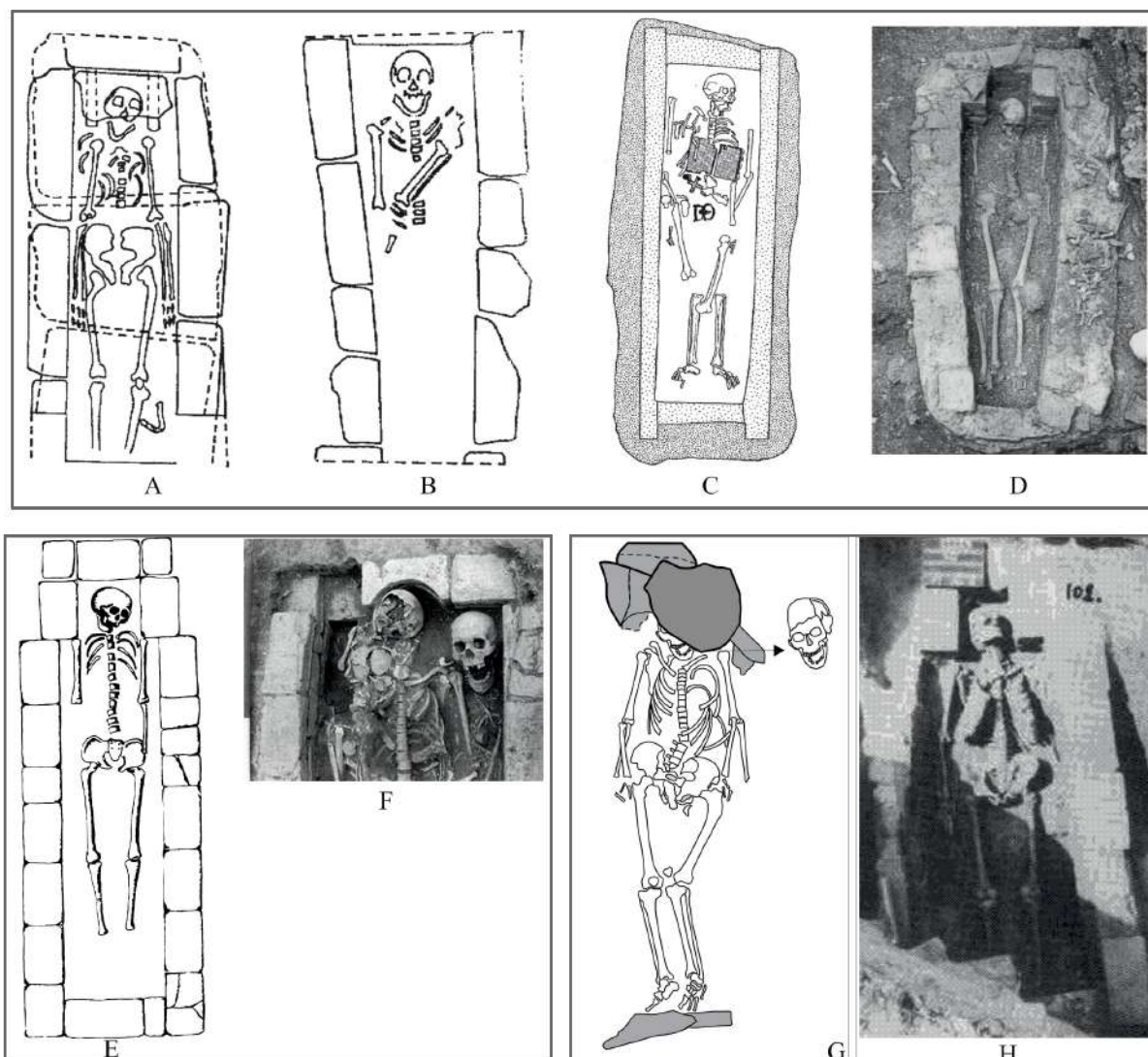


Fig. 10. A-B. Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur. Graves 92-93: graves with brick frames and brick covers (after Iambor et al. 1981); C. Grigorie from Armenia bishop's burial (died in 1093) (after Bóna 1998, 45. kép); D. Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral. Grave 91/2001 (after Marcu 2005, Pl. 3); E. Babócsa–Nárciszos-Basakert-grave (after Magyar 2005, 4. táb. 2); F. Szentes. Grave 2 (after Türk 2005, 5. kép); G. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 251 (after Gáll 2011, 22. táb.; H. Csongrád–Ellésmonostor. Grave 102 (after Pap 2002, 4. kép. 4)

economic-social potential and prestige of a person or a family, stones placed in the graves are completely different. This custom can be categorised as a pagan one and it was clearly common in previous eras, but it was not put on the black-list from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, it can be detected archaeologically in the next two centuries. Unfortunately, as it can be seen on our map, the documentation of this custom is quite poor: this custom is only known in northern Transylvania with full documentation.

The research of their locations in the cemeteries is possible only in two cases. In the cemetery section in Jucu, built graves are to be observed in the E part of the cemetery section.

Certainly, the background of this phenomenon cannot be observed only by archaeological means.

#### 11.6. The position of the arm bones in the graves (Fig. 11-14; Pl. 29)

When studying the position of the arms, one must take into consideration some aspects which are completely independent of the position of the body (and the arms) as they were put in the grave (e.g. the decomposition process of the body).

By completing the chart used in another study of ours,<sup>102</sup> the positions of the lower arm

<sup>102</sup> Gáll 2004–2005, 369: fig. 8.



bones are divided into 24 subgroups,<sup>103</sup> which constitute 7 main groups:

Arm position variants I, and IV–VI have been classified into Group I. This position means that the arms were lying alongside the body and for several reasons the bones of the forearms ended up on the brim of the pelvis. It could have been caused by wrapping the body in a shroud or the decomposition of the body. From the 582 registered cases 492 belong to this group; this makes up 84.53% of the documented arm positions.

Arm positions II–III, IX, XV, XIX–XX belong to Group II. In this case one arm was lying alongside the body and the other was laid across the stomach or pelvis. This was the situation in 30 cases which constitute 5.15% of the arm positions.

In Group III we find one arm or both arms put across the chest. Arm position variants VII–VIII, X–XII, XVI–XVII belong to this group.

We only know one case; it constitutes 2.23% of the documented cases (13 graves).

Arm position XIV belongs to Group IV when the arms were put over the pubic vertebrae or the sacrum forming a cross or folding them together. 32 cases have been registered making up 5.49%.

Arm position XIII constitutes Group V. 5 cases are known making up 0.85% of the documented cases.

Arm position XVIII constitutes Group VI. Only two cases are known making up 0.34% of the documented cases.

Group VII is constituted by arm positions XXI–XXIV. Their characteristic feature is that one or both forearms were positioned under the pelvis.

8 cases are known making up 1.37% of all the arm positions.

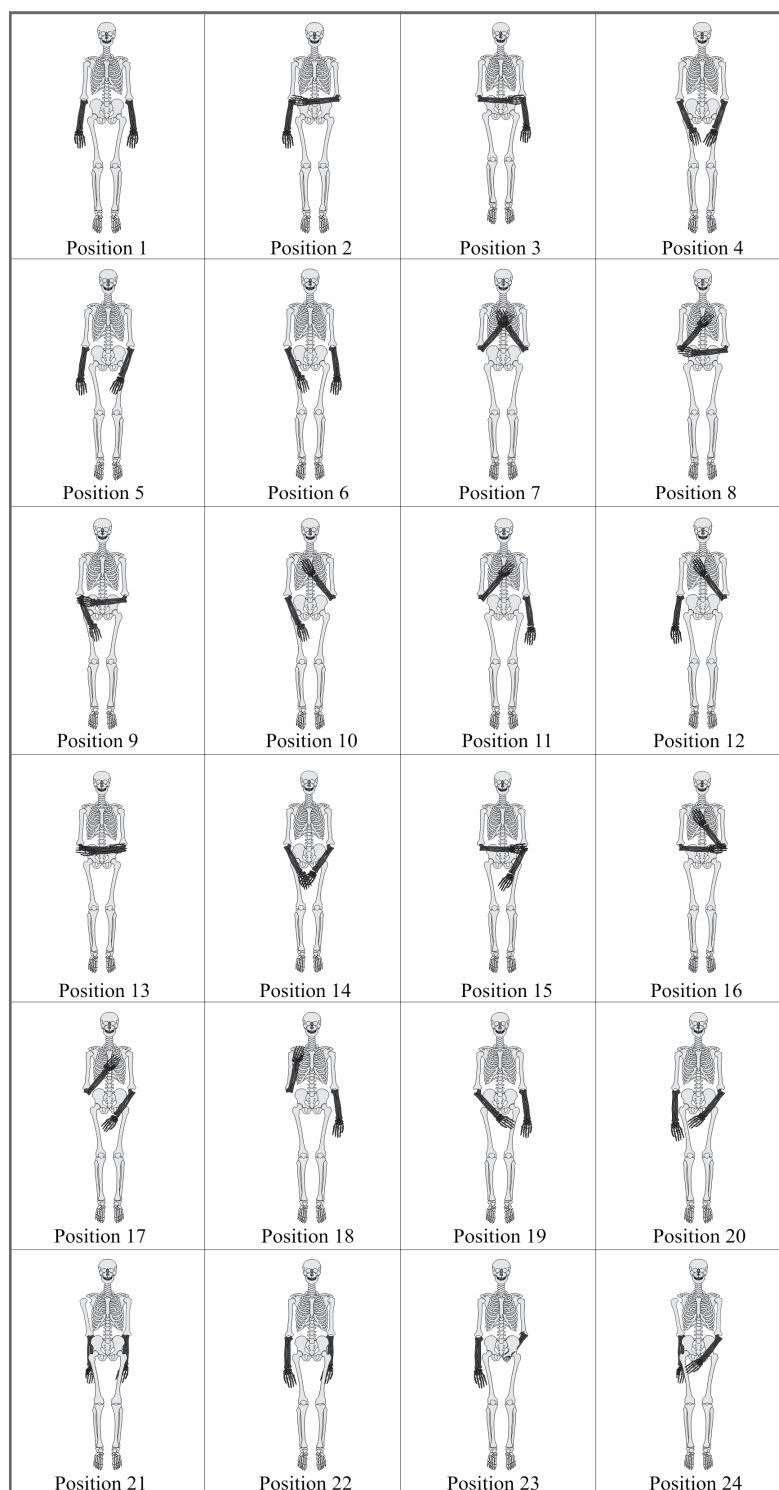


Fig. 11. Position of the arm bones in the graves

The statistical analyses clearly show that the arm position variants of Group I were documented in the greatest number (84.77%), the other arm positions can only be detected in a far smaller number in the Transylvanian cemeteries.

The statistical proportions are in correlation with those in other cemeteries of the Árpadian era, from another parts of Carpathian basin.<sup>104</sup> The cases of Groups II–VII can be considered exceptional in the churchyards from Transylvania Basin.

<sup>103</sup> Gáll 2011, 23: 13. kép.

<sup>104</sup> Ritoók 2010, 486.

In the first step, we are doing our remarks on the arm positions:

1. Arm positions from Group 1 could be registered in the most cases.

2. In Dăbâca–Castle Area IV cemetery arm positions different from Group 1 could be registered around the church, towards the edge of the cemetery these arm positions almost completely disappear. (Pl. 29)

3. Arm position XIV, when the arms are crossed above the pelvis or the sacrum, is mainly known from the graves around the church in Dabâca–Castle Area IV cemetery. On the E and W edges of the cemetery it is completely unknown. The only exception is Grave 427, which was the grave of a person, isolated within the cemetery. The question may arise: can the fact that these graves are so close to the church be explained by their Christian confession or their status in the Christian religion?

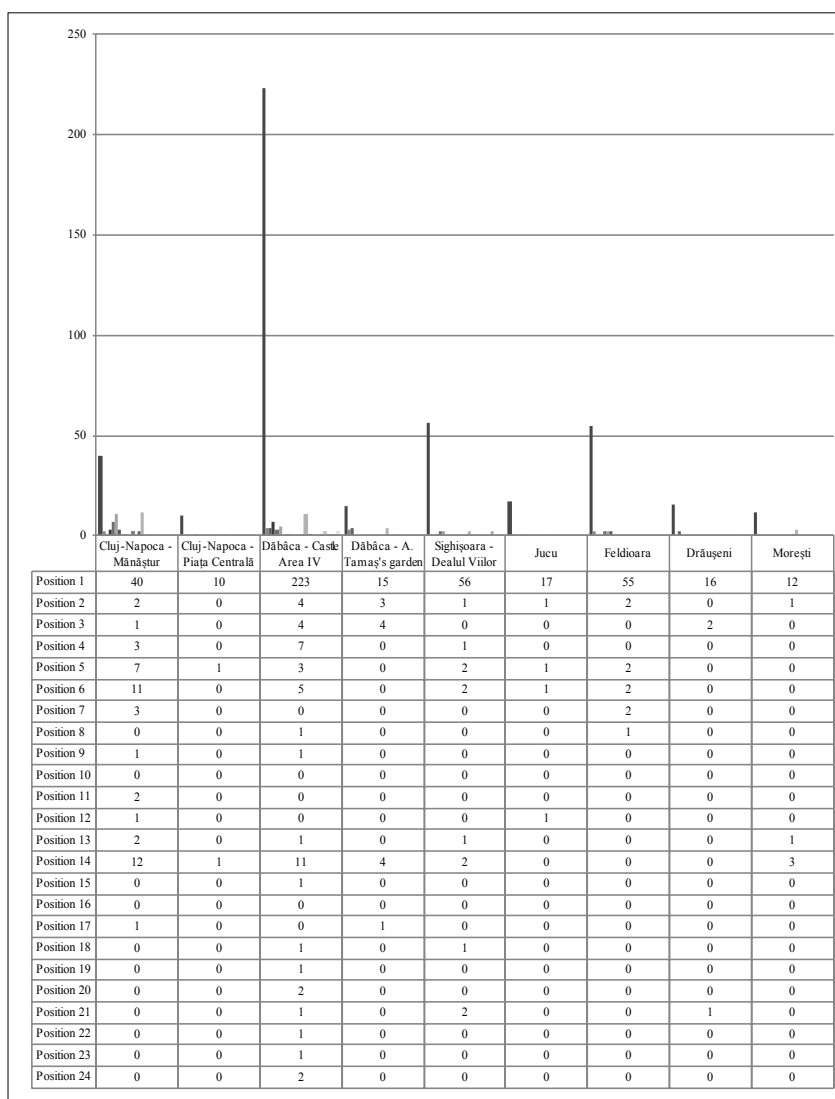


Fig. 12. Arm positions in the graves

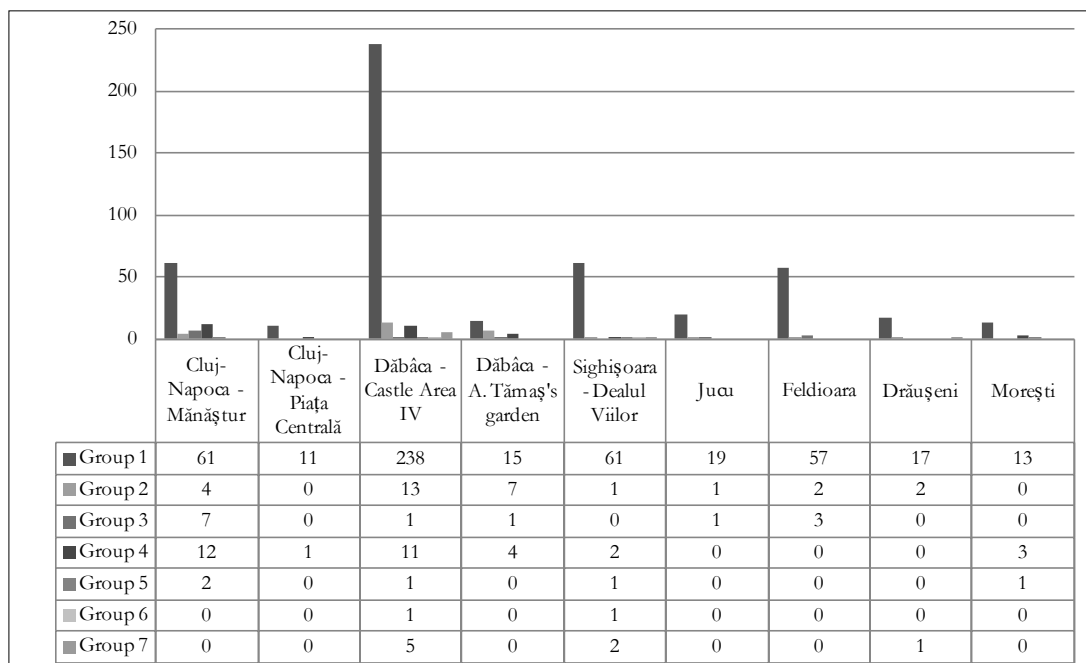


Fig. 13. Arm positions in the churchyards

Graves	The approximate age of the skeleton	Arm position
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 53	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 132	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 138	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 199	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 139	Adult	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 146	Juvenil	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 157.A	Adult	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 364	Juvenil	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 162	Adult	Position 8
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 160	Adult	Position 9
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 484	Adult	Position 13
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 15	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 24	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 70	Juvenil or adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 80	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 98	Infans II or Juvenil?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 163.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 175.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 178.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 206	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 424	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 467	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 486	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 477	Adult	Position 18
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 357.B	Adult	Position 19
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 90	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 20
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 241	Adult	Position 20
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 68	Adult	Position 21
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 280	Infans II or Juvenil?	Position 22
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 3	Infans I	Position 23
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 324	Adult	Position 24
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 343	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 24

Fig. 14. Arm positions in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV.

### 11.7. Double burials

(Pl. 13: Graves 51–53; Pl. 36: Grave 35.A–B; Pl. 44.B: Graves 16–17; Pl. 51: Graves 7–8, 25–26)

Double burials were known throughout the early Middle Ages, but it was not a common practice. For burying married couples together, Szabolcs Szuromi cites the Canon Law which was in effect until 1230.<sup>105</sup>

In the cemeteries investigated by us there are some cases when two adults must have been

buried at the same time such as Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 210–211.A, 278/281, Graves 327–328, Morești: Graves 16–17/1954 and Șirioara: Graves 7–8, 25–26. The case of Graves 51–53 from Cluj–Mănăstur is more interesting, because in this case each of the three skeletons belonged to adults. Unfortunately, the skeletons have not been registered, although a DNA analysis on them surely could cast light on certain sociological phenomena issues.

<sup>105</sup> Szuromi 2002, 103–105.

In Cluj–Mănăştur: Graves 124–125,<sup>106</sup> Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 232–233 and 356–357, Dăbâca–A. Tămaş's garden: Grave 35.A–B, Feldioara: Grave 4.A–B, Grave 42.A–B, Grave 43.A–B, Grave 93.A–B, Grave 66.A–B, Sighişoara–Dealul Viilor: Grave 25.A–B, Grave 28.A–B, Grave 31.A–B and Grave 81.A–B, Graves 133–133.A, Graves 135, 135.A and 136 a child and an adult were buried. Unfortunately, the anthropological analysis of the skeletons is not available for us, therefore we cannot know from a biological point of view if they were the mother or father of these children. In Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 441–442, Feldioara: Grave 66 and Sighişoara–Dealul Viilor: Grave 103.A–B the skeletons of two small infants were found (and a third child was buried above them).

### 11.8. Unusual positions (Pl. 30–31, Pl. 47.2)

The burial customs observable in the cemeteries around the churches do not only give us usual information that can be used for making generalisations but occasionally they show unusual features, dissimilar to the ordinary pattern. These phenomena draw attention to the fact that besides the common Christian features even in the cemeteries around churches (micro)regional characteristics and certain pagan traditions that had been preserved from older times should also be taken into account. These add specific elements to the Christian Árpadian era and the Transylvanian Basin in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Skeletons laid on their right or left side in an almost shrunk position documented in different positions form one of the special phenomena in these cemeteries.

In Grave 108 in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV the legs were pulled on the left side, in Grave 424 the upper body was laid on its right side and the legs were pulled up at an angle of 45° on the right side. In both cases we can clearly talk about partial shrinkage.<sup>107</sup> The legs of the skeleton in Grave 314 are apart and the legs of the skeleton in Grave 411 are slightly pulled up. In this case the person is supposed to have been buried with legs tied up. The 'skull burial' in Grave 400 is extremely rare and the only information we can find about it in the documentation is that '*craniu izolat*', i. e. (a sole skull). We think that it might have been reburied when a grave was dug. According to its

size it obviously belonged to an adult.<sup>108</sup> A terrible case can be recorded in Grave 257: the skull must have been cut off the skeleton lying on its back and it was placed between the shoulders on its left side. Graves 414 and 235 are testaments to similar brutal deeds: in both cases the deceased or killed(?) person was thrown into the grave. The arms of the skeleton in Grave 414 must have been tied while pulled up and in Grave 235 the upper body of the person thrown in the grave turned to the right together with the skull and the legs were pulled up and tied. In this last case one can talk about a partially shrunk burial.

It was interesting to map the locations of these irregular cases: these skeletons from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV were mainly found towards the edges of the cemetery, which might refer to their exclusion from the community or the church or to some superstition of the pagan times. (Pl. 31)

In the cemetery in Sighişoara–Dealul Viilor, two similar phenomena have been registered. Four skeletons were buried in the common grave no. 119, which could have been thrown in the grave based on their positions. Their position in the churchyard – they were buried on the verge of the cemetery – highlights their peripheral social status.

Grave 151 in Sighişoara–Dealul Viilor might refer to the profession of the members of the community; however, without a deep anthropological analysis these remarks of ours remain hypothetical. The skull of the skeleton in the above mentioned grave is missing, which can be in connection with military actions or the warrior status of the person mentioned.

### 11.9. Oboli in the graves (Fig. 15–17; Pl. 3)

Probably the most difficult task is the interpretation of different coin positions in the graves as *oboli* or as clothing accessories; i. e. as parts of the burial customs or as parts of clothing.

Another question is when it appeared in the Carpathian Basin. According to P. Radoměský and B. Szőke the custom spread in the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>109</sup> while others believe that it appeared through Byzantine influences,<sup>110</sup> or Frankish

<sup>106</sup> In the grave from Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur probably was buried a man.

<sup>107</sup> Tettamanti 1975, 102.

<sup>108</sup> On sole skull burials see: Tettamanti 1975, 102; Bálint 1978, 266; Révész 1996, 192, Pl. 58; Gáll 2004–2005, 371–372. As a Bulgarian parallel from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can mention Grave 43 with stone frame and stone cover in Preslav, in which a similar skull with braided neckring was found. Dimitrov 1995, 42–70.

<sup>109</sup> Radoměský 1955, 3–7; Szőke 1962, 92.

<sup>110</sup> Bálint 1976, 240.

influence through the Moravians.<sup>111</sup> B. M. Szőke, following B. Szőke, argues that the custom was reintroduced.<sup>112</sup> It seems certain that this custom became more widespread in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, yet there is substantial amount of evidence from the 10<sup>th</sup> century as well. Based on the data provided by L. Kovács, 56 cases have been identified in the Carpathian Basin. One of the earliest examples is grave in cemetery II at Karos. According to Kovács's theory, the Hungarians may have brought this custom with them from the E.<sup>113</sup>

Burials with *oboli* first appear in the southern part of the Partium and in the Banat in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Șiclău–Gropoai: Graves 7 and 9, Uivar-Grave X) and later this practice spread towards E appearing in the Transylvanian Basin. This process is indicated by graves with the coins of Stephen I in them. As for the origin of the custom, we can accept László Kovács's suggestion; i. e. the custom of giving *oboli* was introduced by the conquering Hungarians, with some precautions in the light of a N–S orientated grave with an obulus in Uivar<sup>114</sup> and the finds near the Lower Danube (e.g. the graves with *oboli* in Sultana).<sup>115</sup> Instead, the author suspects a custom coming from two directions: E (the conquering Hungarians) and SE (a cultural influence from the Lower Danube region).<sup>116</sup>

Coins, as *oboli*, were found in 12 cemeteries.

It may be the most difficult task to decide whether the coins found in different locations can be interpreted as *oboli* or part of fashion elements. They are to be found on four body parts: 1. Near the skull, in the skull, in the mouth: 40 cases; 2. On the chest: 5 cases; 3. On or under the pelvis: 0 cases; 4. Near the hands or placed in the hands: 7 cases.

Coins – probably *oboli* – were found in the following cemeteries used in the 11–12<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries: Almașu (H73), Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral,<sup>117</sup> Alba Iulia–

Roman Bath: Grave 46 and another grave (H73 and Béla II [1131–1141]), Gilău: Grave 5 (H73), Chidea unknown number of the graves (Béla II the Blind [1131–1141], Ladislaus II [1162–1163]), Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur: Grave 9 (Pl. 10.2), 53 (Pl. 13.3), 121 (Pl. 16.1), 137 (Pl. 19.19) and 158 (Pl. 18.2),<sup>118</sup> Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden next to the Grave 38 (H89) (Pl. 38B.5),<sup>119</sup> Drăușeni: Grave 4 and graves from 1994,<sup>120</sup> Moldovenesti–Unitarian Church,<sup>121</sup> Moigrad (H49, H50, H53, H56, H66a, H73 (2), H76, H81, H113, H124), Morești,<sup>122</sup> Streisângeorgiu: Grave 46, 57 and a disturbed grave,<sup>123</sup> Geoagiu de Jos: Graves 4, 8, 10, 24, 40, 41, 42, 59,<sup>124</sup> Rodna,<sup>125</sup> Șirioara – unknown number of the grave,<sup>126</sup> Viscri (H149, H154).

The coin belonging to Grave 1 Dăbâca–Castle Area IV was found quite a long way away from these burials to be considered *obulus*. The treasure from Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor: Grave 28.B, which contains 37 coins, can not be introduced in *oboli* category (H69 [35 pieces], H127 [2 pieces]).

The graves containing coins in the Dăbâca–Castle Area IV cemetery (Graves 34, 39, 53, 79, 188, 190, 391 and 483) are located in its central part except Grave 39, which is dated by an anonym 12<sup>th</sup> century coin. This one indicates that in the case of the churchyards, the horizontal analyses simultaneously have to be done combined with vertical analyses. The above mentioned grave also indicates that the outer parts of the cemetery were used with the central sections at the same time.

H118 from C XI 2 Grave 3, H118 from C XII 7, H150 from C XII 8; from graves excavated in 1975: H150 from C XIII 5/6 Grave 10, H54 from C VIIla 5/6, H67 from C XIII 3, H117–H122 from C VIIla 4, H124 from C VIIla 5/6, H148 from C XIII 7, H161 from C VIIla 4, H161 from C VIIla 6, H164 from C XIII 4; from graves excavated in 1976: H56 from X XVIII 3 Grave ?, H72 from X XVIII 3 Grave 71, H148 from C XVIII 2, H174 from C XVIII 3, anonym denarius from C XVII 1; anonym denarii from graves excavated in 2000/2001.

<sup>118</sup> Grave 9: H183; Grave 53: H95; Grave 121: H106, Grave 137: anonym denarius; Grave 158: H96.

<sup>119</sup> Next to the Grave 38: H89; Trench/1966–9, 20 metres: coin issued by Béla II (1131–1141) (?).

<sup>120</sup> Grave 4: H161; coin from graves excavated in 1994: H164.

<sup>121</sup> Coins from Ladislaus I (1077–1095) (1), Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) (1), Béla II (1131–1141) (2), Árpádian coin (1).

<sup>122</sup> The stray coins issued by Stephen II (1116–1131) and Béla II (1131–1141) were found on the surface 'Fläche B'. The finds have not been published, their types cannot be identified.

<sup>123</sup> Grave 46: H99; disturbed Grave: H140.

<sup>124</sup> Coins from Ladislaus I (1077–1095) (Grave 41) and Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) (Graves 4, 8, 10, 24, 40, 42, 59).

<sup>125</sup> One anonym denar from the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>126</sup> Anonym denar from the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>111</sup> Kolníková 1967, 214–216.

<sup>112</sup> Szőke – Vándor 1987, 77–78.

<sup>113</sup> Kovács 2004b, 46–47.

<sup>114</sup> Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 505, Vol. II: 274. táb. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Fiedler 1992, 170.

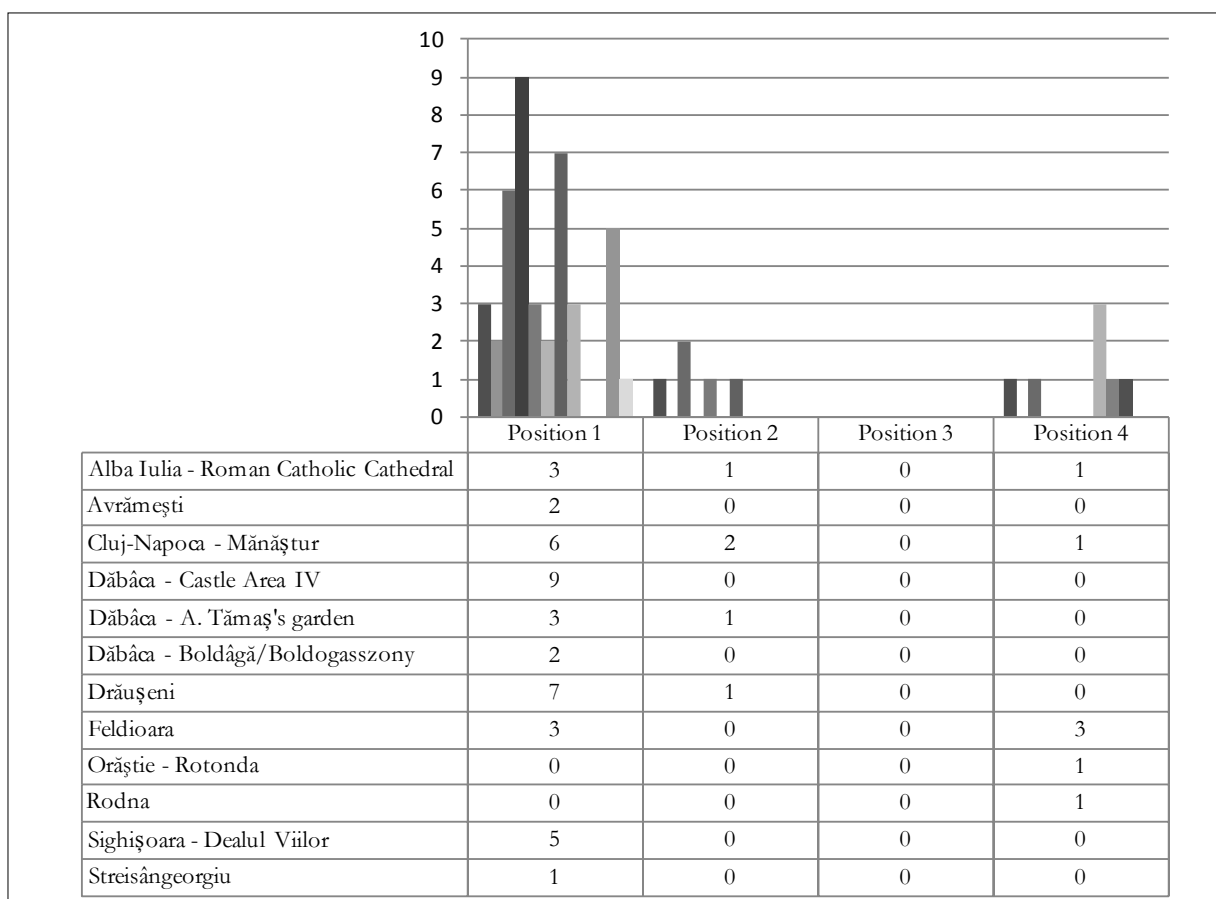
<sup>116</sup> Gáll 2004–2005, 373; Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 616, 877.

<sup>117</sup> From graves excavated in 1953: H47a, H73, H91, H124, H183; from graves excavated in 1965: denarii from Coloman the Learned (1095–1116), Stephen II (1116–1131), Béla II the Blind (1131–1141), Géza II (1141–1161), Stephen III (1162–1172), Béla III (1172–1196); from graves excavated in 1973: H91 from C VIIla 7, H138 from C VIIla 3, anonym denarius from C VIIla 8; from graves excavated in 1974: H32 from C VIIla 7, H32 from C XI 4, H32 from C XI Grave 6, H49 from C XI 8, H66a from C VIII, H92 from C XI 4,

Site-grave number	The years when the king who issued the coin reigned	Coin type (H*)	Weight	Skeleton	Position in the grave
Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral. Grave excavated in 1975	Anonym denarius	H139		?	in the mouth
-Grave II/1973	Andrew II (1205–1235)	?		maturus	in the left hand
-Grave 1/2000	Anonym denarius	?		infans	near the skull
-Grave 3/2000	Anonym denarius	?			in the mouth
-Grave 91/2003	Anonym denarius	?		maturus	on the chest
Avrămești					
-Grave 12	Anonym denarius	H152		juvenilis	left of the skull
-Grave 18	Anonym denarius	H127		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur					
-Grave 1 (Pl. 10.1)	Béla II (1131–1141)	H49		adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 10 (Pl. 10.3)	Ladislav I (1077–1095)	H22		adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 32 (Pl. 12.1)	Ladislav I (1077–1095)	H24		adultus-maturus	on the chest
-Grave 41 (Pl. 12.1)	Ladislav I (1077–1095)	H25		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 64 (Pl. 13.1)	Anonym denarius	H189		infans	on mandible
-Grave 75 (Pl. 15.1)	Ladislav I (1077–1095)	H22			on mandible
-Grave 112	Anonym denarius	?		adultus-maturus	on the chest
-Grave 124 (Pl. 16.1)	Ladislav I (1077–1095)	H22		adultus-maturus	in the right hand
-Grave 130 (Pl. 17.1)	Andrew I (1046–1060)	H9		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV					
-Grave 1	?	?		Infans I (?)	Next to the left of the skull
-Grave 34	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on or in the skull
-Grave 39 (Pl. 38.A.3)	Anonym denarius	H91	0,402 gr.	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 53	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 79 (Pl. 38.A.2)	Coloman the Learned (1095–1116)	H41	0,248 gr.	adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 145 (Pl. 38.A.4)	Anonym denarius	H101	0,262 gr.	?	the skull
-Grave 188	Béla III (1172–1196)	H183	–	Infans II	in the mouth
-Grave 190	?	?	–	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 391 (Pl. 38.A.1)	Coloman the Learned (1095–1116)	H42a	0,100 gr.	adultus-maturus	behind the destroyed skull
-Grave 483	Anonym denarius	?	–	Infans ?	in the mouth
Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden					
-Grave 2 (Pl. 38.B.1)	Anonym denarius	?	?	maturus	on the right part of the chest
-Grave 12A (Pl. 38.B.2)	Anonym denarius	H100	0,298 gr.	infans	near the skull
-Grave 15 (Pl. 38.B.3)	Anonym denarius	H102	0,269 gr.	?	near the skull
-Grave 26B (Pl. 38.B.4)	Anonym denarius	H96a	0,155 gr.	?	in the place of the skull
Dăbâca–Boldăgă					
-Grave 6	Anonym denarius	?	–	?	in the mouth
-Grave 57	Anonym denarius	?	–		in the mouth
Drașeni					
-Grave 4.B	Anonym denarius	H140		infans	on the inner part of the maxillary
-Grave 8	Anonym denarius	H158			in the mouth
-Grave 11	Anonym denarius	H127?		maturus	in the skull
-Grave 23	Anonym denarius	H113		juvenilis	near the skull

\*After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.

-Grave 41	Árpáadian coin	?		maturus	Under skull
-Grave 48	Árpáadian coin?	?		maturus	on the inner part of the maxillary
-Grave 49	Árpáadian coin?	?		maturus	near the skull
-Grave 95	Anonym denarius	?		?	in the chest
Feldioara	Árpáadian coin	?			in the mouth
-Grave 26					
-Grave 58	Anonym denarius	H156			in the right hand
-Grave 93	Anonym denarius	H127			to the left of the skull
-Grave 98/1	Anonym denarius	H127			in the left hand
-Grave 98/2	Anonym denarius	H152			in the right hand
-Grave 98/3	Anonym denarius	H140			in the mouth
Orăștie–Round Church					
-Grave 44	Anonym denarius	H139 (2)			in the right and left hand
Rodna					
-Grave 'A'	Anonym denarius	?		adultus-maturus	in the left hand
Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor					
-Grave 30	Anonym denarius	H156		Infans I	in the mouth
-Grave 76	Anonym denarius	?		adultus	under mandible
-Grave 81.A	Anonym denarius?	?		adultus	on the mouth
-Grave 85	Anonym denarius	H139		adultus	in the mouth
-Grave 109	Anonym denarius?	?		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Streisângeorgiu					
-Grave 57	Anonym denarius	H99		adultus-maturus	in the mouth

Fig. 15. *Oboli* in the gravesFig. 16. *Oboli* in the graves and their positions

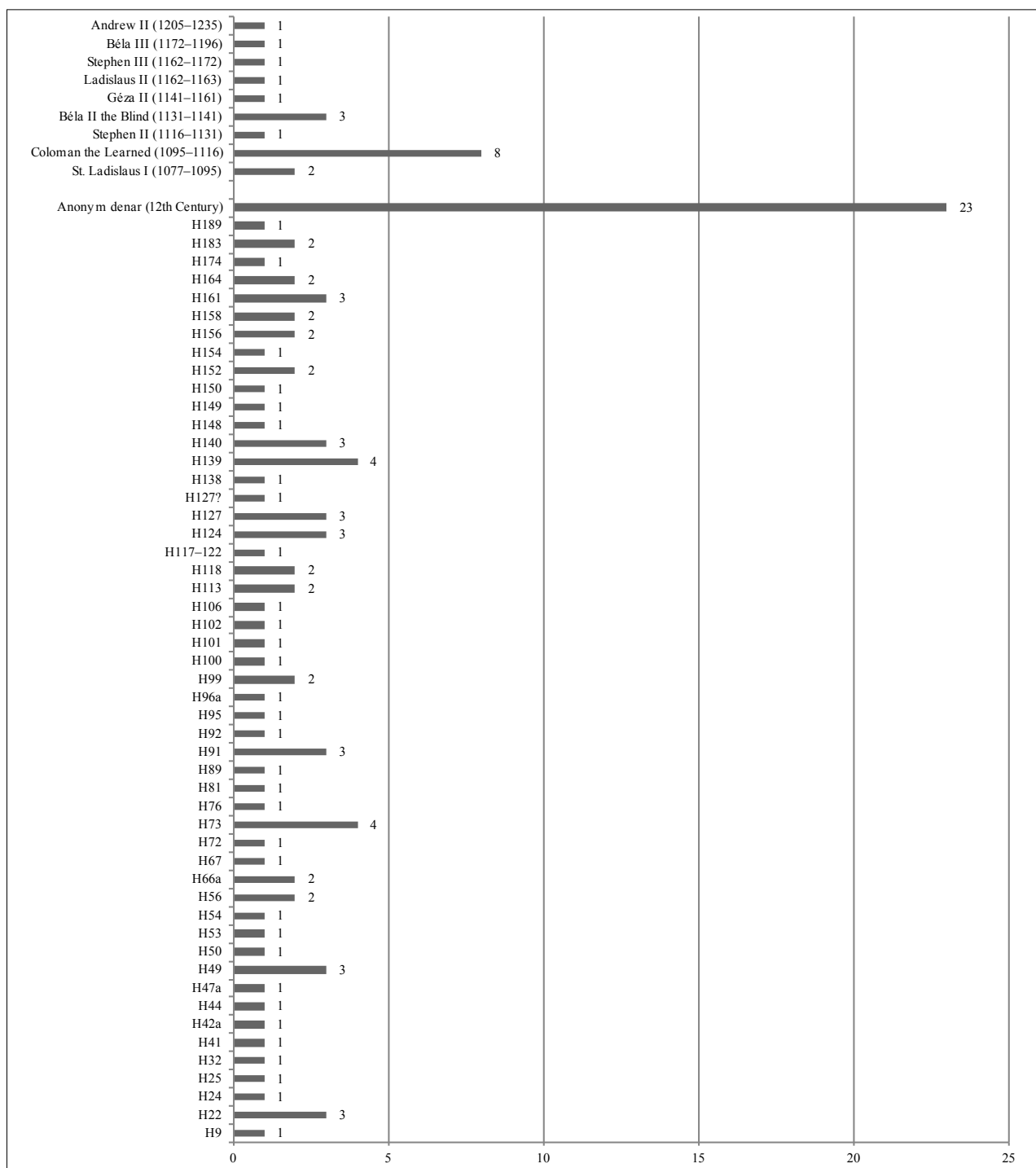


Fig. 17. Coin finds in the graves

The coin finds in the graves, although not perfectly, show the lines of the net of both the religious institutions and the worldly settlements established by the Hungarian state in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, certainly, along with the net of religious institutions indicating the increasing dominance and institutionalisation of Christianity.

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At the end of our analysis, without drawing conclusions, we would like to add some observations:

1. Based on the customs of the population found in the Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Sighișoara cemetery, one can suppose a pagan-Christian syncretism. The varied concentration of the different burial customs may refer to a heterogeneous community with different mentality, customs and identification.

2. Based on the burial customs, the problem of gender as a social-cultural construction cannot be followed in contrast to the burial customs of the pagan era.



## 12. The finds

### 12.1. Introduction

In funerary symbolism, as in everyday life, the femininity is and always has been expressed by jewellery, as opposed to the furnishing of (free) men, which were characterised by weapons in the early Middle Ages. The prestige, rank and status gained in this time period cannot be represented otherwise in the graves either, so the appearance of weapons in the graves is not surprising.

The situation is different with jewellery. Jewellery is mainly known from female graves, which is a phenomenon that cannot be considered general by far. In the archaeological finds, gender should not be interpreted in its biological sense, but as a cultural and social construction, therefore it is not surprising that object representing masculinity can also be found in female graves and the other way round, especially in 'pagan times',<sup>127</sup> which showed various burial customs.

The (burial) practice of the Christian population brought a simplification of the burial customs (of course, only from an archaeological point of view), so the poor grave furnishings make the research of gender almost impossible.

At the same time, it is nearly impossible to calculate the chronological margins of the use of fashion elements (hair ring, finger ring, bracelets, etc.), opposed to weapons, which disappeared from graves. The elements of fashion (jewellery) are not so much connected to practical issues, and as social-psychological phenomena spread and go out of fashion. In the case of use of an object depended completely on a person or a community, therefore should be investigated independently in each and every archaeological situation. For these social-psychological reasons it is very difficult to draw up a chronological frame of the use of jewellery. Burials are very important sources, because they usually reflect the material culture of the population in the Árpád era. According to some surveys, only 1% of the graves from the time of the Hungarian Conquest and the Árpád era have been excavated so far.<sup>128</sup>

### 12.2. Hair rings

(Fig. 18-22; Pl. 4, Pl. 10-19, Pl. 20, Pl. 32-34, Pl. 37, Pl. 40, Pl. 42, Pl. 45-46, 47.1.A, Pl. 50-51)

Each used type and sub-type of lock-ring jewellery and/or hair rings was a classical fashion design, therefore a considerable amount was found in the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century graves both in the Carpathian Basin and in the whole CE European region.<sup>129</sup> We have information of these jewels from 32 sites of 54 (Alba Iulia-Cathedral, Alba Iulia-Roman Bath, Avrâmești, Brădești, Chidea, Cipău-Sfântu Gheorghe, Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală, Cristuru Secuiesc, Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, Drăușeni, Feldioara, Geoagiu de Jos, Gilău, Jucu, Mediaș, Morești, Mugeni, Odorheiu Secuiesc-Sântimreu, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Sângeorgiu de Mureș, Sânvășii, Sibiu, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor, Șirioara, Streisângeorgiu, Miercurea Ciuc-Șumuleu, Văleni, Viscri, Ulieș).

In many cases their function remains ambiguous, not just because they are single finds but also their functionality is debatable: their position in the grave may refer to a hair ring, a hair ring, but they might as well have been used as earrings.<sup>130</sup> Their material, on which we have made a statistical analysis, is silver and bronze alloy. Because of the variety of forms, patterns and sizes among the hair rings, their typological and size-focussed categorisation is demonstrated in a table. The underlying rule was that the size of the hair rings should be compared to their shape, cross-section and ornamentation.<sup>131</sup>

The statistical analysis reveals that the bronze hair rings constitute the majority in the graves of the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin (172 silver pieces compared to the 184 bronze ones and 2 copper alloy).

<sup>129</sup> In Poland, plain hair rings are known only in small quantity, whereas hair rings with S-shaped ends in large quantity. The situation is similar in the northern parts of Bohemia and Slovakia. We know a lot fewer hair rings from Bulgarian graves. Fiedler 1992; Jażdżewski 1949, 91-191; Marciniak 1960, 141-186.

<sup>130</sup> Several examples relating to this issue: Gáll 2013c, I, 649-653.

<sup>131</sup> This analysis contains 386 hair ring samples from the funerary sites in Alba Iulia-Cathedral, Alba Iulia-Roman Bath, Avrâmești, Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur, Cluj-Napoca, Cristuru Secuiesc, Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, Drăușeni, Geoagiu de Jos, Gilău, Morești, Odorheiu Secuiesc-Sântimreu, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor, Streisângeorgiu, Miercurea Ciuc-Șumuleu, Ulieș.

<sup>127</sup> A few examples from the time of the Hungarian Conquest, the Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, see: Gáll 2013c, 335.

<sup>128</sup> K. K. 1996, 37.

Hair ring-size → Hair ring form/profile/decoration ↓	Little size (L.s.) ← 1,7 cm	Medium size (M.s.) 1,8 – 2,2 cm	Big size (B.s.) 2,3 – 3,5 cm	Giant size (G.s.) 3,6 →
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross-section, its ends are opposite (1a)	3-Ag, 3-Br	1-Ag, 2-Br	2-Ag, 5-Br	3-Br
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross section and overlapping ends (1b)	1-Ag, 3-Br		1-Br	2-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a round ring (2a1.1.)	39-Ag, 25-Br	19-Ag, 18-Br	24-Ag, 7-Br	4-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a pear-oval shaped ring (2a1.2)	14-Ag, 34-Br	8-Ag, 22-Br	6-Ag, 23-Br, 1-Cu	12-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a very thick pear-oval shaped ring – Nitra type (2a1.2.A)	1-Ag			
Pressed hair ring with S-shaped ends (2a1.3)	1-Ag, 4-Br	1-Ag, 1-Br	1-Ag, 3-Br	
Round or oval hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.1)			5-Br	
Round braided hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.2)		1-Br	3-Br	
With a round hair ring with S-shaped ends, with grooved ends (2b1.1)	12-Ag, 1-Br	7-Ag, 2-Br	9-Ag, 6-Br	
With a pear or oval shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends (2b1.2)	16-Ag, 2-Br	10-Ag, 2-Br	2-Ag, 2-Br, 1-Cu	
Round hair ring with S-shaped ends and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.1)	1-Br			
Pear-shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.2)		1-Br	1-Ag	
Hair ring with twisted ends (3)	2-Ag	1-Br		

Fig. 18. The types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

It is important to note that among those with grooves at their S ends there are only few made of bronze: out of the 57 hair rings with grooved ends 49 were made of silver and only 12 were made of bronze alloy, respectively one from copper alloy.

According to the finds, it is obvious that in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century graves of the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin there were dominantly one or two hair rings.<sup>132</sup> There are only a few cases where more hair rings were registered. For example in 118 graves in *Dăbâca–Castle Area IV* in most cases 1 hair ring (70 cases) or 2 hair rings were found (30 cases), but also 3 hair rings were found in a considerable number (12). Four hair rings were found in 4 burials, moreover, 5 and 6 hair rings were found in one grave respectively.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, in the 142 graves in the *Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur* cemetery 1 hair ring (18 cases) and two hair rings (21 cases) are known, 3 hair rings were found in 5 graves, 4 hair rings in 4, 5 hair rings in

2, and 6 hair rings in 1 grave.<sup>134</sup> In the 55 graves in the *Morești* cemetery 1 hair ring (3 cases) and two hair rings (3 cases) are known, 3 hair rings were found in 2 graves, 5 hair rings in 1, and 7 hair rings in 1 grave.<sup>135</sup>

This may show that 10<sup>th</sup> century garment remained in use but the change in hair ring types may indicate that alongside the old hairdo a new hairstyle might have come in fashion.

The hair ring in *Dăbâca–Castle Area IV*: Grave 192 can be connected to the old fashion, where the position of the ring clearly shows that it functioned as a lock-ring.

With the hair rings with S-shaped ends, headgears consisting of coloured ribbons might have become popular mainly with women,<sup>136</sup> but such finds are also known from male graves.

It remains a question whether in these cases we can talk about similar hair style or not. Could the jewel called hair ring with S-shaped end have been used in another function (as earring)?

<sup>132</sup> The same observation could be made on the 10–11<sup>th</sup> century finds from the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat. Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 652, 198. kép.

<sup>133</sup> Gáll 2011, 35–36.

<sup>134</sup> Gáll et al. 2010, 68–69.

<sup>135</sup> Gáll et al. 2010, 68–69.

<sup>136</sup> Szőke – Vándor 1987, 57–59.

Lockring size → Lockring form/ profile/decoration ↓	Little size (L.s.) ←1,7 cm	Medium size (M.s.) 1,8 – 2,2 cm	Big size (B.s.) 2,3 – 3,5 cm	Giant size (G.s.) 3,6 cm →
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross-section, its ends are opposite (1a)				
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross section and overlapping ends (1b)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends with a round ring (2a1.1.)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a pear-oval shaped ring (2a1.2)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a very thick pear-oval shaped ring – Nitra type (2a1.2.A)				
Pressed hair ring with S-shaped ends (2a1.3)				
Round or oval hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.1)				
Round braided hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.2)				
With a round hair ring with S-shaped ends, with grooved ends (2b1.1)				
With a pear or oval shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends (2b1.2)				
Round hair ring with S-shaped ends and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.1)				
Pear-shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.2)				
Hair ring with twisted ends (3)				

Fig. 19. The types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

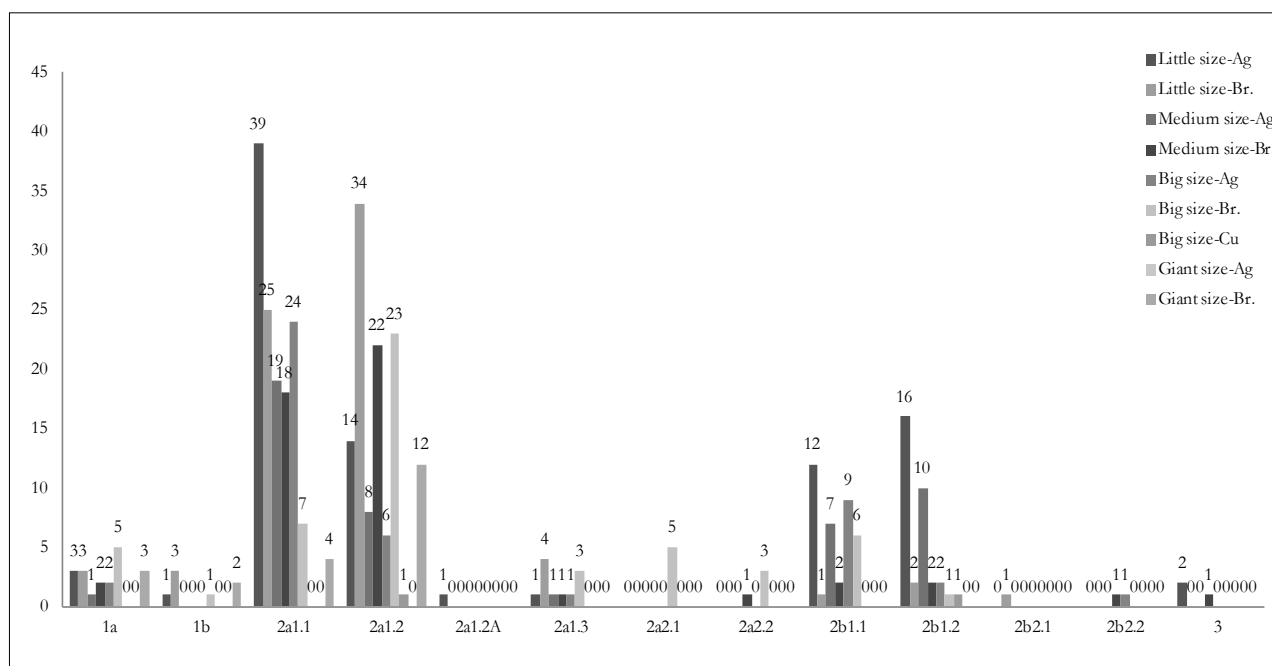


Fig. 20. The quantity of types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

At the same time, did the popularity of the hair rings with S-shaped ends change the hair style? Is it possible that the so-called hair rings had another function? Is it possible that each hair ring with S-shaped ends could only be used on ribbons? We would like to emphasise: the use of jewellery is not (only) practical or mechanical but also a social-psychological issue, i. e. the extent to which a jewel is used and the use of this jewel in a particular society (not to mention microsocieties) may differ essentially. It is important to raise this question because in most cases one hair ring was found in the graves as can be seen from the statistical combinations. We will discuss this issue below.

First of all, we tried to observe the position of the single hair rings found in the graves. These hair rings were found in varied positions: in most cases, on the left side of the skull or next to it. One may ask how we can imagine the position of the above mentioned (hair) ribbon. It is important to note that in 5 cases, these hair rings were found right on the place of the ears (next to the left ear:

Graves 346, 422; on the place of the right ear: Graves 40, 43, 79, 423, and 428, near the place of the right ear: Grave 38). The question may arise whether they were or not worn as earrings. In other cases it cannot be excluded that these hair rings were used as hair rings: this possibility arises in the case of the position of the hair ring found in Grave 187, and it can be supposed to have been a hair ring in Grave 377.A too.

A similar question may arise in connection with those graves where *two* hair rings were found. In the case of Grave 365 it can be supposed that the two rings functioned as hair rings. In the case of Grave 92 the positions of the hair rings found near the jaw (a) and near the left shoulder (b) allow us to suppose two presumptions: 1. there were two hair rings; 2. they were ornaments on two long ribbons.

It is noteworthy that in most cases the two hair rings were found on the same side of the skull either on the left or on the right, and this phenomenon is more striking when the hair rings are not registered near the skulls but on them. These data

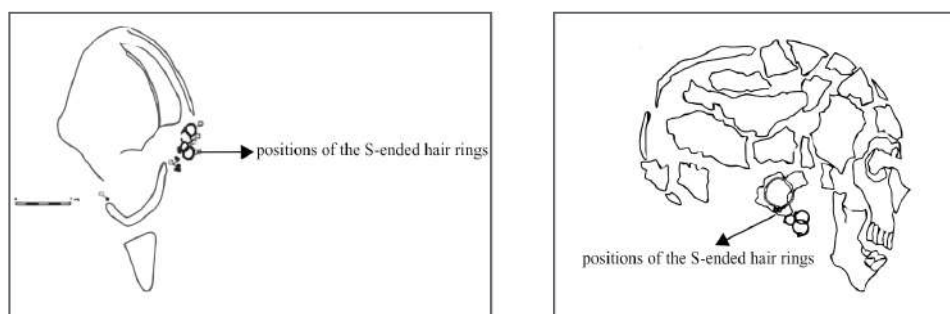


Fig. 21. Rábasömjén–near the church: Grave 38 and Miercurea Ciuc–Şumuleu: Grave 10 (Pap 2012, Fig. 11; Benkő 2012, 37. á. 1)

go to show that hair rings might vary functions in these cases too: they could have been used as hair rings but they could also have embellished some kind of ribbon or band. In the case of Grave 310 we cannot exclude the possibility that they were earrings.

Therefore the table showing the hairstyles characteristic of the genders indicates hair rings on hair buns and ribbons and hair rings functioning as earrings with the female sex, whereas with males they could have functioned as hair rings or earrings:

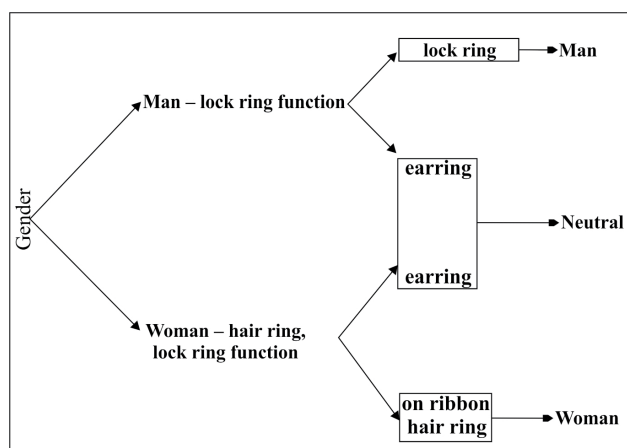


Fig. 22. Gender and hairstyles

The hair style worn by the conquering Hungarians was basically different from that of those people who they found in the Carpathian Basin. It is attested by several written sources. For example *Liutprand's* ambassador report from 968 that the bishop of Cremona met the ambassador of the Bulgarians, 'whose hair was clipped in Hungarian style'.<sup>137</sup> According to *Regino*, 'they cut their hair to the skin with knives'.<sup>138</sup>

According to the *Chronicon Pictum* (Vienna Illuminated Chronicle), Vata shaved his head leaving three locks in pagan style in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Both the archeological finds and the written sources allow us to suppose two hairstyles in the 10<sup>th</sup> century:

I. Braided male hairstyle (the interpretation of the hair rings found in female graves remains a question). The Vienna Illuminated Chronicle and the plain hair rings in the archeological finds may refer to this.

II. Hair locks. The data given by the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle and *Regino* may refer to this.

However, this hairstyle began to change at the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries when more and more graves are registered where more plain hair rings were found (3–6) as opposed to the one or two plain hair rings, which was characteristic for the graves of the previous era (one can suppose one or two hair locks). It is also important to note that the 10<sup>th</sup> century 'Hungarian' hairstyle, which was considered archaic, remained fashionable for a long time. The change in the shape of the hair rings, knowing the hair rings found in the Dăbâca graves, indicate the change of the hairstyle, the possibility cannot be excluded that based on the above mentioned examples. The hair rings with S-shaped ends could also have been used as lock-rings, or even earrings as similarly to the 10th century hairstyle. At the same time one or two hair rings remained dominant in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The hairstyle with one and with two hairlocks is to be seen on page 21 in the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle written in the 14th century, which allows us to suppose that this hairstyle was worn throughout the Middle Ages. Moreover, according to the research conducted by Alice Gáborján, we know that it remained in use as far as the 20th century.<sup>139</sup>

### 12.3. Hairpins

(Fig. 23; Pl. 20, Pl. 32, Pl. 38, Pl. 45)

The different types of this jewellery, worn mainly by women, are known from ancient Egypt, and hairpins were worn by the Etruscans, the ancient Greeks and the Romans. Ballhead hairpins are known from the finds found in the different types of cemeteries of the researched era in the Transylvanian Basin. Its early similar variants made of gold and silver were registered in the graves in Aregonde, France (dated to 584),<sup>140</sup> and in Grave 131 in Břeclav–Pohansko, which datable to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>141</sup>

This type of jewellery was categorised among the characteristics of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian Kingdom back in 1978,<sup>142</sup> which was in connection with the change of the hairstyle.<sup>143</sup> However, they are not known from all the 12<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries, and their quantity also changed.

<sup>139</sup> Gáborján 1997, 239–240.

<sup>140</sup> Périn 2008, 432–435.

<sup>141</sup> Kalousek 1971, 87, Pl. 133/1.

<sup>142</sup> Bóna 1978, 140–141.

<sup>143</sup> Bárdos 1978, 194.

<sup>137</sup> MGHS 1915, 185; Bálint 2006, 332.

<sup>138</sup> Györfy 1975, 25, 27.



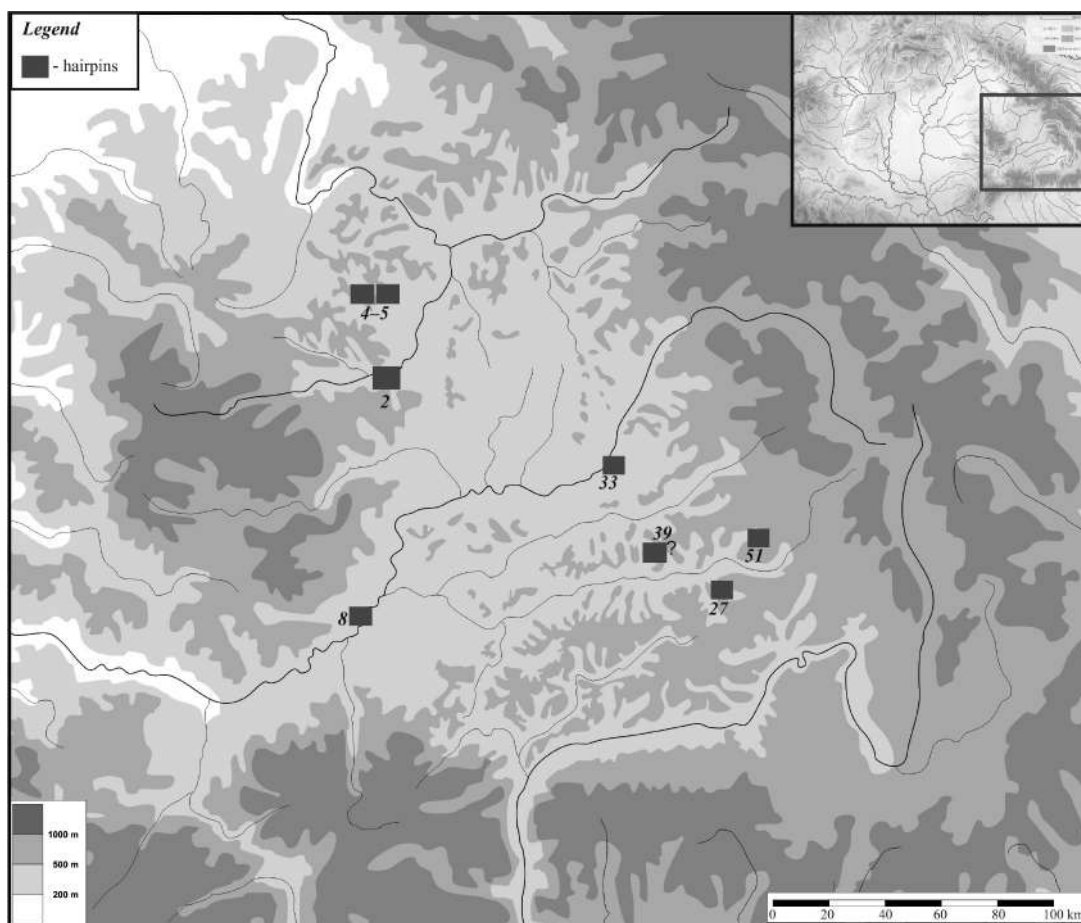


Fig. 23. The distribution of hairpins in the churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries)

A large number of them were found in the cemetery in Morești–Cîțfalău, where altogether 70 pieces were registered by Kurt Horedt in Graves 2, 8, 9, 16 and 18 in 1952 and in Graves 4, 13 and 23 in 1954 and some as stray finds.<sup>144</sup> The pieces found in the regional centres and the rural settlements of the Transylvanian Basin can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century or thereafter: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*,<sup>145</sup> maybe Avrămești: Grave 173,<sup>146</sup> Brădești<sup>147</sup>, Cluj-Napoca–*Piața Centrală*: Grave 21,<sup>148</sup> Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 172 and 322,<sup>149</sup> Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*: Grave 11,<sup>150</sup> Mugeni,<sup>151</sup> Târgu Mureș,<sup>152</sup> Ulieș: Grave 43.<sup>153</sup>

This kind of hairpin is not known from the 12<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries in all other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. Such examples can be

registered in Kiszána: Grave 55 (1 piece),<sup>154</sup> Békés: Grave 75 (1 piece),<sup>155</sup> however, in Kaposvár,<sup>156</sup> they were registered among the materials of settlement excavations.<sup>157</sup>

Only one single piece was found in Grave 21 in Cluj-Napoca–*Piața Centrală*, Grave 55 in Kiszána, Grave 75 in Békés, in Graves 149 and 272 in Kaposvár, and in Grave 4 in the 1954 area in Morești, but in other graves of the cemeteries in Kaposvár and Morești as many as a dozen hair pins were found, which might indicate their differing hairstyle.

As long as we know, their comprehensive analysis in the Carpathian Basin has not been carried out so far. In most cases, based on the position of hairpins in the graves, nor their functionality neither their function was questionable.

<sup>144</sup> Horedt 1984, abb. 33–36.

<sup>145</sup> Protase 1956, 15–19.

<sup>146</sup> Benkő 2012, 157.

<sup>147</sup> Unpublished. Benkő 2012, 157.

<sup>148</sup> Gáll et al. 2010, 72, Pl. 58/12.

<sup>149</sup> Gáll 2011, 41, 39. táb. 4, 43. táb. 9, 58. táb.

<sup>150</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>151</sup> Unpublished. I would like to thank Zsolt Nyárádi for these data.

<sup>152</sup> Heitel 1972, 154, fig. 7.

<sup>153</sup> Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 269, 275.

<sup>154</sup> Szabó 1970–71, 72: 4. kép 3.

<sup>155</sup> Trogmayer 1962, 13, 22, 25.

<sup>156</sup> Kaposvár–*Road Nr. 61* Grave 94 (9 examples), Grave 99 (15 examples), Grave 107 (12 examples), Grave 149 (1 example), Grave 183 (6 examples), Grave 184 (3 examples), Grave 272 (1 example). Bárdos 1978, II. táb. 14–30, III. táb. 1–7, 14–25, IV. táb. 14, 20–28, VI. táb. 8.

<sup>157</sup> A ballhead pin was found by Balázs Gergely in a dwelling pit in Székely (County Szabolcs-Szatmár). Unpublished.

The hairpins were characteristic of the W-European fashion hairstyle; they were another form of the westernisation within the Hungarian Kingdom in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 12.4. Pearls

(Pl. 11, Pl. 16, Pl. 33, Pl. 37)

Cases: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 73/1973 (1 piece-?), Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur: Grave 17 (5 pieces–Au Foil, glass), Grave 123 (1 glass, 5 clay pieces),<sup>158</sup> Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 36 (? pieces–the material they were made of is unknown), Grave 37 (148 pieces–glasspaste, shell, coral), Grave 146 (12 pieces–coral), Grave 234 (90 pieces–glass paste),<sup>159</sup> Dăbâca–A. Tămaş' garden: Grave 37·Feldioara: Grave 21 (4 pieces), Jucu: Grave 3 (1 example made of glass), Grave 62 (unknown number), Grave 76 (48 pieces), Grave 88 (unknown number), Moreşti: Grave 1.A (1 piece).

Pearls can be considered trade products, therefore they must have been much more common in trading and political-military centres and at the junctions of trading routes. According to the observations, pearl types of different sizes, shapes and techniques were found in female and child graves whereas *strings of beads* were only found in female or biologically female child or adolescent graves. This observation was made in connection with the graves from Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV and Jucu. In Grave 73/1973 Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, in Grave 123 Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur a child, in Grave 36 Dăbâca–Castle Area IV the skeleton of an *infant* I or II was documented, and the 148 glass paste beads may indicate that the adult in Grave 37 must have been a female,<sup>160</sup> in Grave 146 an adolescent lay, whereas in Grave 234 the skeleton of a small child was found. The cases in Jucu are even more characteristic: in Grave 3 a child skeleton, in Grave 62 an *infans* II, in Grave 76 a small girl was registered and in Grave 88 the skeleton of a child was found. According to their biological characteristics, it seems clear that strings of beads were mainly placed in the graves of young and probably female graves. There are no available data on the size, age and sex of the skeleton in Grave 17 Cluj–Mănăştur. It is also

important that in many cases these strings of beads were found together with hair rings with S-shaped ends applied on textile ribbons (see Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur: Grave 123, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Jucu: Grave 76). Why these strings of beads were placed in these graves and what reasoning or emotional approaches might have been behind them will remain the secret of those bygone days. The presence of these strings of beads, which are considered to contribute to female beauty, in children graves may lead to the following conclusions that

1. the *male-female binary opposition* might have begun from a very early age in the early Middle Ages

2. the archeological evidence of the parents' pains

#### 12.5. Finger rings

(Fig. 24–25; Pl. 5, Pl. 10–12, Pl. 14–15, Pl. 18–19, Pl. 32–33, Pl. 37, Pl. 40, Pl. 42, Pl. 45, Pl. 47.1.B, Pl. 50)

The very diversified types of finger rings found in the Transylvanian Basin churchyards were made of silver, gilt silver, bronze or glass.

The types of finger rings:

1a. Simple open strap ring without ornaments: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral (1 piece–Br.), Cluj–Mănăştur: Grave 13 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 85 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: stray find (1 piece–Ag), Grave 108 (1 piece–Ag), Jucu: Grave 53 (1 piece–Br.).

1b1. Ornamented, open strap ring, with ornamentation incised in lines and punched in small rectangular shapes ordered in rows or in double rows: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 114 (1 piece–Br.).

1b2. Ornamented, open strap ring, with ornamentation incised and punched in a serrated shape on its surface, in several lines: Cluj–Mănăştur: Grave 41 (1 piece–Ag).

1b3. Ornamented open strap ring, with ornamentation incised and punched in a serrated shape on its surface, with a cross at the end: Cluj–Mănăştur: Grave 75 (1 piece–Ag).

1b4. Ornamented open strap ring, with triangle-shaped incised and punched ornamentation: Cluj–Mănăştur: Grave 141 (1 piece–Ag).

1c. A strap ring ornamented with two grooving: Cluj–Mănăştur: Grave 24 (1 piece–Ag).

1d. Simple, open strap ring with primitive zigzag scratches: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: stray find from Trench 3/1969 (1 piece–Ag).

<sup>158</sup> Iambor – Matei 1979, 602, Pl. VII. m. 17. 8; Iambor – Matei 1983, 135, Pl. VI. m. 123. 1–6; Gáll et al. 2010, 80–81, Pl. 16/5. a–c; Pl. 48/7. a–e.

<sup>159</sup> I would like to thank Luminița Săsărean for these data.

<sup>160</sup> Analogies we know from the Esztergom–Zsidód churchyards. Molnár 2005, 5. kép.

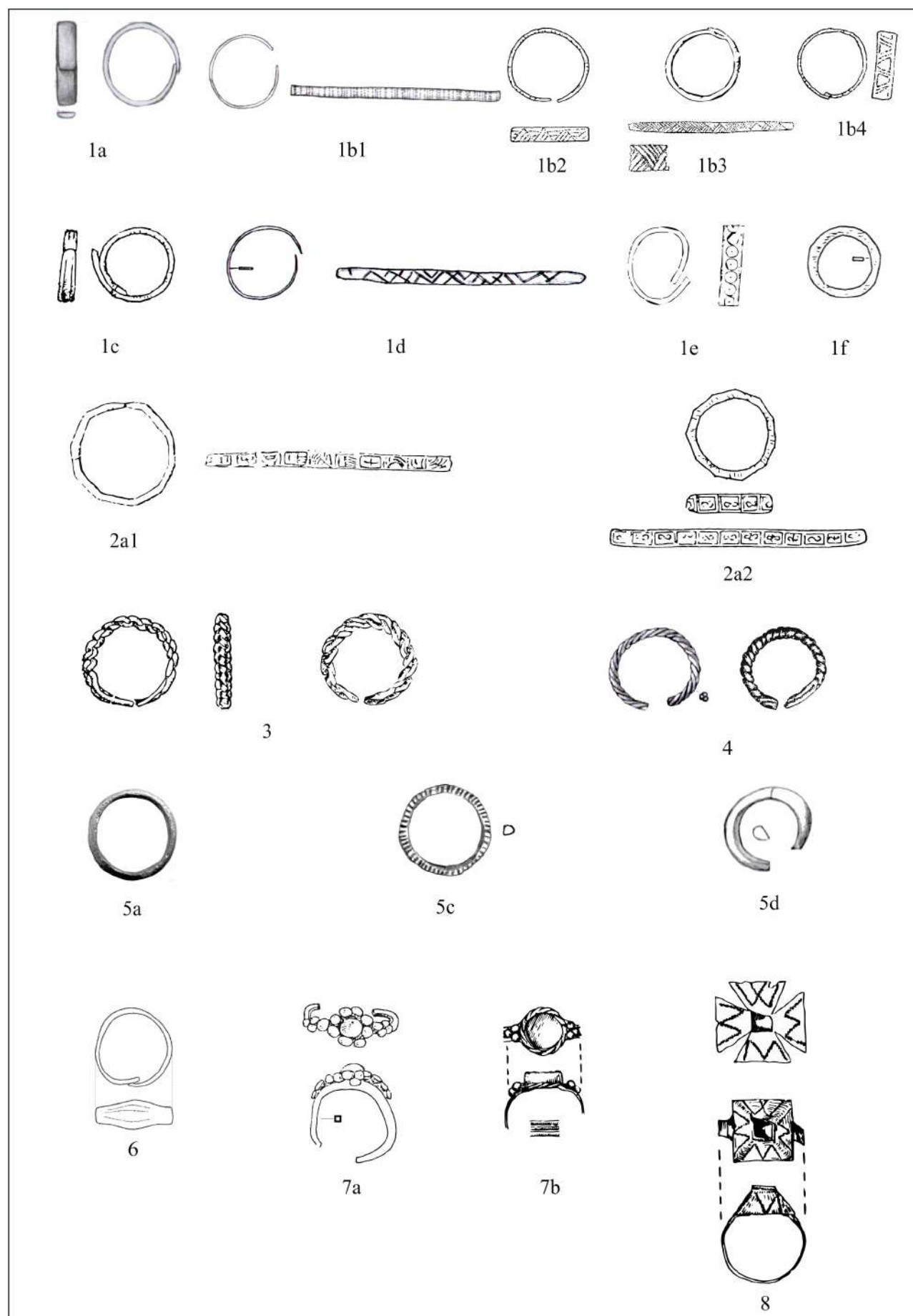


Fig. 24. The types-subtypes of finger rings on the base of their forms and decoration



1e. Strap ring ornamented with concentric circles: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*: Grave 15 (1 piece–Br.).

1f. Cast, closed, strap ring without ornaments: Moreşti: Grave 16/1952 (1 piece–Br.).

2a1–2a2. Octagonal ring with ‘rune’ inscription: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 17 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 45 (1 piece–Ag).

3. Braided wire finger ring with hammered ends: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 2 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 60 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 86 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 159 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–*A. Tămaş’s garden* from a destroyed grave (1 piece–Br.), Drăuşeni: Grave 5 (1 piece–Ag).

4. Braided open finger ring: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral* (1 piece–Br., 6 pieces–Ag), Alba Iulia–*Roman Bath* stray finds (24 pieces–Br.), Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 157 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 68 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 146 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 282 (1 piece–Gilded Ag), Geoagiu de Jos: Grave 10 (1 piece–Br.), Moreşti: Grave 6/1952 (1 piece–Br.), Streisângeorgiu: Grave 51, stray find (2 pieces–Ag and Br.).

5a. Cast, closed wire finger ring with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 116 (1 piece–Br.).

5b. Cast, closed wire finger ring with lenticular cross-section: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral* (1 piece–Br.).

5c. Cast ring imitating braids, with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave

190.A (1 piece–Br.).

5d. Yellowish-brown glass ring with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* - from the church’s trench (1 piece–glass).

6. Ornamented headed ring (by widening the head and the strap): Gilău: Grave 2 (1 piece–Br.).

7a. Bezel set ring ornamented with granulation: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 10 (1 piece–Ag).

7b. Bezel set ring ornamented with granulation and filigree: Drăuşeni: Grave 8 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 42.B (1 piece–Br.).

8. Pyramid shaped bezel set ring (decoration in forms of the letters M and W was incised on the pyramidal head soldered on the strap): Drăuşeni: Grave 3 (1 piece–Br.).

#### 12.5.1. Statistical data on the rings (the material they were made of, their quantity in the graves)

Some of the rings found in the graves in the Transylvanian Basin were made of silver (27), gilded silver (1), bronze (41) and glass (1). Unfortunately, there are 28 stray finds. They must have been furnishings in graves that were ransacked. However, the data concerning the positions of the rings are available only in few cases:

1.a. On the fourth finger on the right hand: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Graves 68 and 114.

1.b. On ‘a finger’ on the right hand: Cluj–*Mănăştur* Grave 75 and 157, Drăuşeni: Graves 3 and 8, Jucu: Grave 53.

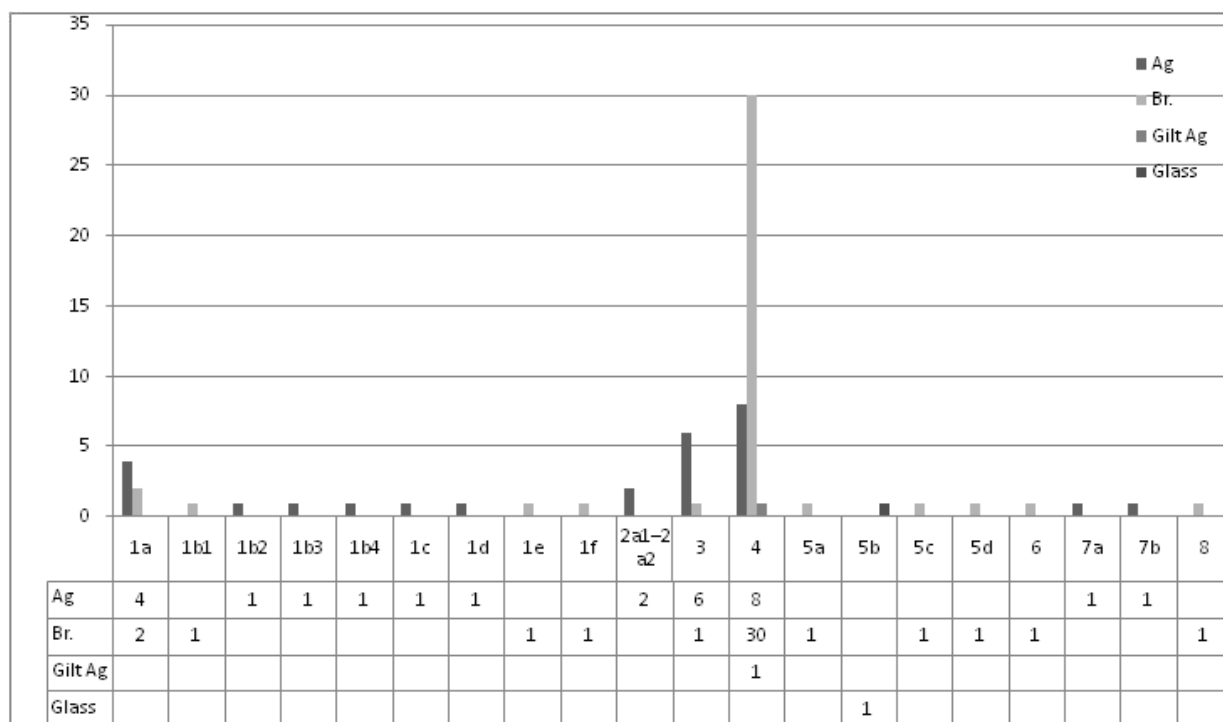


Fig. 25. The quantity of finger rings types-subtypes

2.a. On the second finger on the left hand: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 190.A.

2.b. On 'a finger' on the left hand: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 15/2000.

#### 12.5.2. Finger rings in the graves in Transylvania

Although there are many different types of strap rings in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Transylvanian cemeteries, their validity for dating is usually low. Mainly because their use is of long standing: the simple open and punched strap rings (Types 1a, 1b1–1b4,) were found both in the Avar graves and in the graves of the conquering Hungarians, as well as the zig-zag patterned scratched rings.<sup>161</sup> However, the zig-zag patterns on the ring found in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV is not the work of the ring maker but that of the owner who must have seen this pattern somewhere and tried to copy it. It is in stark contrast with the elaborated items in Graves 41, 75 and 141 in Cluj–Mănăştur.<sup>162</sup> It must be noted that the item found in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV was also made of high quality silver. The ring with grooving in Cluj–Mănăştur (Type 1c) was found in the earliest phase of the cemetery, and the type 1b4 ring in Grave 141 is dated by the burial right next to it with a coin of King Ladislaus I to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The type 1b3 ring found in Grave 75 is also dated by an H22 coin of King Ladislaus I to the end of the century, whereas the H25 type coin dates the 1b2 type ring to the end of the century quite exactly. At other sites these types of rings are known from the Avar era, and – in smaller quantity – from the 10<sup>th</sup>–century burials.<sup>163</sup>

An analysis of the rune-inscribed rings can be read in the work of Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor.<sup>164</sup> The two pieces from Cluj–Mănăştur can be dated to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The open braided rings of type 3 are all dated from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (6 pieces). Braided rings are known in the greatest number, which were found in the graves excavated in different parts of the cemetery.<sup>165</sup> It is important to note that the surface of the silver finger ring from

Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 282 was gilded, like the surface of the two silver hair rings with S-shaped ends from this burial. So in this case, the artefacts may have been made by the same master as ordered goods.

The closed bronze ring with semicircular cross-section found in Grave 116 (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV) on the edge of the cemetery can also be dated between the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

We have to mention of the *glass ring* found in the section of the church from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Although its context is unknown, it cannot be excluded that this ring was an import product coming from the Lower Danube region with other mass products (such as the green glazed pottery dated back to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>166</sup>

The type 8 ring with pyramid shaped head, found in SE Transylvania (Drăuşeni: Grave 3), is exceptional because of the decoration in the form of letters M and W.<sup>167</sup> Even the type of this ring is unknown in 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century graves. Two close parallels were found in 13<sup>th</sup> century treasure finds near Balmazújváros and Nagykamarás,<sup>168</sup> respectively in Grave 59.A from Zábala.<sup>169</sup> Based upon its context, the ring can be dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

As opposed to the graves with *strings of beads*, in the graves containing finger rings mainly adults were buried. In 16 graves most of the skeletons belong to adults (Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Graves 2, 60, 86, 75, 141 and 157, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 68, 108, 114 and 116, Drăuşeni: Grave 3, 5 and 42.B, Gilău: Grave 2, Jucu: Grave 53), but we can register two adolescents (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 146 and 190) and three infants too (Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Graves 17 and 159, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 282). In conclusion, customs of finger ring may be related first of all of to the age.

In the analysis of the topographical locations of the rings found in the Dăbâca cemetery it was conspicuous that, in contrast with the hair rings with S-shaped ends, half of the rings that could be mapped were not found in the central graves of the cemetery, but mainly (4 pieces from 4 graves) in the SE part of the churchyard.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The punched strap ring (Type 1b1), which is a similar technological solution to that of the ring in Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Grave 114, was already detectable since the 9<sup>th</sup> century in the western part of the Carpathian Basin. Szőke – Vándor 1987, 74.

<sup>162</sup> Iambor – Matei 1979, 602, Pl. VIII/m. 41/1; Iambor et al. 1981, 140, Pl. V/m. 75/4; Gáll et al. 2010, 77, 79, Pl. 49/4, Pl. 52/4.

<sup>163</sup> Istvánovits 2003, 305.

<sup>164</sup> Szőke – Vándor 1987, 57–61.

<sup>165</sup> Szőke 1962, 97; Giesler 1981, 113, Types 29–30.

<sup>166</sup> A glass bracelet dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> century was found in Moreşti. Their insignificant quantity may lead to the assumption that they were imported goods, but the possibility of migrating persons cannot be excluded either.

<sup>167</sup> Dumitrache 1979, 174.

<sup>168</sup> Parádi 1975, 10. kép 1, 15. kép 1.

<sup>169</sup> Benkő 2012, 25. ábra 16.

<sup>170</sup> Gáll 2011, 61. táb.

When mapping the spots where rings were found, it should be noted that almost all of them were found in cemeteries in the western part of the Transylvanian basin, mainly in the churchyards of the county centres, in relatively small quantities. The variety of the types of rings indicates the existence of workshops in these political-administrative centres, but foreign trade may have played a role too. The rare occurrence of rings in the E half of the Transylvanian basin can be explained by several different reasons, but it must have been driven by most of all the economic situation, although the two cemeteries in SE Transylvania may indicate that in some communities this lack of furnishings may be traced back to mental reasons. Based upon the grave goods found in the cemetery in Drăușeni (where the experts suppose the presence of *hospites*), the received conception that ‘*Szekely cemeteries are rich and the cemeteries of the hospites are poor*’<sup>171</sup> cannot be held. For example the grave goods in Drăușeni are much richer than those in the cemetery in Avrămești or Lueta (the most graves without grave goods). Drăușeni, which has been categorised a *hospes-settlement*, does not have any poorer furnishings than those in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Dăbâca–A. Tămaș’s Garden, Morești or the churchyards in Avrămești, Lueta or Petriceni, which is in the Szeklerland but had at least as poor furnishings as the cemetery excavated in Feldioara.

#### 12.6. Big churn rings (Pl. 38.A)

In the cemetery in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, a bronze churn ring was also found with a bronze plate on one end. According to its dating and parallels it is datable to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>172</sup>

Nándor Parádi thought that it was a bracelet, but in his excavations, Mihály Kulcsár observed that these big size rings were used as earrings.<sup>173</sup>

In the Dăbâca cemetery, they cannot be connected to graves and they have rarely been found in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries in Transylvania.

#### 12.7. Bracelets (Pl. 46, Pl. 50)

In contrast with the great number of bracelets in the cemeteries of earlier periods, in the churchyard cemeteries bracelets are rare, only few of them were found: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 9 and 78, Alba Iulia–Roman Bath stray finds (2 pieces), Streisângeorgiu – stray find. At Alba Iulia–Roman Bath a strap- and a twisted bracelet were found, in Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral two twisted bracelets with a rhomboid cross-section items and in Streisângeorgiu a similar twisted type. Although they do not have much relevance for dating, they are likely to indicate the early graves of these cemeteries.<sup>174</sup>

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The material culture from churchyards from the Transylvanian Basin dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries comprise fashion commodities common in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Central and Eastern Europe. Similarly to other objects, the jewels of this era cannot symbolise more than a jewel of any kind could: fashion, commerce, social status. As it has been shown above, the objects cannot be connected to a gender, only their functionality bears with *gender symbolism* (Fig. 26).

Finds	Female	Neutral	Male
Tin hairpin (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 172)		•	
Plain hairpin-in a ribbon, on a band (ex.: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 322)	•		
Hair rings used as hair rings			•
Hair rings used as earrings		•	
Hair rings in a ribbon	•		
String of pearls	•		
Finger rings		•	
Bracelets		•	

Fig. 26. Gender and functionality

<sup>171</sup> Ioniță 2010, 389–400.

<sup>172</sup> Parádi 1975, 149.

<sup>173</sup> Kulcsár 1992–1995, 249–275.

<sup>174</sup> Dienes 1964, 20; Jakimowicz 1931, 254; Révész 1996, 90–91; Sternberger 1958, I, abb. 95; Szabó 1978–1979, 19, 31, 12. ábra; Szőke 1962, 71–72, 94–96.

### 13. Limited conclusions

#### 13.1. The chronology. One method, three cases (Fig. 27)

The characteristics of the churchyard cemeteries, in opposition to the cemeteries with row-grave cemeteries, are the existence of the church or its remains and the density of the graves. In many cases we find multiple graves or the superpositions of graves.

I could not follow the commonly favoured 'grave layer' method, when graves are dated according to the depths of the graves. As István Méri, the founder of the methodology of the analyses concerning churchyard cemeteries put it: graves in the same depth can not be necessarily dated to the same era.<sup>175</sup>

Therefore we agree with Ágnes Ritoók, who replaced the term 'grave layer' with 'horizon'. This is not related to spacial coordinates like it is common in the practice of the grave-layer method of analysis, but rather reflects a chronological scheme.<sup>176</sup>

In my opinion, in the central of the cemetery, horizontal analysis should be combined with vertical analysis, which means the simultaneous analysis of the superpositions, depths and orientations. In the middle section of the cemetery a great number of superpositions, graves dug on top of one another can be observed, whereas towards the edges they are in one layer, here the classic horizontal analysis can be conducted. In the figure below we show the research tendency or 'strategy' applied in these cemeteries:

Based on the theoretical approach outlined above, in the central part of the cemetery, we divided the graves into vertical and horizontal grave groups. This method was replaced with the horizontal method towards the edge of the cemetery because there is only one layer of graves. However, based on the poor finds in the cemetery, it can be stated that the central part of the churchyard and its outer parts must have been used at the same time, so one cannot count with the gradual, horizontal expansion of the core of the cemetery. As for the chronology of the burials, it must be noted that among the burials found in grave groups close to one another, those can be considered contemporary which have the same orientation.

##### 13.1.1. The case of Dăbâca–Castle Area IV (Fig. 28–29; Pl. 22–34)

In the middle of the cemetery, we tried to divide the graves into vertical and horizontal grave groups. This method was replaced with the horizontal method towards the edge of the cemetery because there is only one layer of graves. However, based on the poor finds, it can be stated that the central and the outer parts of the churchyard must have been used at the same time, so one cannot count with the gradual, horizontal expansion of the core of the cemetery. As for the chronology of the burials, it must be noted that among the burials found in grave groups close to each other, those can be considered contemporary which have the same orientation.

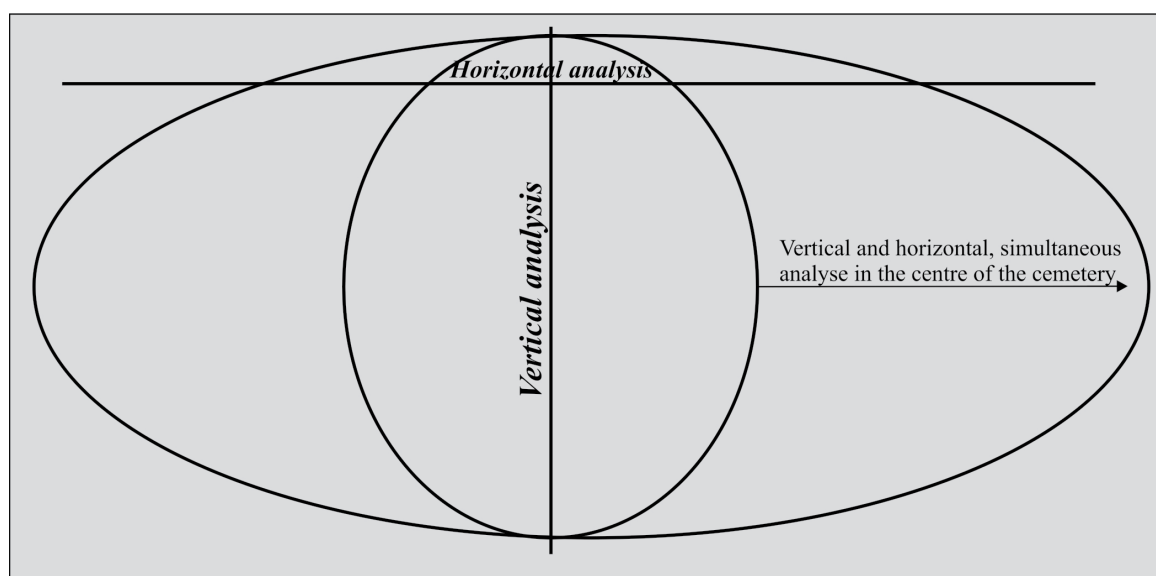


Fig. 27. Model of simultaneous analyse for superpositions

<sup>175</sup> Méri 1944, 28.

<sup>176</sup> Ritoók 2005, 175.

Those graves can be considered the first chronological horizon of the cemetery, whose orientation is identical to that of the church. This is supported by the *H42a* coin of King Coloman the Learned from the Grave 391. Certainly, the chronological horizons outlined below are relative, their main conclusion is that those graves derive from the same time period which have in the same orientation. This means that the graves which disturb, cut or overlay the above mentioned ones and usually have different orientations are

from another era. It may be explained by the fact that after two or three decades the heaps above the graves flattened and their orientation was forgotten and therefore was not followed by the new graves. Another question arises then, namely why did not they continue to follow the orientation of the church?

Based on such an analysis, the chronological horizons of the following grave groups could be distinguished in the central section of the cemetery:

Grave group	Earlier burials?	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
Grave group I (the <i>H42a</i> denarius of Coloman the Learned)	Graves 390 and 409	Graves 332, 333, 372, 374, 376, 377, 379, 384, 387, 388, 391, 396, 398, 399, 402, 404, 406, 434	Graves 334, 382, 371, 375, 381, 389, 392, 403, 405, 407, 431, 433	Graves 332, 378, 383, 386, 408, 410, 432
Grave group II		Graves 326–328, 330, 370	Graves 329, 331, 366–367, 369, 371, 429	Graves 330, 368
Grave group III		Graves 352, 357	Graves 351, 353–354, 358, 361–363, 365, 430	Graves 356, 364, 411–412,
Grave group IV		Graves 136, 137 and 142	Graves 139, 140, 149–150	Graves 141, 143–145
Grave group V		Graves 199, 218, 202, 203, 232–233	Graves 200–202	
Grave group VI		Graves 223–224	Graves 217, 279	Grave 222
Grave group VII			Graves 196–197, 278, 281–282	
Grave group VIII		Graves 194–195, 213	Graves 230–231, 275	
Grave group IX	Grave 226?	Graves 190–191, 193, 212, 215–216, 226, 228, 283	Graves 187, 189, 192, 219, 227, 229	Graves 188 and 284
Grave group X		Graves 182–183	Graves 185, 454–455	Grave 186
Grave group XI		Graves 19, 25, 26–28, 29–30, 33, 35, 220, 440, 446–449	Graves 15, 17, 21, 23–24, 31–32, 442–443, 438–439, 450, 452	Graves 18, 22, 34, 439, 441
Grave group XII		Graves 178, 179–180, 270–271, 269, 273	Grave 177.	Graves 176, 268
Grave group XIII			Graves 172 <sup>1</sup> –174	
Grave group XIV		Graves 160–171, 272	Graves 225, 221	
1964 excavation <sup>2</sup>		Graves 1, 3–11	Graves 2, 14–16	Grave 13?
1986 excavation		Graves 483–490		
1965 excavation		Graves 94, 97–99, 101., 103–104	Graves 95–96, 103, 105–106	
1986 excavation		Graves 483–490		
		Graves 48, 53–57, 60, 64., 71, 73–75, 79–82	Graves 45, 49, 50–52, 58–59, 63, 65, 72, 76, 78, 86	Graves 62, 70, 87

Fig. 28. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the central part of the churchyard

<sup>1</sup> This grave is dated by the grave goods including the large hair ring with S-shaped ends and the tin hairpin to the 12<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>2</sup> In sections C1–C2/1964 we sorted those graves into this group which were disturbed by later burials. According

to the descriptions of the archeologists, during the 1964 excavations 90 skulls were collected, whose graves were destroyed by later burials. Such density of the graves can only be explained by the proximity of the church.

The same method was used towards the edges of the churchyard, but here the cemetery became one layered, therefore we could decide based only on the orientation.

As the material culture became unified, it does not provide grounds for a more exact chronological analysis.

Graves	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
the grave group of the 1965 trench	Graves 39, 41, 90	Graves 36–38, 40, 42–46, 66–69, 88–89, 91–93	
Grave Group I 1968 trench	-	Graves 124–125, 127	Graves 123, 126
Grave Group II 1968 trench	-	Grave 117	Graves 115–116, 118–119
Grave Group III 1968 trench	Graves 109, 135, 148	Graves 107–108, 110–112, 114, 120, 122, 131–134, 146–147	Grave 121
the grave group of the 1969 trench	Graves 205–208, 237, 239–242, 244, 247, 249, 255–25., 259–260, 264	Graves 209–211, 234–236, 243, 245–246, 248, 250–254, 257, 261–263	Graves 238 and 258
the grave group of the 1973 trenches 7–8	Graves 297–300, 309	Graves 295–296, 301	Grave 302 (?)
the grave group of the 1973 trenches 9–10	Graves 310, 313–317, 318–319, 321–325	Graves 311, 320	
the grave group of the 1976 trench	Graves 344, 350, 420, 424–425, 427, 436	Graves 335–338, 340–343, 345–349, 414–417, 419, 421, 426, 428, 435	Graves 339, 418, 422–423
Grave Group I of the 1977 trench	Graves 461, 465	Graves 453, 457–460, 462–464, 466	
Grave Group II of the 1977 trench	Graves 467, 475	Graves 471, 468–470, 473–474	Grave 472
Grave Group III of the 1977 trench	Graves 476–477, 479–482	Grave 478	

Fig. 29. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the edge of the churchyards

Based on these two tables the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. All the known, excavated parts, of the cemetery were used simultaneously.

2. Approximately, the same amount of graves belong to burial horizons I and II, but the number of graves in burial horizon III is much smaller.

3. On the edges of the cemetery the number of graves in horizon I is smaller than in horizon II, which may indicate that the churchyard expanded to some extent, but the number of graves belonging to burial horizon III is even smaller.

4. Based on the superpositions, the finds and the location, the orientation and the depths of the graves, horizon I can be dated to 1090–1140, horizon II to 1140–1190 and the graves of horizon III to 1190–1220.

### 13.1.2. The case of Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur: one or two churchyards? (Pl. 7–8)

As I have already mentioned, during the excavation in the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur, only cemetery sections were documented due to the wrong research strategy. The most important characteristic of churchyard cemeteries, i. e. the layers of graves due to the graves dug on top of one another (big concentration of the graves), can be observed in two places of the site in Cluj-Mănăştur.<sup>177</sup> Therefore one can assume two cemeteries existing at the same time as the finds are dated to the same era in both places.

The first cluster of graves, in which a few skeletons were disturbed during the construction of the round church in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, was found near the present day church. The graves were dug on top of one another in many cases. The earliest coin dating the cluster is the H22 coin of King Ladislaus I (Grave 41), but a coin of Béla II was also found here.

<sup>177</sup> Last analysis, with similarly results: Ritoók 2012, 235–252.

During the construction of the 12<sup>th</sup> century round church and the 19<sup>th</sup> century church, the earlier one datable to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries was probably demolished. According to the cemetery map, the very sparse burials found in trenches IX, XII–XIV, XVII in the western section of the castle area indicating the edge of the cemetery.

The second grave cluster was excavated in the SW section of the castle area. Here an even greater number of overlapping graves was observed. It might be connected to the fact that the earliest coin found here was the *H9* coin of Andrew I (1046–1060). This cluster is dated by a coin of Ladislaus I and an anonym *denarii* from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (besides, in a grave was found a coin of Andrew I), among a lot of hair rings with S-shaped and grooved ends.

Unfortunately, due to the wrong excavation methodology a lot of data lost forever. However, in the western part of the two trenches (trenches XV a–b) no graves were dug, the fence of the cemetery must have been there. In the E part of the cemetery some walls of precisely unidentifiable building walls of constructions were found, but they must have been built later in the Middle Ages. The above mentioned clusters of graves on the map of the cemetery might also indicate that N of them, some sporadic graves in trenches XII and XIII might have belonged to another cemetery. To clarify the situation a new excavation should be carried out both to the N and to the S.

According to these clusters of graves and after a careful study of the cemetery map, one may assume that there might have been two churches in the castle, around which cemeteries were established from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The second cluster of graves and the five graves registered in trenches XII–XIII (Graves 42–45, 48) may lead to the assumption that Grave Cluster 2 and these graves belonged to two different cemeteries, although they were used at the same time chronologically. According to the finds in both clusters, it seems that the cemeteries were used from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

### 13.1.3. The case of Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor (Fig. 30–33)

As in the other cases, the Sighișoara cemetery has not been excavated completely either. However, in this case it is not the strategy of the excavation, which can be blamed but the road constructed in the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century leading right in the middle of the cemetery. As can be seen on the cemetery map of the cemetery, in the case of Sighișoara, the two edges of the cemetery could have been excavated. As opposed to the above mentioned two cemeteries at Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur and Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, overlapping graves can be observed at the edges of the Sighișoara cemetery too, which clearly indicates the fact that the cemetery area was fixed and it might have been encircled by a garden (above in the analysis of cemetery gardens).

Following this approach, we tried to systematise those situations where overlapping burials have been registered. These are the following ones in the northern part of the cemetery:

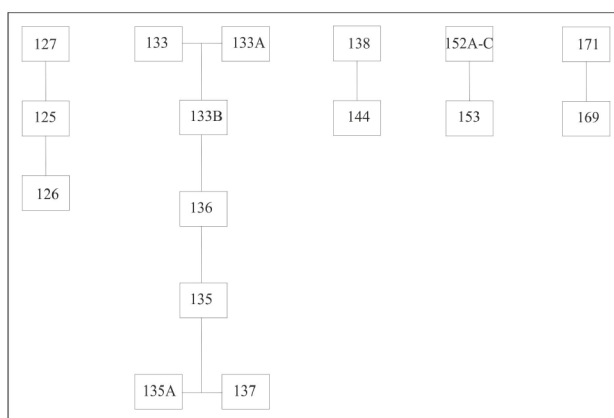


Fig. 30. Overlapping burials in the churchyard

By combining the two analytical methods, can be observed three grave horizons. (Fig. 31)

This method was used in the southern part of the cemetery too. However, in this case we could observe the same phenomena as in other cases, namely that in the southern part of the churchyard there are much more graves.<sup>178</sup>

Grave-groups	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
First graves-row	Graves 169, 158, 156, 151, 120/165		Grave 157, Grave 151
Second graves-row	Graves 153, 170, 173	Grave 152.A–C	Graves 145, 148 and 149
Isolated-separately graves	Graves 129 and 134		
Grave group in the E part of the cemetery	Graves 164, 126, 135a, 135a, 135/137	Graves 125, 136, 138	Graves 61, 70, 71, 155, 127, 133.A–B and 144

Fig. 31. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the northern part of the churchyard

<sup>178</sup> Ritoók 2010, 482, notes 84–85.

In the western part of the cemetery the rows of graves form clusters, which might indicate the

cemetery sections of families (?).

The following results were made:

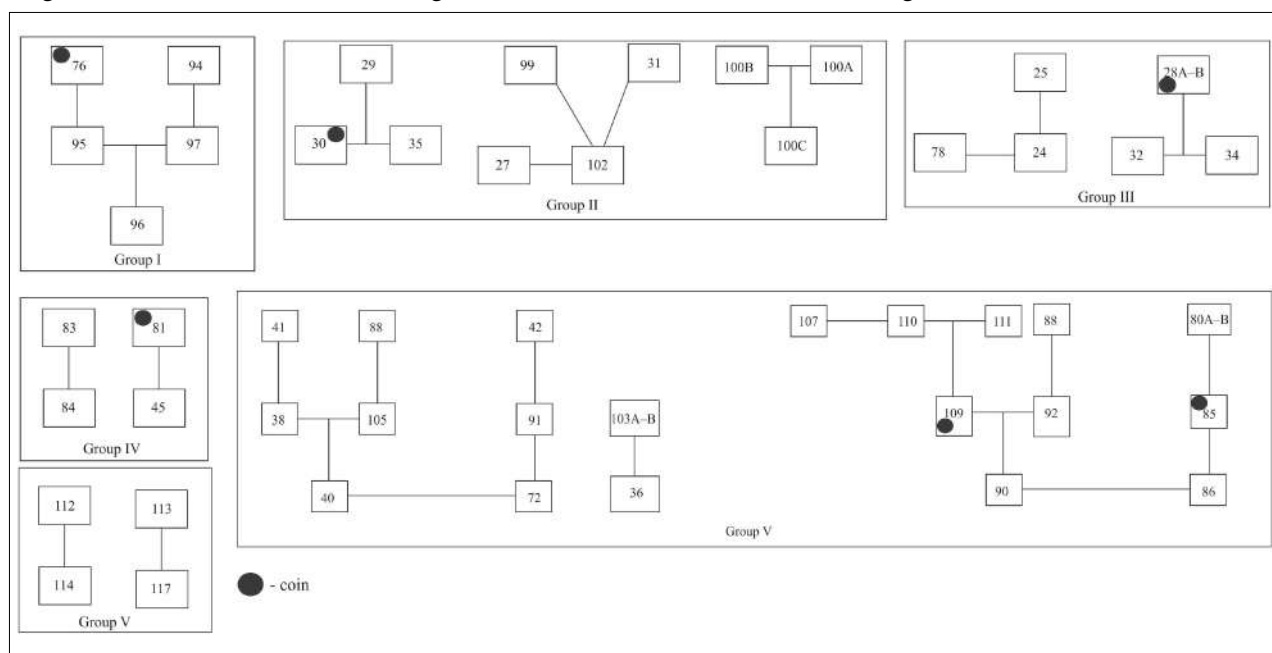


Fig. 32. Grave clusters in the churchyard

So we could distinguish five larger groups of graves. These groups may indicate the existence of distinct entities (families?). Grave 28.B was found in Group III on the edge of the cemetery, this is

dated by the *H69* coin of Béla III, which also dates the last phase of the cemetery. In accordance with the topographical locations of the graves, the following chronological sequence can be established:

Grave groups	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
Group I	Grave 96	Graves 95, 97	Graves 76, 94
Group II	Graves 27, 98, 100.C, 102	Grave 35	Graves 29, 30, 31, 99, 100.A-B, 101,
Group III		Graves 24, 32, 34, 78	Graves 25, 28.A-B
Group IV	Graves 45, 79, 84		Graves 81.A-B, 83
Group V	Graves 40, 72, 86, 90	Graves 36, 38, 85, 91, 92, 109, 114, 117	Graves 41, 42, 80.A-B, 103.A-B, 110, 111, 112, 113

Fig. 33. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the southern part of the churchyard

Based on these data, it can be seen that the absolute chronological time period of the use of the cemetery cannot be detected unlike in the case of the Dăbâca cemetery. In the southern part of the cemetery, in grave group III, grave horizon III is dated by the *H69* coin.<sup>179</sup> The grave was found on the edge of the cemetery. Grave 85 in grave group III also belongs to this horizon, dated by the *H139*<sup>180</sup> anonym denarius. So the cemetery might have been abandoned in the time of Béla III, or at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

As the multiple layers of the graves can be detected even on the edges of the cemetery, we think that we can calculate 30–40–50 years in the case of the excavated cemetery sections. However, as can be seen on the cemetery map, its largest part was not excavated, but in the middle a much larger quantity of multilayered graves can be documented.<sup>181</sup> Therefore, one may assume that the cemetery was abandoned during the reign of King Béla III, but we can never estimate when they started to bury here. However, if the periphery of the cemetery had already been used between the 30's and 50's of the 12<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>179</sup> Bálint Hóman dated them to the 1190s but according to László Kovács, who used results of Ján Hunka's research, it cannot be proved. Hóman 1916, 238, 254–255; Hunka 1996, 119; Kovács 1997, 306, note 2051.

<sup>180</sup> L. Réthy categorised it to Béla III: CNH 118. Réthy 1899, 22.

<sup>181</sup> For instance, in Trench II, Doboka near the church 90 skulls and 16 skeletons were registered. Gáll 2011, 4. táb., Appendix.



the first horizon of graves in the middle of the cemetery must have been much older, at least 2 or 3 decades. Based on this, it can be dated to the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century as a direct result of the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned. So the cemetery seems to have been used from the first decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century up to the time of King Béla III (1172–1191).

#### 13.1.4. The chronology of the churchyards (Fig. 34)

In the case of other cemeteries we could not draw up a similarly detailed analysis for several reasons. However, based on the finds and mainly the coins dating these sites, I recommend the following chronological system:

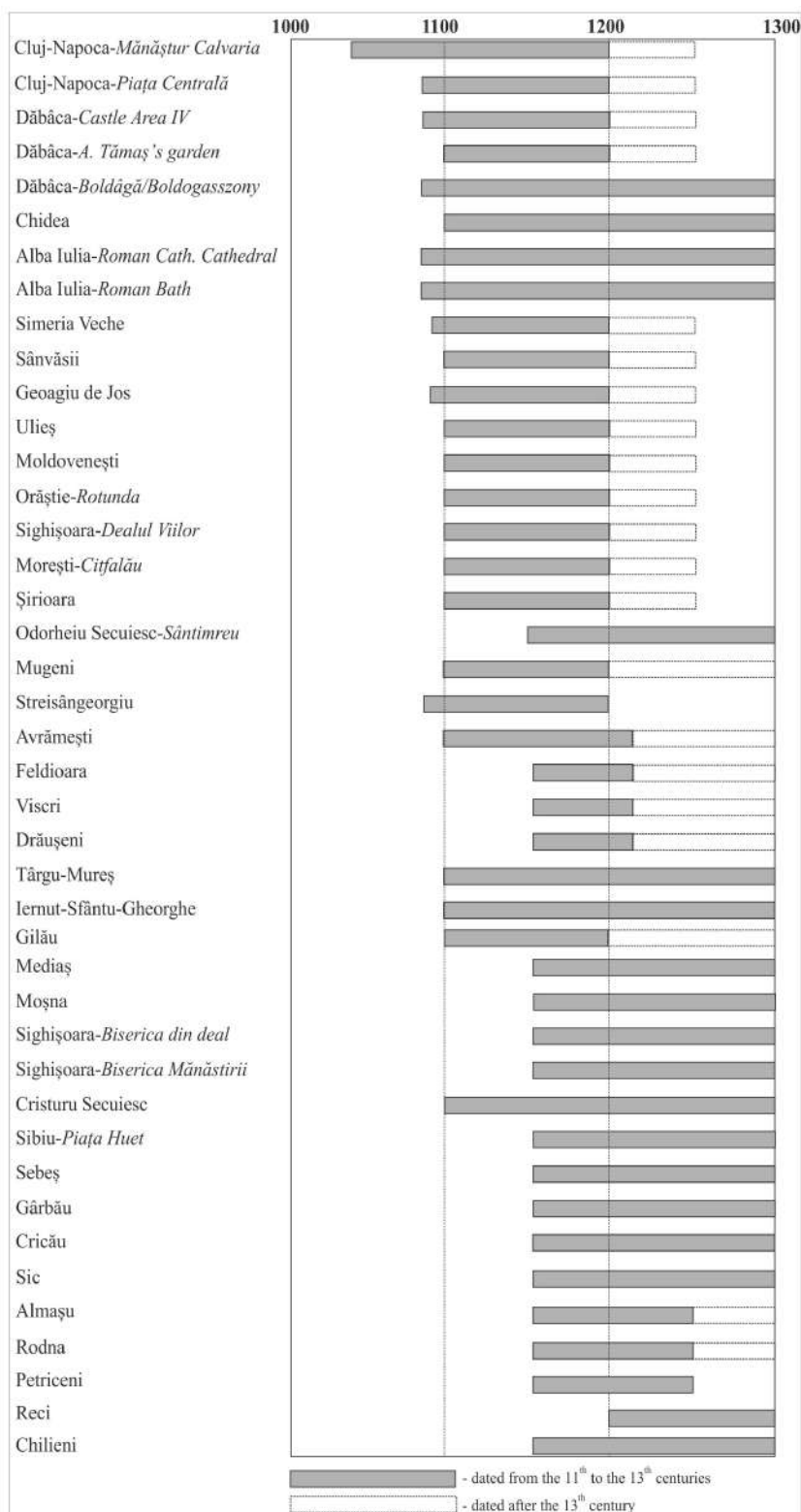


Fig. 34. Chronological table of churchyards

**13.2. 'Poor' and 'rich', elites and common people in two cemeteries: a comparative analysis of the quantity of precious metals in the churchyards of Dăbâca and Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur (Fig. 35–36)**

It is a widely accepted view in Transylvanian scholarly literature that 10<sup>th</sup>-century cemeteries are 'rich' in grave goods and those dated to the Christian era are 'poor'.<sup>182</sup> In fact, the main difference between them is the existence or the lack of weapons and harness garments.<sup>183</sup> In the Dăbâca cemetery finds available to us, not counting the coins, made of good or medium quality silver weigh 96.03 g, these are all hair rings or finger rings without any exceptions. 4.43 g bad quality silverware can be added to this.

Metallographic analyses have been carried out on 13 objects with the following results:

800‰: hair ring found between the Graves 162 and 163 (1 piece)

750‰: Grave 79 (1 hair ring), Grave 108 (1 hair ring), Grave 377 (1 hair ring), Grave 448 (2 hair rings), Grave 449 (1 hair ring), Grave 453 (2 hair rings), Grave 456 (2 hair rings), Grave 464 (2 hair rings)

Compared to the hair rings found in the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur cemetery, on which metallographic analyses were made, it turns out that the rings from Dăbâca were made of worse quality silver:

875‰: finger ring in tomb 60 (1 item)

800‰: in the case of 17 items – hair rings and finger rings

750‰: in the case of 19 items – hair rings and finger rings

700‰: in the case of 2 items – hair rings

The silver reserve of the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur items that were subject to metallographic analyses was equal to that of the coins in one case, in many cases it was 800‰ and there are some items of worse quality silver. This table also shows that in most cases the items from Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur churchyards were made of better quality silver than the items from Dăbâca. It is also important to note that the best quality Dăbâca items have not been analysed, at least it seems to be the situation.

In the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur cemetery 39 finger rings and hair rings were analysed, in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV only 13.

Returning to the quantitative analysis of the silver in the Dăbâca cemetery, if the 96.03 g good quality silver is divided by the 577184 graves, the result is 0.16 g of silver per grave, but if the analysis is focussed on the graves with furnishings, then this proportion changes: the result is 0.78 g for the 123 graves with furnishings and if only those graves are considered which contain precious metal, then we receive 1.62 g silver for the 59 graves containing silverware.

We compare Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur with it again, the 129.05 g silver found here if divided by all the graves, we get 0.91 g silver per grave, and then again, if only the graves with furnishings are analysed, the proportion changes considerably: the result is 3.91 g for 33 graves with furnishings (Fig. 36)

The difference in the quality of the silverware found at the two sites indicates that there might have been major differences in the possibilities of the two communities. This can be explained by several reasons such as:

1. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur as a power centre (county centre, Benedictine monastery);<sup>185</sup>

2. The properties of the county centre and those of the Benedictine community: the Benedictines owned the salt mines east of the River Someşul Mare, which provided considerable income for the abbey;<sup>186</sup>

3. E-W (trading) road might have passed the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur centre.

These factors could have established the foundations and conditions of a workshop and the existence of a long distance trade of high quality products in northern Transylvania. The archeological data draw attention to this fact: the possibilities and the economic potential of the elite community/communities living in the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur centre prove the existence of a power centre, on the other hand, it emphasises that the elite in this centre played a much more important role in the connection with the central power compared to the more peripheral Dăbâca.

<sup>182</sup> 'Cimitirul a aparţinut unei populaţii foarte sărace (Cemetery belonged to a very poor populations)'. Iambor 2005, 187.

<sup>183</sup> See for example: Gáll et al. 2010, 119–121.

<sup>184</sup> We did not calculate with the 102 skulls and the missing graves 285–294, 304–309 and 426 of the cemetery's plan.

<sup>185</sup> According to the convincing arguments of Radu Lupescu, with several parallels, the area of the castle was used both by the Benedictine abbey and the institution of the *comitatus*. Lupescu 2005, 32.

<sup>186</sup> Csomor 1912; Jakó 1990, 117–126.

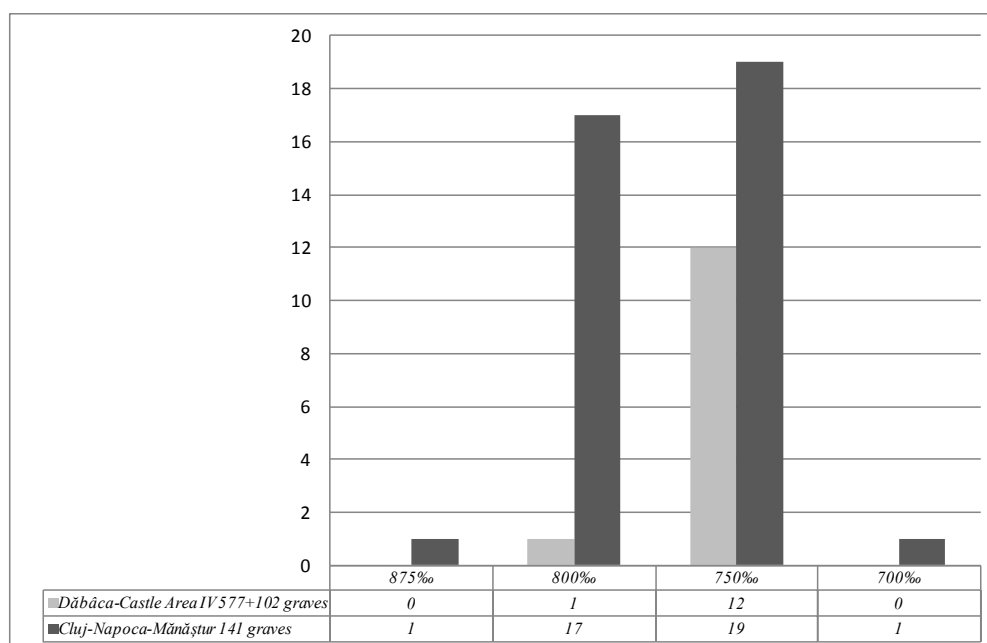


Fig. 35. Jewellery statistics

Churchyard	Weight of jewellery items according to tombs	Weight of jewellery items according to burials which contained precious metals
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV	0.16 grams (577 graves)	1.62 grams (59 graves)
Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur I-II	0.91 grams (141 graves)	3.91 grams (33 graves)

Fig. 36. Jewellery statistics

### 13.3. The 'ethnicity' of the population in the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin (Fig. 37)

From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on, culture and ethnic identity were interpreted according to the widely accepted theory of Gustav Kossina, who stated that geographical units are characterized by unified cultures and these indicate ethnic entities.<sup>187</sup> Later the Central- and Eastern European scholars who adopted Kossina's original theory debased it to a vulgar level.<sup>188</sup> It is also dangerous that in many cases a particular ethnicity is considered a biological or linguistic formation and not as the sociological construction of a historical-chronological problem. It is also telling that our archaeologists hardly paid any attention to the rethinking the theory of ethnicity.<sup>189</sup> From the Kossina's theory archaeological

cultures have grown, whose counterparts are the modern national cultures, which were developed during the construction of nations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This way a modern concept has been thrust upon population structures which have nothing to do with it (mainly because of the chronology of their development). So when experts talked about the elements of the Glina or Coțofeni cultures bringing back to our mind the 20<sup>th</sup> century Romanian national-political unity, mentally they had in mind the institutional structures of the modern state because they meant by this term all the elements of the material culture that were common in this area. This way of thinking makes it possible for the archaeologist to reach different people who lived long ago.

Based on these elements of an archaeological culture, different migrations and international relations can be reconstructed and at the same time the process of the ethnogenesis of various people can be understood. However, the unity of an archaeological culture is not Kossina's 'invention', but the mental construction of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was only 'developed' by Kossina, behind which a modern myth, the myth of national unity, is lurking.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Kossina 1936, 315; Kossina 1911.

<sup>188</sup> It has been said in lots of studies from the 60s to these days that '*necropola aparține populației proto-române și se datează în secolele V-VII...*'. A good analysis on the documentational foundation of these 'theories', see Harhoiu 2004, 149–167.

<sup>189</sup> The issue of ethnos has been discussed both in Hungarian and in Romanian archeology: Niculescu 1997, 63–69; Curta 2004, 5–25; Bálint 2006, 277–347; Lăzărescu 2008, 55–77; Niculescu 2011, 5–24.

<sup>190</sup> Boia 1999, 157.

Such a myth of 'unity' is created by the so called *national culture*.<sup>191</sup>

Certainly, the relation between material culture and *ethnos* is much more complicated.<sup>192</sup> The relation between ethnicity and material culture (in this case *archaeological culture*) is mobile, unstable and fluid. One cannot clearly identify in graves the remains of individuals belonging to any particular ethnic group or the other. It is not ethnical identities detectible in the archaeological inventory but various distinctive cultural archaeological signs, traditions, relations, and blending that can usually be only indirectly related to different identities. One must also say that any human being can have several identities, so we only subjectively choose ethnical one, such as 'Avar' or 'Hungarian conqueror' because in any other given period of time some other identities could have been more important than during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. We mention that no population mentioned in narrative sources in the Carpathian Basin in the early medieval period can be associated or identified with any anthropological type or types, and no anthropological type can be associated with any ethnic group.

So it can be seen that the archaeological finds hardly give any possibility to express clear cut ethnic interpretations. However, it may be assumed that by the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in the valleys of the Mureş and Someşul Mic, due to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century immigrations and the sociological processes of acculturation and assimilation generated by the institutions of the polifunctional 10<sup>th</sup> century 'nomadic' state and the 11<sup>th</sup> century Christian kingdom, we can talk about a 'Hungarian' entity. Certainly, knowing medieval realities, this terminology must be used with care, aware of the fact that the entity itself underwent major changes during 300 years (from 896 to 1200). What was meant by Hungarian in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and what was meant by it in the 12<sup>th</sup> century were two different realities. The cultural origins of these immigrant acculturised-assimilated 'Hungarian' populations must have been varied, colourful, which is shown by the fact that besides the Hungarian place names, a considerable amount of them can be traced back to Slavonic origins.<sup>193</sup> In archaeological discussions, the population of the 'Slavonic' cremation burials has somehow been neglected, although based upon

the place names, it seems clear that those who organised the state in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, must have contacted this people.<sup>194</sup> From the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the times before the network of settlements was established in the area of the River Someşul Mic, we only have data about the cemeteries of some political-military centres, so there are grounds to suppose that the population of the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century cremation burials (Dăbâca, Dorolţu, Jucu, Someşeni) was partly integrated by the new conquerors in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, on the other hand, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century the kingdom started a new wave of gradual immigration similarly to that in the Mureş valley, which was accompanied by the establishment of Christian institutions. In our opinion, the early Hungarian place names in Northern Transylvania can be connected to the population that migrated here in the 11<sup>th</sup> century as we do not know of any typical 10<sup>th</sup> century cemetery of common people in this area. We have reasons to suppose that the cemeteries of the population of cremation burials can be dated up to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to Little and Great Poland, Ukraine where cremation burials were carried out as late as the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>195</sup> Having investigated the area of settlements mapped according to the excavated cemeteries in the valley of the Someşul Mic and its side valleys, it seems that churchyard cemeteries exactly indicate the places of settlements, at the same time outlining the network established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by the Hungarian Kingdom, upon earlier foundations. The place names<sup>196</sup> allow us to suppose a considerable amount of Hungarian speaking people.<sup>197</sup>

In these settlements different social classes can be assumed. Monasteries provide a good example of this,<sup>198</sup> whose ethnic characteristic was secondary and we would not encourage anyone to make such analyses.

Although it seems that the forced search for ethnicity in the middle reaches of the River Mureş and the valley of the Someşul Mic in the western half of the Transylvanian Basin, is drawing to

<sup>191</sup> Boia 2012, 31.

<sup>192</sup> On the classification of these systems see: Jones 1997, 106–127.

<sup>193</sup> Kniezsa 1941, 21–25; Kristó 2004, 47–52.

<sup>194</sup> Gáll 2013c, Vol. I, 835–837, 918–919.

<sup>195</sup> Jażdżewski 1949, 91–191; Miśkiewicz 1969, 241–302; Zoll-Adamikowa 1979; Zoll-Adamikowa 1998, 227–238; Ivakin 2011, 252, Fig. 4.

<sup>196</sup> Kniezsa 1938, 411–422; Kniezsa 1941, 25–30; Kristó 2004, 76–78.

<sup>197</sup> In this sense we can cite also the chronicle form *Echter-nachi*: according to this chronicle *countless Hungarian* were killed by Tatars until they passed through the Meseş Gates towards the Hungarian Great Plain. Lupescu 2005, 43.

<sup>198</sup> Fügedi 1991, 58–59; Werbőczy 1990, 269; Titulus CXXXIII. 8. §; Marosi 1999, 15; Szakács 2004, 75.

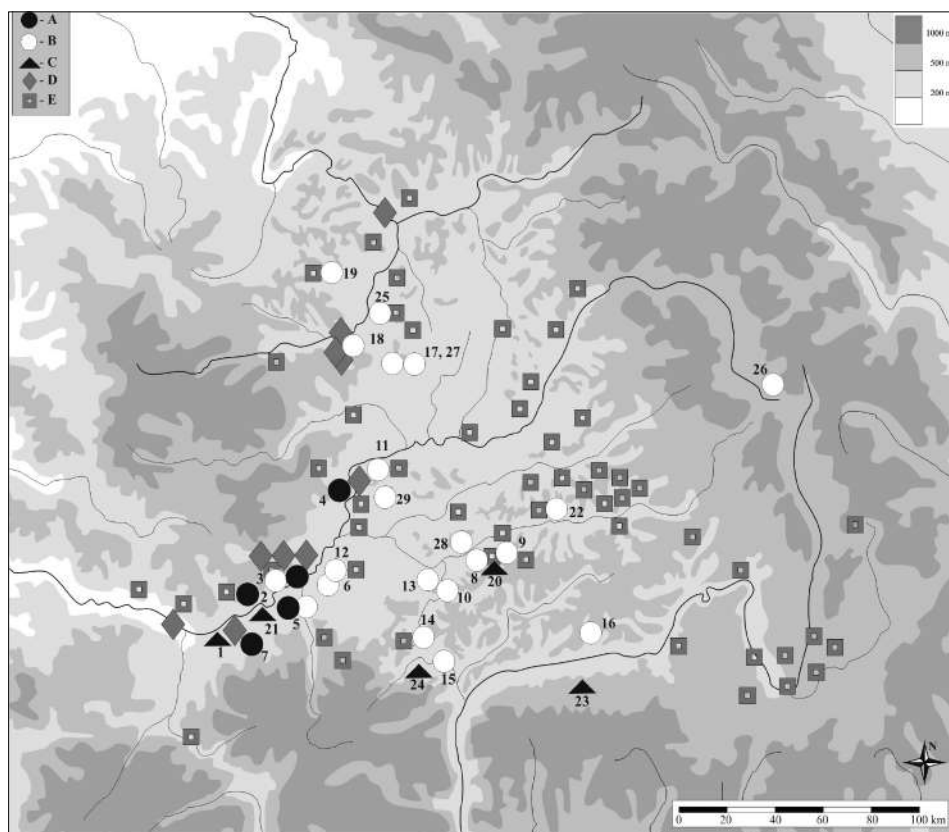


Figure 37. Cemeteries and single grave finds dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries and the cemeteries of the class of warriors in the period of the Hungarian Conquest. A – 9<sup>th</sup> century with skeleton burials; B – cremation and biritual cemetery dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries; C – 9<sup>th</sup> century stray finds; D – cemeteries of the class of warriors in the 10<sup>th</sup> century; E. settlements dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries (after Gáll 2013c, 295. kép)

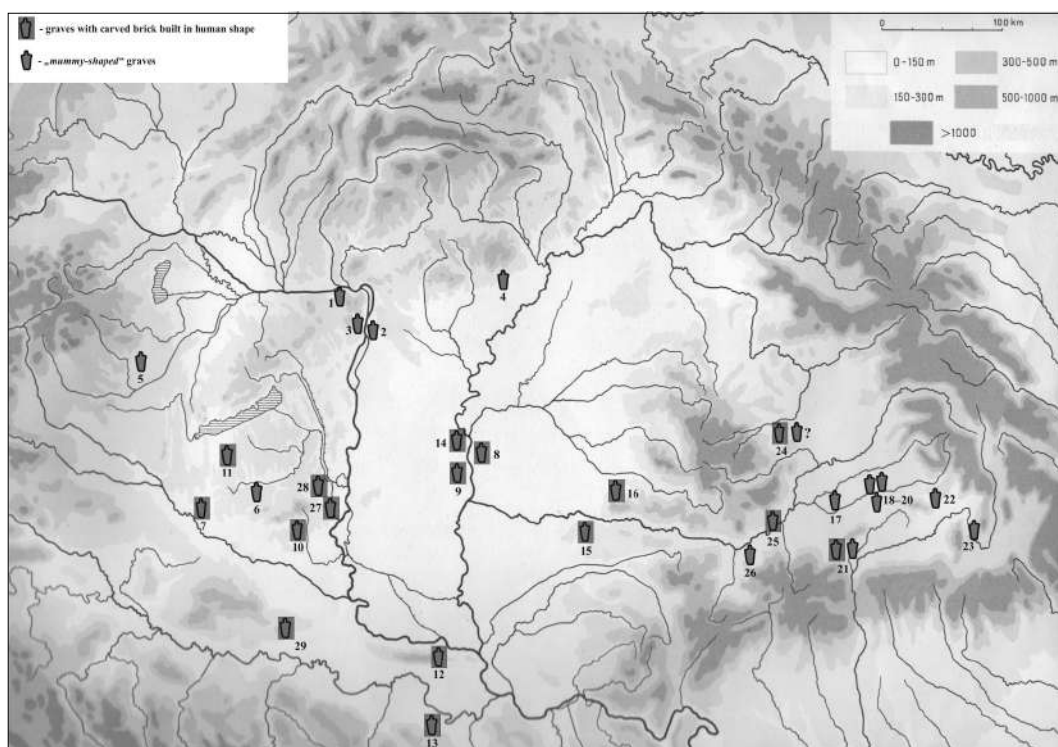


Fig. 38. The spread of the built graves in human shape and the *mummy-shaped* grave pits in the early churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries):

1. Esztergom–Zsidód, 2. Budapest–District XVI, 3. Budapest–Kána, 4. Eger, 5. Szombathely, 6. Kaposvár, 7. Babócsa–Nárcisz kert, 8. Ópusztaszer–Monostor, 9. Csongrád–Ellésmonostor, 10. Vokány, 11. Somogyvár, 12. Rakovac, 13. Mačvanska Mitrovica, 14. Szentés–Kaján, 15. Frumuseeni/Bizere, 16. Tăuți, 17. Mediaș, 18–20. Sighișoara, 21. Sibiu–Piața Huet, 22. Viscri, 23. Feldioara, 24. Cluj–Napoca–Mănăstur, 25. Alba–Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, 26. Orăștie–Round Church, 27. Băta, 28. Cikádor, 29. Požega/Slavonska Požega.

an end, the situation in the E and SE parts of the basin is completely different. In this area there is a 'war of numbers' going on concerning whether particular cemeteries can be classified as Székely or Germanic. The system of criteria set up by experts applying the 'retrospective'<sup>199</sup> method has two basic characteristics: 1. Székely cemeteries are rich in furnishings, in contrast with this, 2. Germanic *hospites* cemeteries have poor furnishings and in the latter ones there are some *mummy-shaped graves*, which are considered ethnic characteristics.<sup>200</sup> The first problem with this theory is that it does not take macroregional funerary fashion into account, which can be connected to different elites in the first phase of its catching on, but any social segment can copy them, especially when it does not incur any cost such as *mummy-shaped graves*.<sup>201</sup> Several different kinds of misconceptions have to be refuted:

1.a. From the archaeological point of view, the theory of the line between the rich and the poor outlined above cannot be held. For example, as the cemetery in Drăușeni, which has been categorised as *hospes* burial place, does not have any poorer furnishings than those in Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* or A. *Tămaș's garden* or the churchyard in Morești. The cemetery in Avrămești, Petricieni which is in the *Szeklerland* had at least as poor furnishings as the cemetery excavated in Feldioara;

1.b. The debate has not yet been decided in the case of the cemeteries in Peteni and Zăbala, which have been cited as examples of cemeteries with rich grave furnishings, and these were the cemeteries of Hungarian, Székely and Slavonic medieval border-guards;<sup>202</sup>

1.c. However, it must be noted that in the cemeteries at Brădești, Morești, Mugeni, Ulieș which have been classified as Székely, the excavated graves show some characteristics of W-European fashion (such as hair pins) which can be connected to immigrant *hospites* (!!);

2. the Germanic *hospes* population was not homogeneous (and therefore it had no homogeneous identity), and the community that was later named *Saxon*, received its community legal status from the Hungarian Kingdom at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (*Diploma Andreanum* 1224);<sup>203</sup>

3. Based upon historical and demographic data, one cannot talk about a Saxon Land in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, let alone the identification of cemeteries as the formation of Saxon entity is the result of a long historical process,<sup>204</sup> the area that later became known as Saxon Land in S and NE Transylvania was inhabited by communities of different ethnic groups (Hungarians, Székelys, Vlachs, Slavs);<sup>205</sup>

4. The mummy-shaped graves dug in soil (Budapest, Esztergom–*Zsidód*, Kaposvár, Eger, Szombathely) and the graves built of bricks and stones in human shape (Frumușeni/Bizere: Grave 111, Tăuți, Băta, Cikádor, Szentes-Kaján, Babócsa, Ópusztaszer–*Monostor*, Csongrád–*Ellésmonostor*, Vokány, Somogyvár, Požega/Slavonska Požega, Rakovac, Mačvanska Mitrovica)<sup>206</sup> excavated in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom show such diversity which cannot be connected to the *hospites* exclusively, it can rather be interpreted as a 12<sup>th</sup> century macroregional funerary fad. (see also Fig. 10)

We also have to keep in mind that:

4. a. We must ask the question how precisely these cemeteries were excavated: apart from the precise excavation carried out by István Méri in 1944 in Cluj, there is no cemetery N of Alba Iulia where exact observations have been made! Among the 577 graves (with 679 human skeletons) excavated in Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*, the shape of the graves were registered only in six cases (Graves 45, 403, 404, 405, 408, 410) and in three cases in Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur* (Graves 50, 77 and 135). In the cemeteries in Dăbâca–A. *Tămaș's garden*, Moldovenești, Gilău and Șirioara the shapes of the graves have not been documented at all;

4. b. in vast ranges of the Carpathian Basin, the shapes of graves has not been preserved in the sandy soil. Cemetery II–III in Karos is a good example of this, where no grave shape could be documented.<sup>207</sup>

According to the present archaeological data base the question, which cemetery can be considered Hungarian, Saxon or Székely in S or SE Transylvania, cannot be answered.

<sup>199</sup> The criticism of the 'retrospective' method, in connection with the so called 'Orient preference': Bálint 1999, 13–16; Bálint 2004, 246–252; Bálint 2007, 545–567.

<sup>200</sup> Ioniță 2010, 389–390.

<sup>201</sup> As we have already pointed out the rise in the popularity of horse burials after the Hungarian conquest might have been such an example of funerary fashion. Gáll 2010, 303, fig. 18.

<sup>202</sup> Benkő 2010, 226–233; Benkő 2012, 112–124.

<sup>203</sup> For example, see: Hanzó 1941; Müller 1928.

<sup>204</sup> Kristó 2004, 185–203.

<sup>205</sup> The best evidence of this is that most place names in the area that later became the Land of the Saxons are of either Hungarian or Slavonic origins. Kristó 2004, 196–197.

<sup>206</sup> Bárdos 1978, 187–234; Írásné Melis 1997, 54; Magyar 2005, 2. táb. 2; Molnár 2005, 110; Pap 2002, 4. kép. 1, 4; Pap 2010, 109; Rusu – Burnichioiu 2011, 65–69; Sümegi 1997, 155; Sümegi 2006, 148, 2. ábra; Stanojev 2000, 394; Stanojev 2005, 61, note 16; Türk 2005, 5. kép.

<sup>207</sup> Révész 1996.

Following our theoretical approach, it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the ethnic identity of the populations in these churchyards. The elite of a political-military structure ruled a society by using symbols of different nature.<sup>208</sup> In the case of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries it can firmly be stated that its elite was the political-military elite appointed by the Hungarian Kingdom and his king. The common traditions of the population living in castles, villages is impossible to identify by archaeological means, based on comprehensive archaeological finds from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries Transylvanian Basin.

As a result, in most cases it is not ethnic realities but the illustration or symbolisation of social statuses that can be detected. Certainly, it cannot be excluded that in particular cases the difference in social status may be closely connected to different ethnicity, but it is impossible to detect them in medieval churchyard cemeteries by archaeological means. In the county centres and in the castles housing different religious institutions such as Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur*, Dăbâca population of heterogenous origins may have concentrated, which is referred to in the sources too. In small settlements there are more chances that the population was homogenous, but this can neither be proved nor refuted for the puritanism of the graves.

#### 13.4. *The problem of social status in the churchyards from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Pl. 8, Pl. 22, Pl. 43)

Although in the previous era the rank or respect of a deceased person, or the prestige of the family (through the deceased person) was symbolised by different categories of weapons, horse burials and funeral garments adorned with jewellery, from the time of the reign of King Stephen I the Christian conversion of the population in the Carpathian Basin made these ancient pagan rites obsolete. Similarly to the communities of other regions or other ages (from the Palaeolithic age on) the symbolic competition between medieval individuals and families consequently led to a change of the way the status or the social importance of a person was symbolized on their death in the Middle Ages. Christianity, which taught spiritual and, from the point of view of the economic-political hierarchy, an egalitarian picture of the after life<sup>209</sup> superseded the symbols

that represented the status of the individual or the family in the burials,<sup>210</sup> but it allowed another representation. This tendency is very well indicated by Theodulf's decree, which, at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, emphasises that bishops, monks and priests can be buried in the church and, what is most interesting to us, laymen who are worthy of it can also be interred there.<sup>211</sup> This symbolic *competition* of power and wealth meant the same in the case of medieval laymen as the jewels, weapons and/or parts of horses in the burials of the bygone pagan times. In contrast with older days, the poverty of furnishings does not mean the poverty of the society, but the *Puritanism* of medieval way of thinking, which was often dissonant. Simplicity and Puritanism are the solution to this problem, but the aim to represent power and prestige remained the same and the burials in the church or as close to the church as it was possible were its manifestations. That is the reason why overlapping burials and superpositions can be found around the churches, which are the characteristic features of churchyards as opposed to the cemeteries with rows of graves.

That is why the location of the 59 graves from Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* containing silver items have been analysed by us. Out of the 59 mapped graves 41 were found in the central section of the cemetery,<sup>212</sup> which shows that among the population of the Árpáadian era, it was the wealthier people who took their valuables with themselves into the grave. Although it is an insignificant result, but this phenomenon makes it clear that the more potent members of the family were buried around the church<sup>213</sup>:

At the same time, it cannot be completely excluded that in the three cemeteries in and near the Dăbâca castle, populations of different statuses were buried. The major differences in the cemetery sizes may be cited here: near the large cemetery in *Castle Area IV*, and in the smaller cemeteries in *A. Tămaș's Garden* and *Boldăgă/Boldogasszony* populations of different origins (*clerici, comes, miles, servi*) were buried. This interpretation may be supported by the large number of weapons found in the castle area,

<sup>208</sup> Assman 1992.

<sup>209</sup> On the Christian picture of the other world and on Christian burials, see: Rush 1941.

<sup>210</sup> It is very interesting that sword or sabre burials became fashionable again from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on, especially inside church. In this issue see the excavation of Béla Pósta, Márton Roska and István Kovács in Alba Iulia, which was carried out very well (Pósta 1917, 1–155). A same phenomenon is known from Scandinavia (Kiefer-Ollsen 1997, 188, note 17).

<sup>211</sup> Szuromi 2005, 10, note 28.

<sup>212</sup> Gáll 2011, 63. táb.

<sup>213</sup> Gáll 2011, 62. táb.





which also proves the existence of a *miles* class. On the other hand, for example the 15 mansios of the Arad castle may show that a considerable number of servants serving the warrior class must have lived in the castle.<sup>214</sup>

As has been seen, in the case of Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, a smaller and a larger cemetery can be distinguished, which can be explained by the different statuses of the two communities. Graves 92 and 93 with brick covers in Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur might have been the burials of religious persons. The situation is similar in the case of the two excavated cemeteries in Alba Iulia.

As conclusion, the multifunctionality of these centres and the stratification of the population inner these strongholds seems to clear. The differences among the finds from these castles could, at the same time, indicate that the wealth and importance of such centers may have been diverse.

At the moment, similar statements can hardly be made on the cemeteries of the forming (rural) settlements. For example, in Grave 76 in the *Dealul Viilor* cemetery from Sighișoara the skull of a skeleton is missing and on the skull found in Grave 45 an injury can be registered. These data may refer to violent military actions, which can be combined with the profession of the members of this community.

## 14. Results and perspectives

In our effort to summarise the churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin, although a lot of questions remained unanswered, we have managed to find some interpretations for several problems concerning the sociological and historical phenomena of the different segments of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century society.

Our first observation belongs to this archaeological phenomenon. Churchyards are the most obvious and reliable indicators of institutionalised Christianity. By this we do not mean that before the appearance of these cemeteries one cannot talk about Christianity, but these symbolise the ‘fully fledged’ real Christianity as a result of the 11<sup>th</sup> century conversion. We do not say that one cannot talk about Christian conversion or Christian groups in the Carpathian or the Transylvanian Basin, but there is no archaeological or other kind of evidence of a widely common system of Christian institutions.

As opposed to the other regions of Europe, there is no clear archaeological evidence of institutionalised Christianity in the Transylvanian Basin from before the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Certainly, the dating of these cemeteries is in close connection with the spread of Christianity. As has been analysed above, in the case of the Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur cemetery, we have managed to point out that Cemetery Sections I and II of the two communities of different statuses were used from the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

We also formulated the question: to what extent could the population of these churchyards be Christian? The characteristics of these cemeteries seem to show that the members of these communities were Christian. In several cases, unusual or strange burial customs can be documented, which were considered the remnants of pagan rites. However, according to our present opinion, this issue can be approached in a different way. Burial customs observed in churchyards should not be seen as the archaeological signs of lingering pagan rites, but the custom of excommunication, which is practised in present day communities too and which is a common human reaction. Those who are/were sentenced to death or who commit(ted) suicide may fall in this category. Certainly, it is out of question that this had no pagan roots but here they did not represent the pagan attitude but a norm accepted and institutionalised by the Christian church.

Although the Christian church banned some rites in the fight against paganism, based upon the archaeological finds, we can suppose a continuity of these in a few cases (for example Sighișoara–*Dealul Viilor*: Graves 45 and 76, Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*: Grave 15).

In the analysis of churchyards we could draw a detailed picture of the formation and development of the structure of the medieval settlement network.

In the analysis of the Sighișoara–*Dealul Viilor* cemetery we collected the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century data concerning the Târnava Mare region (cemetery, settlement, treasure, stray find). They also clearly show that there must have been a thick network of settlements in the E or upper region of the Rivers Târnava in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which may indicate that the Hungarian Kingdom had finished establishing the system of settlements and institutions in the Transylvanian Basin by the end of the 11<sup>th</sup>–beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>214</sup> Györffy 1977, 229.

The connection between the power centres and these types of cemeteries may have been detected only in an indirect way. The use of two or three cemeteries in the centres well-known from the written sources may emphasise the possibility of the classification of society. More exact observations can only be made if other than archaeological analyses will also be conducted on the skeletons found in these cemeteries. However, it is certain that the distinct representation of the elite in the Middle Ages, as in other ages too, was a basic social gesture and this should be investigated. More attention should be paid to this feature in the future research.

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The further, multidisciplinary research of churchyards could contribute to the information on the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries in various ways; such as the determination of the birth place of individuals, the demographic processes, the quality of nutrition, the transformations in the mentality, the genetic attributes of the communities, the interactions between the men and the landscape. At the same time, the analysis of graveyards in the context of their micro-regions, the comparison of the revealed similarities will probably be a significant task for future investigations. This will hopefully offer a complex insight in specific features, for instance immigration processes, or intercultural relations (for instance the possible German, Romanian and Székely connections in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Finally, these tasks could be the main challenges of recent archaeological investigations; however, no further steps can be done without the total excavation of churchyards, and the complex anthropological survey of the anthropological material. Another research direction could be the survey of those settlements, where the documentary sources suggest relatively late dating, but the archaeological data proves the existence of a graveyard from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Compared with the document-based historical studies, here we can attest the almost limitless possibilities of archaeological research. We should not ignore this potential prospect!

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## Rezumat

În ultimii ani cercetarea cimitirelor din jurul bisericilor datează în secolele XI-XIII a luat un avânt important în Bazinul Transilvaniei. Caracteristic în special lumii occidentale (în lumea bizantină nu au existat reglementări similare), obiceiul de a se înmormânta pe lângă biserică apare în zonele merovingiene în secolele VIII-IX. Astfel, printre *capitularele* lui *Theodulf*, episcop de Orleans (798-818), găsim prima reglementare a acestor norme. După normele din *Decretum Gratiani*, în biserică se puteau înmormânta episcopii, abații, respectiv preoții și laicii vrednici de aceasta.

Pe teritoriul Regatului Maghiar medieval apariția acestor cimitire este datată în literatura de specialitate, pe baza a trei documente scrise, la sfârșitul secolului al XI-lea, începutul secolului al XII-lea. Spre sfârșitul domniei lui Ladislau I cel Sfânt (1077-1095) și în perioada domniei lui Coloman Cărturarul (1095-1116), hotărârile sinoadelor de la Szabolcs (1092), Tarcal (în jurul anului 1100) și Strigonium (1104-1112/1113) au stabilit că defuncții trebuie să fie înmormântați în jurul bisericii. Au fost respectate oare aceste hotărâri? Fiecare necropolă de acest tip trebuie datată de la sfârșitul secolului al XI-lea? Putem generaliza din punct de vedere arheologic și cu aceasta să pășim pe calea „argumentării mixte”?

Teoretic și logic, aceste cimitire ar trebui să apară în zona centrelor religioase și politice, iar în așezările zonelor periferice ale regatului acest fenomen ar trebui să se răspândească mult mai târziu, în special după reglementările sinoadelor anterior menționate.

Această întrebare trebuie formulată și în cazul Transilvaniei, deoarece înființarea episcopiei de la Alba Iulia este datată în anul 1009. Nu exista oare în acest centru sau în alte centre (de exemplu la Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur) necropole de acest tip care au apărut înainte de sinoadele amintite?

Baza noastră de date cuprinde în acest moment 54 de situri funerare de acest tip, ale căror analize le-am efectuat în această lucrare. Abordările de până acum au aplicat metode unilaterale. Nu s-a încercat niciodată realizarea unui repertoriu complex. Descrierea succintă a materialului arheologic, sistematizarea ritualurilor funerare și prezentarea relațiilor tipologice ale culturii materiale rezultate din cercetări a fost de asemenea neglijată. Nu s-au scris lucrări despre necropolele din jurul bisericilor care să reflecte noile metode de cercetare aplicate în istoriografiile occidentale.

Din această cauză, una dintre cele mai importante obiective ale temei noastre a fost sistematizarea și analiza critică a bazei de date arheologice.

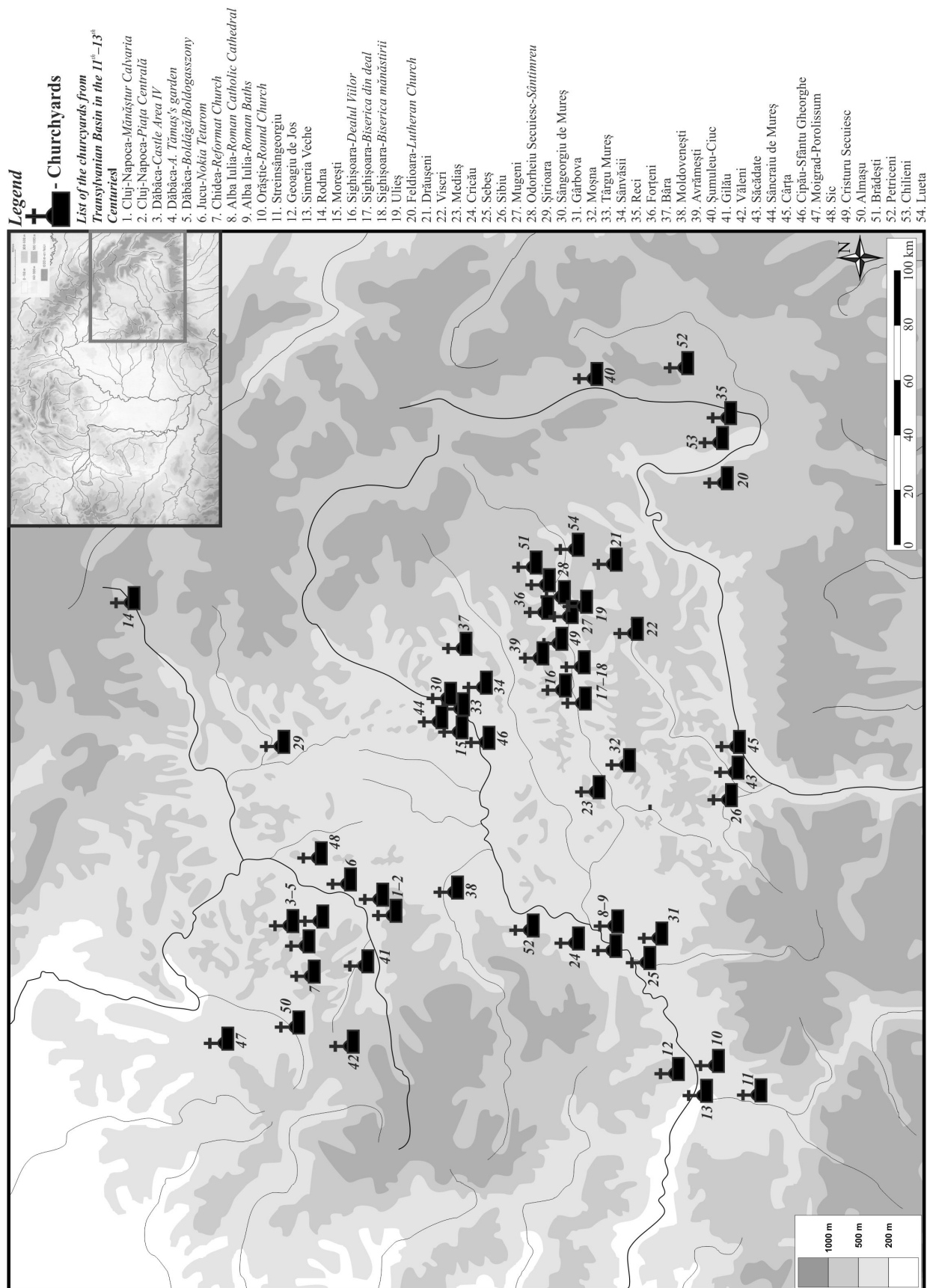
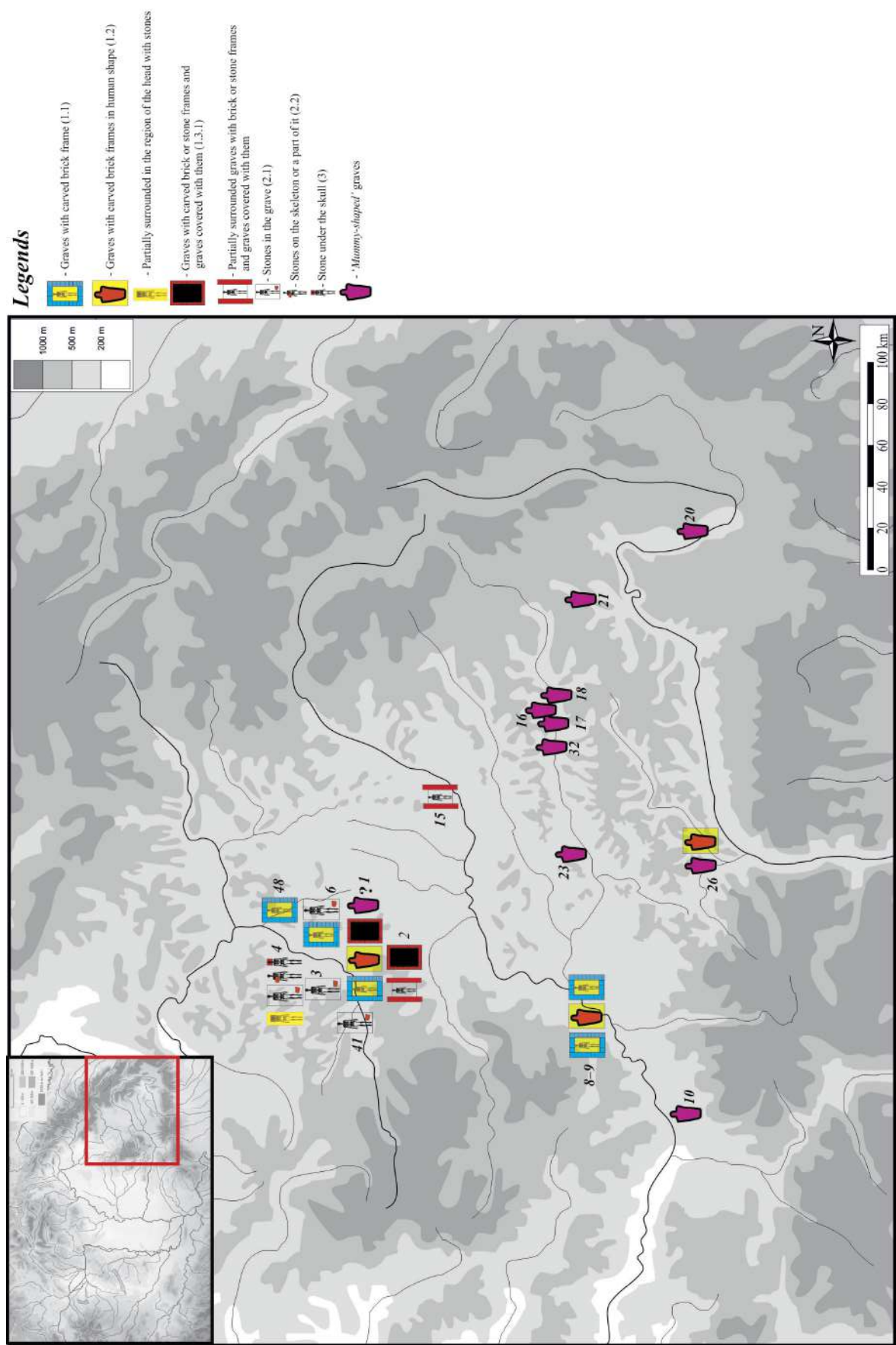
Plate 1. The distribution of the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.

Plate 2. The distribution of the built and *mummy-shaped* grave pits in the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries).  
Drawn by E. Gáll.



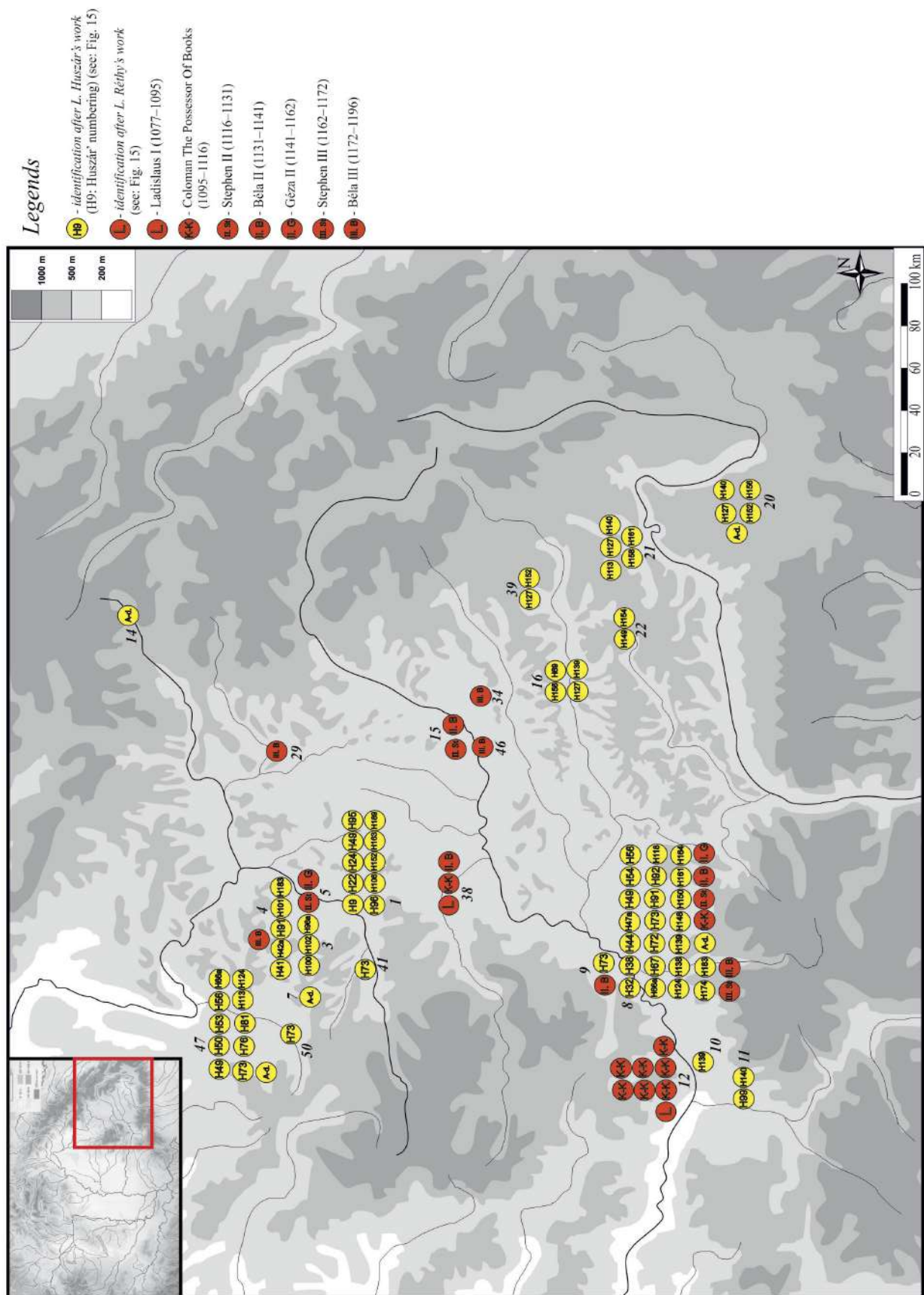
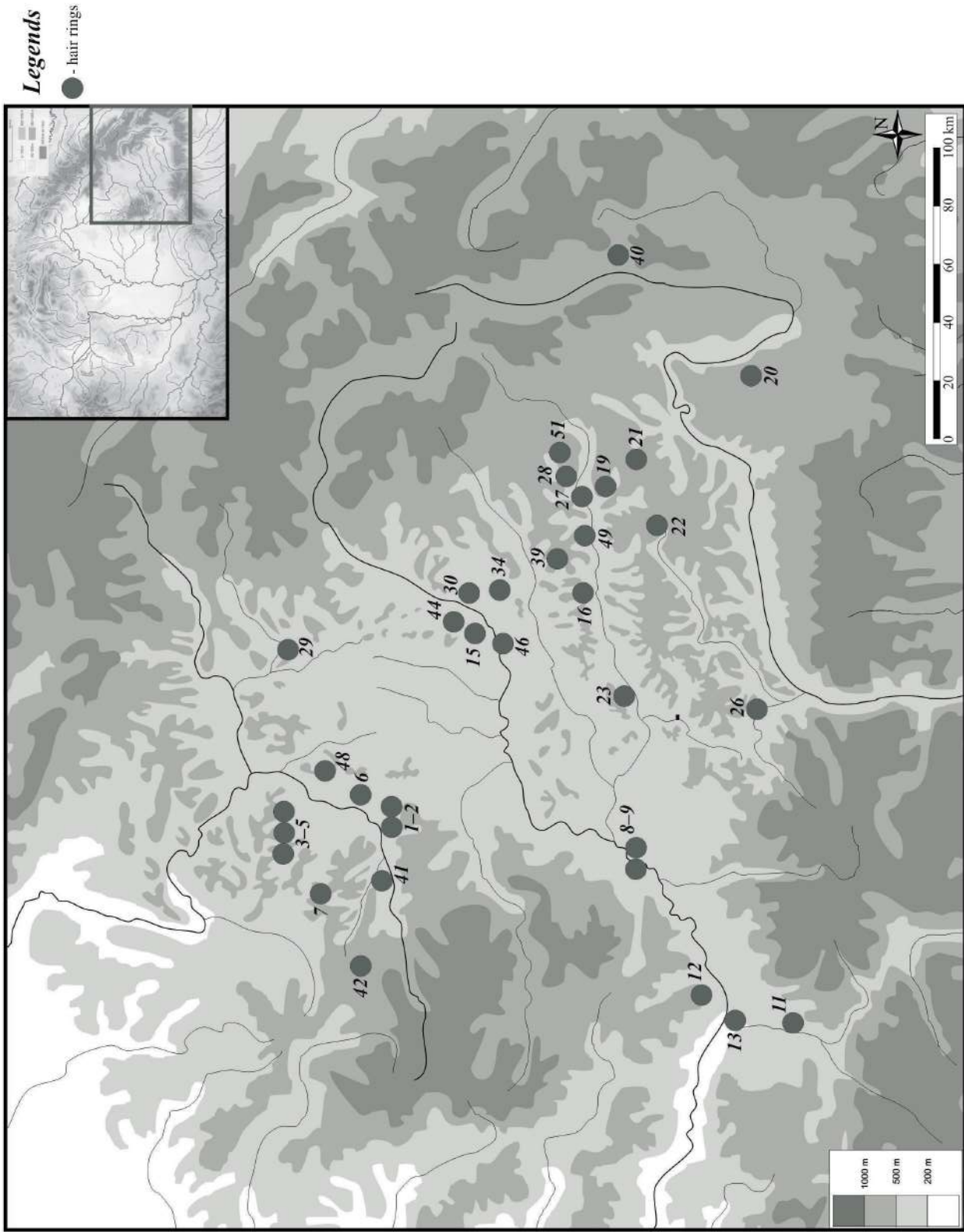




Plate 4. The distribution of lockrings in the early churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.



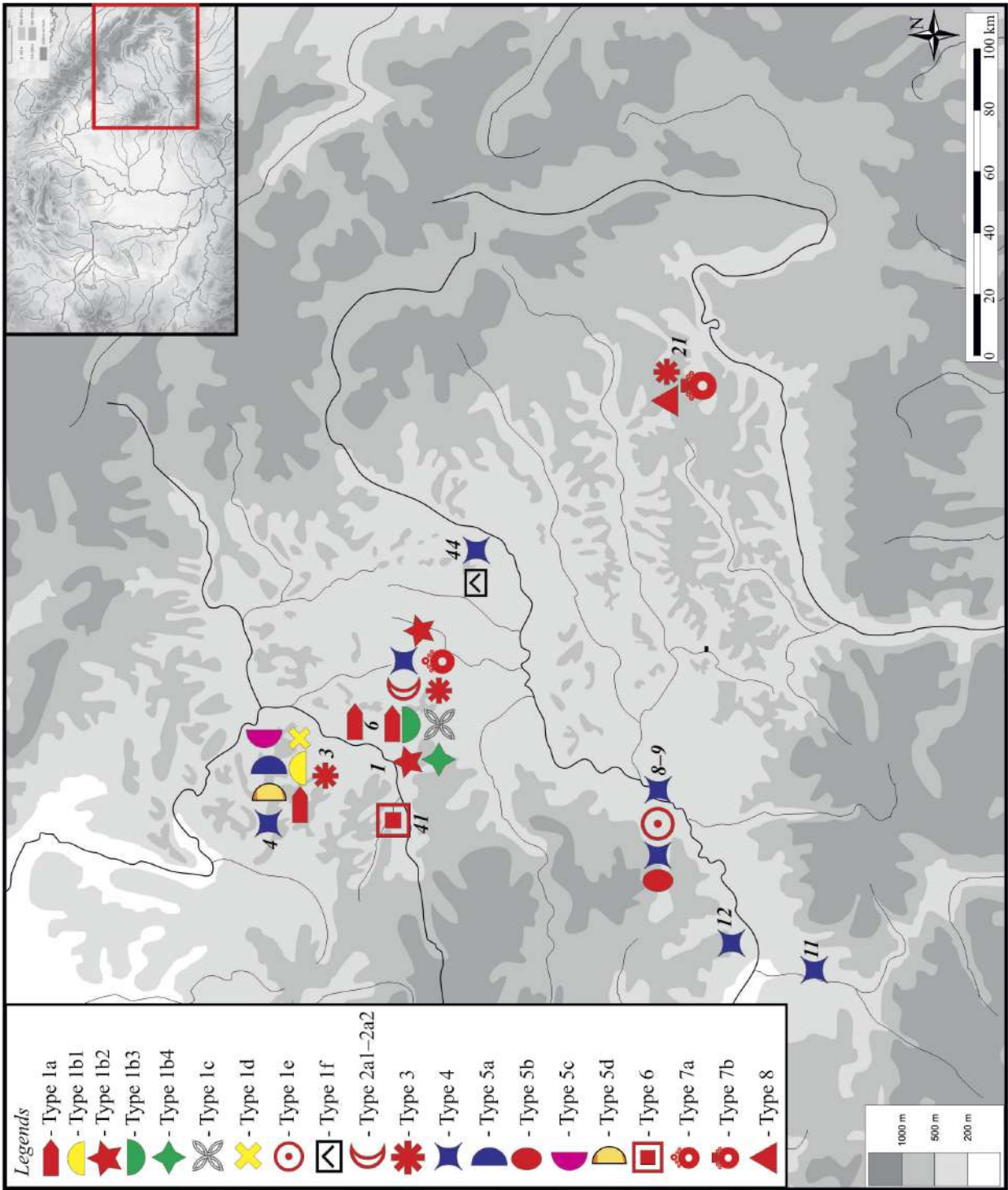


Plate 5. The distribution of finger rings in the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.



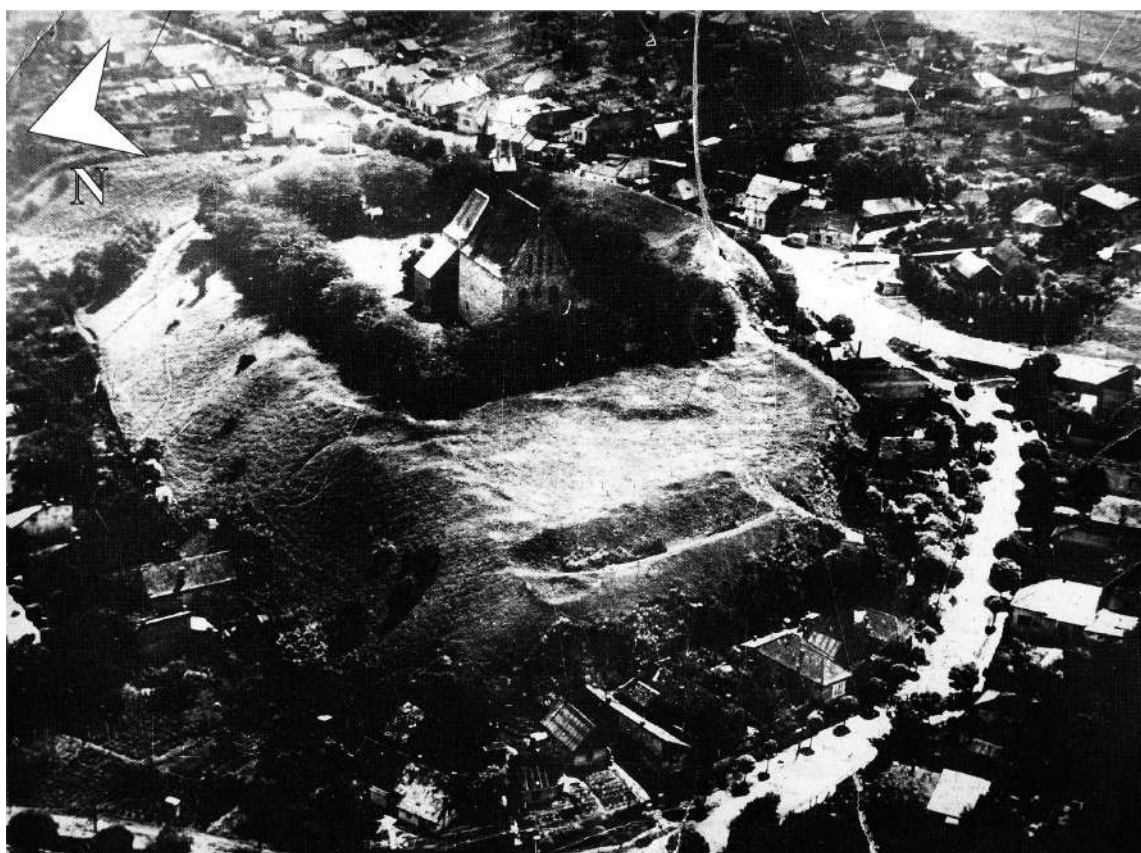
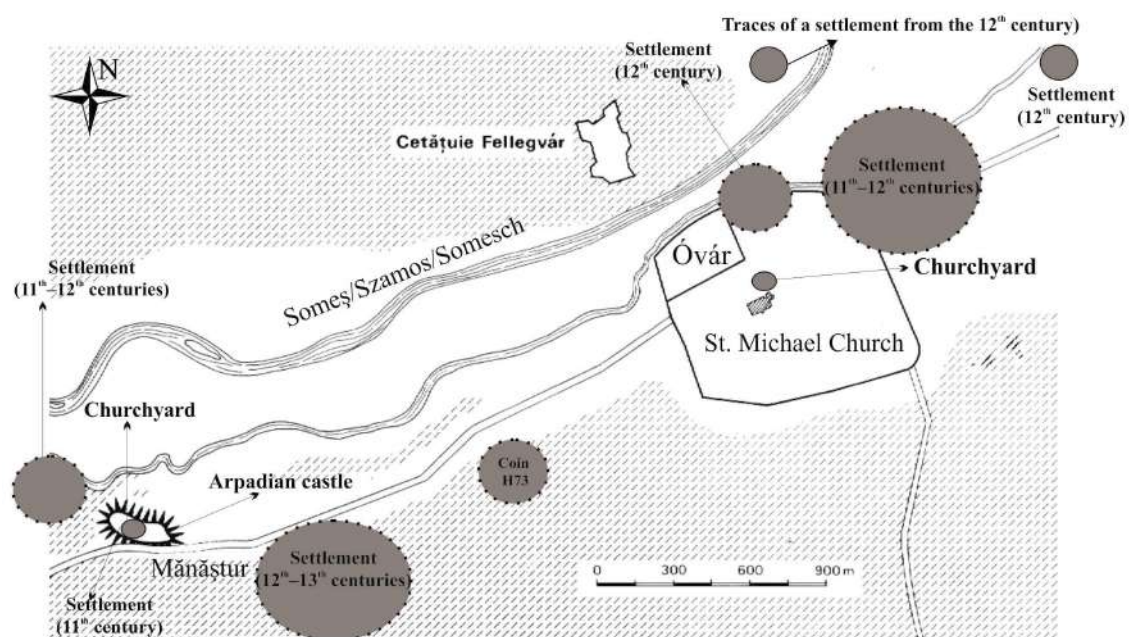


Plate 6. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-Calvaria. Drawn by E. Gáll.  
Photo was made in the years of '60 of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



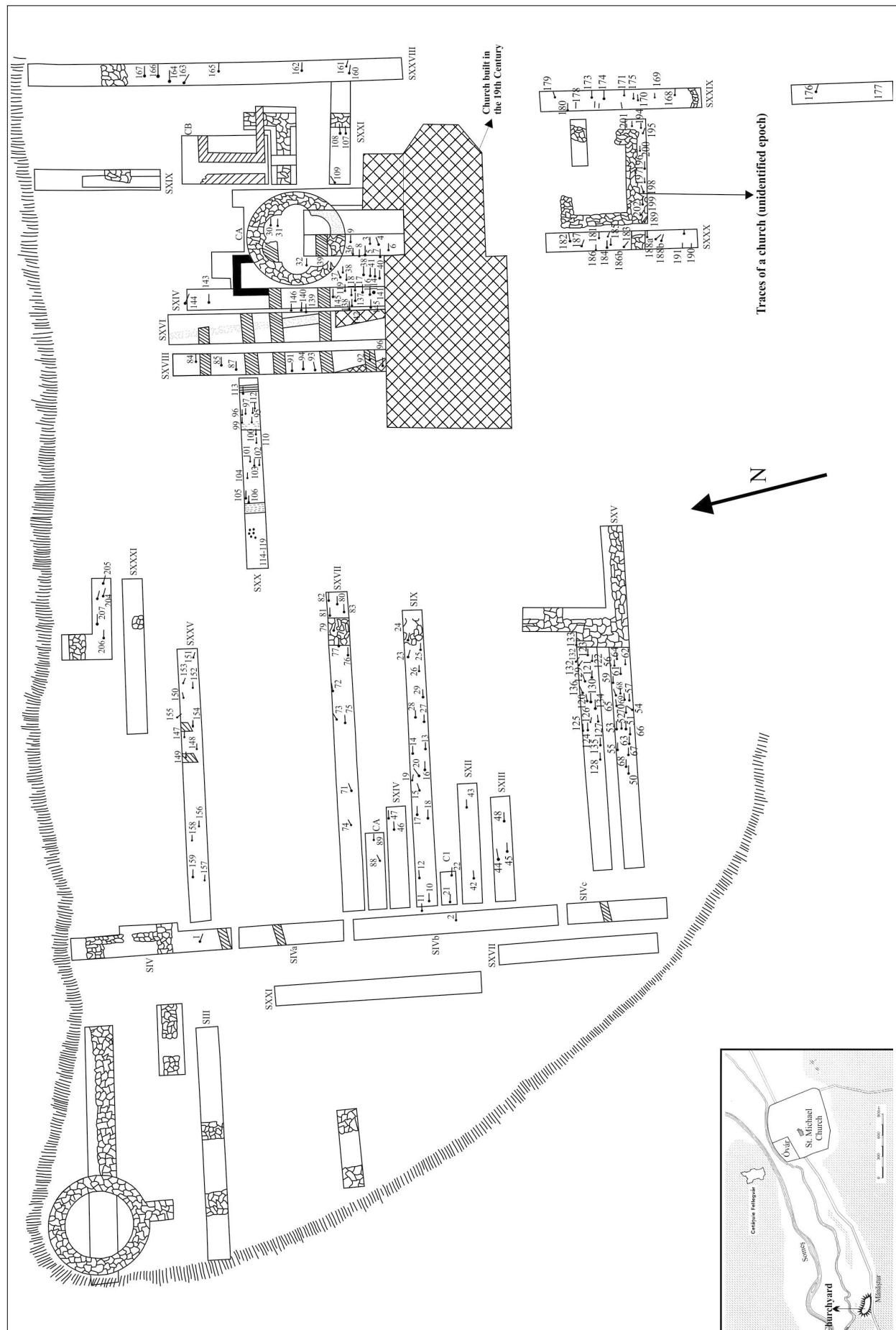
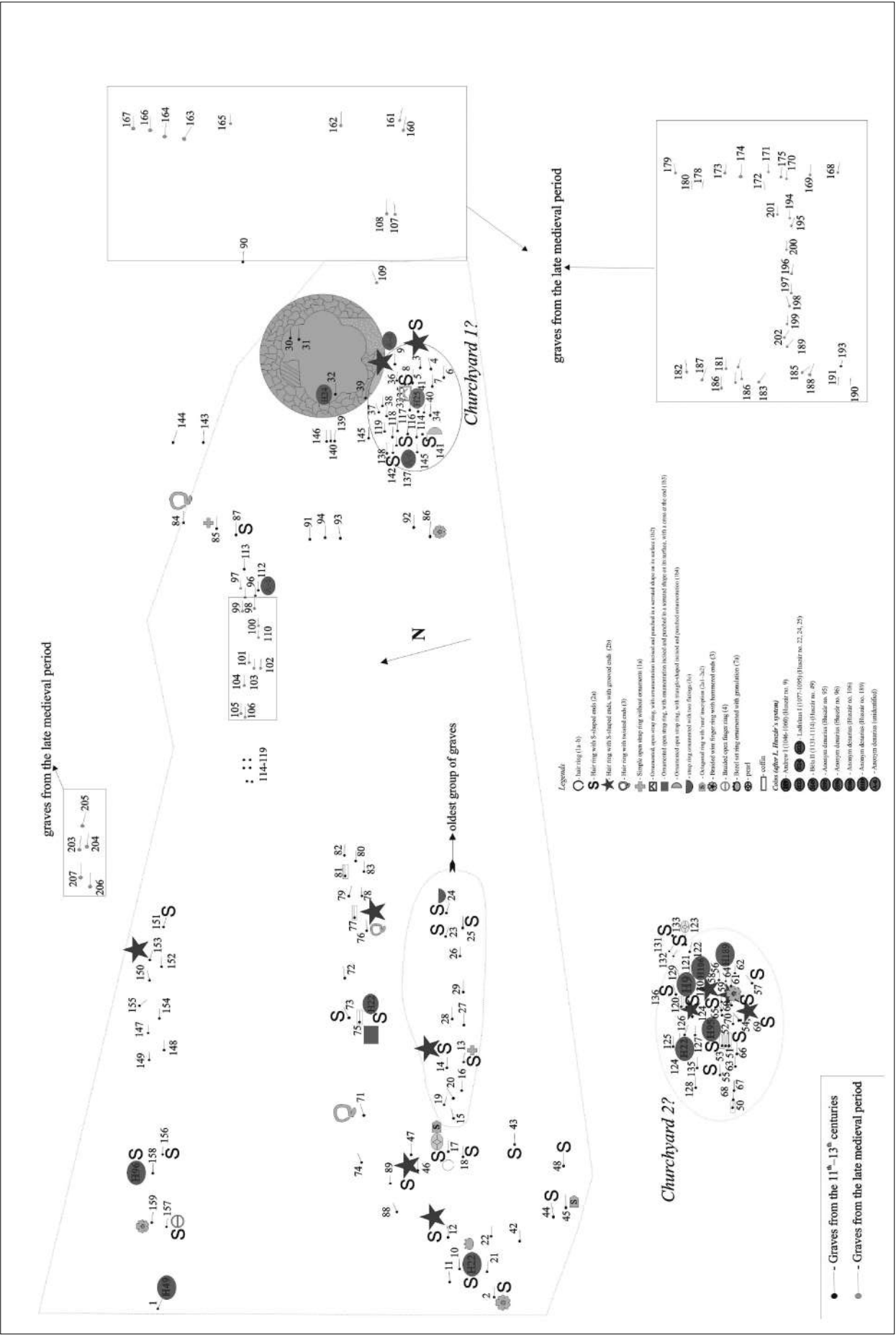


Plate 8. Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur-Calvaria. The interpretative map of cemetery from Calvaria (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.



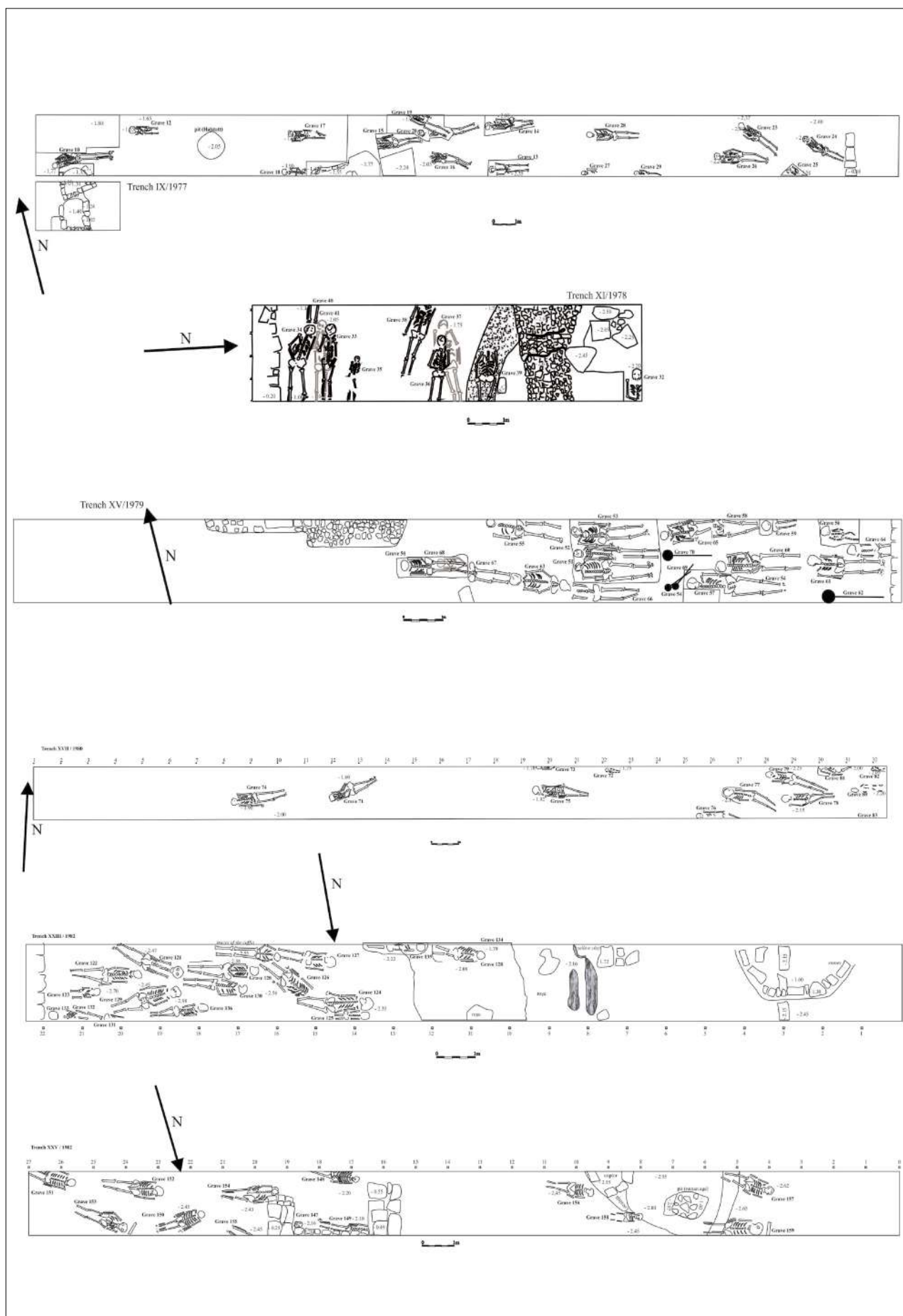


Plate 9. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur-Calvaria. Trenches IX, XI, XV, XVII, XXIII and XXV.

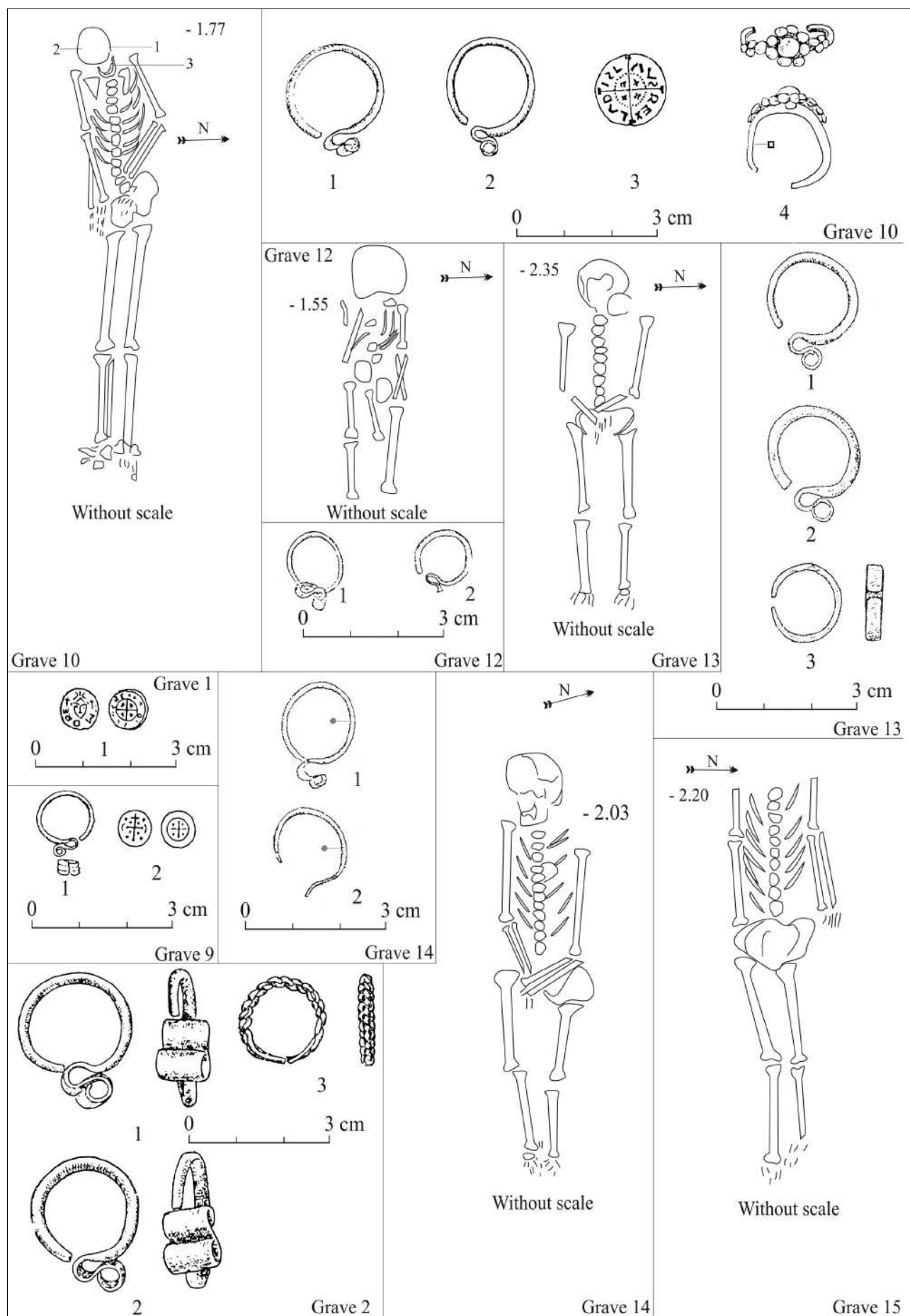


Plate 10. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur. Grave 1: 1; Grave 2: 1-3; Grave 9: 1-2; Grave 10: 1-4; Grave 12: 1-2.  
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 47)

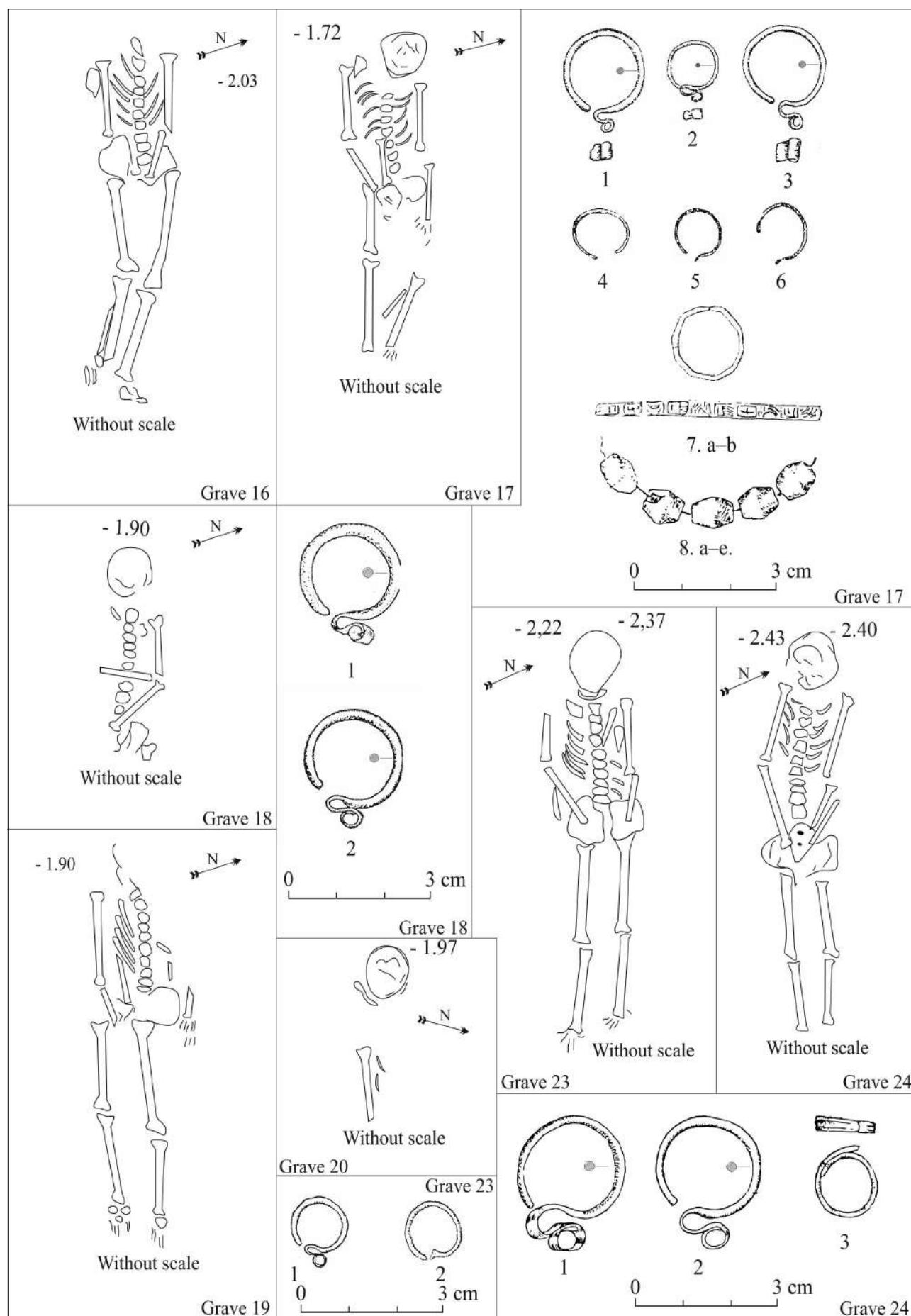


Plate 11. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 17: 1-8; Grave 18: 1-2; Grave 23: 1-2; Grave 24: 1-3.  
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 48)

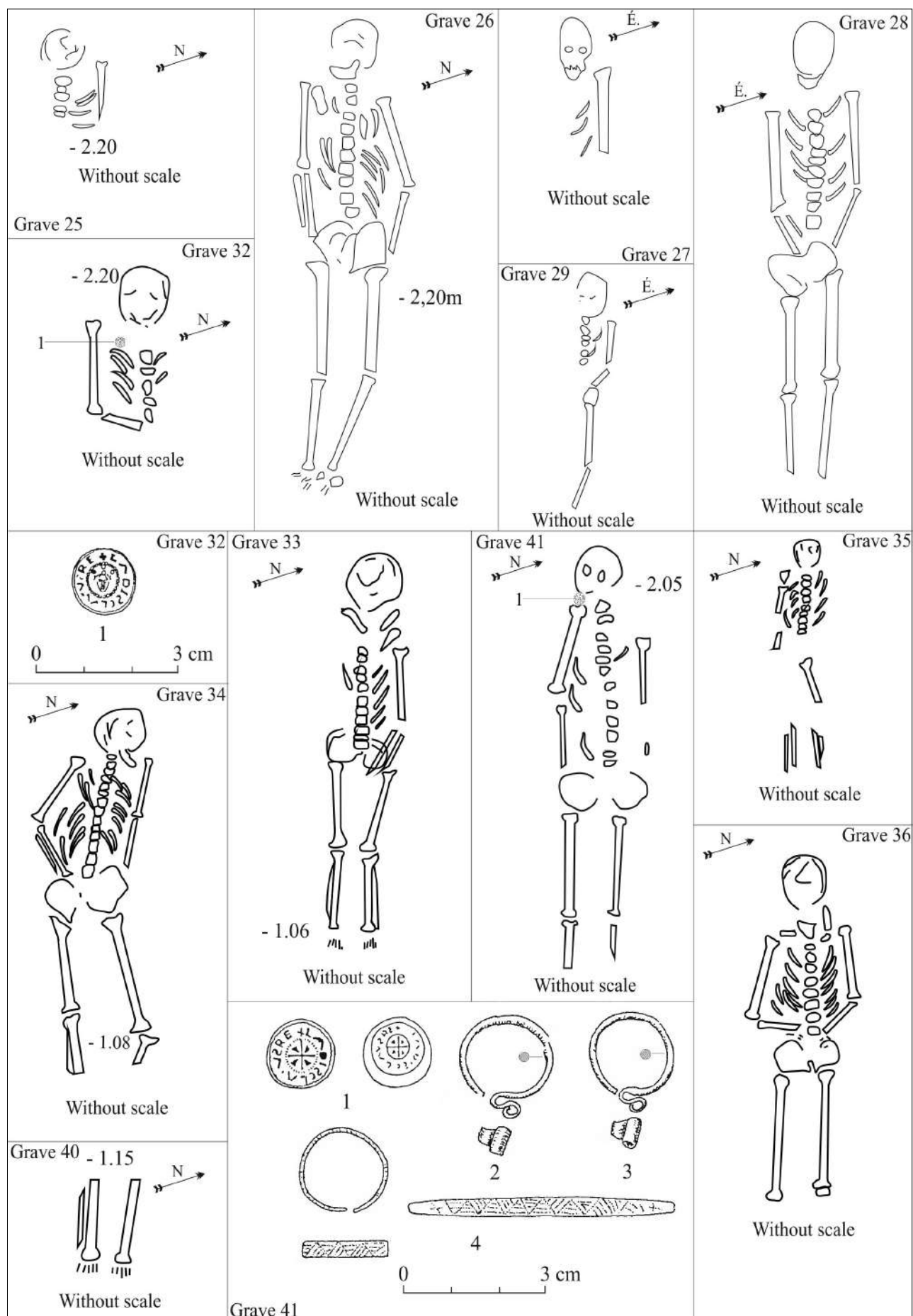


Plate 12. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur. Grave 32: 1; Grave 41: 1-3. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu.  
(after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 49)



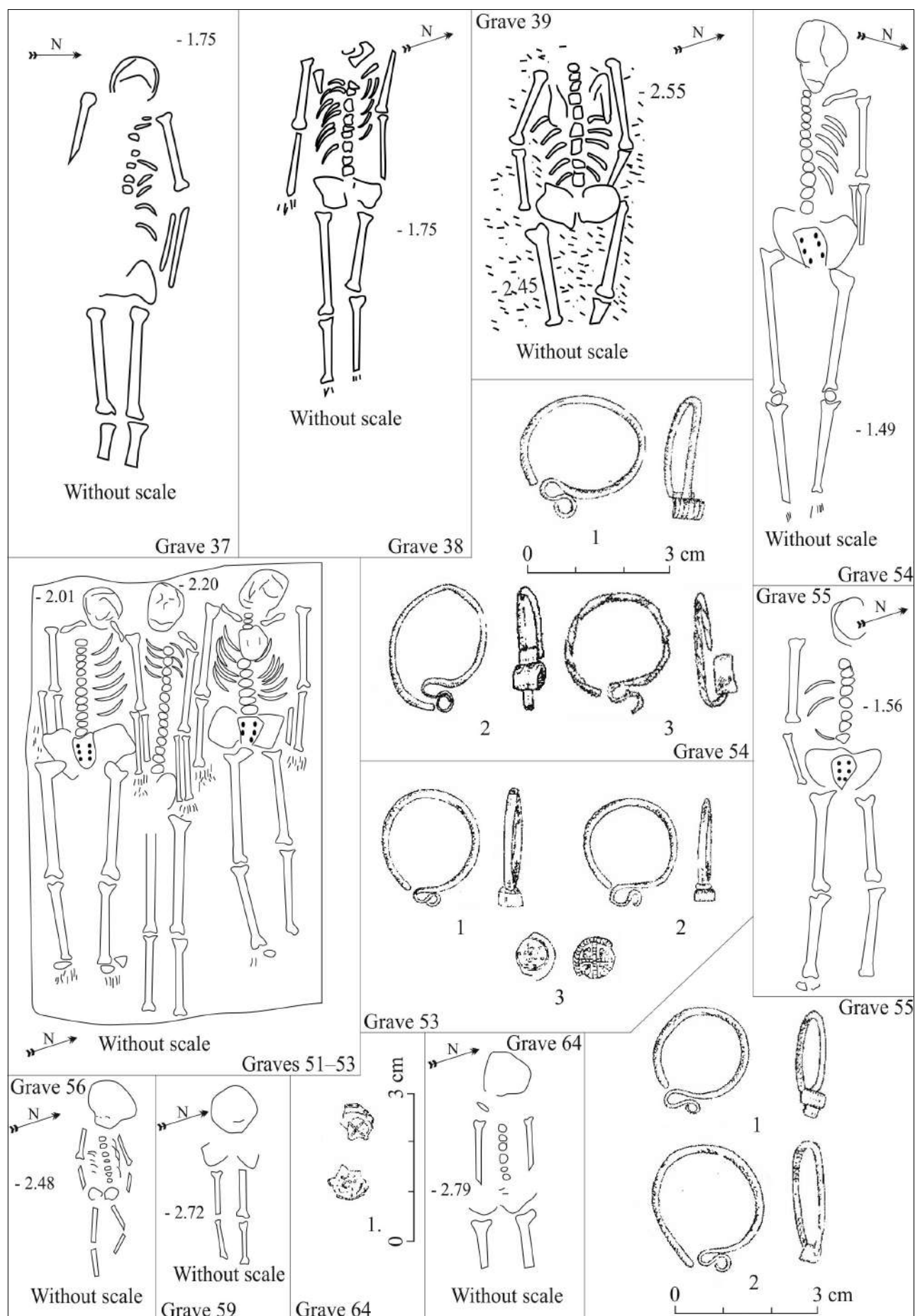
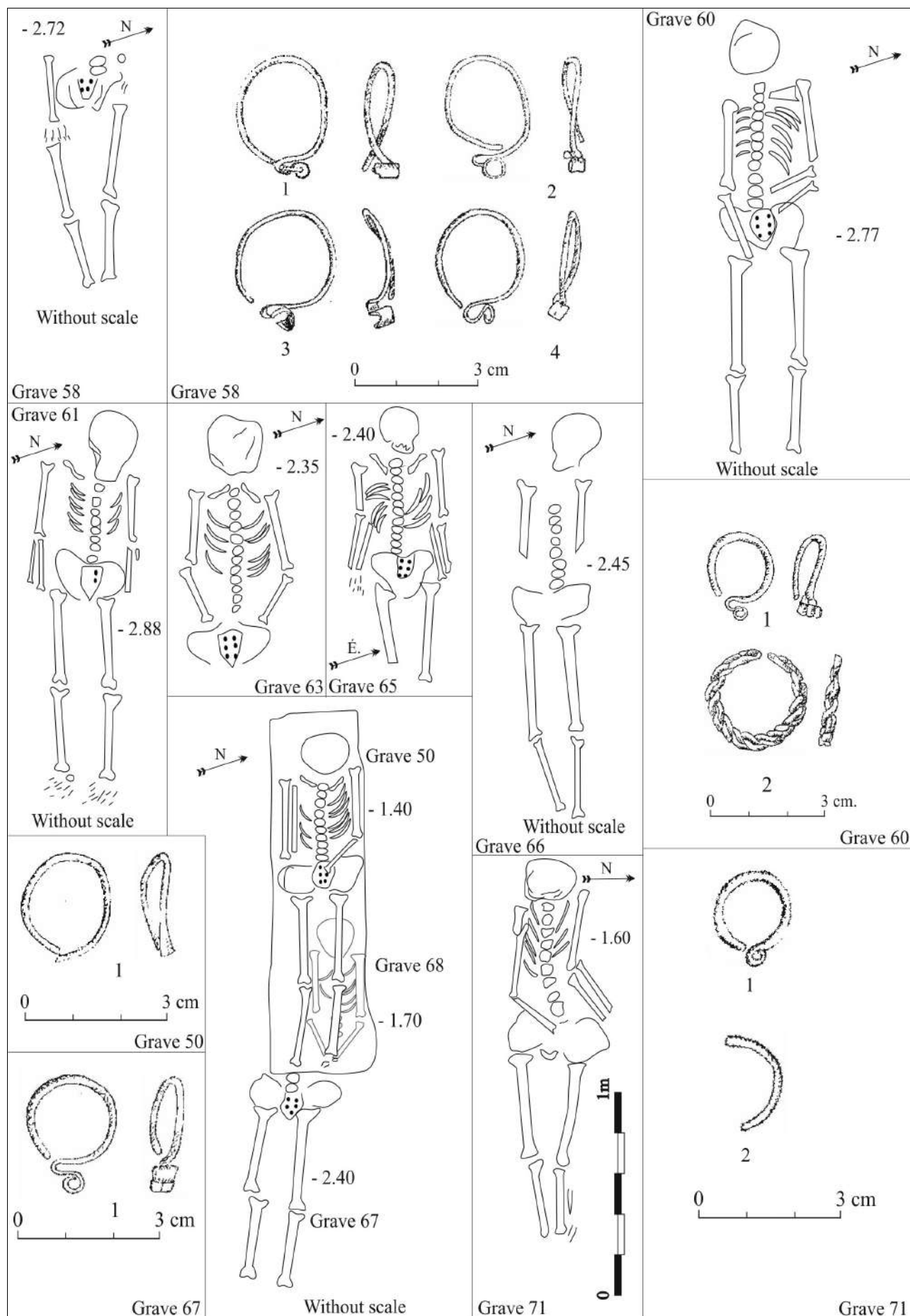


Plate 13. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 53: 1-3; Grave 54: 1-3; Grave 55: 1-2; Grave 64: 1.  
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 50)





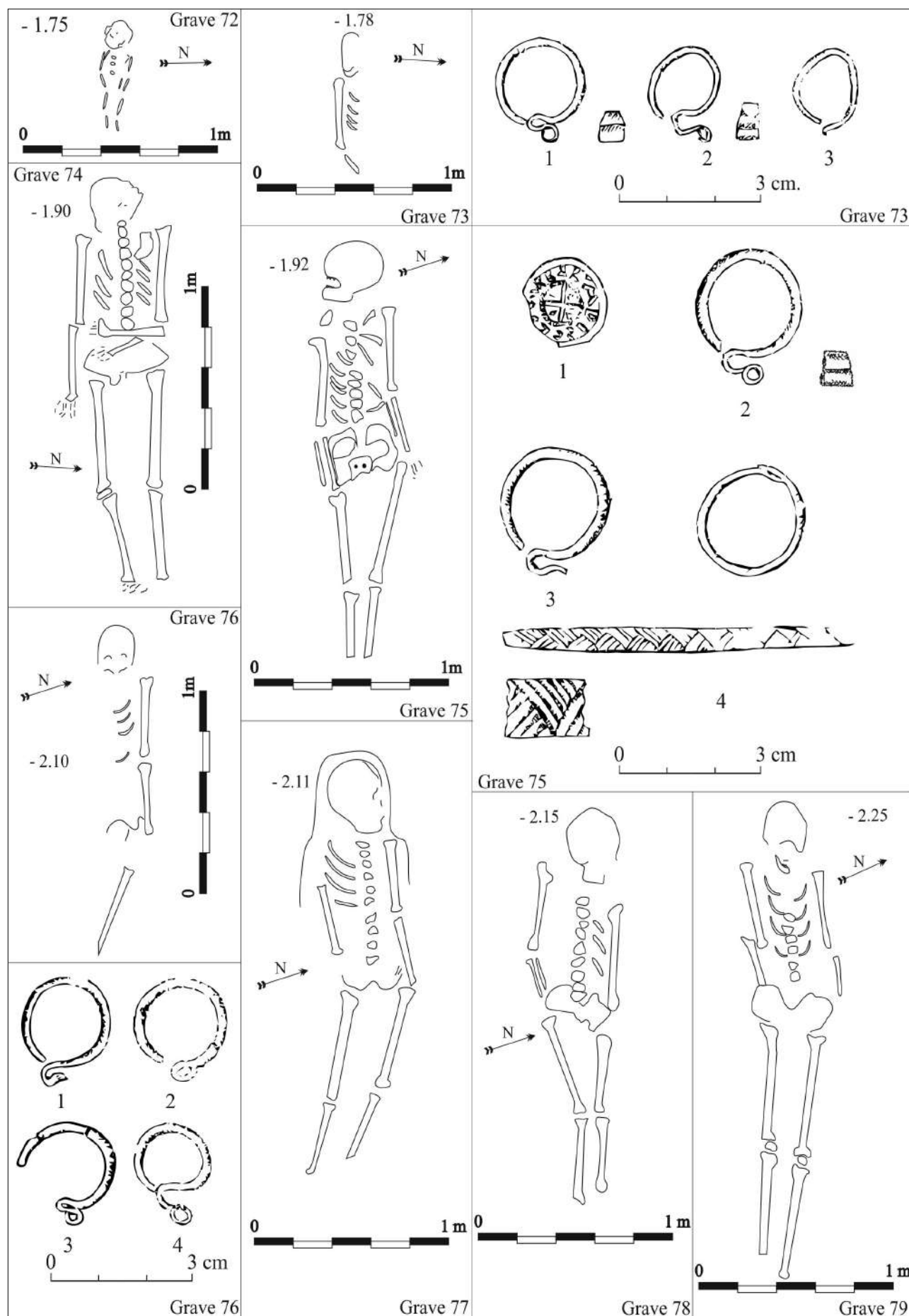
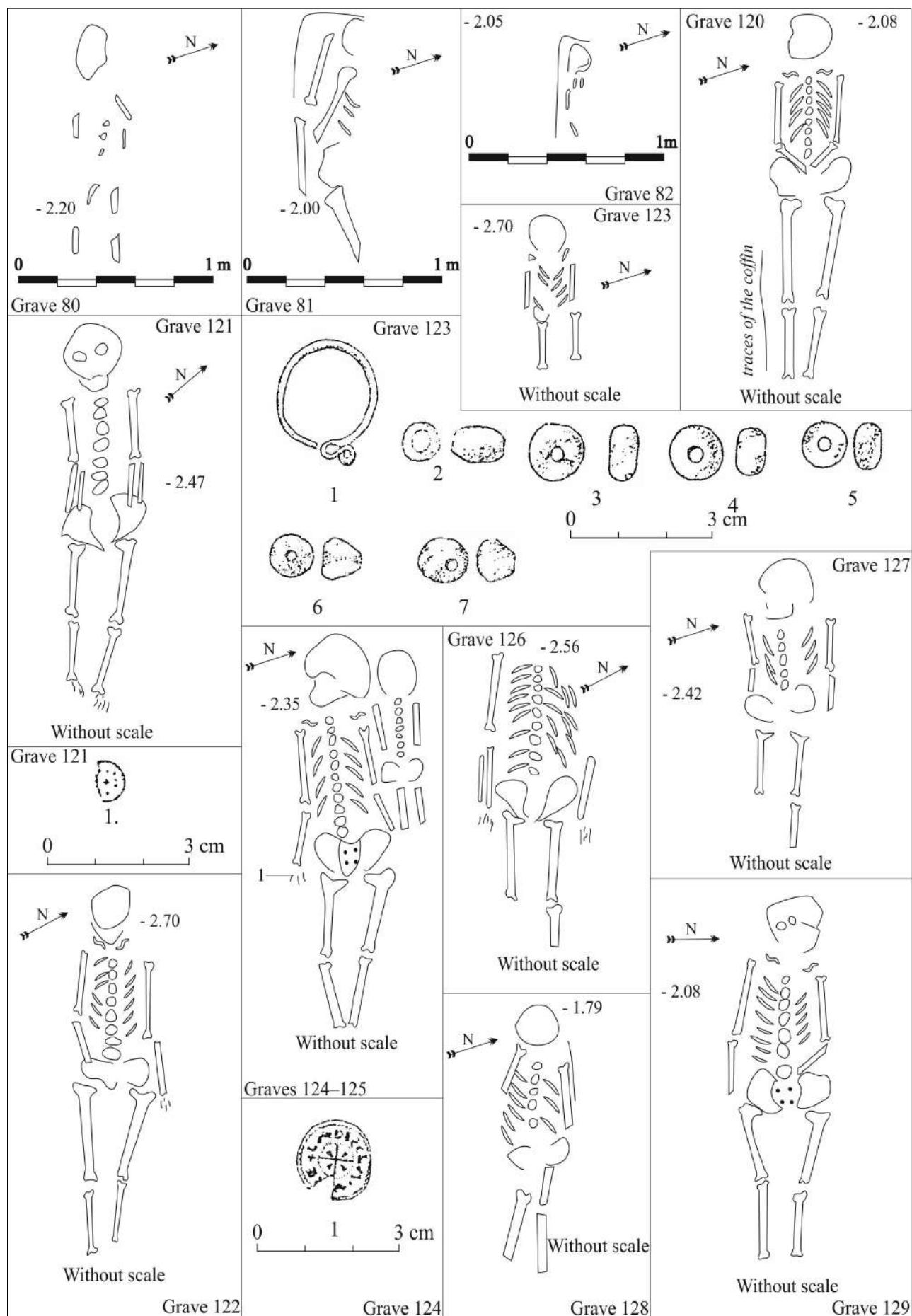


Plate 15. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 73: 1-3; Grave 75: 1-4; Grave 76: 1-4.  
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 52)



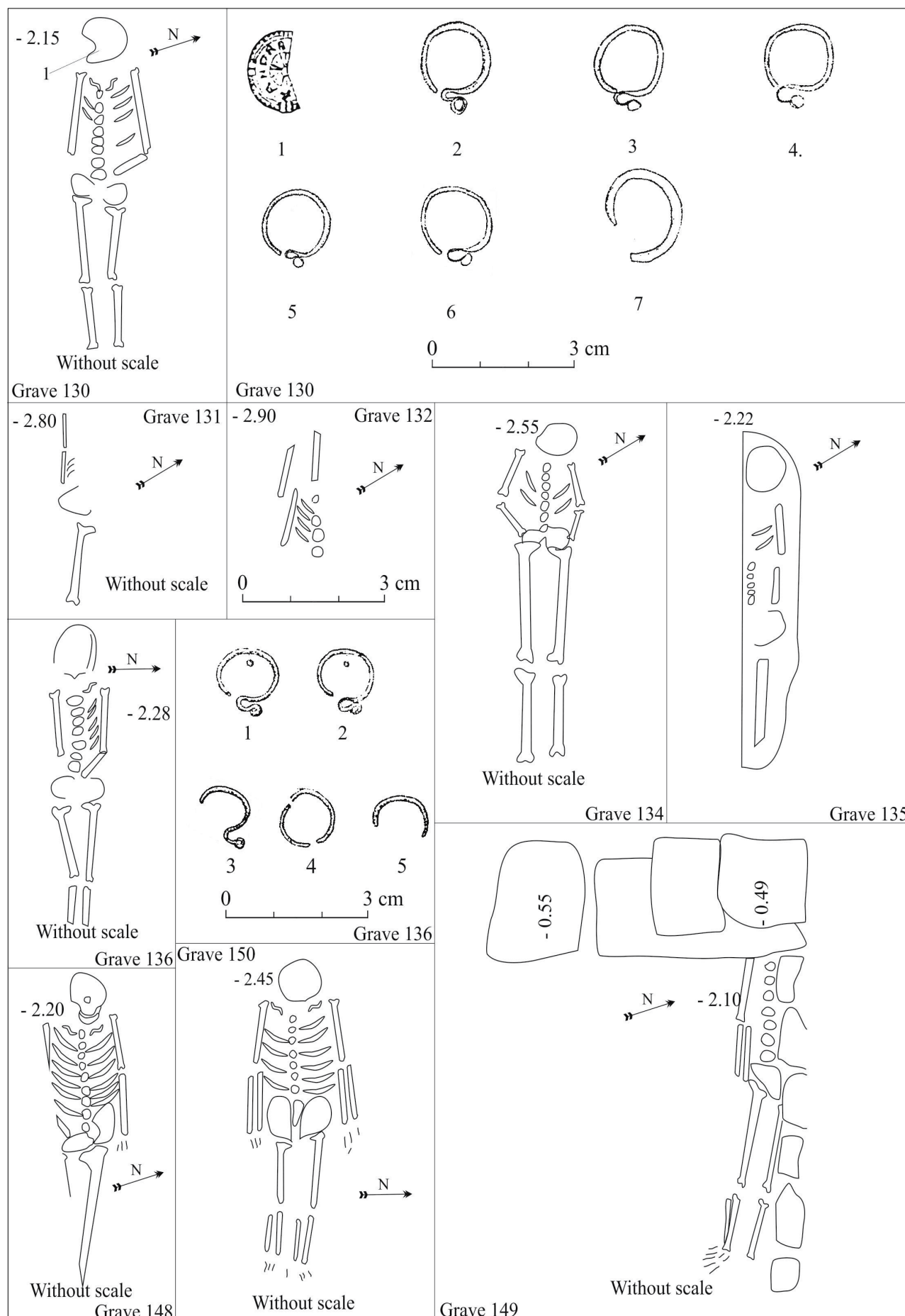


Plate 17. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur. Grave 130: 1-7; Grave 136: 1-5.  
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 54)

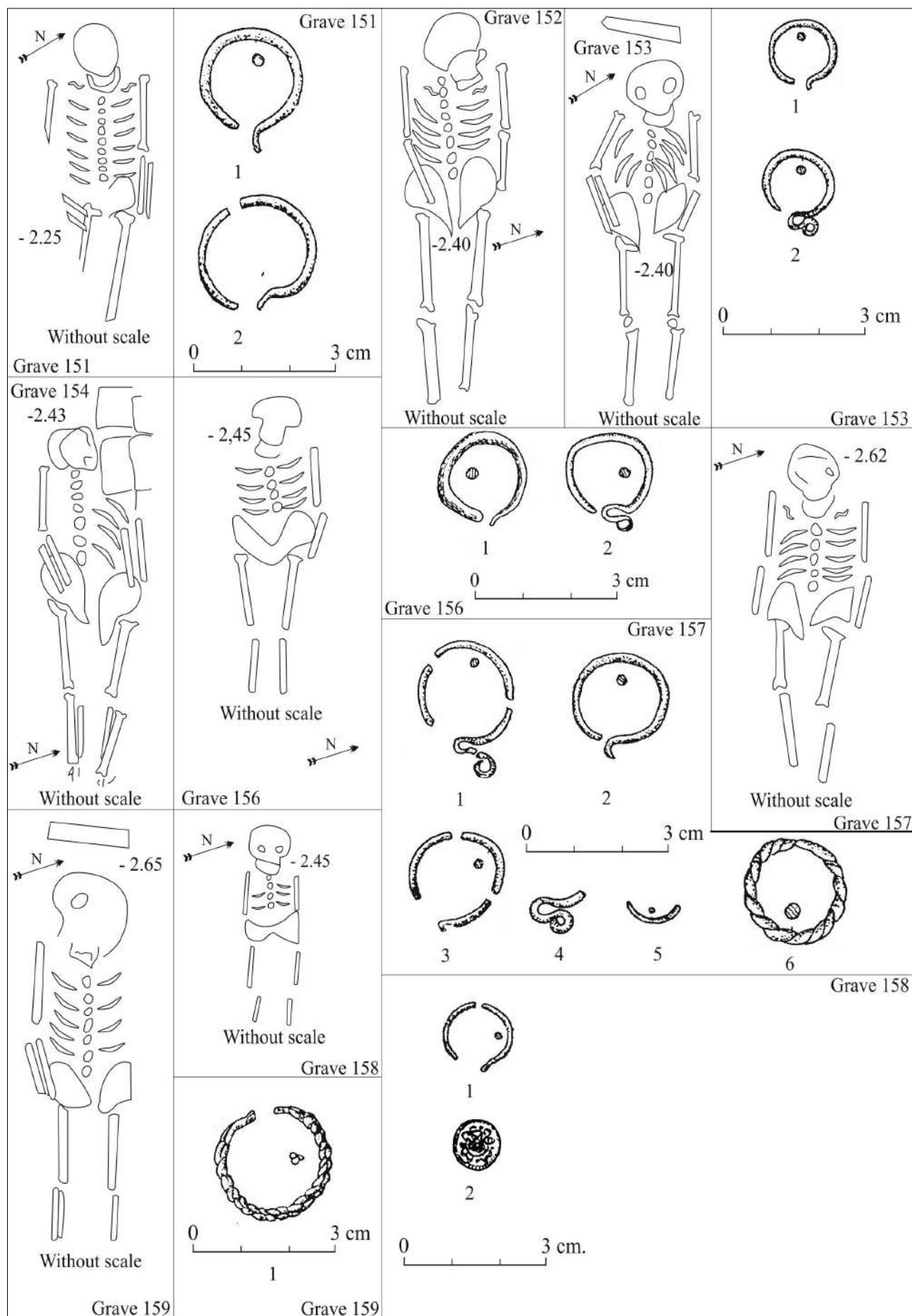


Plate 18. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur. Grave 151: 1; Grave 153: 1-2; Grave 156: 1-2; Grave 157: 1-6; Grave 158: 1-2; Grave 159: 1. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 55)

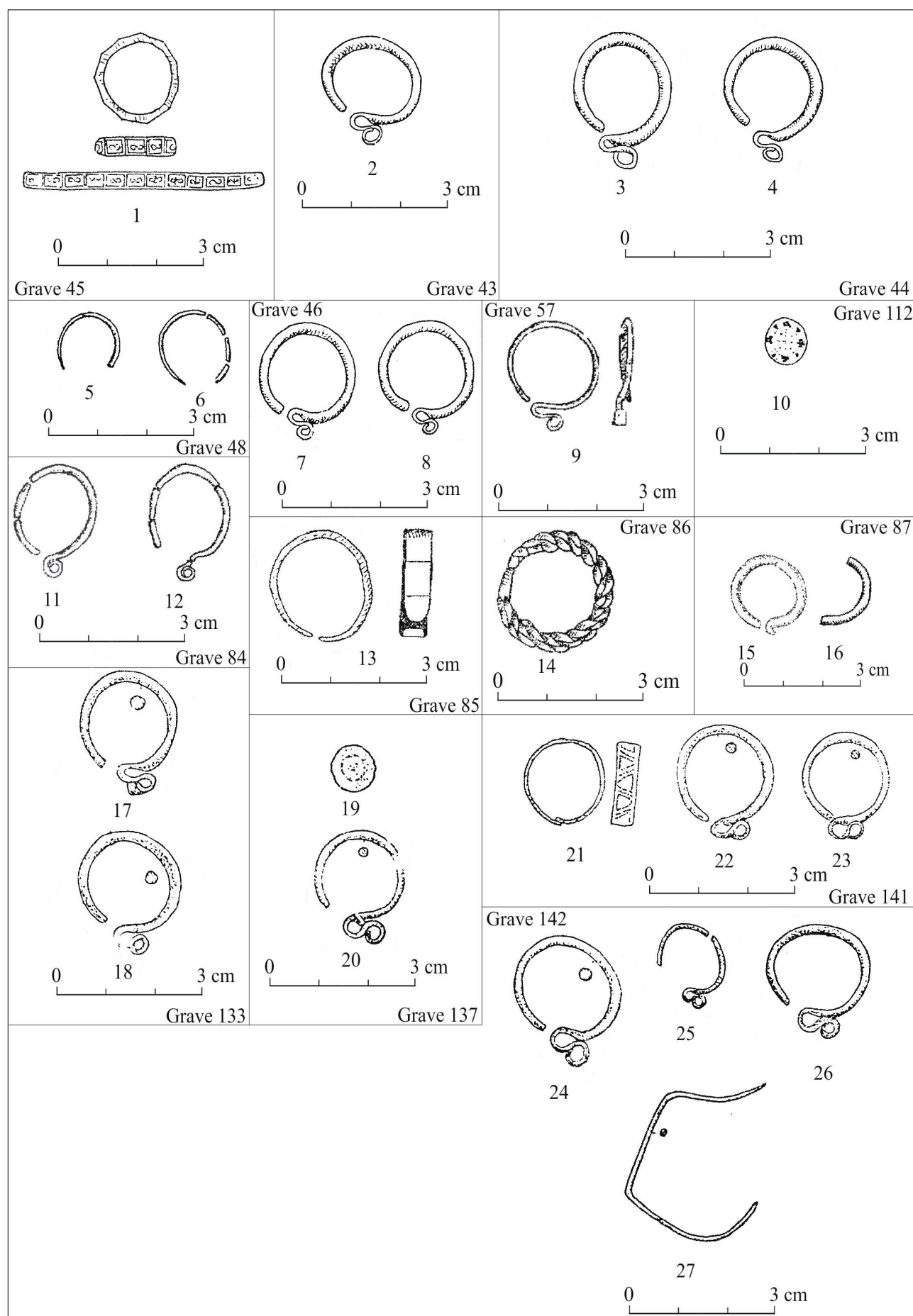


Plate 19. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 45: 1; Grave 43: 2; Grave 44: 3-4.; Grave 48: 5-6; Grave 46: 7-8.; Grave 57: 9; Grave 112: 10; Grave 84: 11-12; Grave 85: 13; Grave 86: 14; Grave 87: 15-16; Grave 133: 17-18; Grave 137: 19-20; Grave 141: 21-23; Grave 142: 24-27. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 56)

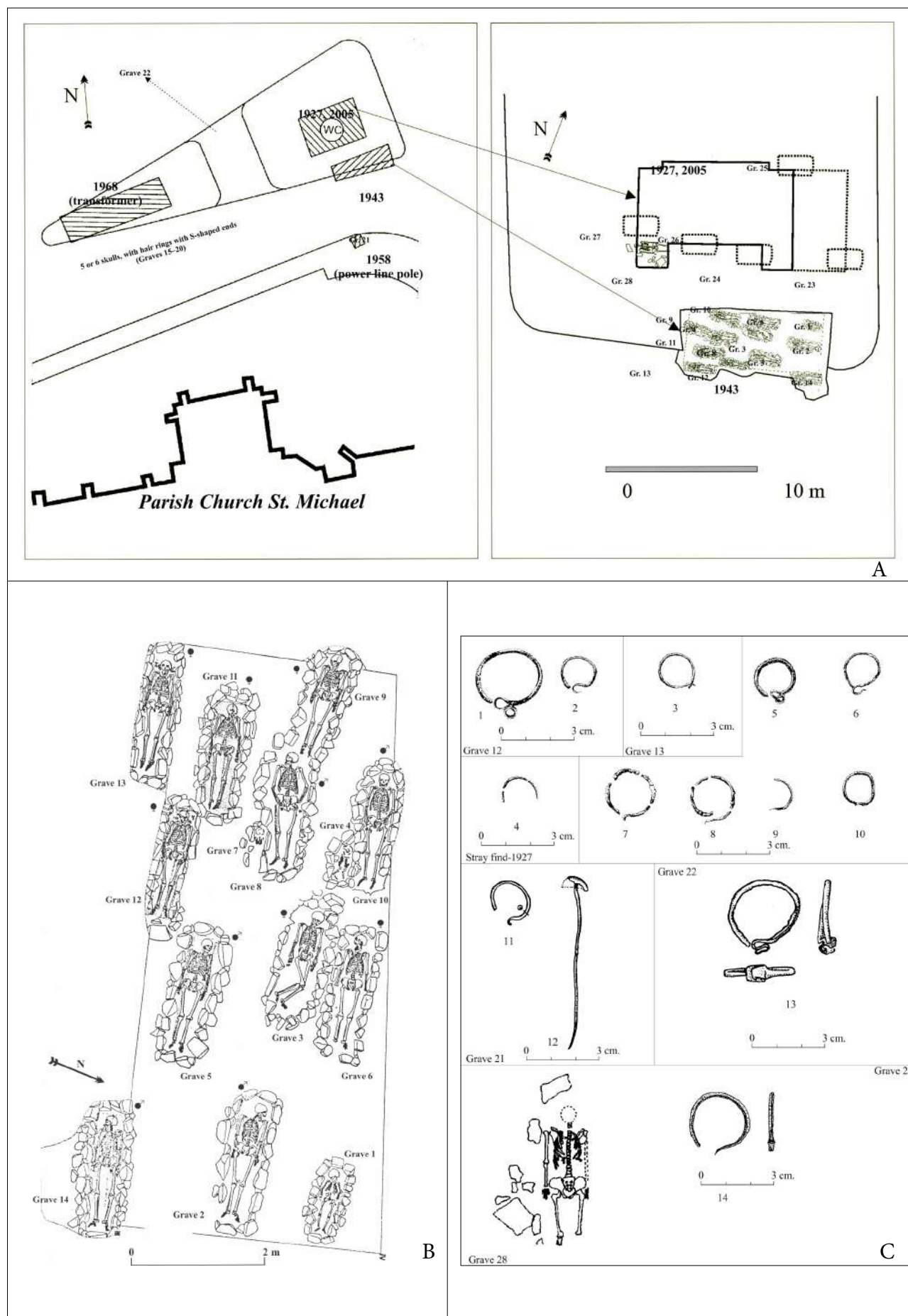


Plate 20. Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală. A: The position of cemetery. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 57) B: plan of the part of cemetery excavated in 1943. Re-drawn by E. Gáll. (after Méri 1986, 4. kép; Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 56) C: Grave 13: 1-2; Grave 12: 3; stray finds from 1927 and 1943: 4; finds from unknown graves (1943): 5-10; Grave 21: 11-12; Grave 22: 13; Grave 28: 14. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 58)



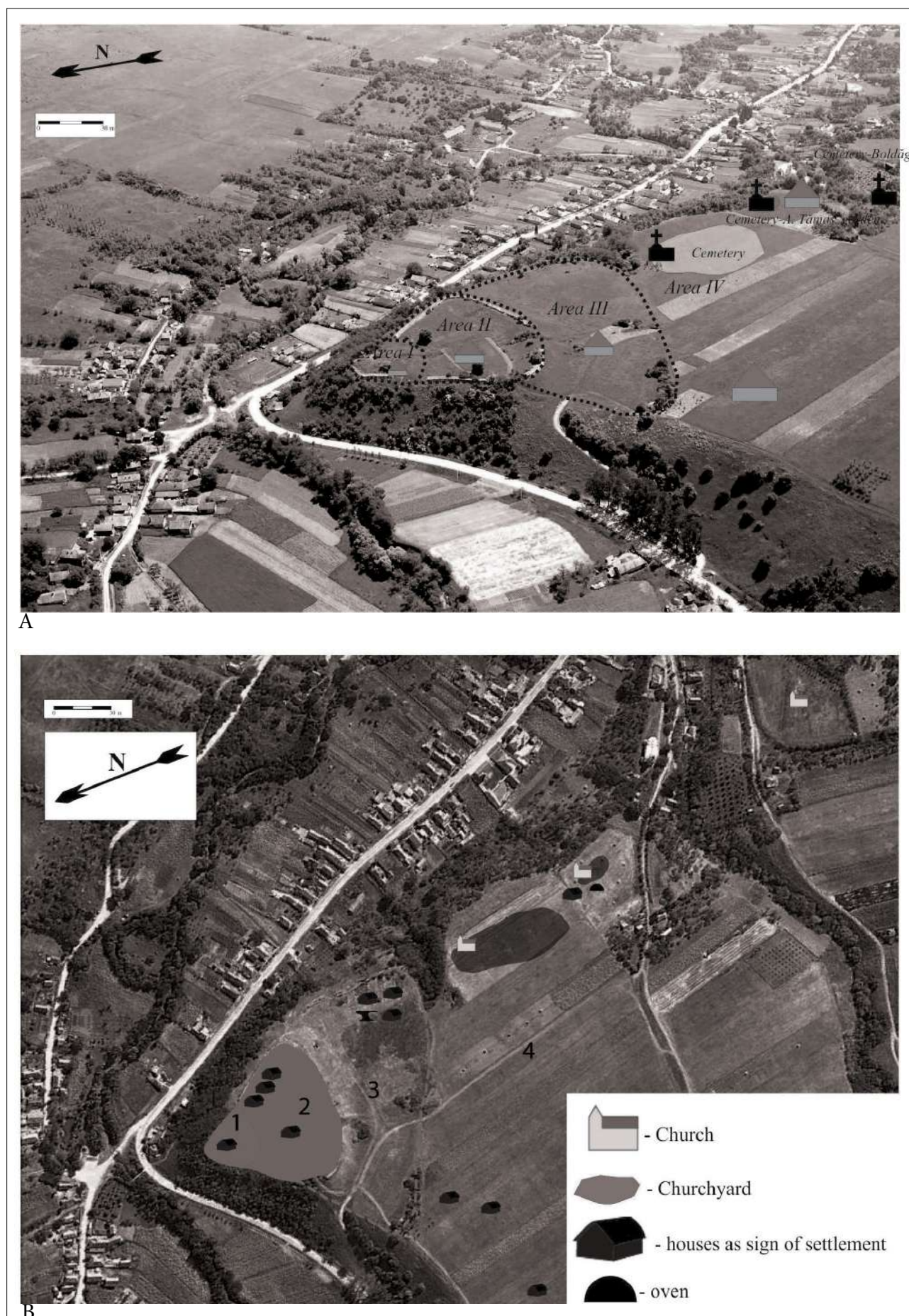


Plate 21. A-B. Dăbâca–Castle. Photo by Z. Czajlik. (after Gáll 2011, 4. kép).

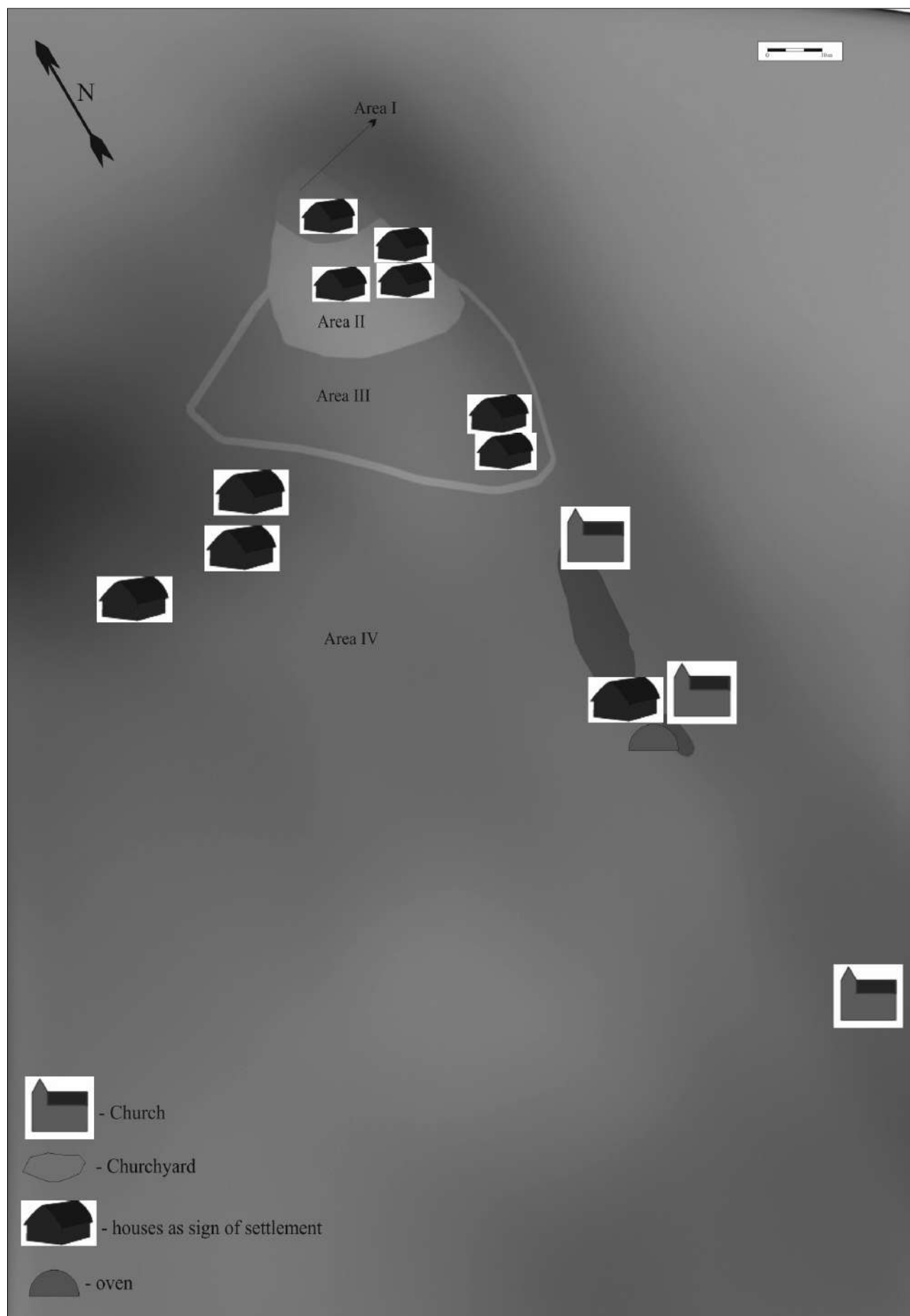


Plate 21.C. Dăbâca-Castle. A 3D reconstruction of the settlement structure (12<sup>th</sup> century)  
(drawn by N. Laczkó)



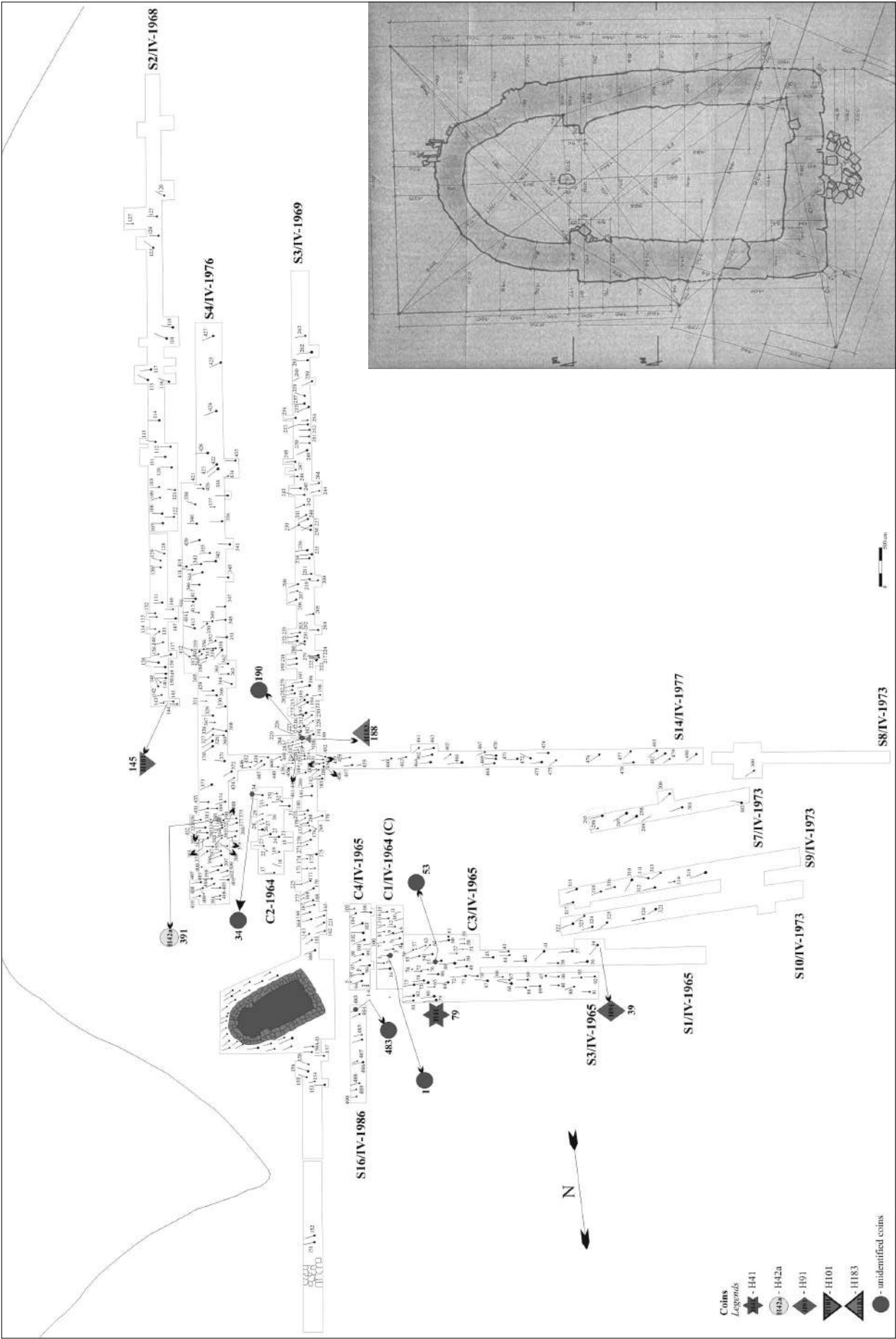


Plate 22. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV: map of the cemetery. Re-drawn after Gáll 2011, Appendix.



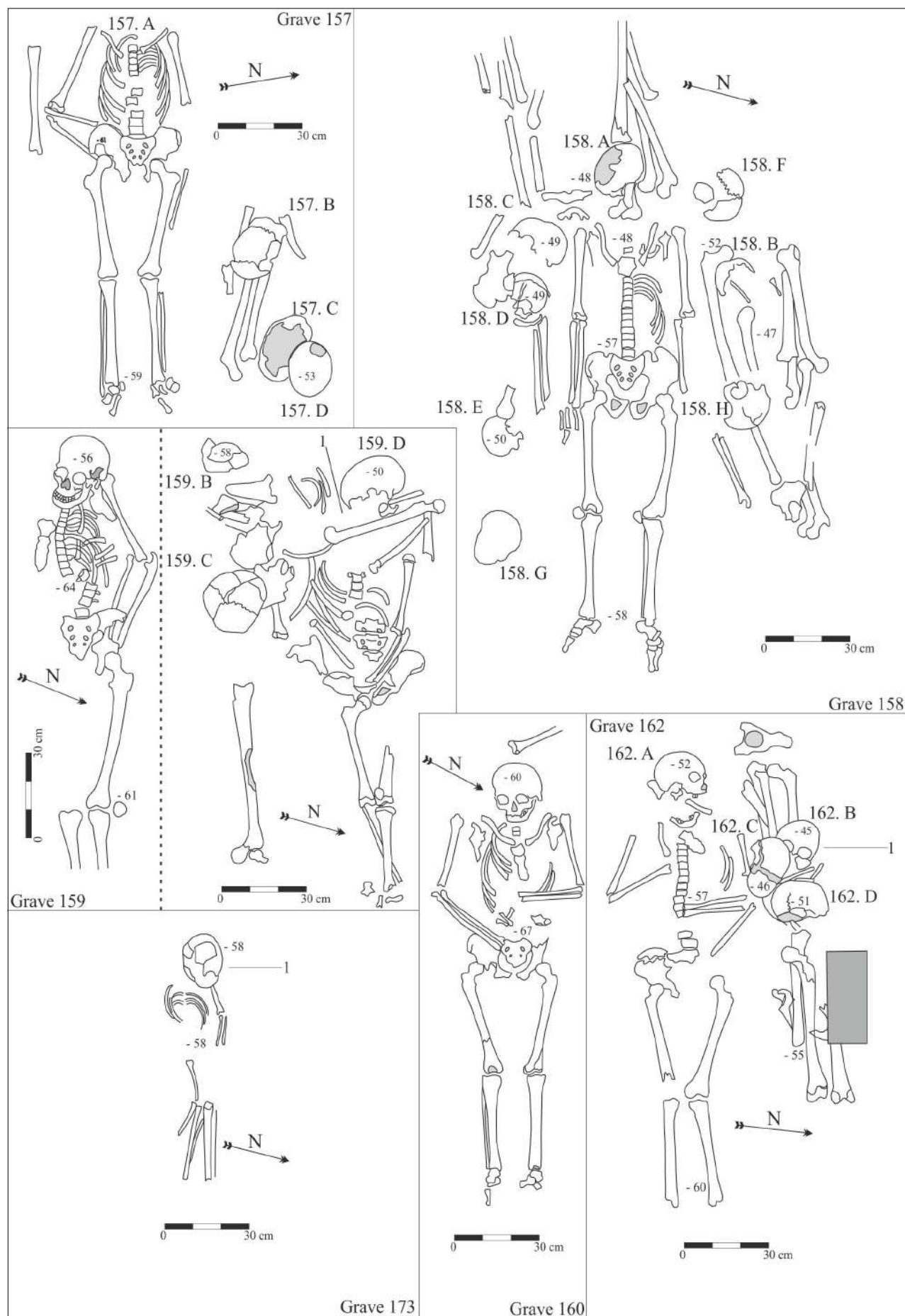


Plate 24. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Graves 157–160, Grave 162, Grave 173, Grave 191.  
(after Gáll 2011, 13, 14. táb.)

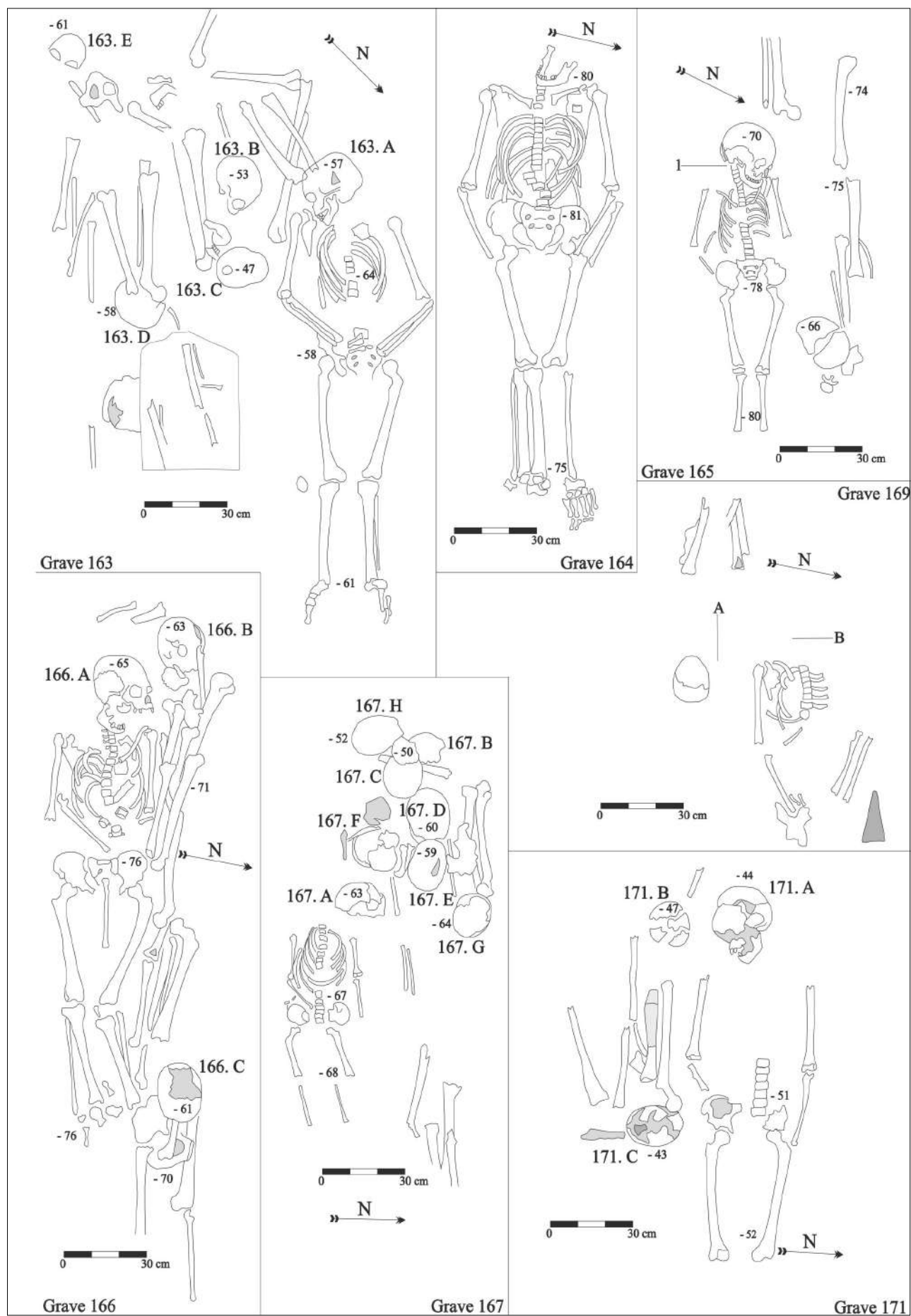


Plate 25. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Graves 163–167, Grave 171 (after Gáll 2011, 15. táb.)

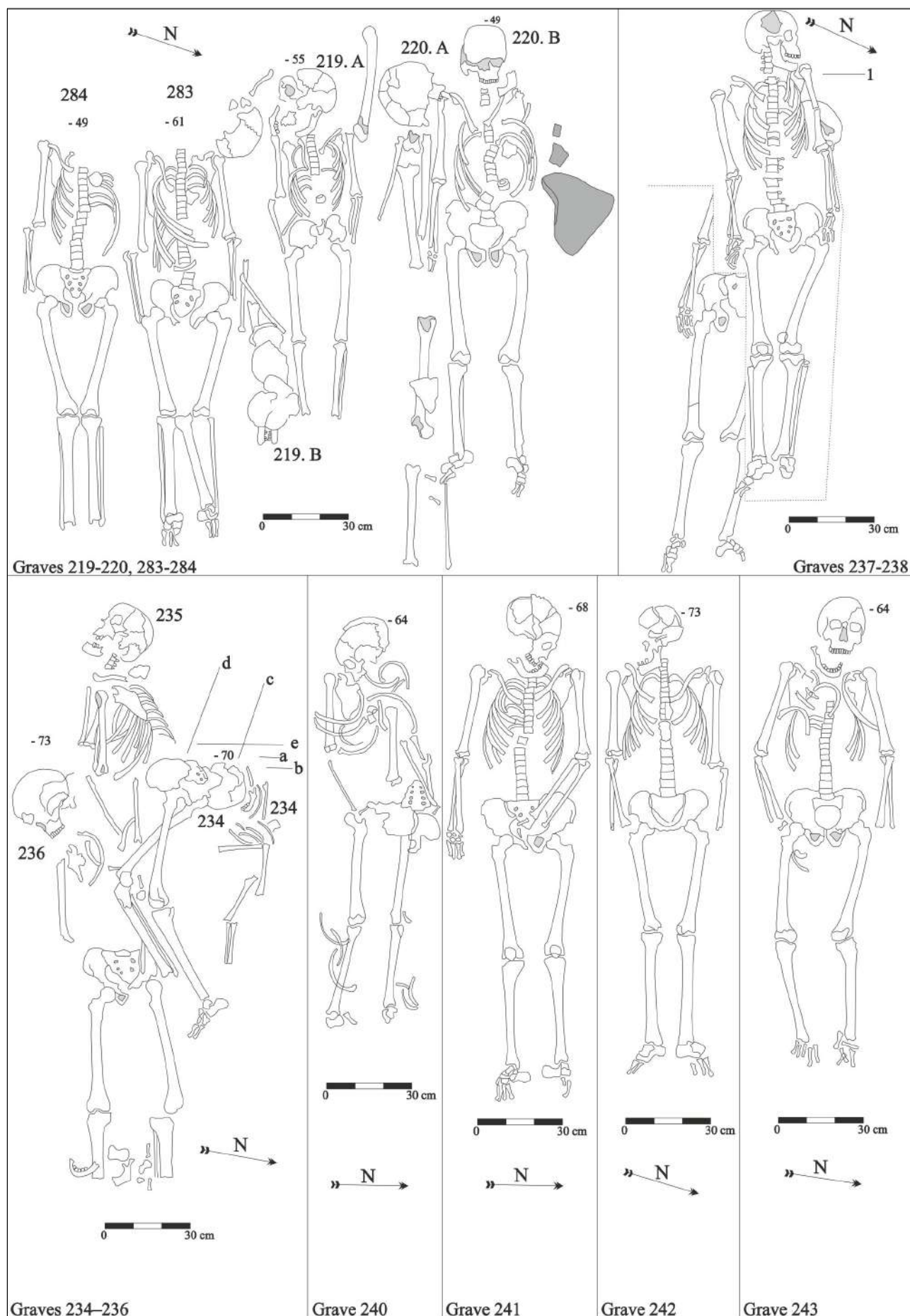


Plate 26. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Graves 219-222/283-284, Graves 234-238, Graves 240-243.  
(after Gáll 2011, 21. táb.)



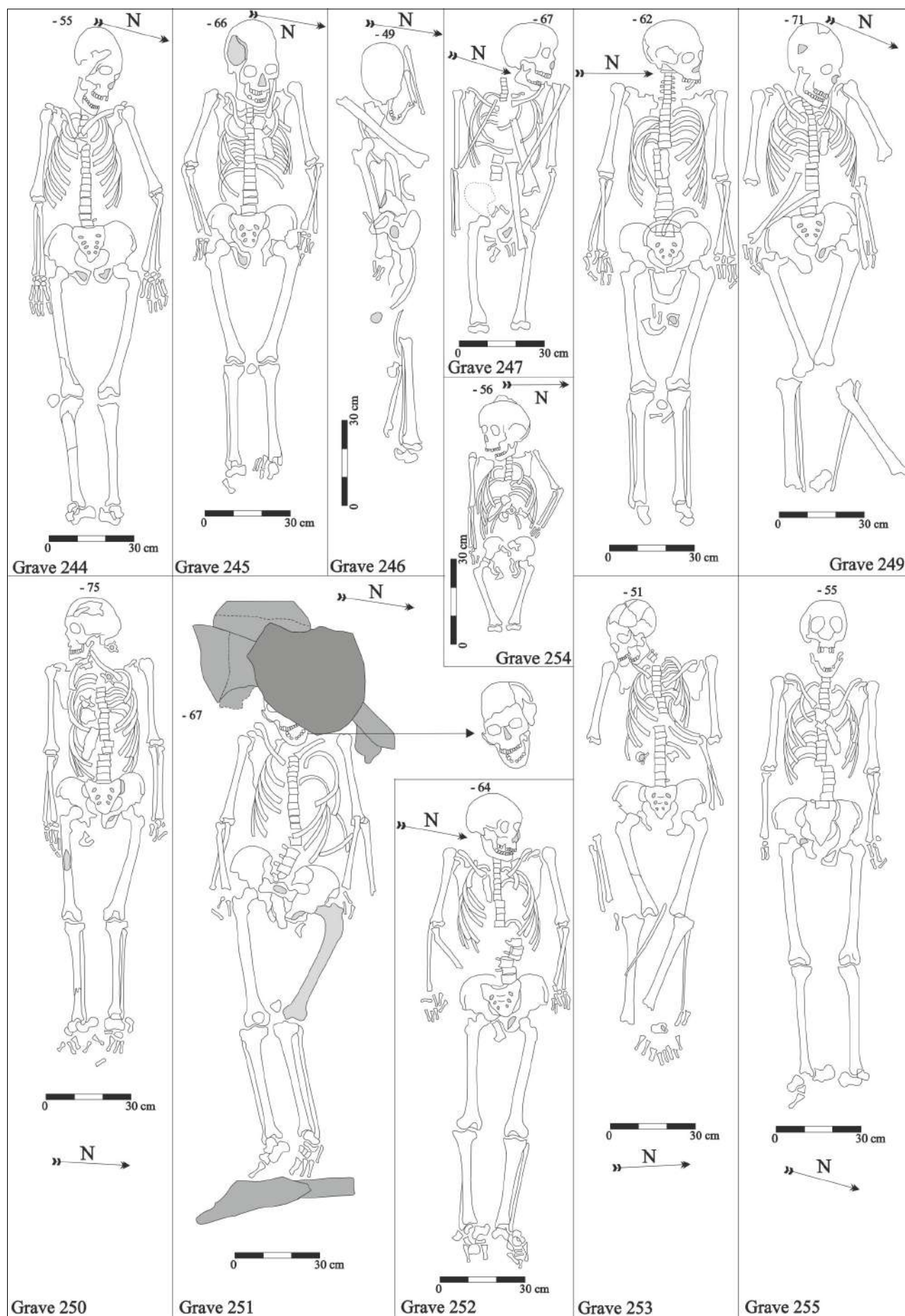


Plate 27. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Graves 244–255. (after Gáll 2011, 22. táb.)

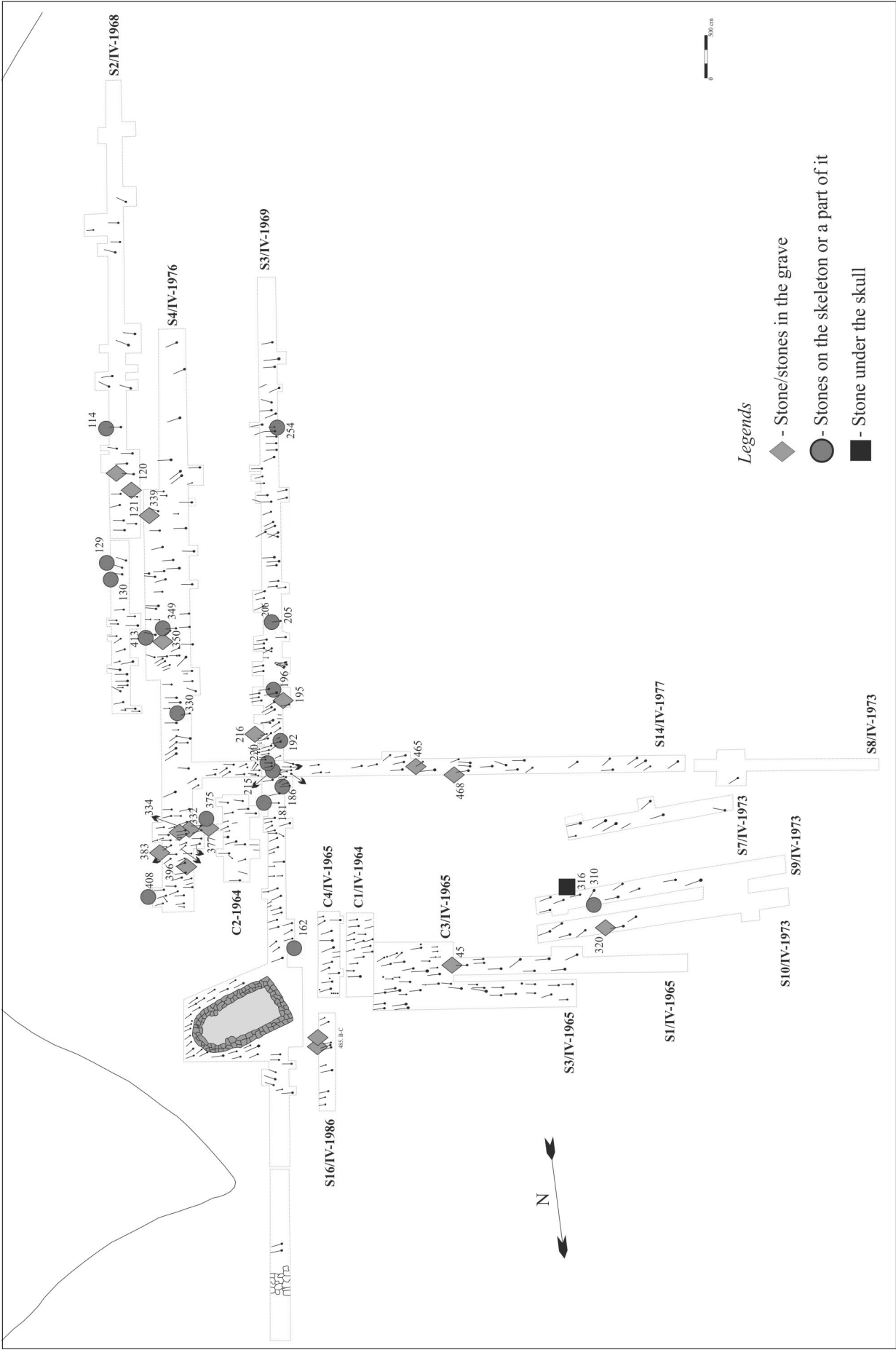
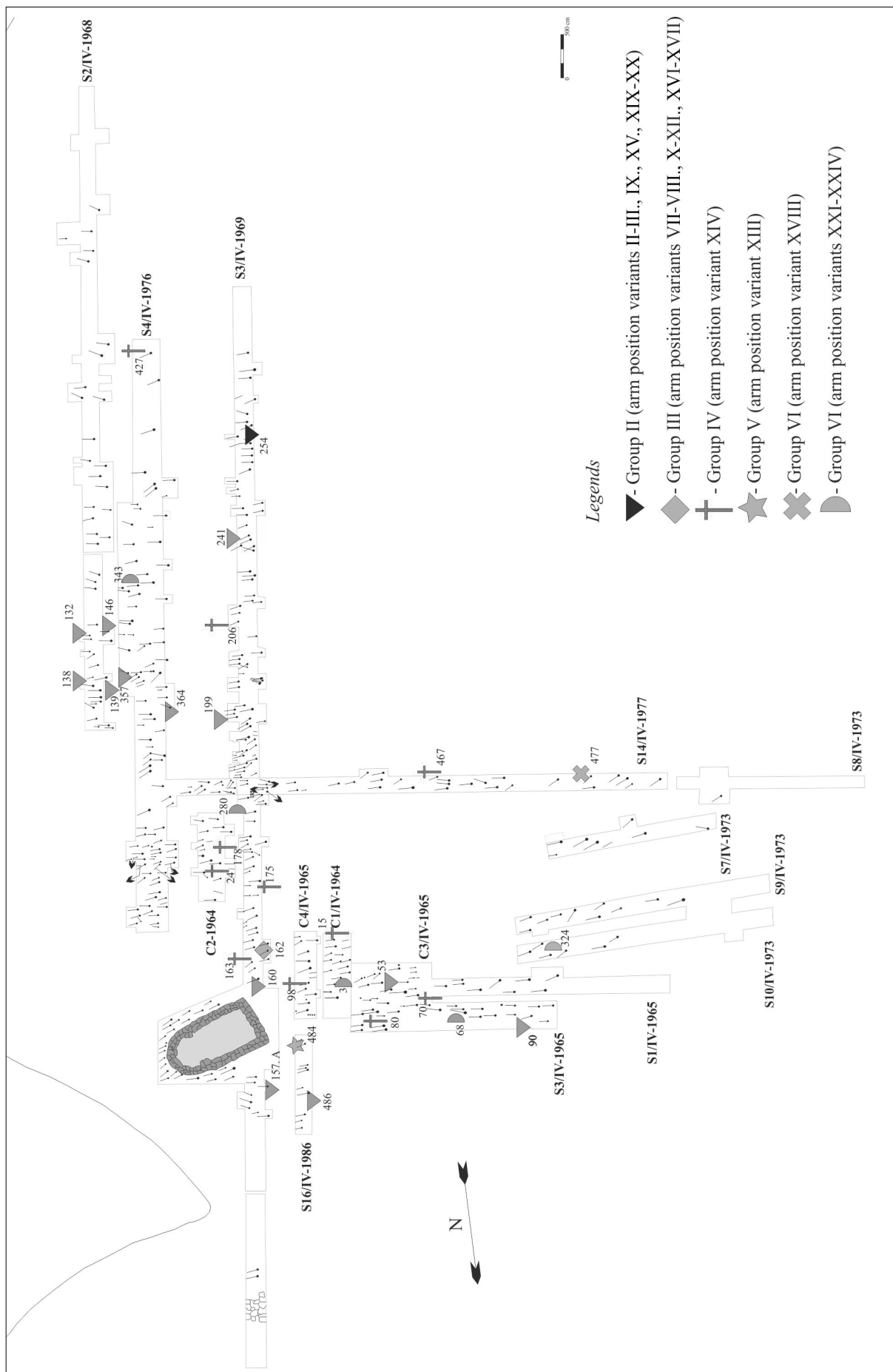


Plate 28. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Stones in the graves. (after Gáll 2011, 48. táb.)





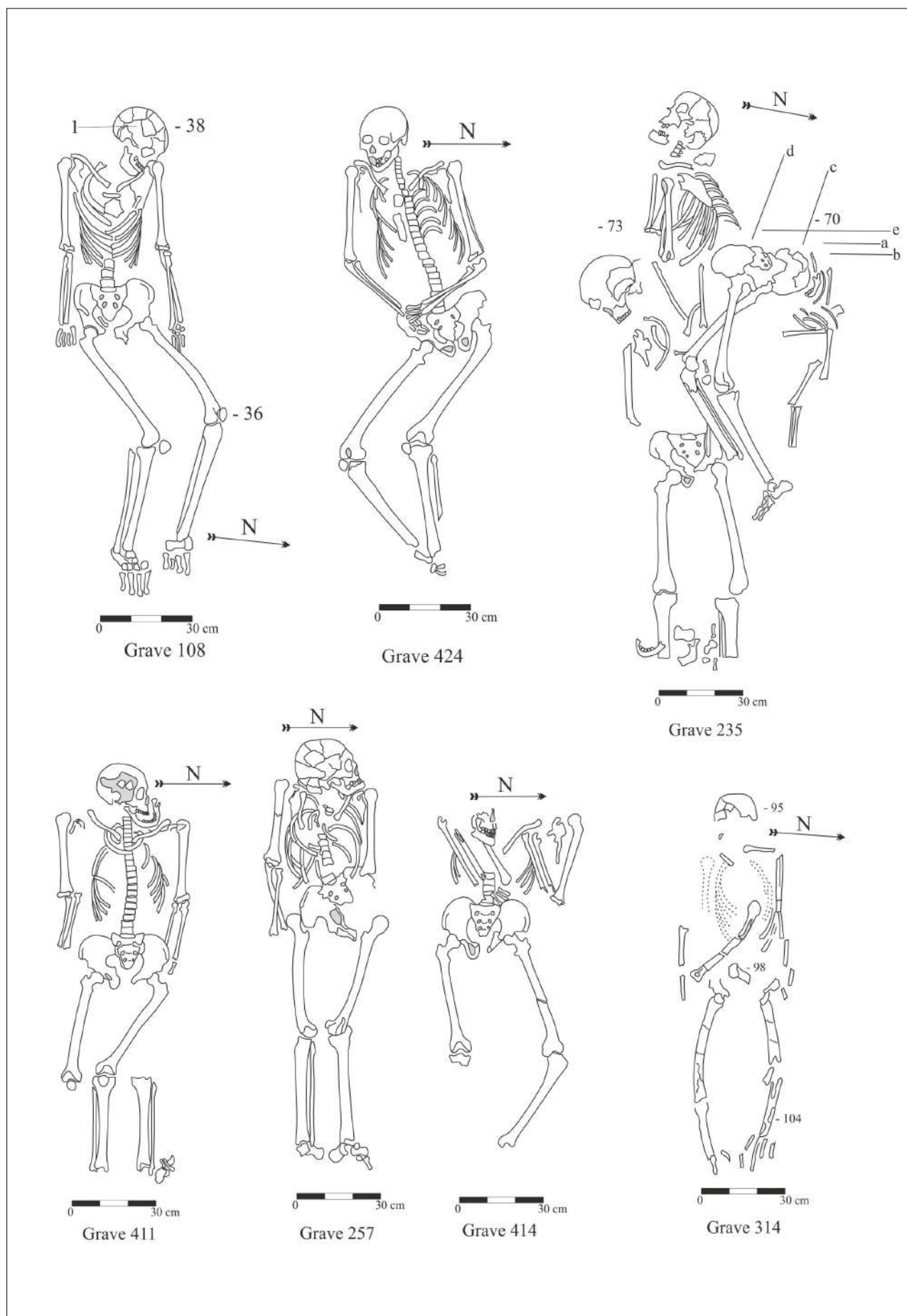
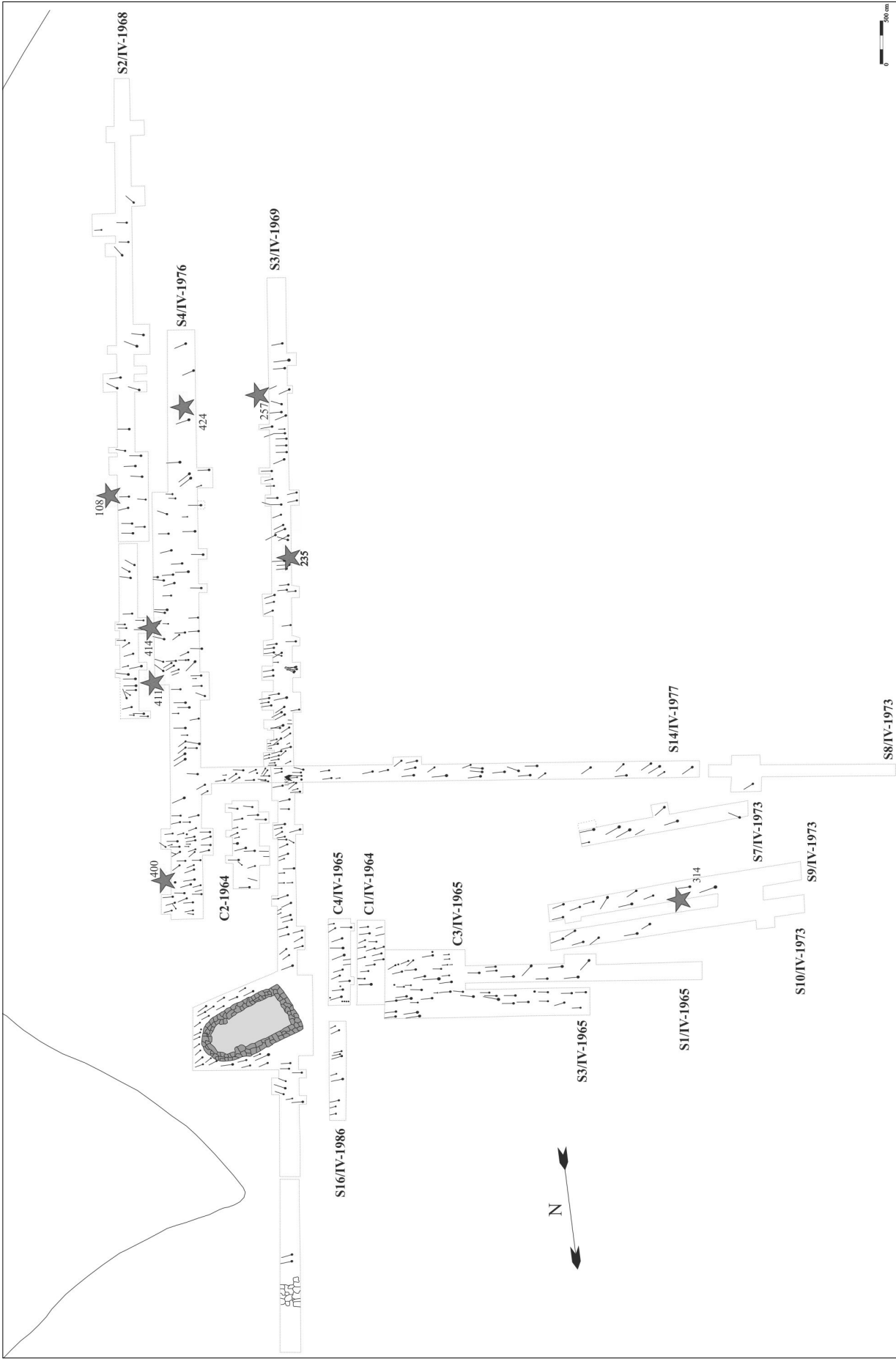


Plate 30. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: deviant burials. (after Gáll 2011, 50. táb.)

Plate 31. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Distribution of deviant burials within the cemetery (after Gáll 2011, 51. táb.)



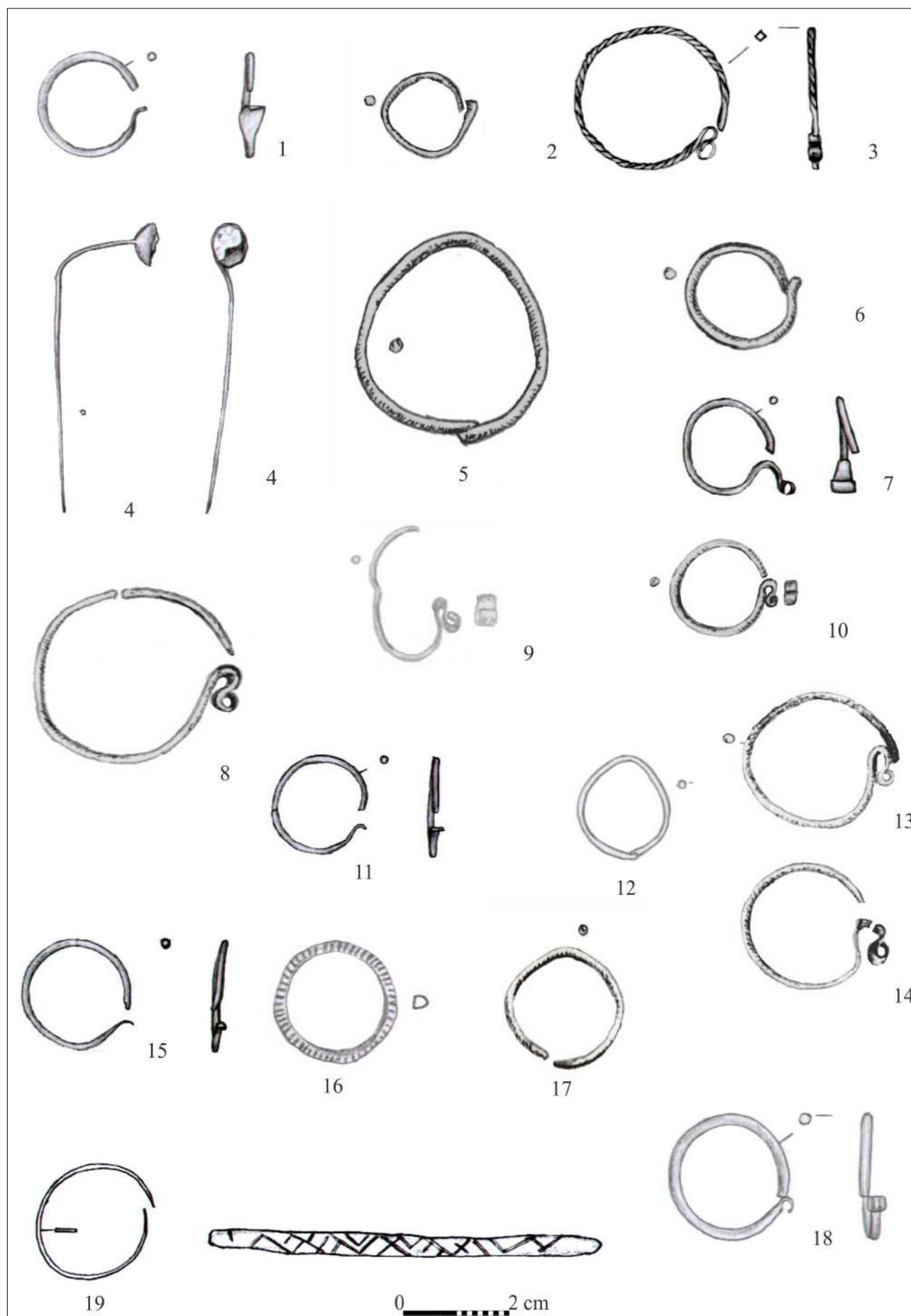


Plate 32. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 162/163: 1; Grave 169: 2–3; Grave 172: 4–7; Grave 176: 8; Grave 178: 9; Grave 181: 10; Grave 187: 11; Grave 188: 12–14; Grave 190. A: 15–16; Grave 192: 17; Grave 193: 18; Trenches SIII/X-isolated find: 19. (after Gáll 2011, 38–39. táb.)



Plate 33. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Grave 449: 1; Grave 74: 2; Grave 159: 3; Grave 162. A: 4; Grave 110: 5; stray find: 6-7; Grave 135: 8; Grave 37: 9; Grave 234: 10; Grave 146: 11; stray finds: 12-13. (after Gáll 2011, 42. táb.)

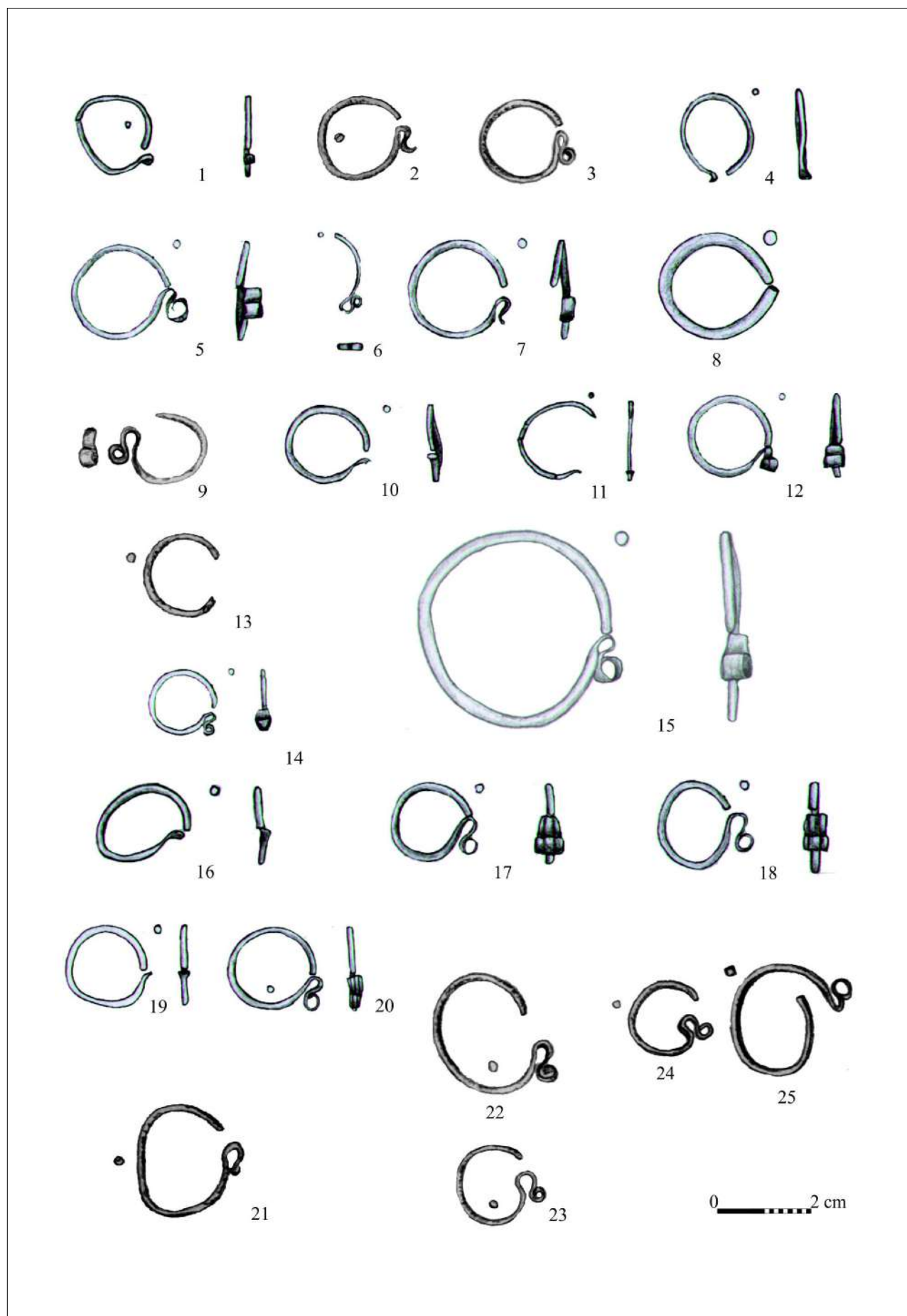


Plate 34. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 195: 1; Grave 197: 2; Grave 201: 3; Grave 202: 5–7; Grave 201/203: 4; Grave 203: 8; Grave 204: 9; Grave 205: 10–11; Grave 207: 12; Grave 208: 13; Grave 212: 14–15; Grave 217: 16–18; Grave 219: 19–20; Grave 230: 21; Grave 234: 22–25. (after Gáll 2011, 40. táb.)





Plate 35. Dăbâca-A. Tămaș's garden. A: plan of the trenches excavated in 1966-1967. Unpublished. Drawn by N. Laczkó. B: plan of the church and the graves beside it. Drawn by E. Gáll



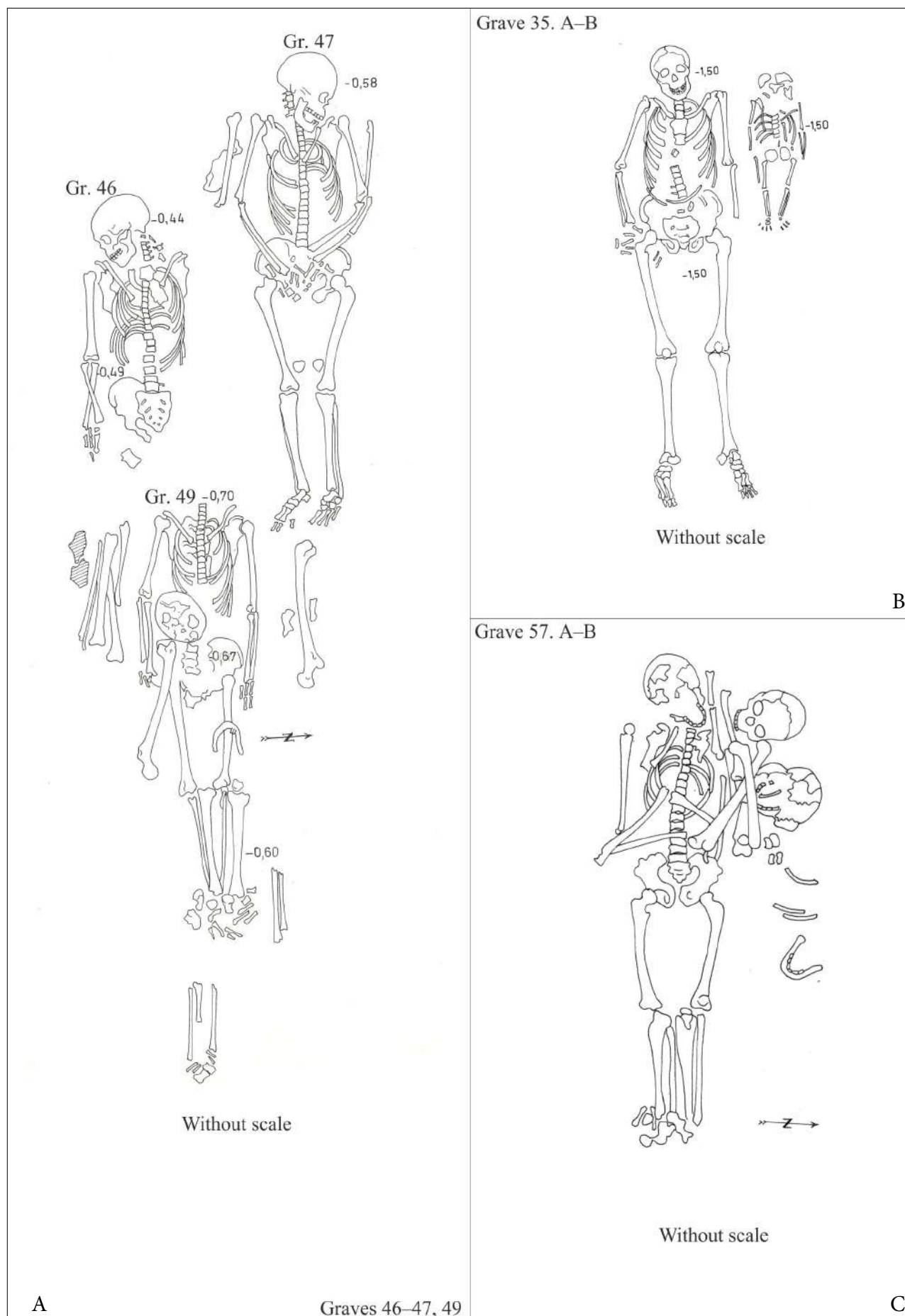


Plate 36. Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden. A: Graves 46–47, 49; B: Grave 35.A–B; C: Grave 57.A–B.  
 Drawn by E. Gáll.

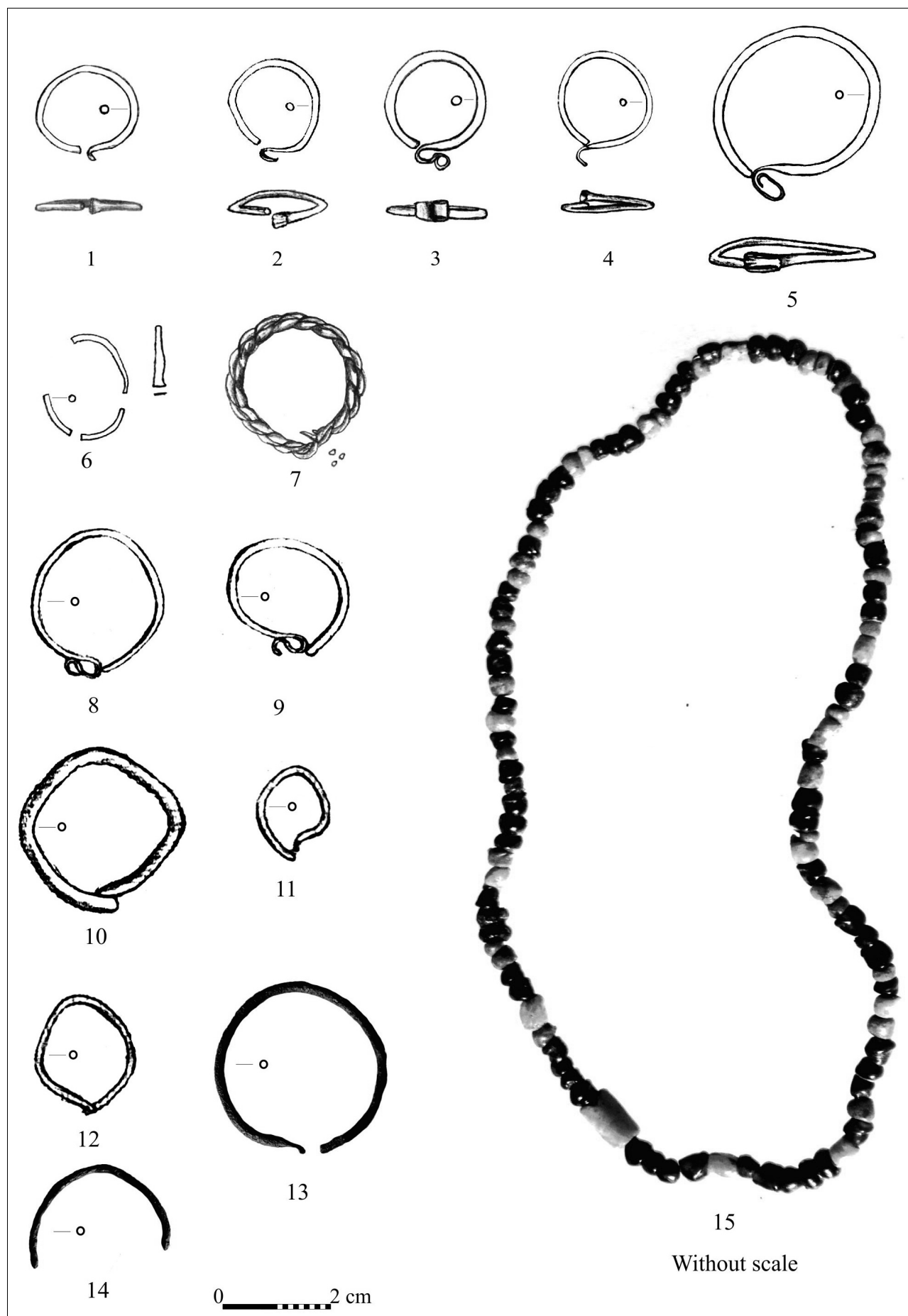


Plate 37. Dăbâca-A. *Tămaș's garden*. Grave 3: 1-2; Grave 34: 3; stray finds from the area of the cemetery: 4-7; Grave 7: 8-9, Grave 15: 10-11; Grave 16: 12; Dăbâca-Boldâgă/Boldogasszony: 13-14.  
 Drawn by E. Gáll and E. Apai.

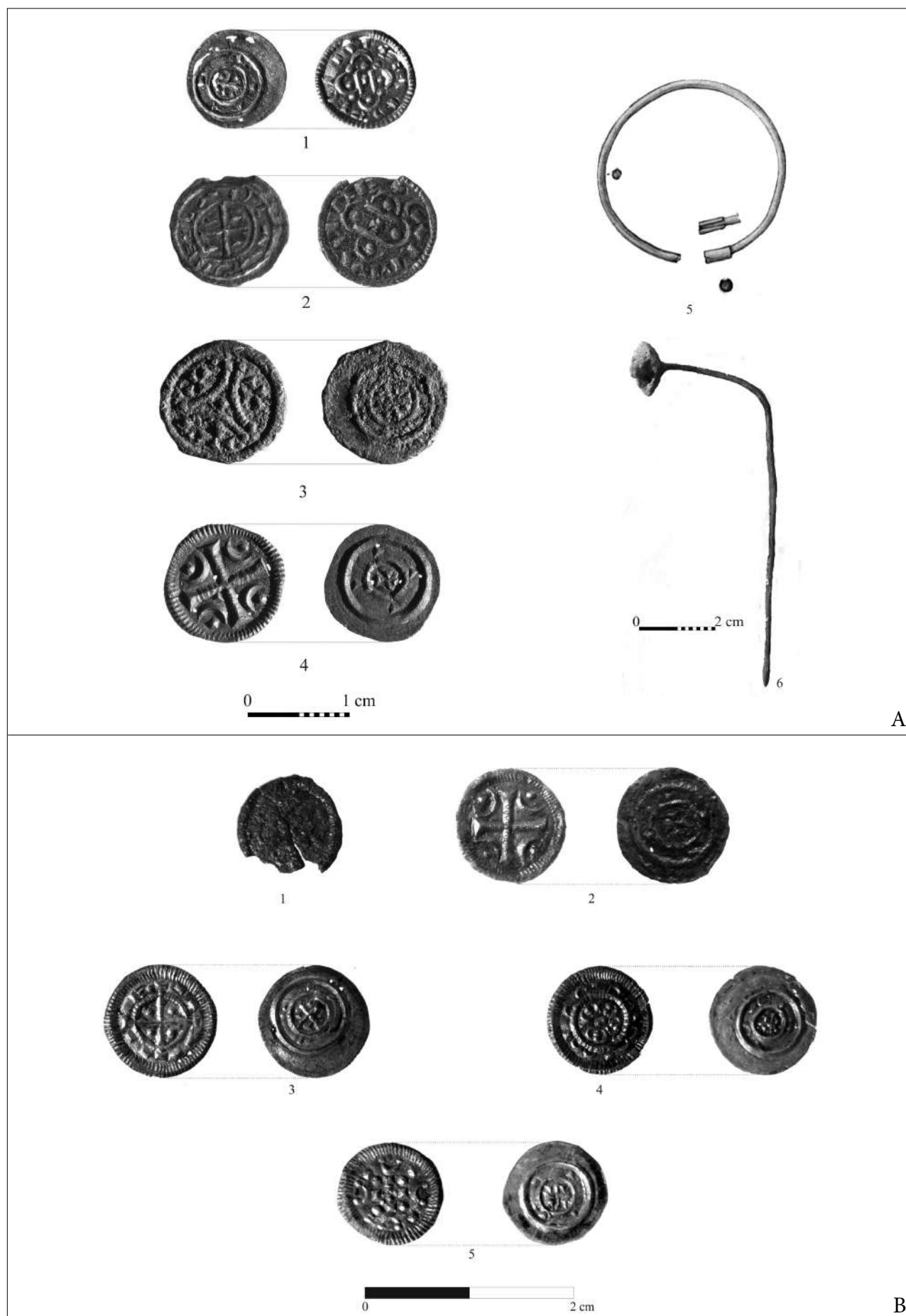


Plate 38. A: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 391: 1; Grave 79: 2; Grave 39: 3; Grave 145: 4; stray find: 5; Grave 172: 6. (after Gáll 2011, 45. táb.); B: Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden. Grave 2: 1; Grave 12.A: 2; Grave 15: 3; Grave 26.B: 4; Trench II, 9,20 meter, next to the grave 38: 5. Unpublished. Photo by S. Odenie.

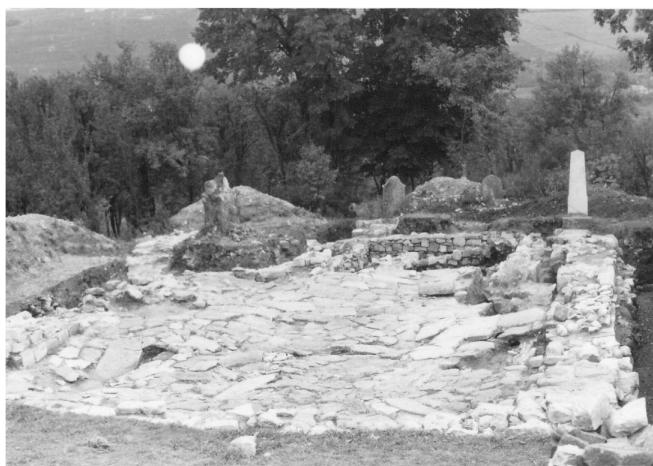


Plate 39. Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*/*Boldogasszony*: churches and the capital from the Church II.  
(after Gáll 2011, 66. táb.)

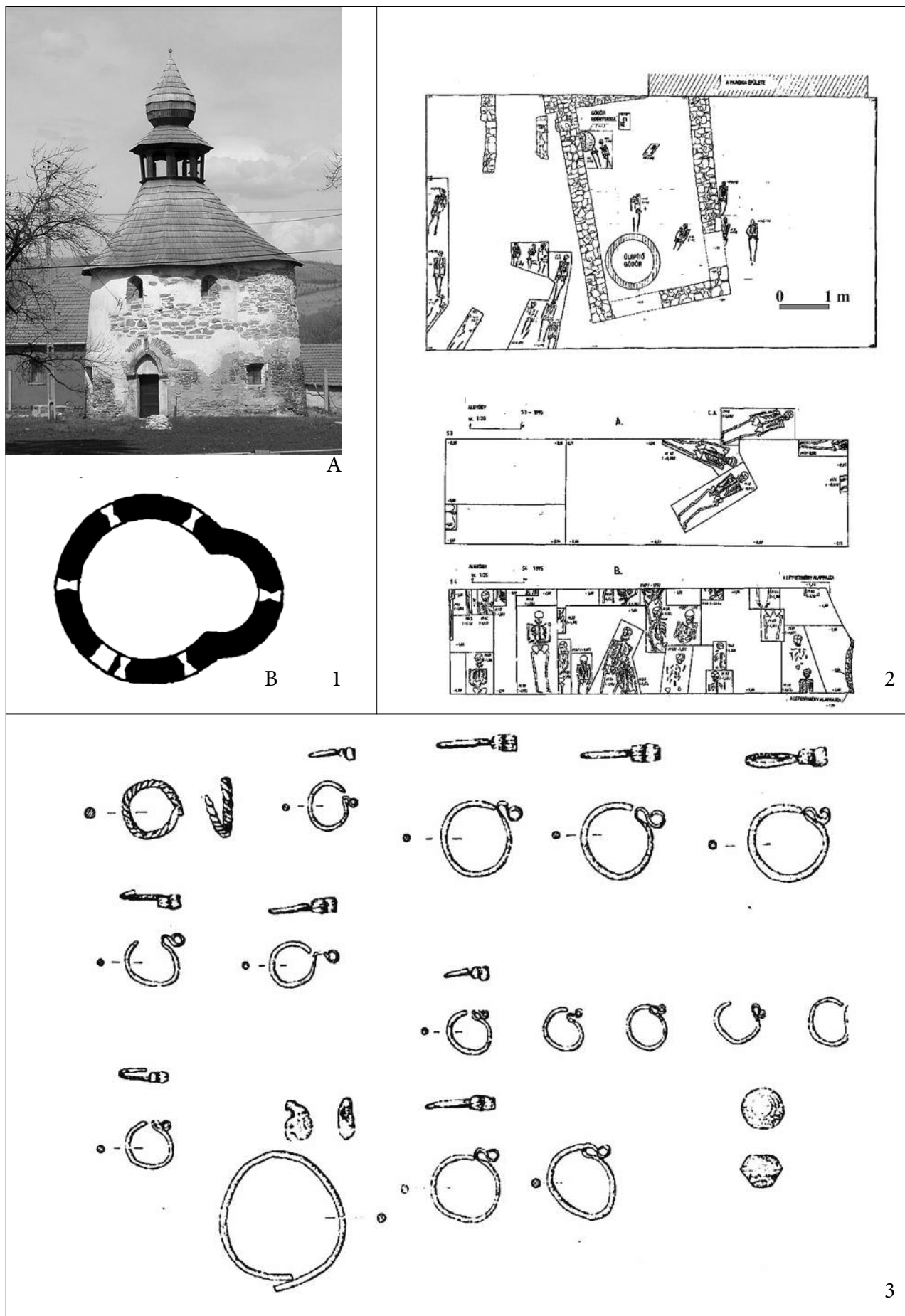


Plate 40. Geoagiu de Jos. 1. A: Church. Photo by E. Apai. B: Plan of the church (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 2); 2: Excavation plans (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 1-3); 3. Grave goods (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 4)





1



2

Plate 41. Gilău–George I Rákóczi's Castle. 1: Archaeological site; 2: Graves 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 (after Isac et al. 2012a, Fig. 1-2, Pl. 1-2; Isac et al. 2012b, Fig. 1-2)

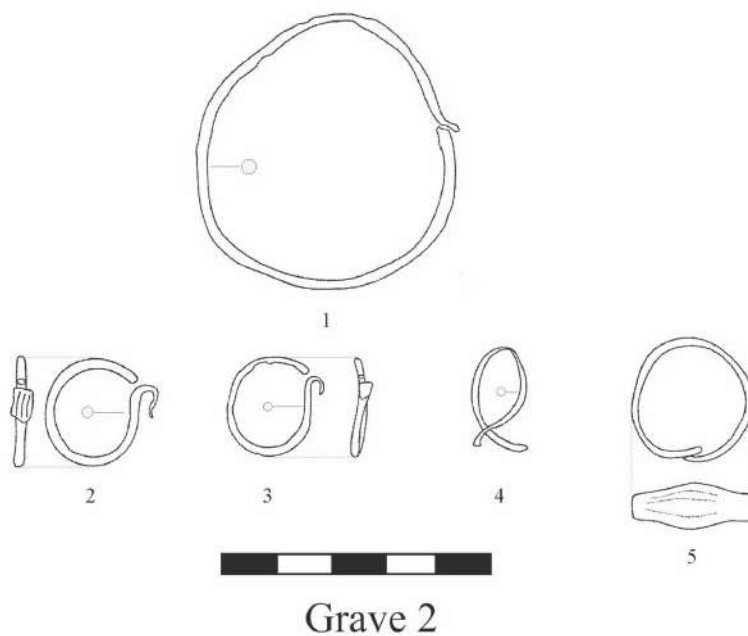


Plate 42. Gilău–George I Rákóczi's Castle. Grave 2: 1-5; Grave 5: 1-4 (after Isac et al. 2012a, Pl. 1-2)



Plate 43. Feldioara–Lutheran Church: map of the cemetery and mummy shaped graves. Re-drawn by E. Gáll, after Ioniță et al. 2004, Pl. 1.



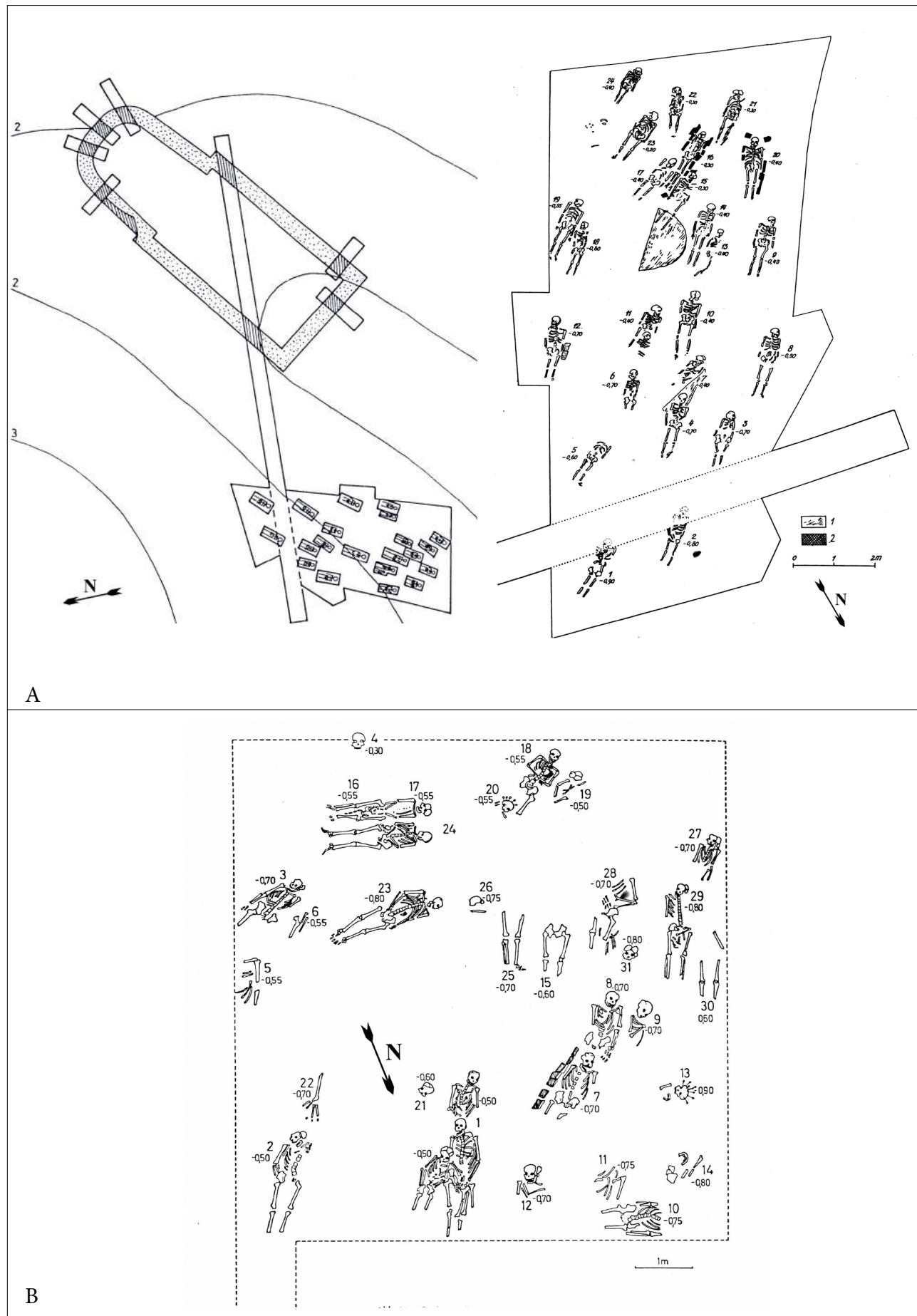


Plate 44. Morești-Cițfalău. A: plan of the church and the cemetery excavated in 1952;  
 B: plan of the cemetery excavated in 1954 ('Grabungsfläche' 1954/B).  
 (after Horedt 1984, Abb. 30-32)

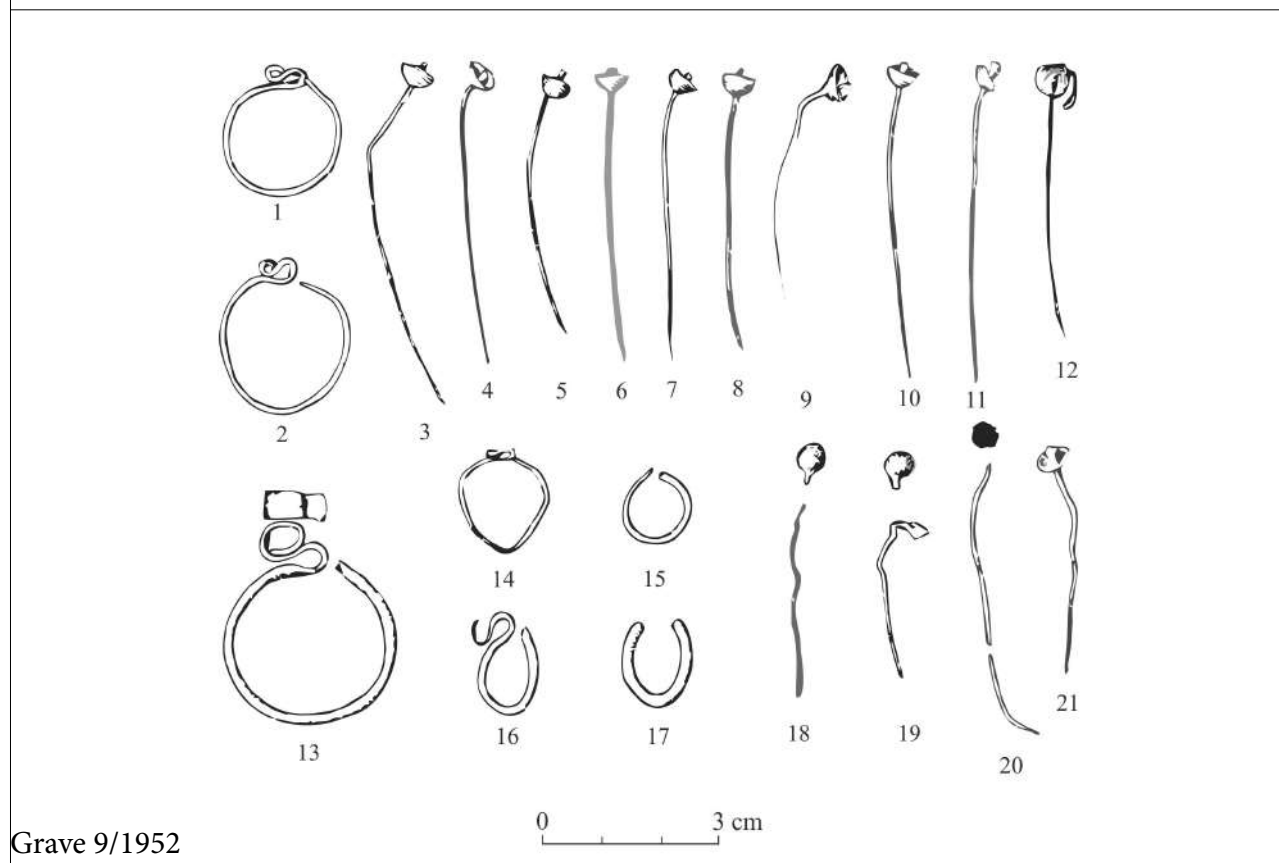
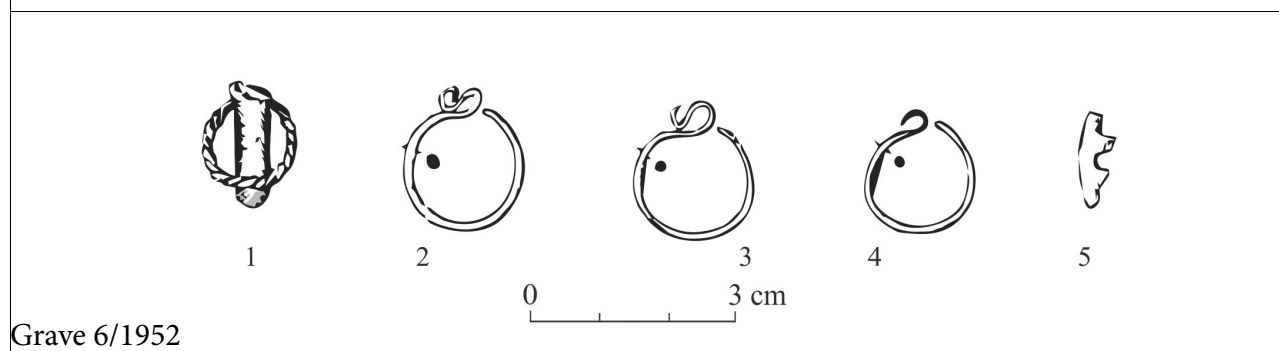
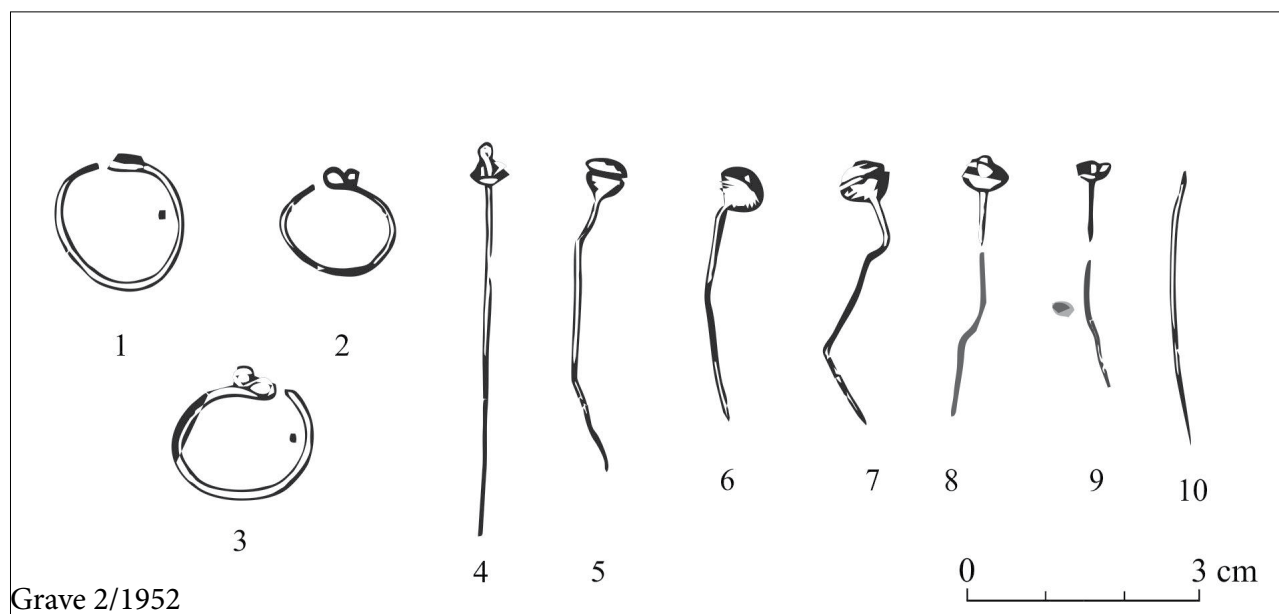


Plate 45. Morești-Cițfalău: Grave 2/1952: 1–10; Grave 6/1952: 1–5; Grave 9/1952: 1–21.  
(after Horedt 1984, Abb. 33.)

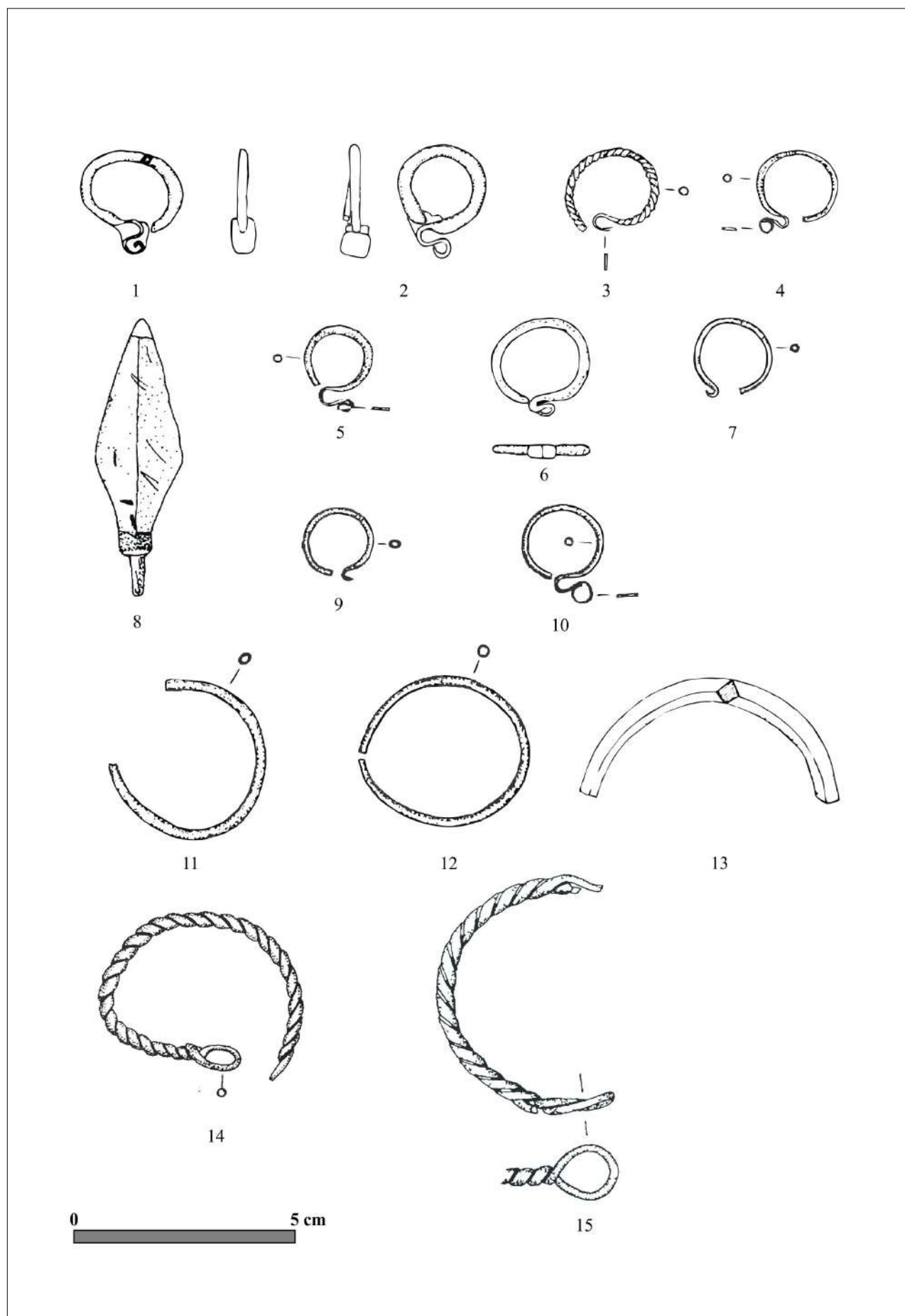
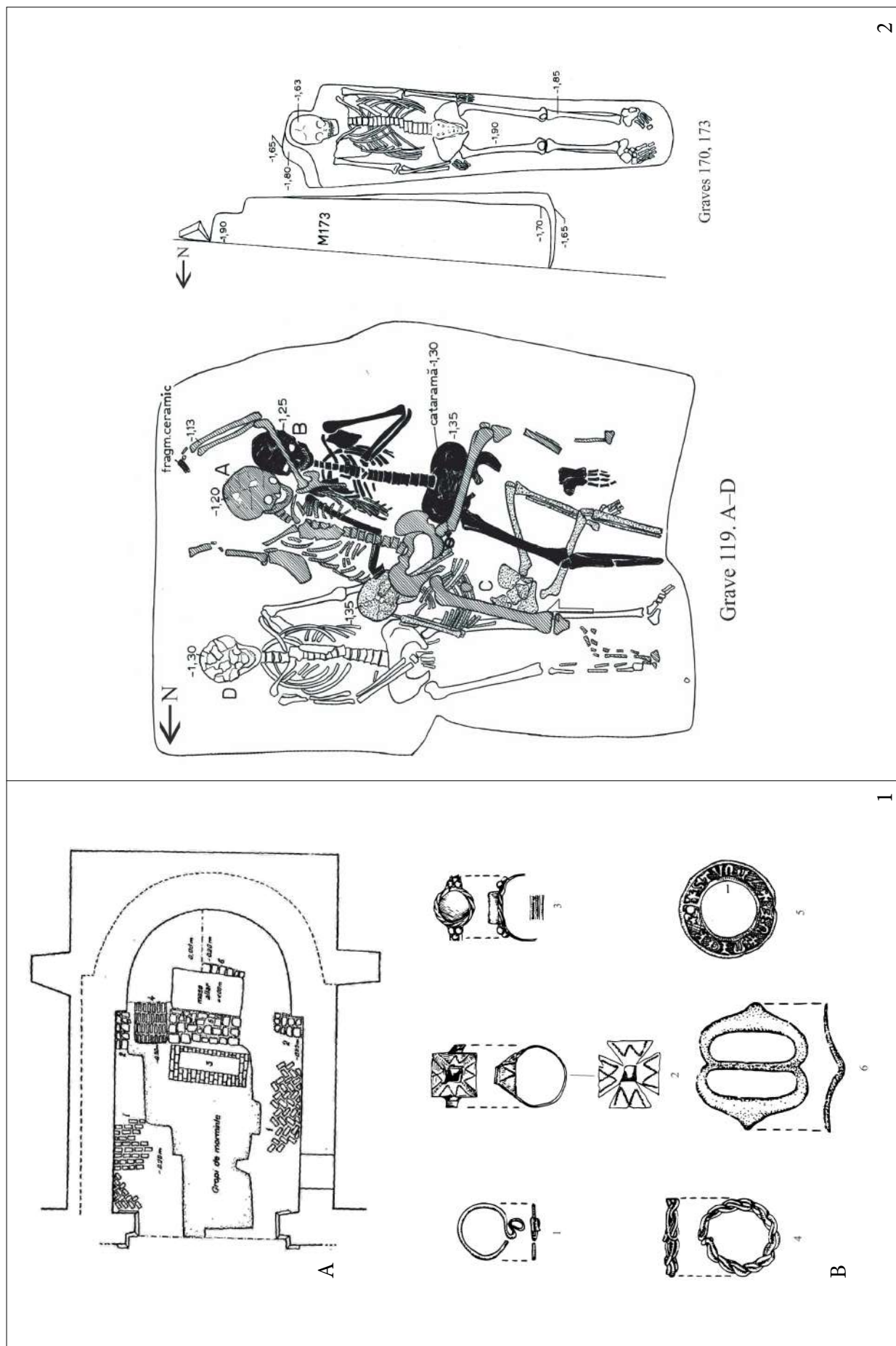
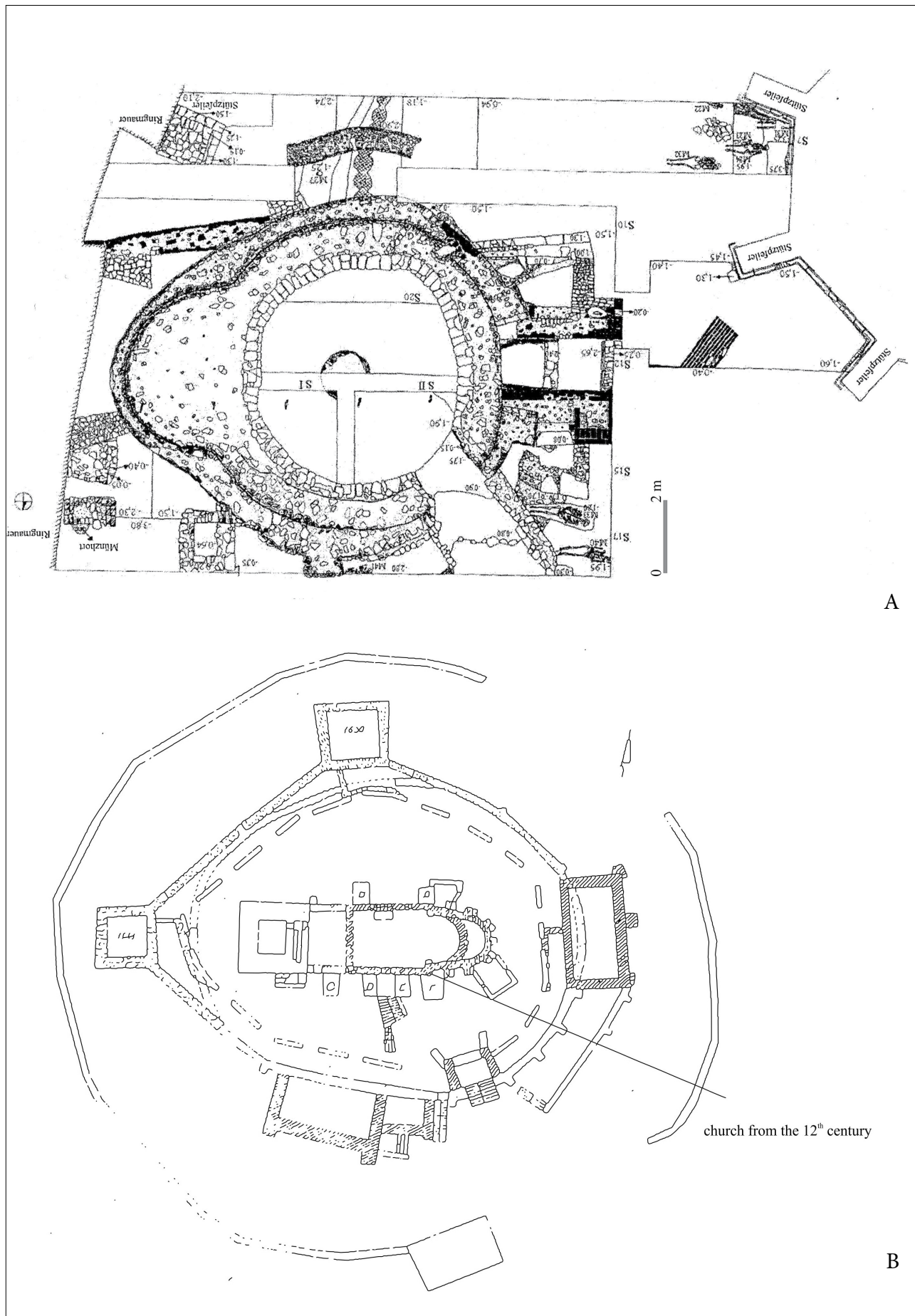


Plate 46. Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral. Grave goods from tombs excavated in 2000/2001: Grave 9: 14–15; Grave 14: 3; Grave 15: 7, 9; Grave 20: 5; Grave 26: 11–12; Grave 28: 10; Grave 49: 6; Grave 69: 2; Grave 72: 1; Grave 78: 13; stray finds: 4, 8. (after Marcu-Istrate 2008, Pl. 185–186)

Plate 47. 1. Drăușeni: A. Church; B. Grave good from tombs: Grave 11: 1; Grave 3: 2; Grave 5: 4; Grave 15: 5; Stray find: 6 (after Dumitrache 1979, Fig. 9); 2. Sighisoara-Dealul Viilor. Graves 119, 170 and 173. Unpublished.









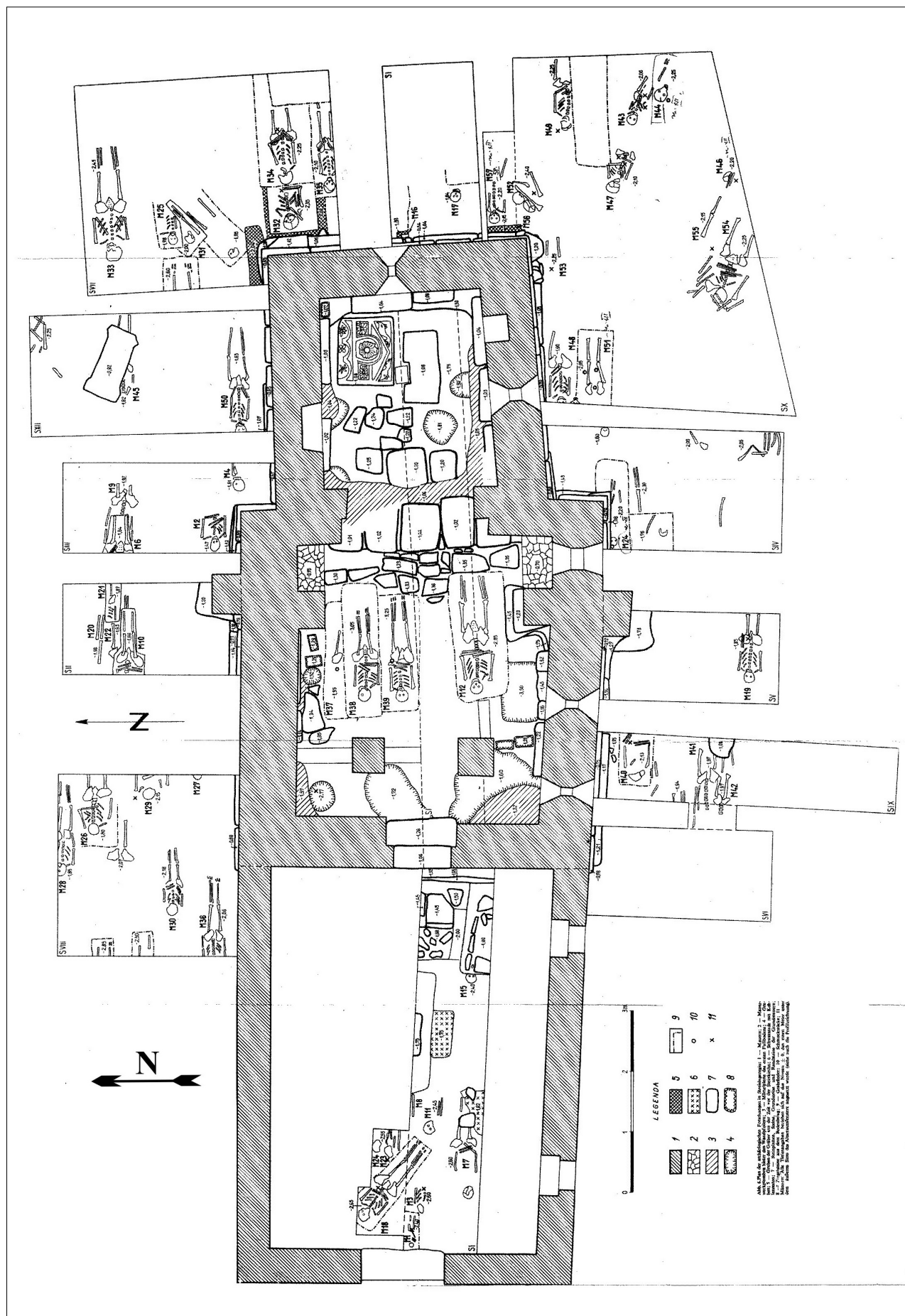


Plate 49. Streisâng Georgiu: ground plan of the church and the excavation plan (after Popa 1976)

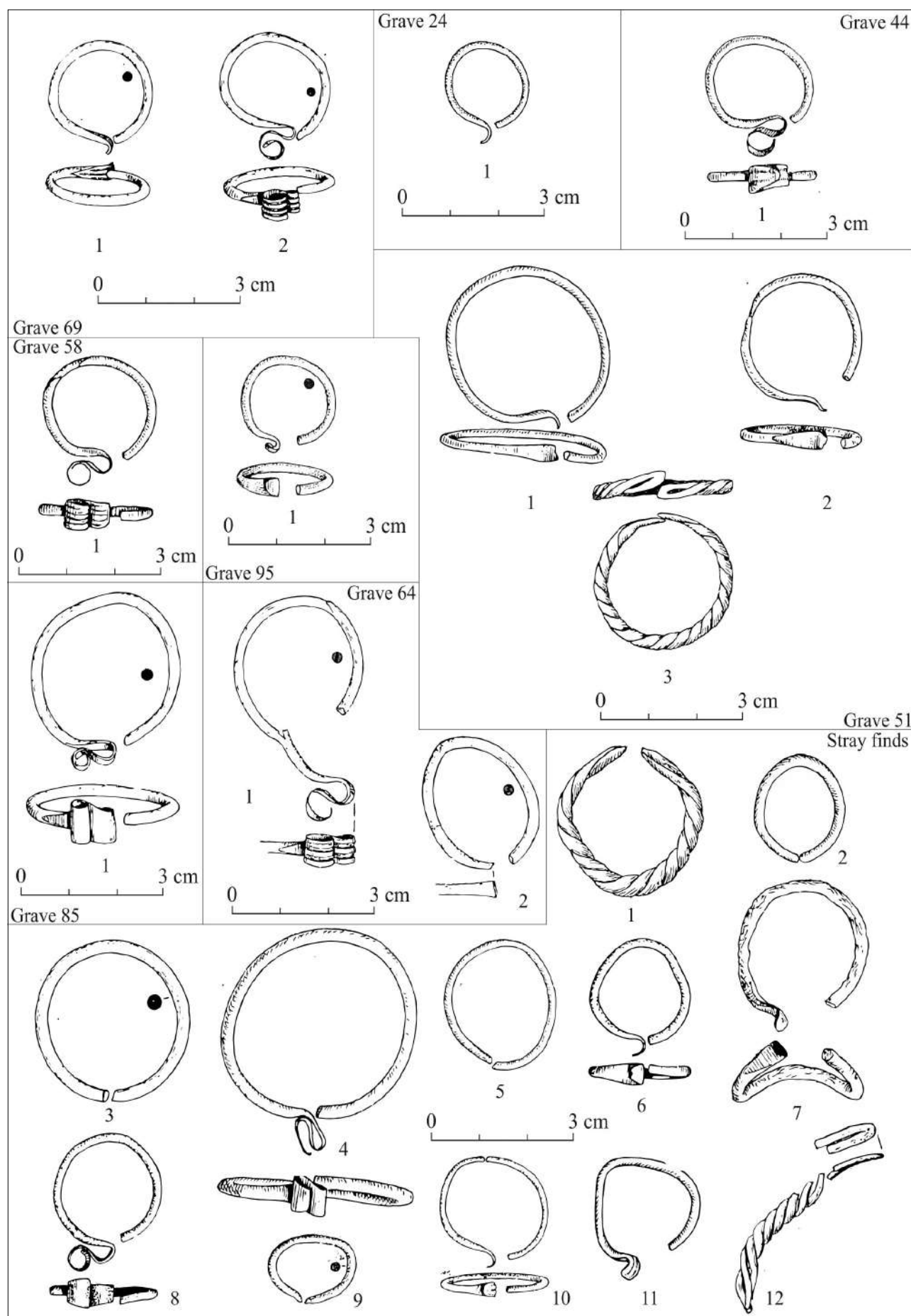


Plate 50. Streisângeorgiu: Grave 24: 1; Grave 44: 1; Grave 58: 1; Grave 64: 1; Grave 69: 1-2; Grave 85: 1; Grave 95: 1; stray finds: 1-12. (after Popa 1976, 37-64)



## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AB	Archaeologia Baltica, Klaipėda
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaEa	Acta Eurasistica, Wrocław
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaSic	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AHG	Annals of Human Genetics, New York
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
AnB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
AncCivScytSib	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
AnnMedCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchAustr	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapest
ARozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
ArhKiev	Archeologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut archeologii, Kyjiv
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală, Cluj-Napoca
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, București
ArhSof	Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija
ARegia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
ArsHung	Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
AT	Antik tanulmányok. Studia antiqua, Budapest
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BAVA	Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, München
BayVgBl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
BerBayDenkmPfl	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, Bonn
BerDenkmPflNs	Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen, Hameln
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Berlin
BiMÉ	A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalu
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest

CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercArh	Cercetări arheologice, București
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Berlin–Mainz
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucarest
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Dolg	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
EJA	Estonian Journal of Archaeology, Tallinn
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve, Eger
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Kolozsvár
FI	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
GCBi	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo
Gymnasium	Gymnasium Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung, Heidelberg
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest
IPH	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
IstorZapiski	Istoricheskiye Zapiski, Novorossiysk
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvSamara	Izvestiya Samarskogo Nauchnogo Centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Samara
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, New York
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
KM	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
Korall	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat, Budapest
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR, Moskva
MAK	Materialy po arheologii Kavkaza, Moskva
MAR	Materialy po arheologii Rossii, Sankt Petersburg
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, München–Zürich
Marisia	Marisia (V-). Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
MatCercArh	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MatWczesnośred	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne, Wrocław
MemAnt	Memoria antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFMÉ – StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MH	Műveltség és Hagyomány, Debrecen
MHVK	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz, Aarau
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR, Moskva

MNMAK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattárának Közleményei, Budapest
MünchBeitrVFG	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Wien
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
OH	Opuscula Hungarica, Budapest
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Archaeological Review), Poznań–Wrocław
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart
RE	Realencyclopädie: Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes, Bucarest
RevBist	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
RossArh	Rossijskaja Arheologija, Moskva
RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Bucarest
SAI	Svod arheologičeskikh istočnikov, Moskva
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
Savaria	Savaria, Szombathely
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
SF	Südostforschungen, München
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
SlovNum	Slovenská Numizmatika, Bratislava
SMMK	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
SovArh	Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskva
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
SpNov	Specimina nova. Dissertationem ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SSz	Soproni Szemle, Sopron
StAntArch	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd, Beograd
Stratum	Stratum plus. Archaeology&Anthropology, Chișinău
StTH	Studia Turco-Hungarica, Budapest
Światowit	Światowit. Annual of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of
Warsaw, Warsaw	
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica, București
UAV	Ufimskij Arheologičeskij Vestnik, Ufa
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
VAU	Voprosy Arheologii Urala, Sverdlovsk
Vestnik MGOU	Vestnik Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Oblastnoj Universitet. Istoriâ I Političeskie Nauki = Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. History and political science, Moscow
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VjesDal	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
VMS	Viking and Medieval Scandinavia, Turnhout
VTT	Veszprémi Történelmi Társaság, Veszprém
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény, Zalaegerszeg
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn