



In memoriam dr. István Bajusz (1954–2021)

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CONTENTS

Sándor BERECKI An Anthropomorphic Figurine Belonging to the Coțofeni Culture from Sângeorgiu de Mureș	7
Tibor-Tamás DARÓCZI Crescent Rising, Semi-Circular-Shaped Pendants from Bronze Age Funerary Contexts of the Eastern Carpathian Basin	15
József PUSKÁS – Lóránt DARVAS Late Bronze Age Pottery Deposits from the Site of Sâncrăieni / Csíkszentkirály– <i>Kőoldal</i> (Harghita County, Romania)	51
Aurora PEȚAN Grădiștea de Munte–Sub Cununi (Hunedoara County). The File of a Forgotten Archaeological Site	79
Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL – Mátyás BAJUSZ Searching for the North-Eastern Angle Tower of the Auxiliary Fort of Călugăreni / Mikháza	99
Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL – Katalin SIDÓ – Orsolya SZILÁGYI The Excavations at the North-Eastern Angle Tower of the Auxiliary Fort of Călugăreni / Mikháza	111
László SZEKERNYÉS – Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL Roman Rotary Querns from Călugăreni / Mikháza	143
Dorottya NYULAS When a Long-Lost Inscription (CIL III, 944) Suddenly Grows. About a Manuscript Regarding Roman Discoveries from Călugăreni / Mikháza	165
Beáta BARBOCZ Germanic Stamped Pottery Vessels from Early Avar Age Cemeteries in Transylvania	191
Mária-Márta KOVÁCS A Tentative Reconstruction of Two Dispersed Sets of 17 th Century Beakers	203
Miklós SZÉKELY Attila deasupra orașului. Programul iconografic al grupului statuar realizat de József Róna pe fațada Muzeului Industrial Secuiesc	211
ABBREVIATIONS	231

A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF TWO DISPERSED SETS OF 17TH CENTURY BEAKERS

Mária-Márta KOVÁCS*

The Mureş County Museum's collection holds two stacking beakers, one of them was part of chancellor Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen's (1642–1716) collection, the other belonged to Sára Göcs (–1700), burgher of Cluj. One of the most frequent pieces of 17th century goldsmith's and representation was the stacking beaker. This was always part of a larger set of six, twelve or twenty-four pieces. Our study attempts to reconstruct two series. It describes through the surviving items of the scattered sets, the circumstances of their production and their history, thus providing an insight into the material culture of the 17th century Transylvanian nobility and bourgeoisie.

Keywords: goldsmith collections, stacking beakers, Miklós Bethlen, Sára Göcs, coat of arms, Renaissance, Baroque

Cuvinte cheie: colecții de argintărie, pahare îmbinate, Miklós Bethlen, Sára Göcs, blazon heraldic, renaștere, baroc

Nobiliary and bourgeois goldsmith collections of the early modern age are mostly known from archival sources and inventories. One of the most frequent pieces of 17th century representation was the stacking beaker. This was always part of a larger set of six, twelve or twenty-four pieces. Such cups were owned by high and middle aristocracy and town bourgeoisie alike. Along the centuries these sets were dispersed and items identified with great effort in collections of different museums, churches or private persons offer the possibility of reconstructing these sets and getting acquainted with their history. Archival research reveals the age-long history of such a piece, one can uncover the frequency and the ways these items exchanged their owner and the fate other pieces of the same set shared.

The Mureş County Museum's collection holds two stacking beakers, one of them was part of chancellor Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen's (1642–1716)¹ collection (Fig. 1), the other belonged to Sára Göcs (–1700),² burgher of Cluj (Fig. 2). Both procurers are well known figures in the history of Transylvania and Cluj.

Miklós Bethlen³ held important offices in Transylvanian political life. Starting from 1667 he was captain-general of Odorhei seat and Chioar, lord-lieutenant (comes) of Maramureş county, member of the princely council from 1689, and chancellor of Transylvania between 1691–1704. His activity and worldview was greatly influenced at first by his Transylvanian schoolmasters, Pál Keresztúri in Alba Iulia and János Apáczai Csere in Cluj, later by his study

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¹ Accession number of the Bethlen-cup: 4469. Height: 16,1 cm, sole diameter: 10,6 cm, rim diameter: 13,1 cm.

² Accession number of the Göcs-cup: 30001. Height: 14,5 cm, sole diameter: 8 cm, rim diameter: 11 cm.

³ Miklós Bethlen of Bethlen was the son of János (1613–1678), chancellor of Transylvania and Borbála Váradi, daughter of Miklós Váradi, tradesman in Cluj. LUKINICH 1927, 461; BERNÁD 1970, 23.



Fig. 1. Miklós Bethlen's stacking beaker.



Fig. 2. Sára Göcs's stacking beaker.

tour in Western Europe. During 1661–1664 he studied philosophy, theology, ancient history, as well as civil and military architecture at German and Dutch universities.⁴ After returning home, he engaged in Transylvanian political life, and attracted prince Apafi's attention on the occasion of the 1669 Diet. Miklós Bethlen was assigned an important role in imperial diplomacy in the 1680's and played a major part in drawing up *Diploma Leopoldinum*, a document that settled Transylvania's status within the Habsburg Empire.⁵ He obtained in 1696 the title of count for his family. He spent the last years of his life in prison, later in exile in Vienna, where he wrote his major work, his *Autobiography*.⁶ The castle in Sânmiclăuș that he designed and had built (1668–1683) is a remarkable monument of late renaissance Transylvanian architecture.⁷

In 1668 Miklós Bethlen married Ilona Kun of Osdola (1653–1685),⁸ and following her death in December 1685 he wed Júlia Rhédei of Kistréde (1669–1716)⁹ in February 1686.

It was with his second wife that he had the set of beakers made whose third piece is preserved at the museum. The series was made in the well-known South-German center of Augsburg, and according to the goldsmith's and authenticity mark on the cup's bottom it was created by master Johann Wagner who was active in the period 1677–1724.¹⁰ The town mark's shape dates the set somewhere between 1686 and 1700 (Fig. 3). Augsburg goldsmiths often worked for Transylvanian elites during the 17th century. Aristocracy ordered primarily different kinds of sets from the South-German center's numerous masters, as they were the fastest to deliver these products.¹¹

The beaker's slightly broadening cylindrical body is divided by decorative lines carved above the base and below the lip. Its central motif consists of a joint marital coat of arms set in a circular frame. Goldsmiths' works used for representation were often decorated with their owners' shield, armorial motifs were widespread in

⁴ SIPOS 1993, 13.

⁵ TAMÁS 2010, 11–12.

⁶ BERNÁD 1970, 7.

⁷ B. NAGY 1970, 162.

⁸ Ilona Kun was the daughter of István and Ilona Basa. LUKINICH 1927, 462.

⁹ Júlia Rhédei was the daughter of István and Mária Perneszi of Osztopán. LUKINICH 1927, 462.

¹⁰ ROSENBERG 1922, 148.

¹¹ TAKÁTS 1900, 94.

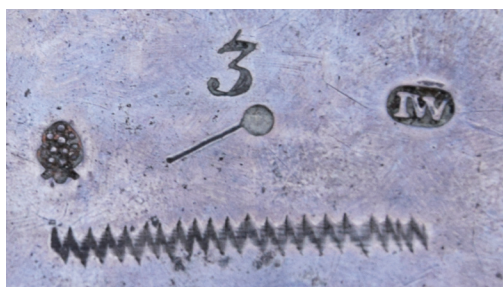


Fig. 3. Maker's mark on the Bethlen's beaker: Johann Wagner (1677–1724), silversmith from Augsburg.



Fig. 4. Maker's mark on the Göcs's beaker: Brassai Dániel (1655–1695), silversmith from Cluj.

17th century ironworks. Joint property of eating and drinking vessels was marked by the husband's and wife's coat of arms. In 16–17th century heraldry the spouses' shields next to each other (*alliance*) marked the couple,¹² with the husband's arms on the right, the wife's on the left. Their frame varied according to the object's grade and the master's standards, but contrary to previous views, interconnected wreaths were not necessarily the sign of marriage occasion.

The associated marital shields (Fig. 5) of Miklós Bethlen and Júlia Rhédei are encompassed by a finely engraved garland of acanthus leaves, batch of fruits and an earl's coronet closes the composition. The latter's importance in dating the beaker is unquestionable, since Miklós Bethlen received the title in 1696. The set was certainly made after this date, presumably for the occasion itself. The heraldic representation of the Bethlen family of Bethlen – a snake wearing a crown and holding a pome in its mouth – BETHLEN COMES NICOLAUS, and that of the Rhédei family – an armored arm holding a sword above a swan – IVLIA REDEI COMITINA was provided with a circular legend in

majuscules partitioned by flowers. The floral frame's baroque-style tracing with its high-standard finish reflects the goldsmith's great skill. The beaker's base and lip, as well as its interior are gold-plated, and the silver heraldic representation also unfolds from a golden background.

The second cup in the Mureș County Museum's property was part of Sára Göcs's¹³ set dating from 1691. Burgher of Cluj, its procurer was the granddaughter of Pál Göcs (1570–1622) famous Unitarian priest in Cluj,¹⁴ and daughter of Pál Göcs (–1661) centumvir. References often confuse her for the priest's daughter.¹⁵ The explanation lies in the sameness of her father's and grandfather's name, but her name is also identical with that of her aunt's.¹⁶ Sára Göcs's father was in the 1640's a member in Cluj's ruling body, the centumvirate,¹⁷ and acquired significant wealth and well-born relatives for his family.¹⁸ He died in 1661, and on the occasion of his funeral on 29th October the Unitarian parish in Cluj received 1 forint 10 denarius.¹⁹ His branch of the family died out in his two daughters (Sára and Kata)²⁰ who both married into noble families. Sára became on 13th May 1665 the wife of

¹² GHYCY 1932, 68.

¹³ He died on April 19th 1700. BENCZÉDI 1887, 253.

¹⁴ Pál Göcs Borbély was an academy-educated erudite man, elected director of the Unitarian School in Cluj on May 15th 1600. In March 1602 he became the vicar of the Unitarian parish. KÉNOSI–UZONI 2005, 396, 565.

¹⁵ RÁ CZ 2016, 313; SZÉKELY 1839, 145.

¹⁶ Sára Göcs's aunt of identical name, widow of Márton Gyulai (–1640) goldsmith in Cluj, was buried on January 17th 1665. She probably had no heirs, since she left to the Unitarian church 8 forints, paid on June 13th 1665 by András Toldalagí, jr. Sára Göcs's husband. BENCZÉDI 1886, 223–224; JENEY 2004, 86.

¹⁷ JENEY 2000, 22; BINDER 1982, 303.

¹⁸ KELEMEN 1982a, 292.

¹⁹ BENCZÉDI 1886, 223.

²⁰ KELEMEN 1982a, 292.

András Toldalagi of Nagyiklód (–1703),²¹ while Kata married Pál Suki of Felsőzsuk,²² assessor of the Tabula Regia.²³ András Toldalagi and Sára Göcs were the main patrons of the Unitarian church in Cluj. She and her sister sold the house they inherited to the Polish Unitarian priest András Lachovius in 1680 on the condition that it served as the place of worship for Cluj's Polish Unitarians.²⁴ András Toldalagi donated in 1685 and 1687 a tenth of his incomes from his mill in Bobâlna and property in Iclod to the school in Turda, and also offered his lot in Cluj to the College in Market Square. He printed in 1695 on his own expense the prayer book of Unitarian bishop Boldizsár Solymosi Koncz.²⁵ Upon his death in 1703, he left 100 Hungarian forints to the Unitarian parish in Cluj and a stock of valuable clenodiums and textiles to the Saint Peter Church in Cluj.²⁶

The family's prestige is reflected by the fact that at Sára Göcs's funeral on 25th April 1700 it was the Unitarian bishop himself, Mihály Almási Gergely who preached and rector Pál Kolozsvári Dimjén was the orator.²⁷

Sára Göcs ordered the discussed set of beakers from a goldsmith in Cluj, fact proven by the striking master mark contained in a renaissance shield on the cup's bottom (Fig. 4). The mark reads BD and can be identified as Dániel Brassai. He was active in the period 1655–1695, he became a member of the goldsmiths' guild on 17th April 1655. He was key master in 1672, and guild master in 1680 and 1685. His name was last mentioned in guild documents in August 1695 when he was a guarantor on the occasion of

Pál Katona's admission into the guild.²⁸ Brassai's work defines him as a very significant goldsmith of the second half of the 17th century. Many of the pieces carrying his master mark have been kept and they all reflect his professional skill.²⁹ Of the goldsmiths from Cluj it was him who worked for prince Mihály I. Apafi's court, along with Kristóf Tokaji.³⁰ Brassai was often engaged by Mihály Teleki (1634–1690) who referred to him in his court-holding journal as Goldsmith Dániel.³¹ The lord lieutenant (comes) of Belső-Szolnok, János Kemény (–1701) and Anna Teleki ordered from Brassai in 1685 a set of two gilded silver tankards, chalices and patens, as well a communion plate for the Old Town Calvinist parish in Cluj.³²

The partially gilded silver cup's cylindrical body slightly broadens at the rim. The smooth body is divided by three horizontal renaissance bands, formed of finely carved leaf motifs on an arching trailer. The engraved band of ornament around the rim is gilded, the lower two decorative lines matching the upper one were carved later. The central motif is the Göcs family's coat of arms, contained in a laurel wreath (Fig. 6). The shield portrays a bird treading on a snake, holding a branch in its beak. The writing in majuscule reads: GOETS SARA ANNO 1691.

Sets of beakers identical in form and decoration were highly popular in the 17th century. It was a custom of Nürnberg goldsmiths to make series of similar objects. These sets consisted of objects of either the same, or gradually decreasing size.³³ The expression "stacking beaker" was used in sources and inventories for both types

²¹ KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 178; BENCZÉDI 1886, 224; András Toldalagi was the son of Ferenc and Kata Apafi. NAGY 1865, XI, 153.

²² Pál Suki was the son of Ferenc, commissionaire in Cojocna and Mária Bodoni. NAGY 1863, X, 401.

²³ KELEMEN 1982a, 292; RÁCZ 2016, 312–325.

²⁴ RÁCZ 2016, 313–315; KÜLÖNFÉLÉK 1885, 384.

²⁵ Solymosi Koncz Boldizsár's work called *Hetedszaki Reggeli és Estvéli könyörgések*. KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 182.

²⁶ The set consisted of a gilded silver cup decorated with coins, a gilded silver chalice, two gilded silver plates, a linen tablecloth and two Turkish kerchiefs embroidered with metallic thread. KELEMEN 1982b, 273.

²⁷ BENCZÉDI 1887, 253; KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009, 572.

²⁸ BUNTA 2001, 218; FLÓRA 2003, 57, 60.

²⁹ BUNTA 2001, 218; HALASU 1978, 359–365; KOVÁCS 2015, 39; KOVÁCS 2021, 106; MIHALIK 1893, 331.

³⁰ THALLÓCZY 1878, 429.

³¹ FEHÉR 2007, 54.

³² KOVÁCS 2021, 106.

³³ Kiss 2015, 115.



Fig. 5. Miklós Bethlen's and Júlia Rhédei's double coat of arms on the beaker.



Fig. 6. Sára Göcs's coat of arm on the beaker.

of series.³⁴ These sets of six to twenty-four pieces decorated with their owner's coat of arms were preferred representational goldsmith pieces of Transylvanian elite.

The Mureş County Museum holds the fifth and the third piece of Sára Göcs's and Miklós Bethlen's twelve pieces set. A beaker's place in line is marked by the number carved on its side or bottom, the Bethlen beaker's bottom contains an Arabic 3, while the Göcs cup holds on its side, beside the family shield a Roman V. Three further pieces of the Bethlen set of cups are held by the Hungarian National Museum.³⁵ The set was dispersed along the 18th and 19th century, its seventh piece was the property of count Gyula Andrassy at the end of the 19th century,³⁶ and ended up in the Hungarian museum in 1969.

The sixth piece was bought in 1910 by the same museum at the Dorotheum's auction in Vienna of Szemere Miklós's collection.³⁷ Beside the items held by museums, another piece of the set was identified in a private collection in Budapest.³⁸ The Mureş County Museum's item was in the Bethlen family's property until the middle of the 20th century and was bought in 1962³⁹ from a descendant of the family, Gábor Bethlen (1914–1981)⁴⁰ an engineer living in Târgu Mureş.

The eleventh piece of the Göcs set is also kept at the Hungarian National Museum.⁴¹ It was bought in 1905 from antique dealer Benő Grünblatt from Sibiu, along with another cup carrying the engraving TOLDALAGHI ANDRÁS 1685.⁴² The Târgu Mureş item of the Göcs set had been part of a private collection in Western

³⁴ BUNTA 2001, 7.

³⁵ BETHLENEK 2010, 67–68.

³⁶ ÖTVÖSMŰKIÁLLÍTÁS 1884, Vth room. 21.

³⁷ The 1908–1913 Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum, 214.

³⁸ BETHLENEK 2010, 68.

³⁹ The Mureş County Museum's 1962 register.

⁴⁰ Gábor Bethlen was the son of Bálint, Aiud district delegate and lord lieutenant and Mariann Bánffy. LUKINICH 1927, 561; TAMÁS 2010, 50.

⁴¹ BUNTA 2001, 244.

⁴² The 1904–1906 Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum, 35.

Europe⁴³ and proves that ironworks were often subsequently modified. Based on the Budapest piece one may conclude that the set's pieces were initially decorated with an engraved renaissance band of ornament only along the rim. The decorative lines in both the piece's middle and bottom were added later.

The Bethlen set consisted of gradually decreasing cups, its third piece is 16,1 cm tall, the seventh is only 12,3 cm.⁴⁴ The Göcs set contained beakers of identical size, both its fifth and eleventh items are 14,5 cm tall.

The Târgu Mureş beakers reflect the history and circumstances of creation of two dispersed sets of drinking vessels made in the 1690's. Customers of different social status owned similar objects, indicating that by the last decades of the 17th century well-to-do burghers' beloved goldsmith products of representation and investment are equal to those of the aristocracy. The only difference lies in the origin of the goldsmiths entrusted with the work. While Miklós Bethlen ordered his set from an Augsburg master, Sára Göcs had her set made by a local goldsmith.

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⁴³ KLUSCH 2011, 284, 325. This erroneously identified it as the work of a master from Făgăraş.

⁴⁴ BETHLENEK 2010, 67.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ActaArchHung</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>AISC</i>	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice Cluj
<i>Aluta</i>	Aluta. Studii și cercetări
<i>AnB</i>	Analele Banatului (Serie nouă 2006–)
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni
<i>AnnUA-Hist</i>	Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica
<i>Antiquity</i>	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő
<i>ArchHung</i>	Archaeologia Hungarica
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt
<i>ArchSlovMonComm</i>	Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae: Communicationes
<i>Argesis</i>	Argesis. Studii și comunicări
<i>AVSL</i>	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan
<i>BB</i>	Bibliotheca Brukenthal
<i>BCȘS</i>	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești
<i>BeitUfGMMKR</i>	Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Kulturräume
<i>BerRGK</i>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
<i>BICA</i>	Bullettino dell’Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica = Bulletin de l’Institut de correspondance archéologique
<i>BHAUT</i>	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis
<i>BJ</i>	Bonner Jahrbücher
<i>BMA</i>	Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis
<i>BMM</i>	Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis
<i>BudRég</i>	Budapest Régiségei
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice
<i>Carpica</i>	Carpica. Muzeul Județean Iulian Antonescu
<i>CCAR</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
<i>CH</i>	Cahiers d’Histoire. Publiés par les Universités de Clermont-Ferrand
<i>CommArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne
<i>DDMÉ</i>	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>DissArch</i>	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae
<i>DM</i>	Dissertationes et monographiae Beograd
<i>DolgKoložsvár (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (Új sorozat 2006–)
<i>DolgSzeged</i>	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből
<i>EDR</i>	Ephemeris Dacoromana
<i>EMúz</i>	Erdélyi Múzeum

<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis
<i>HOMÉ</i>	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>IA</i>	Internationale Archäologie
<i>ICA</i>	Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology
<i>IPH</i>	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae
<i>JAHA</i>	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology
<i>JAAH</i>	Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History
<i>JASc</i>	Journal of Archaeological Science
<i>JbRGZM</i>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>KM</i>	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata
<i>KuBA</i>	Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica
<i>Lymbus</i>	Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Forrásközlemények
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–XXXV): Studii și Materiale
<i>Marisia-AHP</i>	Marisia: Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice
<i>MFME (StudArch)</i>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, (Studia Archaeologica 1995–)
<i>MGLDMS (N. F.)</i>	Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle Denk- und Merkwürdigkeiten Siebenbürgens, Neue Folge
<i>Mousaios</i>	Mousaios. Muzeul Județean Buzău
<i>MSVFG</i>	Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte
<i>MűvtÉrt</i>	Művészettörténeti Értesítő
<i>NuclInstMethPhys-Sect. B</i>	Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research. Section B
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>PAS</i>	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
<i>Radiocarbon</i>	Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research
<i>ReiCretActa</i>	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
<i>RégFüz</i>	Régészeti Füzetek
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței. Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>Sargetia (S.N.)</i>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis
<i>SBA</i>	Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–)
<i>SlovArch</i>	Slovenská Archeológia
<i>StCl</i>	Studii Clasice
<i>StComSibiu</i>	Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>SUBB-Historia</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia
<i>StudUCH</i>	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica
<i>Terra Sebus</i>	Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis
<i>Thraco-Dacica</i>	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul de Arheologie “Vasile Pârvan” Centrul de Tracologie
<i>Tisicum</i>	Tisicum. A Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve
<i>Tyragetia</i>	Tyragetia. The National Museum of History of Moldova
<i>UPA</i>	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie
<i>VAH</i>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica
<i>WMMÉ</i>	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik