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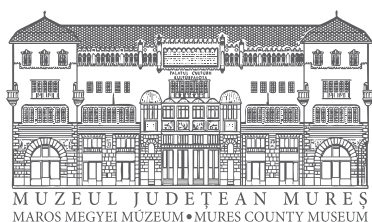
ARCHAEOLOGIA

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MUZEUL JUDEȚEAN MUREȘ
MAROS MEGYEI MŰZEUM • MUREȘ COUNTY MUSEUM



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INVESTIGATING A LATE MEDIEVAL CEMETERY

Zsolt NYÁRÁDI*

The mound found north of Orășeni and west of the mouth of Daia Creek was noticed by archaeologists in the 1960s. At this time, pebble extraction was started in order to provide materials for repaving the road and, as human remains had been uncovered during this work, the quarrying was halted.¹

In 2015, during our archeological survey, we collected human bones from the recently plowed lower areas near the mound. During the autumn of the same year, we opened a small 1 × 3 m test pit in the higher, western area. In this we observed the traces of several graves, which convinced us to plan the excavation of a larger surface. We did this during the following year, when we opened a total of five 5 × 5 m excavation trenches, leaving 0.5 m thick walls between them in order to have stratigraphic reference. The excavation area covered about two thirds of the mound's surface, with its north-eastern side remaining unexcavated due to the presence of a very old tree, with a one meter thick trunk, which also prevented us from determining how far the cemetery stretched in this direction.

During the excavation, which lasted several months, we identified the traces of 58 graves. There were no traces of any buildings which could have indicated the presence religious structures. Furthermore, the directions in which the graves were facing did not suggest that these had been oriented toward a nearby building, but instead, toward the positions where the sun would rise during different seasons. As such, we could observe considerable differences in the positioning of graves that had been dug during the same decade.

The findings suggest that the cemetery had been in use since the turn of the 15th–16th centuries up to the second half of the 19th century, with a brief interruption during the 18th century. The artifacts recovered from the 16th–17th century graves don't have any parallels in the inventories of church cemeteries found in Székely Land. Because of its rich yield of artifacts, and also its peripheral location, the cemetery requires a much closer inspection. The primary anthropological analysis of the bone fragments is complete.² In this study we would like to present the archaeological results and the recovered artifacts. Naturally, we cannot overlook the history of the settlement and we have interpreted the newly acquired data in this context.

Keywords: mound, cemetery, coins, signet ring, clothing, hairstyle, foreign culture elements

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENT'S HISTORY

Orășeni can be found on the southern border of the Seat of Odorhei, in the valley of the Homorodul Mare river, near the neighboring Saxon settlements (Fig. 1). Its name, contrary to

the opinion of Balázs Orbán,³ comes from the combination of the Arpadian Period personal name *Varous*, *Varus*, *Warus*⁴ with the Hungarian word for village, with a personal possessive

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¹ FERENCZI 2002, 19–20.

² MILLER 2018.

³ According to him, Orășeni (HU: *Városfalva*) got its name from the nearby castle (translator's note: the Hungarian word for castle is *vár*) (ORBÁN 1868, 169, JÁNOSFALVI 2003, 86–87), while another opinion suggests that it got its name from the market that was held in the settlement (translator's note: the Hungarian word for market is *vásár*) (COROI 2012–2013, 485).

⁴ FEHÉRTÓI 2004, 794.

suffix in the end. Out of the 139 settlements of the medieval Seat of Odorhei, 45 settlements hold similar names. Miklós Kázmér studied this particular naming style in depth and reached the conclusion that these began to appear in the 13th century, becoming most common between the 14th–16th centuries.⁵ The archaeological finds recovered from inside the settlement also seem to indicate the same period, showing that Orășeni already existed by the 13th century.

The first written account of Orășeni, part of Mărtiniș commune (Fig. 2), dates back to 1566.⁶ Following the Székely revolt in 1562, most of the inhabitants of Orășeni were probably turned into serfs. In 1567, during the recording of the 25 Dinar tax, a total of eight taxable estates were mentioned.⁷ In 1569, Mihály Kornis and his brother Farkas, petitioned the prince, requesting that the 32 household serfs of Orășeni and Ionești be transferred into the service of the Sânpaul court.⁸ This petition also revealed that the two boys split the family's holdings amongst themselves. The holdings that were part of the Seat of Odorhei were controlled from Sânpaul, while those that were part of the Seat of Mureș, from Sângeorgiu de Pădure.⁹ The holdings in the Seat of Odorhei were given to Farkas Kornis, who in 1576, during the recording of the 50 Dinar tax, paid seven Forints for Orășeni.¹⁰

In 1602, in addition to the four *primipili*, twelve free Székely and seven serf families were

also recorded to have sworn fealty to the emperor.¹¹ In 1604 a steward named Mihály Magyar is mentioned in Orășeni.¹² In 1614, with the occasion of a rather meticulous census, the village was recorded as being inhabited by nine *primipili*, three freeman, six serf and one cotter families.¹³ Six destitute families were also recorded alongside these.¹⁴ Based on this information, we can assume that the village's population was made up of approximately 140 individuals. In 1627, in addition to the twelve *primipili* families, a widow, five foot musketeers, and three re-indentured serfs were also recorded.¹⁵

In 1625, the male branch of the Kornis family in Sânpaul ceased with the death of Ferenc Kornis.¹⁶ Without any direct descendants, the interconnected land holdings were divided up between the two female members of the Kornis family and their descendants. In 1629, the Kornis lands were divided by Gábor Bethlen between János Rédei and Borbála Kornis,¹⁷ who was later sentenced to death and her possessions were taken away as a result of the Sabbatarian trials. She ultimately managed to save herself from the execution but all her lands were confiscated.¹⁸ The holdings in the Seat of Odorhei, along with the manor in Sânpaul, were sold by Rákóczi to János Bethlen for 7000 Forints.¹⁹ János Rhédei, the husband of Margit, became a judge at the crown court of the Seat of Odorhei, so part of the holdings, among them also Orășeni and its lands, came into his

⁵ KÁZMÉR 1970, 58–59.

⁶ SzOKL II, 196. Balázs Orbán's presumption, that it coincides with a settlement called *Varosio*, mentioned in 1317 in Papal records, is incorrect.

⁷ SzOKL II, 218.

⁸ VASS 1910, 136.

⁹ VASS 1910, 133–136.

¹⁰ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 39.

¹¹ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 103.

¹² SzOKL ú.s. IV, 155.

¹³ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 300.

¹⁴ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 549.

¹⁵ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 730.

¹⁶ BALOGH–HORN 2008, 895–896.

¹⁷ KOMÁROMY 1884, 47.

¹⁸ VASS 1906, 320.

¹⁹ VASS 1906, 321.

possession.²⁰ The fates of the various parts of the estate are not yet clear after this point. What is certain though, is that during the 18th century, following the death of Zsigmond Rhédei, in 1771, Katalin Wesselényi had at her disposal parts of the estates at Petreni, Mărtiniș, Locodeni, Rareș, Orășeni, Ionești, Satu Nou, Ocland, Crăciunel, Merești, Mujna, Călugăreni, Ghipeș, Chinușu, Bădeni, Daia, and Odorhei.²¹ During the first half of the 18th century, a different part of the estate was found in the possession of the Bethlen family.²²

The Kénosi noble family also sprouted roots in Orășeni during the first decade of the 17th century. The steward, Mihály Magyari,²³ is mentioned in 1604, adopting Pál Kénosi, whose son, Ferenc, is mentioned in 1635.²⁴ He married Kata Lentz Ferenc, further enlarging the family's estate in Orășeni.²⁵ In 1693, Kata offered a

tablecloth to the parish, as a gift.²⁶ In 1712 Zsigmond Kénosi and Pál Kénosi are mentioned as nobles in the village,²⁷ who were almost certainly the sons of Ferenc.

The first official census in the village counted 75 households, 76 families, and a total of 335 inhabitants, eight of which were living elsewhere. Out of the total inhabitants there were 72 married, 102 unmarried, 1 priest, 27 nobles, 32 peasants, 19 cotters, and 14 families were marked as belonging to other categories, while there were also 23 children under 12 and 10 under 17.²⁸

During the middle ages the village did not have its own church and we can find it as the curacy of the church in Petreni, appearing after the Reformation as a Unitarian curacy. It became independent and got its own church following 1650.²⁹

BURIAL MOUND FOUND ON THE VILLAGE BORDER

North of the village, on the left side of the Homorodul Mare river and on the right side of Daia creek, there stands a mound with an artificial appearance. We can also encounter this location that sits on “*a lonely hilltop, rising up in front of the mouth of Daia creek*”, in the writings of Balázs Orbán.³⁰ His descriptions include the chapel of the nearby village called Tankófalva,³¹ where the Romanians, who had gradually become integrated, were buried. The

data collected in 1864 by Frigyes Pesty contains the toponym *Kápolnatető* (meaning *chapel hill-top*), which is said to have been the location of a 16th century pre-Reformation chapel³². The area also appears marked on cadaster maps drawn at the end of the monarchy. It is marked with cadaster number 644, and it was designated as a cemetery. This is very important information as it establishes the mound's original size and therefore the exact limits of the cemetery,

²⁰ BALOGH 2012, 1214.

²¹ Cluj County National Archive Directorate, Cluj-Napoca. Ground no. 221. Wesselényi de Hadad family grounds 1631–1789. 205. Documents regarding the Sânpaul (Homoródszentpál) estate. Document no. 29.

²² BICSOK 2002, 141.

²³ SZOKL Ű.S. IV, 155.

²⁴ SZOKL Ű.S. V, 225.

²⁵ PÁLMAY 1900, 148.

²⁶ MOLNÁR B. 1999, 155.

²⁷ PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 184.

²⁸ DÁNYI–DÁVID 1960, 366–367.

²⁹ Archive of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania. *The records of Bishop István Lázár's Generalis Visitatio in the areas of Turda-Arieș, Cristur and Odorhei in 1788 and 1789*, 595–596.

³⁰ ORBÁN 1868, 169.

³¹ The settlement appearing in 17th century urbariums doesn't show up anywhere in official censuses. Its archaeological traces were identified by András Sófálvi. The findings suggest that the small village was inhabited between the 13th–17th centuries.

³² PFHNGY 2013, 217.

before it had been disturbed. (Fig. 3)

In 1913, when the natural monuments of the Seat of Odorhei were listed, it was mentioned that there were several mounds made up of earth and gravel between Sânpaul and Cața, which were the graves of Székelys buried in 1519.³³ This information also attracted the attention of archaeologist Géza Ferenci, who attempted to locate the site of the battle by surveying the area.

According to historians, the battle, which resulted in the victory of the voivodes armies, actually took place somewhere between Sânpaul and Drăușeni.³⁴ Both sides suffered significant losses on this occasion. The voivode had the captured Székely leaders decapitated and confiscated their possessions. Ferenczi was informed by locals that back in 1910, when the Homorod river was being regulated and a bridge was built over the newly built canal, human bones and weapons were found in the area. He also remarked that the nearby mound was referred to as “*the Jewish cemetery*”. Gravel extraction was started in this area in April 1960, in order to repair the country road leading toward Daia. Human remains were found while these works were being executed.³⁵ In the museum inventory, we managed to identify a highly corroded Austrian copper Kreutzer from 1806, two coffin nails, and two metal coffin hinges (a similar one was recovered from grave no. 42).³⁶

During our 2016 excavation, on the more disturbed southern side of the mound, we observed the traces of an earlier test pit, which was 7–8 m long, about 2 m wide, reaching 1.2–1.3 m in depth on the top and 80 cm at the bottom of the hill, decreasing stepwise, until they were only uncovering the humus layer. Unfortunately, no excavation journal or artifacts remain. It is presumable that it had been created by the archaeologist from the Odorhei

museum, sometime after 1980, as this was when he wrote about the location of the battlefield and its mass grave, adding that further excavations were necessary in the area in order to confirm this.³⁷

After this it became widely known as the location of a potential mass grave. Gradually, the earlier “*Kápolna*” (*Chapel*) toponym also went out of use, the area being referred to today as “*Székelység*” (meaning Székely People) or “*Székelység helye*” (meaning The Place of the Székely People). (Fig. 4)

In 1979, Géza Ferenczi collected late medieval pottery fragments from the plow zone found on the small saddle behind the mound. In 2015 we searched the area together with András Sófalvi. An old tree occupies the north eastern side of the mound's plowed section, which forms a roughly square shaped surface, measuring approximately 240 square meters, 16–17 m long and 14–15 m wide. The plow zone surrounding the tree also yielded small pieces of human bone, and pottery fragments.³⁸ During our field survey we determined that the mound used to be much larger, this being suggested by the fact that the plow zones found to the south and east of it also contained a lot of gravel mixed into the soil.

During November of that same year, we opened a test pit on the north-western side of the hill, on a 3 × 1 m surface. This produced traces of graves that had been disturbed, as well as graves that were superimposed, presenting us with the image of a church cemetery instead of that of a mass grave.

The condition of the graves made possible the planning and execution of a larger scale excavation and for this reason we did not pick up the remains, covering them back up inside the excavation.

³³ Transylvania. National Reviewer Magazine. The Report of the Transylvanian Carpathian Association and Museum. Eds. Lajos Szádecky, Kovács Géza. 1913. Year XXII. Cluj-Napoca, 1914, 209.

³⁴ BALOGH 2011, 15.

³⁵ FERENCZI 1980, June 6th.

³⁶ Accompanying text with Géza Ferenczi's signature: Orășeni. 1960.4.5. from the late medieval cemetery found on the gravel mound 100–150 m north-west of the junction toward Daia.

³⁷ FERENCZI 1980. June 6th.

³⁸ GPS: 46.168487, 25.361292.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

In 2016 we succeeded in including the location in the common anthropological program of the Haáz Rezső Museum and Archaeotek, so we began excavations in April. We planned to investigate the site by including most of the mound's surface in our 5 × 5 m excavation trench system, with the first session reaching the level of the graves (Fig. 5).³⁹ Following this, the American anthropology team took over the excavation and documentation of the graves, under the coordination of the supervising archaeologist. The anthropology team was led by Anna Osterholtz (Mississippi State University, USA) and her assistant Clair Ralston (University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA).

We also incorporated the previous year's test pit into our excavation trench system, so it didn't receive a separate designation. As we were aware that we might find burials in this area, we started digging on the opposite side. Inside trench no. 1, just under the layer of turf, we detected a dark grey layer containing gravel. In the southern profile of the trench, and nearby, we detected the trench layer which had been disturbed during previous excavations, and this also yielded human remains. On the eastern side, the layer underneath the plowed soil was already the yellow subsoil containing sand and gravel. In the north-eastern corner, at a depth of 0.9 m from the surface, we reached the yellow clay subsoil, from which the gravel layer was well separated. At first glance it appeared as a large dig-in, so here we decided to go further down on a 3 × 2 m surface (Fig. 6). The layer of clay was followed by layers of gravel, which did not contain any findings, and which began to slope downward, in a natural manner, in a south-eastern direction, toward the lower parts of the mound. On this side we continued to observe this, down to a depth of 3.8 m, establishing that this was the loose, gravel rich alluvium left on the layer of clay naturally by the repeated flooding of the Homorod river (Fig. 8). As such, with our first excavation trench we

excluded the possibility of this being an artificial structure originating at the beginning of the 16th century, as a mass grave, linked to the battle that took place nearby. No graves were detected inside the excavation trench. Meanwhile, in the north-western corner, the traces of a grave indicated that there had also been graves here at an earlier point in time. The depth of the pit, measured from the surface was only one meter, which suggested that in this area, the graves found closer to the surface had been destroyed by the gravel extraction.

We opened excavation trench no. 2 in a way that aligned it with no. 1, on the opposite side of the mound, six meters away, with this area in between them being the top of the mound. The 3 × 1 meter test pit that had been created the previous year fell in its south-western corner, so the grave sections detected earlier were now entirely excavated. After the 20–25 cm thick layer of turf was removed, we were already able to detect traces of graves, with an occasional layer of grey schist found between them. It was later revealed that this loose layer was actually the subsoil. Therefore, the natural stratigraphy was significantly different on the two sides of the mound (Fig. 9).

During the excavation, this trench yielded the most graves, numbering a total of 31. We reached the western limit of the cemetery, where the plowing had partially disturbed the upper parts of several skeletons. The superimposed positions of the graves clearly indicated that the cemetery had been in use for several centuries. The filling of the graves which had been disturbed yielded coffin nails and pottery fragments.

A similar picture was provided to us by trench no. 3, which we opened south of no. 2 (Fig. 10). The southern side had a thick, 30–40 cm layer of humus. Beneath this we found traces of graves, eight of which were excavated. On the southern side we noticed larger dig-ins, containing scattered bone fragments, however,

³⁹ The excavation was carried out under the supervision of Zsolt Nyárádi, and executed by Zsombor Bálint, Gyula Szász, Márton Sebők, and Lajos Nyárádi.

reaching the bottom of the pits, we didn't find any actual graves. Supposedly, some graves were also destroyed on this side, but we managed to locate the southern edge of the cemetery.

The fourth trench was opened east of the third one. Following the removal of the turf layer, in the north-eastern corner, we detected a lightly disturbed grave. We managed to observe the transition of one subsoil type to another inside this trench. In the north-eastern corner there was a clayey subsoil, on the south-eastern side it was made up of loose gravel, while on the southern and south-western side there was a grey layer, spotted with lime (Fig. 11).

On the south-western side we noticed a one-meter-deep dig-in, containing mixed clayey soil, with numerous bone fragments found inside it. Similarly, to the dig-ins found in trench 3, we weren't able to find any actual graves here either, with several graves having probably been destroyed when this dig-in was created. Presumably, these were dug when gravel was being excavated, and as they were not able to find suitable material, the pits were filled back in. Graves were preserved only in the higher north-western corner, with a total of eight being excavated. Presumably, other graves were also destroyed during the gravel extraction on the eastern side.

Based on what we learned from trenches 1 and 4, we didn't see much sense in opening another trench in the east, so we decided to go for the mound's center.

In this north-eastern corner, just under the turf layer, we were able to observe traces of two graves that had been disturbed only slightly. In the south-eastern corner we also noticed the test pit detected and documented earlier in trench 1. Its deepest point was 1–1.1 m. Its filling also contained scattered bone fragments. In the south-western corner we also noticed a dig-in, and at a depth of about one meter it contained an adult skull, wrapped in a green plastic bag. "Our find" represented further evidence that the cemetery found on the mound had already been disturbed several times. At the bottom of the dig-in we also documented the pit of a modern age grave. On the highest, north-western side, we observed mostly large, modern age graves, which had disturbed the earlier ones. As such, this area contained a significant amount of scattered bones. The subsoil's transition from schist to clay and finally to gravel was also clearly visible in this trench. Here the cemetery also continued stretching toward the north, but unfortunately, we weren't able to open an additional trench because of the presence of a large tree. In this trench, we documented a total of 12 graves.

After finishing the excavation, it became clear that the cemetery had been in use since the turn of the 15th–16th centuries until the middle of the 19th century. We didn't find any traces of buildings in any of the trenches, and the inconsistent orientation of the graves also excludes the possibility of the existence of a wooden building.

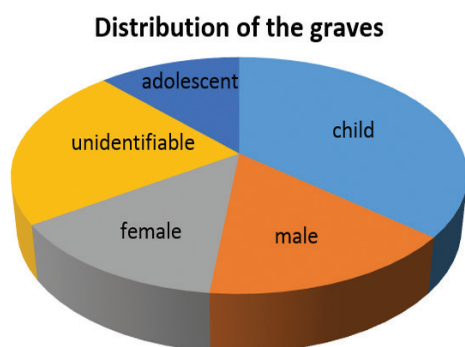
A CEMETERY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIELD

With the archaeological excavations completed, and the findings processed, we found answers to many of our questions regarding the site, but, new questions also emerged. We succeeded in determining the general size of the cemetery, and on the 140 square meter surface we managed to document 58 graves. Only an approximately 50 square meter surface on the northern side was left unexplored. The earlier information, according to which the mound's eastern side had been significantly damaged, was confirmed. Regarding the size of the surface that was designated as a graveyard, we gained very good insight from

the cadaster measurements done back during the monarchy. Based on this, its borders measured 18 m on the eastern, 13 m on the northern, 20 on the southern, and roughly 15 m on the western side. Based on this, we determined that the surface of the graveyard would have been 300–350 square meters (Fig. 5). We estimate that during the past century, about half the graveyard's surface was destroyed. We reached roughly the same conclusion after our field survey. We could clearly distinguish the yellowish pebbles that had reached the surface on the humus covering the plow zone.

a. General features

If we look at the ages of the bodies found inside the graves, we can see that 47 % of them were either children or adolescents. This fits in entirely with the percentages observed in church cemeteries, which is usually between 41–59 %.⁴⁰ 22 % (13) of the documented graves contained adult bodies with unidentifiable genders. 16 % (9) were male, 14 % (8) female, 12 % adolescent, while 36 % (21) were children under the age of 10 or infants.



Concerning the position of the hands, 35 of the skeletons had been so damaged that we were unable to determine it (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58). For the remaining 23 cases, we were able to observe 11 different types of positions. This variety is not really typical for the graves in medieval church cemeteries (Mugeni, Văleni, Brădești, Lueta). In Orășeni there were eight cases of hands being clasped together over the pelvis (3, 20, 21, 29, 31, 41, 53, 54). The ages of these graves range between the oldest and the most recent. Based on our observations in the Seat of Odorhei, the

most common position for the arms is where they are stretched out along the body, and this could only be observed in two of our cases (12, 35). Both of these dated back to the 19th century. Generally, the second most common position was where the hands would be clasped together above the pelvis, and this was observed in 8 cases in Orășeni (3, 20, 21, 29, 31, 41, 53, 54). These could be found in the oldest, as well as the newest graves. In three cases, dating to the 16th–17th centuries, the elbows had been bent to a right angle and the hands placed on top of each other above the pelvis (7, 8, 38), and in the case of two 17th century graves (10, 52), the elbows were bent to a right angle and the hands placed on the chest. In the cases of one 16th (30) and one 18th century (48) graves, the left hand was placed over the pelvis, while the right hand was above the pelvis. This same situation, but with the opposite arms in those respective positions was noticed in a 16th century grave (33). There were also unique cases such as where both arms were completely pulled up on to the shoulders (grave no. 18 dating to the 18th–19th centuries), where the hands were placed beneath the pelvis in a 19th century grave (42), in one early grave the arms were crossed, raised and placed on the chest (47), and in the case of a similarly early grave containing the body of a woman, the hands were bent and placed on the left side of the pelvis, embracing her child (13). The analysis of the positions of the arms, due to the small number of each example and the large variety, did not allow us to distinguish any categories within the cemetery, nor did it aid us in determining chronology.

b. Descriptions of the graves

When describing the graves, the main features we recorded were: the depth and the orientation of the grave, the deceased's gender, age, their skeleton's characteristics, and the condition of their bones. The determination of the age and

gender of the uncovered bodies was done by the anthropologists taking part in the excavation. The grave depths were given in absolute above sea level height.⁴¹

⁴⁰ MENDE 2005, 186.

⁴¹ We used the following abbreviations: D – depth, O – orientation (in the case of uncertain angles we made due with just determining if they were facing roughly toward the east), G – gender, A – age, Sl – skeleton length, C – chronology.

Grave no. 1: trench 2, D: 478.99 m, O: 301°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. Only the two femurs and part of the left ankle were preserved. The filling was densely packed, lightly mixed, dark grey humus. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, nor were there any traces of a coffin. It was intersected by graves: 30, 32, 35, and 53.

Grave no. 2: trench 2, D: 478.99 m, O: 337°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. All that was left of the skeleton were two well preserved femurs, the left shin, and the right ankle with some toe ends. The filling of the grave was yellowish brown, compact, containing patches of clay and small pebbles. The outline of the grave could not be noticed and there were no annex objects or coffin. It was intersected by grave no. 30.

Grave no. 3: trench 4, D: 480.77 m, O: 248°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The skull was being crushed, the right arm broken, and a few ribs were dislocated. The skeleton was preserved down to the middle of the femur, the rest of it being destroyed, with the left side of the pelvis also missing. The filling was yellowish brown, humus, mixed with sand and gravel. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished and there was no coffin or any annex objects. The leg area of the grave had been destroyed back when gravel was being extracted from the area.

Grave no. 4: trench 3, D: 478.99 m, O: 220°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th century. Only the two femurs and the two shin bones were preserved, the rest of the skeleton having been destroyed. The grave was preserved in a fragmented, poor condition, with some of the bones having decayed completely. The filling was made of greyish, clayey, mixed humus chunks. Fragments of coffin planks were found during the excavation, without any coffin nails. There were no annex objects, and it was intersected by grave no. 17, and had been partially disturbed by grave no. 24.

Grave no. 5: trench 2, D: 479.23 m, O: 240°, A: around 4 years old, Sl: 93 cm, C: 16th century. The skull was crushed, the vertebrae and ribs had decomposed completely, and the ankle and phalanges were missing. The arm was resting at a right angle, on top of the chest. The filling of the grave was greyish, clayey, mixed with gravel and humus. The bottom of the coffin could be made out quite well in certain spots, along with what was left of the planks making up the lower part of the sides. Highly corroded coffin nails were also found during the excavation. A silver coin, with a diameter of 1.5 cm, minted in 1579, under Rudolf (1576–1608) was found between the phalanges of the left hand (Unger 1980, 810, 56.). The grave had disturbed grave no. 6, and was roughly the same age as no. 29.

Grave no. 6: trench 2, D: 479.5 m, O: 291°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The skeleton's bones were preserved in good condition, the skull was damaged, with the mandible, ribs, and vertebrae having been disturbed, especially on the right side. The grave was preserved only down to the upper arms, with the rest having been destroyed. The filling of the grave was grey, containing chunks of humus, and mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there was no coffin. During the excavation we found the remains of a pearled headdress, which had slid down next to the skull. Unfortunately, as the skull was crushed and the grave had been disturbed, we were unable to execute an in situ extraction. No textile traces were left either. During excavation, several types of pearls were also found, numbering a total of 132 pieces. One of these types had been made by forming pulled glass tubes into two lobes, forming double glass pearls, which were white in color. Five such fragments were found, parts of three separate pearl beads. The second group consisted of high quality, solid pearls, which had been made from dark blue, white, or light blue colored glass paste. Of this type we found 49 dark blue, 16 light blue, and 43 white pieces. They had diameters of 2–4 mm. The third group also consisted of larger blue, dark blue, and one single light blue colored pearls, measuring 0.4 cm in diameter. The

button like object carved from bone, with a hole in its top, was presumably used for fastening the two ends of the headdress. This object measures 1.4×0.8 cm. In the area underneath the mandible we found two silver pins with floral wire decorations. Three flower ornaments, with four solid beads fixed so as to form a pyramid shape on their endings, can be found on the side of the truncated cone shaped wire ornaments, made out of pressed silver sheets. The central part of one of them also has a similar structure. The other one has a center which rises slightly and holds a larger bead on top. Lower down, two out of the three wire ornaments are fixed next to each other, with the third being placed on top. This one has small pearls decorating its top. The pins that were meant to fasten them were not preserved. The bottom part of one of them had been destroyed completely and the other one is locked in place with a disk, drawn out of the pyramidal shape. A hole meant to hold the pin can be observed very well in the middle of this (diameter 0.01 cm). The height of the hair pin is 1.8–2 cm, its width 1.7–1.9 cm, and the diameter of its base is 1 cm. The grave had been disturbed by no. 42, and partially by no. 5.

Grave no. 7: trench 2–3, D: 478.43 m, O: 273°, A: 15–18 year old female, Sl: 161 cm, C: 16th century. The upper part of the grave (the skull), which was otherwise in good condition, had been disturbed slightly by a thick tree root. The skeleton was excavated intact. With the exception of the damages the skull had suffered, the bones were preserved in good condition. The hands were placed on top of each other on the pelvis. The filling was yellowish grey, clayey, containing chunks of humus, and was mixed. The coffin's sides, bottom, and part of its lid were preserved in good condition. It measured about 1.8 m in length, 60 cm wide at the head, 35–40 cm wide at the feet. The coffin had been fastened together without the use of any nails. The outline of the grave could also be made out quite well. Its length was 2.1 m and its width about 0.8 m. We found textile fragments next to 15 gilded silver beads, arranged in a semicircle about 12 cm away from the mandible, at the bottom of the right clavicle. The dark threads

could be found in the area of the buttons, and were supposedly part of the top of a richly decorated garment. The chest area of the skeleton was significantly discolored, this being the result of the decomposition of organic material. Two, highly corroded, small pairs of hooks, made of iron wire, which had merged with the blue color textile material during the decomposition process, were also part of the garment. The buttons were shaped to form 12 points, with one end having an ear for fastening, and the other holding four small, solid pearls, arranged to form a small pyramid shape. Its entire length is 1.3 cm, the length of the ear is 0.5 cm, and the diameter of the object is 0.4 cm. The 15 ornaments were supposedly fastened using a spring shaped silver wire. This was twisted into several layers (5–6), which ensured that it was firmly held in place.

On the fourth phalange of the right hand, we found a signet ring. This was hollow and had been made by being cut out of a silver sheet and fastened together. The bezel was oval, measuring 1.2×1.5 cm, holding on its flat surface an ornament resembling three flowers, with four petals each, growing out of a pot. This surface was surrounded by a lip shaped frame, the top of which was flat and decorated. The band is broken so its exact diameter could not be established, but, it measured approximately 2 cm.

Grave no. 8: trench 3, D: 478.7 m, O: 235°, A: young adult male, Sl: 168 cm, C: 16th century. The skull was damaged during the complete excavation of the grave. The rest of the skeleton was preserved in mediocre condition. The arms were bent and placed above the pelvis. The filling was yellowish, compact, clayey, and mixed. The body had not been buried in a coffin. It had supposedly been buried in a shroud, as there were clear traces of the body being wrapped. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. A cast bronze ring was found on the right hand. The signet ring's bezel was slightly oval in shape, measuring 1.2–1.4 cm in diameter, with the band having a diameter of 2–2.2 cm. The outer rim of the bezel is framed with an indentation. This surface is then divided in two by a horizontal line, having a diamond shaped pattern,

made out of semicircles, decorating the center. Perpendicular furrows can be seen on the outer edges of the four semicircles. Both lateral sides of the gradually widening shoulders of the ring are decorated with horizontal lines. The grave had been disturbed partially by no. 21 and no. 31.

Grave no. 9: trench 2, D: 479.65 m, O: 281°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. Only the crushed skull, the right upper arm and part of the lower arm, and a few right side ribs were preserved, with the rest having been destroyed as a result of later burials. Its filling was greyish, contained humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. During the excavation we found coffin planks and 6 forged nails, measuring 7 cm (heads 1 × 2 cm). There were no annex objects. The grave had been disturbed by no. 19 and no. 36.

Grave no. 10: trench 2, D: 478.88 m, O: 290°, A: middle aged male, Sl: 172 cm, C: early 17th century. The skull of the well preserved skeleton was imploded and shifted slightly toward the left. The left lower arm, the pelvis, and the top of the femur had been disturbed by plowing, similarly to the skull. Both arms were bent to a right angle and placed on the chest. The filling was yellowish brown, contained humus, and was mixed. During the excavation we found a coffin nail as well as a plank. The outline of the grave could be distinguished quite well, it measured 2.2 m in length and 0.75 m in width, with the corners being slightly rounded, narrowing a bit toward the feet. The right hand was holding a silver coin minted in 1615, under Matthias II (1608–1619), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 868, 61). The part that had been disturbed by plowing yielded a highly corroded, twice pierced silver coin minted in 1657, under Ferdinánd III (1637–1657), with a diameter of 1.7 cm (Unger 1980, 951, 68). The grave had partially disturbed no. 32.

Grave no. 11: trench 2, D: 478.95 m, O: 280°, A: newborn, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The newborn's grave was preserved only from the pelvis down. The

upper part had been destroyed by plowing. The bones were preserved in relatively good condition. Its filling was yellowish, clayey, and mixed. Both the bottom and the lid of the coffin were preserved. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. For fastening the coffin lid, two thin nails were used with the heads decoratively shaped in the form of petals, measuring 5.5–6 cm in length. The grave had been dug over no. 30.

Grave no. 12. Trench 2, D: 479.3 m, O: 330°, A: adult male, Sl: 168 cm, C: after 1861. One of the most recent burials found in the cemetery, it was preserved in good condition. The skull was crushed, with the arms placed alongside the body. The roots of the nearby tree had dislocated some of the bones. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, contained humus, and was mixed. Parts of the coffin's side were well preserved. During excavation we found four 6 cm long nails with round, 1 cm diameter heads, and eight flat headed, 6.5 cm long nails, with the heads measuring 1 cm in length and 0.5–0.7 cm in width. These were iron forged, and had been used to hold the coffin together. Between the phalanges on the left hand we uncovered a copper Kreutzer, minted under József Ferenc (1848–1916), with a diameter of 1.9 cm (Huszár 1979, 2181, 310). The grave had been placed over graves 33, 53, and 54.

Grave no. 13: trenches 3–4, D: 449.95 m, O: 294°, A: female aged between 25–40, Sl: could not be determined, C: the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The grave was excavated from the pelvis up, with the legs having been destroyed. The skull had shifted considerably toward the left, with the entire upper body being tilted towards the left. The skull was crushed, but the bones were still in overall good condition. The hands were bent, placed over the pelvis, and shifted toward the left, as if embracing something. The filling was greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no traces of a coffin. There were no annex items. The mother had been buried with its newborn child (no. 14), on its right side. The legs had been

destroyed by a later, large size grave, which itself was destroyed by the gravel extraction.

Grave no. 14: trenches 3–4, D: 479.98, O: 294°, A: newborn (20–30 weeks old), Sl: could not be measured, C: the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The small burial, measuring only 10.5 cm, contained only the larger bones of the upper body and a few ribs. Its filling was greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished and there were no traces of a coffin. There were no annex objects. The newborn had been buried alongside its mother (no. 13.)

Grave no. 15: trench 2, D: 479.47 m, O: 249°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. Only the bottom of the left femur, the two shin bones, the ankles and toes were preserved. The rest of the skeleton was destroyed by later burials. Its filling was greyish, loose, contained rocks, and was mixed. The upper layers of the filling yielded a silver coin minted in 1489–1490, under Matthias I (1458–1490), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 38, 567). The coin was perforated with a 0.2 mm hole. The same filling also yielded another silver coin, minted in 1559, under Ferdinánd (1526–1564), with a diameter of 1.5 cm (Unger 1980, 748, 50). During the excavation, two coffin nails were also recovered from near the legs. The grave was cut through by no. 26 and no. 35.

Grave no. 16: trench 2, D: 479.52 m, O: 269°, A: young adult female, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. The grave only contained a well preserved skull, the mandible, and several vertebrae. The rest of the skeleton was destroyed by later burials. Its filling was brownish grey, loose, and mixed. Just above the skull, the grave also contained the disturbed remains of two children. The body had been buried in a coffin and we found four 6–7 cm long, small, forged nails, with flat heads. The edge of the grave could be distinguished quite well. It had been cut through by grave no. 51.

Grave no. 17: trench 3, D: 478.57 m, O: 105°, A: infans I, Sl: 48 cm, C: 17th century. The bones

found inside the completely excavated grave had been disturbed by the roots of the nearby, large, now dead, pear tree. The bones themselves were preserved in good condition, with most of them being recoverable from the grave. Only some of the larger bones were still left in their anatomical positions. Its filling was brownish grey, loose, contained rocks, and was mixed. The filling also contained the disturbed remnants of a child's grave, which included some phalanges, one of which had a ring with an engraved silver ornament, its bezel oval shaped, measuring 1.6–1.2 cm in diameter and 0.3 cm in thickness. The engraving on the flat surface cannot be made out. A jointing is found on the bottom of the band, which has a diameter of 2.2 cm. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.2 m, its width at the head 0.7 m, and at the feet 0.5 m. During the excavation we found twelve 6.5–7 cm, small, forged nails, with flat heads. When the bones were being picked up, we found traces of a dark colored textile material in the area near the partially disturbed skull. The threads were silvered. They were presumably part of a veil or a headdress, the remaining parts of which had decomposed completely. The grave had destroyed the top part of grave no. 4.

Grave no. 18: trench 3, D: 478.29 m, O: 299°, A: adult male, Sl: 177 cm, C: 18th–19th centuries. The robust skull was strongly tilted to the left and the bones were preserved in good condition. Both arms were raised completely on to the shoulders and the lower vertebrae were dislocated. Its filling was yellowish brown, clayey, and compact. The upper part of the grave yielded a specific 18th–19th century type of enameled jug, known as a *bokály*. The mouth of the white vessel was broken off and was missing, the rest of it remaining completely intact. The white base color is separated by a thick green stripe on the bottom side, stretching around the vessel, which is further decorated within black lines, numbering five on the top and four underneath. The top half is separated in half by green and black perpendicular borders. One of these halves, where the handle is located, is decorated by three black, lattice decorations placed above each other. The other half, holds

green vine motifs, with black borders, growing out of each other. The rim, similarly to the bottom, is separated by a brownish black strip. Width: 9.5 cm, height (incomplete): 19.5 cm. The body was buried in a coffin and we found one 8 cm long, flat headed nail, and three round headed ones. The outline of the grave could also be distinguished quite well, it was 2.1 m long, 0.7 m wide at the top, and 0.6 m at the bottom. There was no object annexed to the grave itself. It had partially disturbed no. 8.

Grave no. 19: trench 2, D: 479.2 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. Only the forehead part of the skull was left, the rest of the skeleton having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. Large sections of the coffin's bottom and its lid were preserved, presumably this is why the bones had decomposed to such a great extent. Two 5.5–6 cm long, small, flat headed coffin nails were found. The outline of the grave could not be entirely discerned. There were no annex objects. The body was buried together with no. 25 and no. 26, which were also child graves. It was buried over no. 35, with a short interval between the two burials. The large grave in which the three children rested had cut through graves 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 20: trench 4, D: 479.84 m, O: 144°, A: adult female (35–39 years old), Sl: 1.65 m, C: 17th century. The grave remained in good condition, with the skull lightly cracked, and a few of the bones, including the arms, being slightly dislocated. The hands were clasped together above the pelvis. The toes of the right foot were missing. Its filling was yellowish, contained much gravel, and was loose. The upper layers of the filling yielded a coin minted in 1712, under Charles III (1711–1740), which was in very good condition, so good in fact that it was almost as if it was brand new (diameter 1.7 cm). Also in secondary position, another coin was found in the chest area, minted in 1530–1531, under Ferdinánd (1526–1564), (Huszár 1979, 691, 146). Next to this there was also a silver coin minted under Michael I,

ruler of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (1669–1673), which was highly corroded, its top had been perforated (coin diameter 1.6 cm, perforation diameter 0.2 cm). The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.82 m, and its width 0.55 m. During the excavation we uncovered eight 7.5 cm long forged iron nails, with flat heads, measuring 2×0.5 cm.

Grave no. 21: trench 3, D: 478.1 m, O: 329°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.3 m, C: 17th century. The skull was strongly tilted toward the left and the large bones were broken due to the weight of the soil. Beside this, the skeleton was preserved in good condition. The hands were clasped together above the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, compact, clayey, and mixed. No coffin nails were found during excavation, nor any traces of coffin planks. There were no annex objects, and it had slightly disturbed grave no. 8.

Grave no. 22: trench 4, D: 480.13 m, O: 239°, A: adult female (35–44 years old), Sl: could not be determined, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the right femur, the bottom and left side of the pelvis, and the top of the left femur were preserved, in relatively good condition. Its filling was yellowish, contained rocks, chunks of humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be discerned, there were no traces of a coffin or of any annex objects. It was cut through by no. 49, and its upper part had been completely destroyed by no. 20.

Grave no. 23: trench 4, D: 479.84 m, O: 283°, A: 8–10 year old child, Sl: 1.14 m, C: 15th–16th centuries. The skull was crushed, with only fragments of the skeleton being uncovered, which included the clavicles, a few left ribs, the left upper arm, the left side of the pelvis, the left femur along with the top of the shin bone, and the top of the right shin bone. Its filling was greyish, mixed, containing rocks and humus. During the excavation we found five 7.5 cm long forged coffin nails, with 2×0.5 diameter heads, which were presumably not part of this grave. There were no annex objects, but it is certain that this was the origin of the phalanges which had been disturbed by the grave next

it. Next to the greenish bones we found a silver coin minted in 1489–1490, under Matthias I (1458–1490), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 38, 567). The bottom of the grave had been disturbed by no. 20.

Grave no. 24: trench 4, D: 479.7 m, O: 278°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.1 m, C: beginning of the 16th century. The skeleton was in good condition but the skull was broken, the ankle and toes were left unexcavated, inside the trench wall. The arms were raised to a right angle on top of the chest, its filling was greyish, clayey, contained gravel, and patches of humus. During the excavation we also found coffin planks and coffin nails. The fingers of the right hand held a silver Dinar minted under Vladislaus II (1490–1516), with a diameter of 1.4 cm, and a perforation in its top, measuring 0.2 mm. It was partially disturbing no. 4.

Grave no. 25: trench 2, D: 479.16 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. Only small, unrecognizable bone fragments were found in the grave, the rest having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. A large portion of the coffin's bottom and lid were preserved, presumably this being the reason why so little was left of the skeleton. During excavation we found four 5.5 cm long, forged coffin nails, with round heads (diameter 1 cm). The grave outline could not be followed appropriately during excavation, and there were no annex objects. It was buried together with no. 19 and no. 26, which also belonged to children. It had been buried not long after no. 35, on top of it. The large pit of these three graves cut through 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 26: trench 2, D: 479.17 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be established, C: 19th century. Only small unrecognizable bone fragments were left in the grave, the rest having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained clay patches, and was mixed. The filling found on top of the coffin yielded a copper Kreutzer, found in secondary position, minted in 1812, under Francis (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.3 cm (Unger 1980, 1405, 112),

its top had been perforated with a 0.4 m wide hole. A large portion of the coffin's bottom and lid were preserved, presumably this being the reason why the skeleton was so decomposed. During excavation we found a 7.5 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm) forged coffin nail. The grave outline could not be followed appropriately during excavation, and there were no annexes. It was buried together with no. 19 and no. 25, which were also child graves. It had been buried not long after no. 35, and on top of it. The large pit of these three graves cut through graves 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 27: trench 2, D: 479.57 m, O: 256°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The upper part of the grave only yielded a few vertebrae and ribs, the left lower arm with its fingers, but the lower half of the skeleton remained complete. The arm was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, contained humus, patches of clay, and was mixed. During excavation we found what was left of the coffin planks. It was being cut through by no. 36 and no. 37, and partially overlapped by no. 28.

Grave no. 28: trench 2, D: 479.72 m, O: about 280–290°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 18th century. The grave of this adult only yielded the broken fragments of the skull, the mandible, and the scapula, with the rest of the skeleton falling outside the trench. Its filling was greyish brown, containing patches of clay, humus, and was mixed. There were well preserved traces of coffin planks in the area near the skull. Alongside the coffin nails, we also found three small iron staples which served for holding the coffin together. The objects made out of forged iron had a width of 0.5 cm, and a thickness of 0.4 cm. The object had a length of 4.5–5 cm. The coffin planks were 2.5 cm thick, the staples were driven through the wood and their ends were then bent backwards. The grave was partially overlapping no. 27, and its lower half was no doubt being cut through by no. 40.

Grave no. 29: trench 2, D: 479.26 m, O: 276°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.08 m, C: 16th century. The grave was preserved in average condition,

the skull was crushed, and the left side of the upper body was missing entirely down to the femur. The arm was placed over the pelvis. Its filling was grey, contained rocks, patches of clay, and was mixed. During the excavation we found two 7.5 cm long, flat headed, forged nails, as well as the remains of the coffin planks. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished well, and there were no annexes, despite the fact that the finger bones of the right hand were colored green from oxidization. The grave was supposedly buried at the same time as no. 5.

Grave no. 30: trench 2, D: 478.53 m, O: 250°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.7 m, C: 16th century. The adult's grave was preserved in good condition, the skull had cracked under the weight of the soil, part of the ribs was fragmentary, and the ankles and feet were missing. The left hand was placed over the right side of the pelvis. During excavation we noticed the traces of coffin planks, but we didn't find any coffin nails. The filling of the grave yielded a slightly cracked, cast bronze signet ring, covered in green oxidization, with an oval bezel, measuring 1 × 1.4 cm, the band having a diameter of 2.1 cm, and with a dovetail joint at the bottom which had been flattened and sharpened. Based on the ornamentation found on it, it belongs to the category of 15th–16th century lily and life tree motif combination. The central motif on the oval surface is framed. The narrowing side of the ring holds four horizontal lines on each side. Its central part is separated by a line, with one side having a stylized lily, with a tree of life growing out of it, while the other side has a lily flower shaped to resemble a star, which in earlier examples used to be represented as a cross. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its length was 2.2 m, its width varying between 60–70 cm, and its corners were slightly rounded. There were no annexes. Grave no. 11 had been buried on top of it, its legs had been cut through by no. 53. This grave had destroyed graves no. 1 and no. 2.

Grave no. 31: trench 3, D: 478.34 m, O: 327°, A: child aged under 12, Sl: 1.27 m, C: 17th century. The skeleton's bones were preserved in good condition, with the skull being cracked

and tilted toward the left. The hands were slightly stretched forward and placed over the pelvis. Its filling was grey, compact, clayey, and was mixed. There was no coffin, with the position of the skeleton (huddled position) suggesting that the body had been buried wrapped in a shroud. The filling also yielded two coffin nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.8 m, its width at the head was 1 m, and at the legs 0.7 m. There were no annex objects. It partially disturbed no. 8.

Grave no. 32: trench 2, D: 478.92 m, O: 254°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. Only the right femur and the two shin bones were left of the averagely preserved skeleton. Its upper half had been destroyed by plowing. Its filling was yellowish brown, clayey, compact, containing patches of humus. During the excavation we also found a coffin nail, but there were no annex objects, and the outline of the grave could not be distinguished. It cut through no. 1, and was presumably buried at the same time as no. 10.

Grave no. 33: trench 2, D: 479.2 m, O: 324°, A: adult elderly female, Sl: 1.5 m, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated completely, the skull was found tilted to the right, and the bones were preserved in good condition. Some of the bones had been dislocated by the roots of the nearby tree. The right arm was placed over the pelvis while the left was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was yellowish grey, loose, containing patches of clay, humus, and was mixed. The coffin boards were well preserved, and two nails were found during excavation. It had been buried inside the pit of no. 54. There were no annex objects. Grave no. 12 was buried on top of it, and it had partially disturbed no. 42.

Grave no. 34: trench 2, D: 479.59 m, O: 343°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. Only the bottom of the right femur, and the two shin bones were preserved, with the upper body being destroyed. Its filling was greyish, compact, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. During the excavation we found a broken, flat headed nail. The outline of

the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no annex objects. The top part had been disturbed by graves 56 and 57.

Grave no. 35: trench 2, D: 478.45 m, O: 317°, A: adult female, Sl: 1.49 m, C: 19th century. The skull of the well preserved skeleton was tilted toward the right and the arms were stretched out alongside the body. Its filling was grey, contained schist, patches of humus, and was mixed. The coffin planks were well preserved, and we also found 18 large 6 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm), forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.9–2 m, and its width 0.8 m. The phalange of the right hand yielded a copper Kreutzer, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.4 cm (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). The grave holding the three children, 19, 25, and 26, had been buried on top of it, being positioned one meter above it. It cut through graves 53, 1, and 15.

Grave no. 36: trench 2, D: 479.45 m, O: 285°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. The child's skeleton was preserved in average condition, the skull was cracked, and a part of the vertebrae and ribs had decomposed completely. Only the upper body was excavated, with the rest being found outside the excavation trench. Its filling was loose, greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed with humus. The outline of the grave was discernable here and there. During the excavation, the lid of the coffin was found to cover the entire grave, and we also found 18 large 6 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm), forged coffin nails. Two cast bronze, flat surfaced buttons were found at the right upper arm, with their outer edges narrowed, and with the fastening hinges broken off the back (diameter 1.6 cm). It had cut through graves 27 and 37.

Grave no. 37: trench 2, D: 479.53 m, O: west-east, Sl: could not be determined, C: 17th century. Only the hand and the phalanges remained. Its filling was grey, containing schist and patches of humus. There were no traces of a coffin as only a small section of the grave was

preserved. Inside the hand we found a Polish 1/24 silver Taler, minted in 1624, under Sigismund III, with a diameter of 1.8 cm. The grave had been destroyed by graves 36, 19, 25, and 26.

Grave no. 38: trench 5, D: 481.23 m, O: 270°, A: infans II, under 12 years, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The well preserved skeleton remained only from the waist up. Its lower half had been destroyed by the gravel extraction. The skull was tilted to the left and was cracked and the arms were bent to a right angle and placed over the stomach. Its filling was yellowish, loose, contained gravel, and patches of humus. During the excavation we also found a coffin nail. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, as it was very close to the surface. There were no annexes.

Grave no. 39: trench 5, D: 480.2 m, O: 239°, A: infans I, Sl: 0.65 m, C: 16th century. The grave was preserved in average condition, the upper half was partially disturbed as grave no. 43 had been buried over it, but it remained intact bellow the pelvis. The bones of the upper body were only partially dislocated, with the lower part of the skull remaining in its original position. When the grave was disturbed, a silver coin minted in 1630–1638, under Ferdinand II (1619–1637), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 916, 65), was displaced to near the shoulder. The filling of the grave was yellow, containing gravel, humus, and was mixed, its outline could not be determined, and we did not notice any traces of a coffin. The phalange of the right hand, which had been placed over the pelvis, yielded a silver coin, minted in 1543, under Ferdinand (1526–1564), measuring 1.5 cm in diameter, and being in very good condition (Huszár 1979, 944, 144)

Grave no. 40: trench 5, D: 479.79 m, O: 298°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. The averagely preserved adult skeleton only had its right arm, vertebrae, femur, and the left shin bone remaining. The skull was found outside the excavation trench, and the grave had been partially disturbed by other graves. Its filling was grey, loose, contained humus, patches

of clay, and was mixed. The coffin planks were preserved over a larger area. The outline of the grave was visible only partially and there were no annexes. It had disturbed graves 28 and 48, it was buried on top of 58, and its right side was cut through by no. 46.

Grave no. 41: trench 2, D: 478.37 m, O: 261°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.62 m, C: 17th century. The entire grave was excavated, the skull was cracked and very damaged, and the left upper arm was missing. The damages were supposedly done by both the agricultural work that had been done in the area, as well as by the roots of the nearby tree. The arms were placed on the pelvis. Its filling was grey, containing humus and gravel, and it was mixed. We also found a bottom fragment of a 17th century pot, that had been burned in layers, shaped on a fast potter's wheel, and made with material that had been thinned with sand. The area of the left upper arm, which had been disturbed by plowing, yielded a copper Kreutzer, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), measuring 2.4 cm in diameter (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). Near the coin, also in the part that had been disturbed, we noticed the traces of textiles with green oxidization marks. The material had dense thread, was compact, and measured 1.3–1.4 cm in width. During excavation, we noticed its coffin nails over a larger area, these included four 8.5 cm long, flat headed, and twelve 7 cm long, round headed (diameter 1.5 cm), forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length being 2.05 m, and its width 0.65 m, it was being slightly cut through by grave no. 18. There were no annex objects.

Grave no. 42: trench 2, D: 478.87 m, O: 310°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.78 m, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated completely, the skeleton was in good condition, and the coffin had been placed in the ground on its side, the widest excavated section being only about 25 cm. The arms were under the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, loose, brownish, containing humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could be distinguished clearly, its length was 2 m, and its width 0.6 m. The coffin was

held together with 14 large 7 cm, round headed (diameter 2.5 cm), forged nails. During the excavation we found four small staples, also meant for holding together the coffin. One of them was narrow, 2 cm wide, and the rest were uneven, oval shaped. Their width was between 4.5–5 cm. Their ends were narrowed, and had been hammered into the planks while bent. The coffin boards were probably more than 2.5 cm thick, as the ends of the staples had not been bent after being driven through the wood. The lengths of the staples varied, being 7, 8, 9, 5, and 6 cm long. During the excavation we found seven flat, cast bronze buttons, their outer edges narrowed, the fastenings their backs were broken off, and their diameters were 1.6 cm. On the phalanges of the skeleton's left hand we uncovered 5 copper Kreutzers, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), (Unger 1980, 1405, 1403, 111, 112.). Each of them was highly corroded, and in poor condition. Two of them had denominations of three Kreutzer, and the other three of them of one Kreutzer. On the chest we also found the buttons that used to be attached to the clothes: one light blue, flat on one side, the other rounded on one side and made of glass, its ear was broken off (diameter 1.2 cm), two irregular shaped black glass buttons, also with the ears broken off (diameter 1.3 and 1.1 cm). The modern period, adult grave also contained large areas of skin in the area between the two femurs.

Grave no. 43: trench 5, D: 480.16 m, O: 293°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The grave had been almost entirely destroyed, only its pit remained, along with the bones of the lower arm. Its filling contained gravel, was loose, yellowish, and mixed. We did not notice any traces of a coffin on the small surface. It had been buried over no. 39, its top was most certainly cut through by no. 51.

Grave no. 44: trench 5, D: 480.66 m, O: 312°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the lower third of the left femur and the two shin bones were left, the rest having been destroyed by other graves,

which were found at lower depth. Its filling was yellowish, contained humus and a lot of gravel. There were no traces of a coffin, the outline of the grave could not be distinguished, there were not annex objects, and the missing parts were cut through by no. 50.

Grave no. 45: trench 5, D: 479.92 m, O: 250°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the lower left leg remained, with the tibia. The res had been destroyed, but the remaining bones were in good condition. There was no trace of a coffin, the outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no annex items. The grave was cut through by 58, 48, and 40.

Grave no. 46: trench 5, D: 479.79 m, O: 299°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. Only the coffin planks were preserved, and the edge of the grave pit, with the bones having decayed completely. Its filling was grey, clayey, contained humus, and was mixed. The coffin had been fastened with four large, round headed, forged nails (diameter 1.8 cm and length 6.5 cm). It was cutting through graves 40 and 45, and it had been buried over no. 50.

Grave no. 47: trench 5, D: 481.1 m, O: 214°, A: iuvenis, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The skull of the otherwise good condition skeleton had been destroyed, with only the mandible remaining. The arms were raised over the chest and crossed. Its filling was yellowish, contained gravel, humus, and was mixed. There were no traces of a coffin, the edges of the grave were irregular, rounded, at its widest point it measured about 50 cm. In the area below the mandible, we found three cast bronze, flattened spheroid shaped buttons. Their tops were fitted with ears for fastening. The diameter of the buttons was 0.6–0.8 cm, with the ear measuring 0.5 cm, and the entire length of the object being 1.4–1.5 cm. During the excavation we also found thick, silvered metallic threads which were oxidized and fused with a tightly woven textile. The grave had been disturbed by no. 48.

Grave no. 48: trench 5, D: 480.53 m, O: 292°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.25 m, C: post 1710. The skull of the stretched out skeleton was cracked and tilted strongly to the left. The right hand was placed just above the pelvis, while the left hand was on the pelvis. Its filling was yellow, compact, containing gravel, and was mixed. During the excavation we found nine small headed 6.5–7 cm long forged nails, with the heads measuring 1.7 × 0.7 cm. The phalanges of the right hand yielded a good condition silver coin, minted in 1710, under Joseph I (1705–1711), with a diameter of 1.8 cm, the bottom of the coin had been pierced with a 0.2 cm wide hole. The grave had disturbed no. 47.

Grave no. 49: trench 4, D: 480.02 m, O: 261°, A: iuvenis, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. The skeleton was in poor condition and the skull had been destroyed, with only the mandible remaining. The left side of the skeleton was missing entirely, while the other half only had a few ribs and long bones remaining. Its filling was grey, contained humus and rocks, and it was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be determined exactly. During excavation we uncovered 2 rectangular headed forged nails. Their length was 7.8–8 cm, their heads 1.5 × 0.8 cm. There were no annexes. The grave had disturbed no. 22 and no. 23.

Grave no. 50: trench 5, D: 479.31 m, O: 307°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated from the knees down, with the rest remaining outside the excavation trench. The long bones were in very poor condition and fractured. Its filling was grey, loose, containing schist, rocks and humus. During the excavation we found three round headed (2 cm wide) 6.5 cm long nails and 13 flat headed 7.5 cm long nails. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its width was about 60 cm. There were no annexes and it had cut through graves 44, 36, and 46.

Grave no. 51: trench 5, D: 479.39 m, O: 310°, A: adult, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th centuries. Only the northern section of the grave was excavated, with its southern part

remaining in the wall of the excavation trench. Only a part of a femur was left, with the rest of the bones having decayed completely. Its filling was grey, mixed, containing rocks, schist, and patches of humus. During excavation we found two 7.5 cm flat headed nails. The filling yielded a copper Kreutzer from 1812, minted under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.4 cm, which had been pierced (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). The grave had disturbed grave no. 16 and 43.

Grave no. 52: trench 5, D: 479.87 m, O: 301°, A: adult male, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The skull was partially destroyed, partially dislocated, with the mandible remaining in its original position. The entire right arm was missing, as well as the ankle and the phalanges. The left hand was pulled over the chest. A highly corroded, unidentifiable coin was found between the phalanges, which, based on its recognizable features could date to the 17th century (Matthias II). Its filling was grey, containing gravel, humus, and schist. During the excavation we found eleven 6–8 cm long, flat headed nails. The filling of the grave yielded a red copper belt buckle with a middle prong, which had been formed out of two semicircles into a pressed oval shape, with one end being turned straight. On this side the two pieces were also held together with red copper, and it even preserved a small leather sample between the two pieces. The piece had been originally shaped from a cylinder cross sectioned piece, by flattening the outer part. Its length was 5 cm, width 2.4 cm, the width of the two pieces 2.5 cm. The grave had been disturbed by no. 58.

Grave no. 53: trench 2, D: 478.43 m, T: 296°, A: infans I, Sl: 0.65 m, C: 18th century. The skull of the stretched out skeleton was cracked and flattened, the left femur was dislocated, and the phalanges were entirely decomposed. The arms were stretched out along the body. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its length was 85–90 cm. The body had been buried in a coffin, of which we found traces on a large area, as well as fourteen 6 cm long, large, round headed forged nails, with a

diameter of 2.5 cm. There were no annexes. The grave had disturbed no. 1 and 30, and it had been buried over no. 35.

Grave no 54: trench 2, D: 478.95 m, O: 147°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.65 m, C: 18th–19th centuries. The skeleton was in good condition, with the vertebrae and ribs only being slightly dislocated. The left arm was completely missing, and the right arm was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, containing rocks, and humus. The coffin had four 7 cm long round headed nails (diameter 2 cm), and six 6 cm long flat headed nails. Graves 55, 33, and 12 had been buried into the pit of this grave, above the skeleton.

Grave no. 55: trench 2, D: 478.98 m, O: 325°, A: adult, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th century. Only the left lower arm remained, along with the phalanges. Given the fact that the left arm was missing from the previous grave, we cannot exclude the possibility that it originally belonged to that grave, but was severed and placed into this one. It was so close to the bones of no. 55 that it is difficult to imagine that this could be the result of the grave being disturbed, without any of the other bones disappearing.

Grave no. 56: trench 2, D: 478.83 m, O: 109°, A: infans I, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th centuries. The skull was crushed, the vertebrae and ribs had decayed completely, with only a few bones remaining. Its filling was greyish, loose, containing schist, and humus. We documented coffin boards and three sturdy round headed forged nails, with the heads measuring 2 × 4.5 cm in diameter. The outline of the grave was only discernable occasionally, because of the disturbances caused by other graves. Near the right hand we found a Kreutzer minted in 1790, under Joseph II (1768/1780–1790), with a diameter of 2.3 cm, (Unger 1980, 1337, 105). It had been buried on top of no. 57, and it cuts through no 34.

Grave no. 57: trench 2, D: 478.9 m, O: 280°, A: infans I, Sl: could not be determined,

A: 17th century. The shattered skull was partially destroyed, the skeleton's middle section was preserved, with the remaining bones being in good condition. As grave no. 56 overlapped it completely, and partially destroyed it, we could not establish with any certainty whether there was a coffin or not. The filling of the grave was grey, compact, clayey, containing patches of humus. During the recovery of the bones, we found a coin near the right hand, minted in 1678, under Leopold I (1657–1705), measuring 1.7 cm in diameter, perforated in the lower half with a 0.2 cm hole.

Grave no. 58: trench 5, D: 479.27 m,

O: 291°, A: adult, SI: could not be determined, C: 19th century. We only found fragments of the skull, a few pieces of long bones, and rib fragments, the rest of the skeleton had decomposed completely. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, containing rocks, and patches of humus. The filling contained a silver coin minted in 1634, under Ferdinand II (1619–1637), (Huszár 1979, 1200, 182). The coffin had been held together with one 6 cm long round headed nail (diameter 2 cm), and four round headed (diameter 1–1.5 cm) forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished clearly, and there were no annexes. It had disturbed graves no. 45, 40, and 52.

b. The internal chronology of the cemetery

During our survey we didn't notice any traces of a settlement near the mound, so during the excavation, any artifacts recovered, only indirectly suggested the age of the burials. During our excavation, we also recovered pottery fragments from the upper layers which had been disturbed. From inside trench 1, from a depth of 0.5–0.9 m, we recovered the bottom fragment of a 15th–16th century brownish pot that had been burned in layers, thinned with sand, and shaped on a fast potter's wheel. Inside trench 2, the disturbed grave filling yielded a grey colored, bottom and side fragments, of a 15th–16th century pot, that had been made on a fast potter's wheel and thinned with sand, as well as three brown side fragments of a pot that was also made on a fast potter's wheel, and thinned with sand, which were decorated with scratched grooves. The same filling also yielded a fragment of jug that had been made out of high quality clay, on a fast potter's wheel, and which had a coated surface, four fragments from the side of a 16th–17th century brown, greyish brown pot, that had been thinned with coarse sand, and the brown side fragment of a pan shaped stove eye, that had been made on a fast potter's wheel and thinned with sand.

In trench 3 we recovered four 15th–16th century, grey pot bottom and side fragments, made on fast potter's wheels, thinned with sand, seven brown, side and rim fragments of a

pot (the are beneath the rim and the side fragments had scratched grooves), made on a fast potter's wheels and thinned with sand. Trench 5 only yielded the two brown colored, bottom fragments of two separate vessels, dating to the 16th–17th centuries, made on fast potter's wheels, and thinned with sand and fine gravel.

Without these objects, determining the age of the grave would have been very difficult. As there were no buildings in the area and there was no stratification formed in the filling of the graves, we could not rely on these either. The color and features of the subsoil were inconsistent, and therefore inappropriate for comparison. Furthermore, we couldn't use the depths of the graves for dating. As the cemetery was found on a mound, considerable differences could emerge in terms of depth, even within the same grave, not to mention between the graves found on top of the mound and those found at the bottom.

The orientation of the graves also didn't help a lot in establishing a wider chronology, as the graves were not adjusted in relation to a building, but instead, according to the position of the rising sun, which would change from season to season. Presumably, gravesites were not marked prior to the 19th century, so earlier graves could not be used as references. When examining the map of the cemetery, in some case we can distinguish certain groups of graves, which generally have the same orientation. These had

been buried within a short time interval, when the traces of the recently dug gravesite were still visible on the ground. In the case of 19th century graves, we can also see that these had been marked and that in their cases the orientation

only varied by 45°. In the case of the 17th–18th century graves, we can also see graves with a reverse orientation (56, 54, 20, 17), (Fig. 12), with the difference between the earliest graves being about 123° at most.

turn of the 15 th –16 th centuries	16 th century	17 th century	18 th century	turn of the 18 th –19 th centuries	19 th century
1–301°	5–240°	10–290°	28–280°	18–299°	12–330°
4–220°	6–291°	11–280°	48–292°	51–310°	19–285°
2–337°	7–273°	17–105°	53–296°	54–147°	25–285°
3–248°	8–235°	20–144°		55–325°	26–285°
13–294°	9–281°	21–329°		56–109°	33–324°
14–294°	15–249°	34–343°			35–317°
22–239°	16–269°	31–327°			36–285°
23–283°	24–278°	41–261°			40–298°
44–312°	27–256°	37– n.m.			42–310°
45–250°	29–276°	43–293°			46–299°
	30–250°	52–301°			50–307°
	32–254°	57–280°			58–291°
	38–270°				
	39–239				
	47–214°				
	49–261°				

The orientation of the graves dated with the help of artifacts and superpositions (Fig. 16).

The analysis of the superpositions, the grave pits, and the coffins, helped considerably with the dating. We elaborated on these in our separate description of each grave, so we won't repeat it here.

Burials with coffins started to appear in Székely Land in the 14th–15th centuries. Grave no. 28, found in Cristuru Secuiesc, which was dated with the help of a coin minted under Louis I of Hungary, no doubt suggests this.⁴² During the excavation of the medieval church ruins in Ulieș, they were proven to also exist in the

15th century,⁴³ however, they only became widespread during the 16th century.⁴⁴ Prior to this, the dead were wrapped in a shroud and placed so in shallower graves. We found such remains in several cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei. We observed the obvious traces of a burial shroud in grave no. 15, in Sântimbru, where during the excavation, we documented the traces of dark brown, carbonized organic material under the skull.⁴⁵ We also detected organic materials in Văleni, in graves 65–66, during their excavation.⁴⁶ In a few cases in Mugeni, we showed directly as well as indirectly that the dead were buried in shrouds.⁴⁷ In the case of Orășeni, we

⁴² BENKŐ 2012, 155.

⁴³ DERZSI-SÓFALVI, 2008, 272.

⁴⁴ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 260.

⁴⁵ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 170.

⁴⁶ NYÁRÁDI 2015.

⁴⁷ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 260.

did not find similar remains, but the position of the bones suggested the existence of a shroud in two separate cases. In the case of grave no. 8, the outline of the grave was not distinguishable, however, based on the raised arms and the position of the shoulders, we can be certain that the body was buried wrapped in a shroud. The outline of grave no. 31, the one holding in its northern corner the remains which had been wrapped up, was clearly visible. While grave no. 8 belonged to an earlier layer, grave 31 was dated to the 17th century. The forged nails present in its filling seem to suggest that some sort of wooden structure was covering the body.

During the detailed analysis of the graves, with the exceptions of the two already mentioned, 13 graves had no visible trace of coffins. From among these, graves 21 (Fig. 13) and 47 were dated, using other methods, to the 16th–17th centuries, while the rest (1, 2, 3, 6, 13, 14, 22, 23, 39, 44, 45) belonged to the oldest section of the cemetery (15th–16th century). Because of their depths and the extent to which they had been disturbed, the grave outlines could not be determined with precision, however, most of them contained the oldest annex objects found in the cemetery. Furthermore, these were the graves that had been most disturbed by other, more recent graves.

One of the oldest coffins found in the cemetery came from grave no. 24, where the right hand was holding a silver coin minted under Vladislaus II. We also found coffin nails alongside the traces of planks. In several cases (4, 7, 30), the 16th century burials didn't have any nails, with the coffins being held together with wooden pins or joining (Fig. 14). Coffins without any forged nails were also found in the 17th century (37, 41, 57), being documented even in cases as recent as the 19th century (40). In the case of a grave dated to the 18th century (28), the

coffin boards had also been strengthened with three iron staples. The pointy end of the staple had been bent backwards to hold it in place, and this shows us the thickness of the boards, in this case 2.5 cm. In the case of another grave, dating to the 19th century, four staples had been used for strengthening the coffin. As the ends were not bent backwards in this case, we can assume that the boards were thicker than 2.5 cm.

The manner in which the graves were buried, and their locations, seem to suggest family ties. This becomes obvious when the deceased are placed in shared graves pits, and occasionally, even in shared coffins. In the case of our cemetery, one of the most exemplary cases can be found among the more recent graves. In the north-eastern corner of trench 2, we documented three skeletons in one grave. The lowest one, no. 53, belonged to an adult male, who had an adult female buried over him (no. 35), who in turn, had another adult male (no. 12) buried over her (Fig. 15). Also belonging to the cemetery's later stages was the triple grave belonging to no. 12, 25, and 26, who had all been buried in separate coffins but in a common grave. The children had presumably passed away during an epidemic. Based on the depth and the position of the grave, no. 5 and 29 had also been buried together, sometime during the 16th century. Besides these, we have documented only one other shared grave. This was in the case of the 16th–17th century grave of a woman (no. 13), who was buried holding her newborn child (14).

By using the different dating techniques and connections, we established that the cemetery basically had two phases. The more exact determination of these couldn't have been done without the objects recovered from the filling of the graves and the other *in situ* materials we discovered.

c. Finds

The burials at Orășeni can be considered quite rich when compared to church cemeteries dating from the same period. Out of the 58 excavated graves, 23 contained some type of

annex object, and we also found other valuable objects in secondary positions, originating from the disturbed graves.

COINS

During the excavation we identified a total of 29 coins, which had made establishing the internal chronology of the cemetery a lot easier (Fig. 17). 24% of them (7) had been perforated, which

suggests that they were worn strung to clothing. Many of them showed signs of ware, suggesting that they had been in use for longer periods, which makes the dating timeframe be even wider.

No.	Grave no.	Position	Issuer	Dating	Condition
1.	15	filling	Matthias I	1489–1490	perforated
2.	23	destroyed phalanges	Matthias I	1489–1490	average
3.	24	right hand	Vladislaus II	1490–1516	perforated
4.	20	filling, chest	Ferdinand I	1530–1531	average
5.	39	right hand	Ferdinand I	1543	average
6.	15	left hand	Ferdinand I	1559	average
7.	5	left hand	Rudolph	1579	average
8.	52	left hand	Matthias II	?	fragment
9.	10	right hand	Matthias II	1615	average
10.	37	hand	Sigismund III of Poland	1624	average
11.	58	filling	Ferdinand II	1634	average
12.	39	filling	Ferdinand II	1630–1638	average
13.	10	filling	Ferdinand III	1657	highly corroded
14.	20	filling	Michael of Poland	1669–1673	perforated
15.	57	right hand	Leopold I	1678	perforated
16.	48	right hand	Joseph I	1710	good, perforated
17.	20	filling	Charles III	1712	average
18.	56	right hand	Joseph II	1790	average
19.	51	filling	Francis I	1812	perforated
20.	51	filling	Francis I	1812	average
21.	41	filling	Francis I	1812	perforated
22.	26	filling	Francis I	1812	average
23.	35	right hand	Francis I	1812	average
24.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
25.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
26.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
27.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
28.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
29.	12	left hand	Franz Joseph	1861	good

The coins discovered during the archaeological excavation (Fig. 17)

When the coins were found as annex objects, they were always in either the right or

left hand of the deceased. The earliest ones were minted under Matthias I, in 1489–1490, and were found in secondary positions. One of them came from a disturbed grave, from between

the phalanges of a skeleton (23), and the other from the filling of a grave (15) dating to the 16th century. Chronologically, next came the silver coins from the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, minted under Vladislaus II, which were recovered as annex objects (24). This was followed by four 16th century, eight 17th century, coins as well as one from the beginning of the 18th century (1710). The 1712 coin tied to the name of Charles III of Hungary was recovered from the disturbed layer of a grave filling (20). With all certainty, this is the last find that can be tied to the cemetery's first stage. We don't have any coins from the greater part of the 18th century. Considering how well the earlier 17th century was covered, we can safely assume that there were no burials during this time. Additionally, we don't have any other types of finds

from this period either.

The second phase of the cemetery began after 1790, or at least this is what the coin minted under Joseph II, found in grave 56 seems to suggest. Following this, the coins are continuous up to 1861 (no. 12), after which no more burials were made in this location.

Several of the 39 graves belonging to the cemetery's first stage showed signs of having been buried in rich clothing. The ones dating to the 16th century stand out amongst these in terms of the graves themselves and their artifacts, as these contained elements of clothing, hair accessories and even jewelry. We elaborated on the finds in our section covering the descriptions of the graves, so we will focus next on their implications and analyze their spatial and temporal statuses.

PEARLED HEADDRESS

The headdress objects recovered from child grave no. 6 are unique among the inventories of cemeteries found in the Seat of Odorhei. No organic material was left of the bearer of pearled headdress found on the crushed skull. The 132 pearls that were found included high quality solid, double pearls, shaped from pulled glass tubes, made out of dark blue, white, or light blue colored glass paste, as well as larger, blue, dark blue, and one light blue pearl (Fig. 18). The button like object, carved from bone, which we uncovered during the excavation of the skull, probably served to fasten the two ends of the headdress.

Inside no. 17, which also belonged to a child, the excavation of the partially disturbed skull revealed traces of dark colored textiles. The threads were silvered, presumably being part of a headdress or corolla, with the rest of the object having been destroyed.

Based on the inventories, Radvánszky concluded that girls only wore front headdresses or corollas.⁴⁸ Two types of round headdresses are known, the narrow forehead band, and the wider pearled headdress. Our find belongs to this second category, which, according to existing data, was found mostly in the graves of young girls.⁴⁹ Based on the parallels that were restorable in Hungary,⁵⁰ their support was made out of bas fiber, which was covered in some type of fabric, the edges being lined with trimmings. The flat areas were decorated with pearls, silver rolls, yarn buttercups, and metallic rolls.⁵¹

The closest, similar pearled example, in the Seat of Odorhei, was found in the church cemetery in Brădești, where no. 49, a child's grave, yielded fragments of two types of glass pearls and metal wire fragments, as well as pieces with semi-precious stones fitted in casein glue beds.⁵² We documented a pearled headdress during the

⁴⁸ RADVÁNSZKY 1896, 229.

⁴⁹ VADAY-HANCZ 2002, 65.

⁵⁰ Ex: the headdresses recovered from the cemeteries in Bácsmonostorszeg, Kaszaper, Kide, Mezőkovácsháza, Szada, and Tiszaörvény.

⁵¹ WOLF-HORVÁTH 2010, 160–162.

⁵² The results of the excavation are still being processed.

excavation of the church in Mugeni, in grave no. 139, where it had been fitted on leather. Discoloring was also observed on the skull of no. 144. The traces of similar 2.5–3 cm wide headdresses were also uncovered in graves 190 and 171. Unfortunately most of these had been preserved in very poor condition, with only the

imprint of the metallic material being noticeable in some cases.⁵³ The skull in grave no. 152 in Avrămești, had 45 dark pearls on a 12 cm long, 1.7 cm wide base.⁵⁴ A similar headdress was uncovered in grave no. 122 in Tomești, and dated with the help of silver Dinars minted under Rudolph and Maximilian.⁵⁵

HAIRPIN

The unique character of the headdress found in Orășeni is due to the two hairpins with pierced silver filigree ornaments. Both pins are based on an elongated thin hemispherical plate. One of them has the bottom closed with a straight plate, with a hole in the middle, for the pin. The other one is missing this part, however, based on its shape we can assume it had a similar fastening mechanism (Fig. 19).

Similar straight pins were used in the veil covering the head, during the 16th–17th centuries. We didn't find any parallels to these in the church cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei, or in Székely Land. They are quite rare even in Transylvania, being found mostly in treasure hoards. 16th century chest and belt broaches made with similar techniques, with wire filigrees, are known from the treasure hoards in Aiud and Sighișoara.⁵⁶

Most recently, our available data on these filigree jewels was compiled by Dóra Mérai, who mentions 18 sites where such objects were found in the territories of medieval Hungary, five of which were in Transylvania, and one in Partium.⁵⁷ The earliest finds were uncovered in

1882 in Huedin. The treasure hoard made up of mainly Gábor Bethlen coins, included six silver hairpins, which had been created in Transylvanian workshops.⁵⁸ In 1904, a treasure hoard found in a mound near Baia Mare also included a gilded silver hairpin. Most of the pin itself was missing. The treasure hoard was composed mainly of coins minted in 1555 and 1564.⁵⁹ In Vișuia, in 1973, four gilded silver filigree hairpins were uncovered during agricultural field work.⁶⁰ They also showed up among the displayed artifacts at Râșnov Castle, in nearby Saxon Land.⁶¹ Besides these we are also aware of a 17th century example, with wire ornaments, and enameled inclusions, which had supposedly been made in Transylvanian workshops, but, with the location where it was found being unknown.⁶²

The first piece uncovered during an archaeological excavation was found at Vințu de Jos. Its pin had been bent backwards, so it had been used not as a hairpin, but instead, as a clothing accessory.⁶³ As the annex object of a grave, it was first identified in the cemetery in Carei-Bobald, in 1966, when six separate graves yielded a gilded hairpin each, recovered from near the

⁵³ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 262.

⁵⁴ BENKŐ 1992, 236.

⁵⁵ BOTÁR 2005, 51.

⁵⁶ KOLBA 1990, 185–189.

⁵⁷ MÉRAI 2010, 59–65.

⁵⁸ CIPĂIANU 1973, 653–663.

⁵⁹ MIHALIK 1906, 119, Fig. 4.

⁶⁰ TELCEAN 1976, 209–210.

⁶¹ Undisclosed material. Regarding the excavations see RUSU 2008, 241, 254.

⁶² ÖTVÖS NAGY 2011, 211.

⁶³ RUSU 1998, 36.

skull.⁶⁴ During the 1994 excavation, another pin was found.⁶⁵ During the 1983–1985 excavation of the 90 graves, at the ruins of the St. John Church, found near Csenger, not far from Carei, Béla Varga uncovered additional richly decorated hairpins, some of which also had gilded wedge stone inlays.⁶⁶

These hair accessories also appear in treasure hoards found on the territory of Hungary. Three straight pins, with spheroid heads, were uncovered in Tolna. Two of the pin heads had been made in fours, by weaving notched wire and had also been gilded. The head of the larger pin is decorated with two garnets held in claw sockets, and two silver pearls. The lower part of the spheroid head of the silver hair bun needle is smooth, while the upper half of the spheroid is decorated, the two being separated by a braided wire. The inwrought circle shaped decorations, and the squares found inside the circles are framed with braided wire filigree, with the remaining surface being covered in fine granulation.⁶⁷ The two hairpins found in Drégelypalánk were dated to the 16th century,⁶⁸ while in Tamáslaka (Tomaševac), in 1894, a treasure hoard also included four hairpins with floral motifs.⁶⁹

During the excavation of the medieval cemetery in Kaposvár, similar finds were uncovered inside the graves. On this occasion, other types of pins were also uncovered: grave no. 772 yielded two gilded silver pins and a smaller

bronze pin, grave no. 773, alongside the one silver and two gilded objects, also yielded seven smooth bronze pins, while grave no. 807, yielded one with a lead head and three smooth bronze pins.⁷⁰ In the cemetery in Kide, they were found on the two sides of the skull in grave no. 104.⁷¹ In the cemetery in Kaszaper, grave no. 407, yielded two hairpins on each side of the skull, which were dated using a coin minted under Ferdinand I.⁷² Grave no. 4 in Balatonszőlős yielded a hairpin as an annex object, which was dated using a coin minted in 1535.⁷³ This type of object was also uncovered in several smaller scale cemetery excavations: Babócsa–*Bolhó*,⁷⁴ Damóc–*Temetődomb*,⁷⁵ Zobordarázs,⁷⁶ and Óföldséak.⁷⁷ The finds recovered from grave no. 67 in the cemetery in Katymár,⁷⁸ and the simple but highly fragmented examples from graves no. 72 and 85 in Zombor,⁷⁹ are not part of our typology. The types found at Igar,⁸⁰ Zalaszentgrót,⁸¹ and Bőlcse,⁸² which were elongated, made out of bronze and with gilded surfaces, with alternating sphere and inlaid stone decorations, were also not included because of their shapes.

It also appears as a valuable in treasure hoards found in Moldova and Walachia. Similar ones were found, for example, in Brânceni (Teleorman County, RO) alongside Central European and Turkish coins, which dated to the middle of the 17th century.⁸³ All three hairpins were gilded. The fragment found at Dezghincea

⁶⁴ NÉMETI 1982, 172–173.

⁶⁵ NÉMETI 1995, 125.

⁶⁶ FÁBIÁN–PINTYE 2008, 19.

⁶⁷ LOVAG–NÉMETH 1974, 226, Fig. 6.6.

⁶⁸ KÖVÉR 1892, 33.

⁶⁹ KÖVÉR 1897, 247, Fig. 13.

⁷⁰ BÁRDOS 1987, 20–21.

⁷¹ KOVALOVSKY 1986, 21.

⁷² BÁLINT 1938, 161.

⁷³ LÁSZLÓ 1980, 116, 120.

⁷⁴ MAGYAR 1981, 62, 69.

⁷⁵ DANKÓ 1975, 116.

⁷⁶ RUTTKAY 1997, Fig. 8/4.

⁷⁷ BÉRES 2003, 190.

⁷⁸ WICKER–KÓHEGYI 2002, 87.

⁷⁹ KOREK 1989, 182–183.

⁸⁰ KULCSÁR 1998, 100.

⁸¹ KVASSAY 2002, 134.

⁸² SZABÓ–HAJDÚ 2015, 126–130.

⁸³ ȚĂNȚĂREANU 2012, 237.

(Republic of Moldova) was also gilded.⁸⁴

The mentioned parallels, even though they are similar to the ones found in Orășeni in terms of manufacturing technique and decoration, they are different in terms of how they were assembled. All of these were assembled from two hemispheres, while the ones found in Orășeni had been made from an elongated hemisphere

with a flat closure on the end. Despite the fact that the pin itself wasn't preserved in any of the cases, we believe the objects were used as hairpins. As one of the flat closures clearly had a hole in it, it is difficult to imagine that these could have been decorative components of the headdress itself.

CLOTHING CLASPS, BUTTONS, AND BELT BUCKLE

Certain finds that indicated clothing were also uncovered in the earlier section of the cemetery. The richest example of this appeared in grave no. 7, belonging to a young woman. During the excavation we saw that the entire upper body was discolored, presumably due to the silvered threads of the decayed clothing (Fig. 20). The clothes were fastened on the back by two small, heavily corroded hooks made of iron wire. Textile fragments were only preserved in the neck area, where dark colored threads, with metallic coating, were coiled up into 5–6 layers. This is where the 15 gilded silver buttons were attached, its lower part was shaped to form 12 points, with four small, solid beads, arranged in a pyramid shape, and decorated with granulations, found on its bottom. Its top ended in an ear meant for fastening, which had metallic threads woven through it (Fig. 21). We found the gilded buttons in a perpendicular position, following a circular neck line. Because of their position, we regarded them as being part of the decorations of the clothing. The remains of an almost identical set of clothes was identified in grave no. 1, inside a monastery in the Wallachian settlement Valea Mănăstirii (Argeș County). Traces of textile materials and gilded metallic threads were found in the chest and neck areas. The same areas also yielded a total

of 25 polyhedron shaped buttons, which were dated to the 16th century. The gender of the body could not be determined with certainty, but it did present male features. A golden signet ring was also uncovered as an annex object. In contrast, grave no. 2, certainly contained the remains of a man. In this case, traces of similar clothing was also identified. Material from a wolf-collar, strengthened with metallic thread, and with nine gilded buttons sewn into it, was well preserved in the neck area. As in this case the buttons only appeared in the neck area, it is possible that they had dropped into the clothing. In this particular case, the grave also contained a golden ring with a garnet.⁸⁵

Similar buttons were also found accompanying treasure hoards dated with 15th–16th century coins. They were uncovered in the Wallachian settlements Zăvoaia,⁸⁶ Sihleanu⁸⁷ (Brăila County), Căndești-Vrancea⁸⁸ (Vrancea County), and in the Moldovian settlement Zlătunoaia–Lunca⁸⁹ (Botoșani County). Similar finds were also uncovered in the Republic of Moldova in Musaitu, accompanied by 15th–16th and early 17th century coins.⁹⁰

The closest Transylvanian parallels to the ornamented button discovered in Orășeni, found as annex objects, are known from the excavations in Alba Iulia, where 25 of them

⁸⁴ <http://tezaure-medievale.cimec.ro/index.php/album-tezaure-medievale-din-colectiile-muzeul-national-de-antichitati-/gallery/12/itemPage/10/asInline?limit=1>. viewed on 21.02.2019.

⁸⁵ CRISTOCEA ET AL. 2014, 13–17.

⁸⁶ DRAGOMIR 1972, 71.

⁸⁷ DERGACIOVA ET AL. 2011, Fig. 8.

⁸⁸ BOBI 1980, 114–115.

⁸⁹ COROLIUC 1979, 354.

⁹⁰ DERGACIOVA ET AL. 2011, Fig. 9.

were found inside grave no. 9.⁹¹ More modest versions, mainly made from bronze, such as the ones uncovered in the cemeteries in Dombóvár or Kiskúnfélegyháza,⁹² can even be found in Hungary.⁹³ Silver spheres, assembled out of two hemispheres, but decorated with granulations, were uncovered in Tiszanána, in grave no. 82,⁹⁴ in Kecskemét, in grave no. 19,⁹⁵ and in Bölcske, in grave no. 34.⁹⁶

Thick, silvered metallic threads, bound together with tightly woven textile material through oxidization, were also found in the neck area of another young woman, also dated to the 16th century, in the cemetery in Orășeni. A button made of red copper, shaped like a flattened spheroid (Fig. 22–23) was found on the material, below the left side of the mandible. Similar, simple buttons are known from several late medieval Transylvanian cemeteries, such as

the ones in Sibiu,⁹⁷ and Brașov.⁹⁸

Two flat surfaced, cast bronze buttons were found at the right humerus inside grave no. 36, belonging to the cemetery's later stage. Seven similar buttons were found in the chest area in no. 42, accompanying a light blue and two black, glass buttons (Fig. 24).

In the filling of grave no. 52, dating to the 17th century, in secondary position, we found two fragments of a belt buckle, made from two semicircles and with a middle prong. The object had originally been hammered out of a cylinder shaped piece, by flattening one of the sides (Fig. 25). The two parts of the object were held together with a metallic band, which even happened to preserve a piece of leather inside of it. Similar types of belt buckles can be found dating to the 15th–16th centuries.⁹⁹

SIGNET RINGS WITH CARVED BEZELS

Four rings were found during the excavation in Orășeni. The only higher quality ring found in the Seat of Odorhei was the one found in grave no. 152 in Avrămești, a gilded bronze ring, with a green glass bead resting in a clawed socked.¹⁰⁰ As annex objects in graves, we mostly found wedding rings, like the ones in the cemetery in Mugeni, in graves no. 137 and 144, on the left hands,¹⁰¹ and in Văleni, where only fragments were found lying in secondary positions.¹⁰² We only documented a signet ring found on the right phalanges of the body found in grave

no. 61, in the cemetery from the first half of the 17th century, found in Teleac.¹⁰³ In Orășeni, one of the oldest rings was found on the phalanges in grave no. 8 (Fig. 26). In terms of typology, it belongs in the group of rings decorated with geometric patterns, which are rarer than other types. Their features include a diamond shaped bezel, with its four sides decorated with pressed or carved grooves. This type of decoration appears in the 13th century and is still in use during the 15th–16th centuries.¹⁰⁴ From an archaeological perspective, the closest parallel

⁹¹ PÓSTA 1918, 72.

⁹² BÁLINT 1956, 80.

⁹³ GAÁL 1982, 223.

⁹⁴ PARÁDI 1995, 171.

⁹⁵ BICZÓ 1976, 343.

⁹⁶ SZABÓ-HAJDÚ 2015, Table 3, 1.

⁹⁷ MARCU 2007, 105–106.

⁹⁸ MARCU 2015, 175.

⁹⁹ HORVÁTH 2016, 96.

¹⁰⁰ BENKŐ 1992, 236.

¹⁰¹ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 289.

¹⁰² Unpublished, still ongoing excavation executed by the Haáz Rezső Museum.

¹⁰³ NYÁRÁDI-SÓFALVI 2009, Fig. 4.3.

¹⁰⁴ LITAUSZKI 2012, 21.

to the annex object from the 16th century grave, was found using a metal detector in Rotbav.¹⁰⁵

In grave no. 7, which was dated to the 16th century based on the clothing elements and the gilded silver buttons, the phalanges of the right hand, yielded a silver ring, which had been cut from a silver sheet, was hollow, and had eight corners. The hollow band had also been shaped out of thin silver sheet, and it was found broken. The bezel had Renaissance decorations, inside a heraldic shield, showing three flowers in a vase (Fig. 27–28). A very similar ring, dating to the 16th century, is known from the fortress at Bajcsa-Vár.¹⁰⁶ The flower motif was also widely preferred on stove tiles in the Seat of Odorhei.¹⁰⁷

We counted an additional two rings recovered from disturbed graves. A silver ring with an oval shaped bezel was found on the phalanges of a child skeleton in the filling of grave no. 17, which dated to the 17th century. The two endings forming the band had been hammered together. We couldn't identify any imagery on the worn bezel, and presumably there wasn't one (Fig. 29). Another worn, slightly cracked ring was recovered from the filling of grave no. 30, dated to the 16th century, which had disturbed graves no. 1 and 2. This was a bronze cast signet ring, slightly

cracked, covered in green oxidization, with an oval bezel measuring 1 × 1.4 cm, band measuring 2.1 cm, with the bottom part being sharpened and flattened at the joint (Fig. 30). In terms of typology, it belongs to the 15th–16th century group with lily and tree of life combination. The central motif on the oval surface is framed. The narrowing shoulders, on both sides, hold four horizontal lines. The middle part is separated by a dividing line. One side has a stylized lily with a tree of life, while the other shows a lily flower shaped to resemble a star, which in earlier examples used to be a cross.¹⁰⁸ Similar examples to this type of ornamentation were uncovered in grave no. 278 in Ópusztaszer–Monostor,¹⁰⁹ and in Muhi.¹¹⁰ An object with a divide along the middle, similar to the one found in Orășeni, was also uncovered in the medieval settlement at Mezőkovácsháza.¹¹¹

The described signet rings do not necessarily suggest rich, noble families, as by the 16th century, their use had become widespread,¹¹² so the wealthier market town inhabitants, peasants, and especially those involved in trade, even though they were members of lower social classes, they still required signet rings in order to conduct their transactions.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSIONS

In the Seat of Odorhei, border cemeteries, generally began to appear during the 17th century. This occurred not necessarily because of the Reformation, but more likely because the earlier church cemeteries had grown full. At the same time, they were also emerging according to the needs of newly

created parishes.¹¹³ The oldest identified border cemetery section was found in Tâlișoara, where a total of nine graves were documented and dated using Gábor Bethlen coins found as annexes.¹¹⁴ Because the area is densely populated today, we were not able to determine the exact layout of the cemetery, so its age and

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.detectii.ro/descoperiri/inel-din-bronz/> viewed on 03.11.2019.

¹⁰⁶ KOVÁCS 2002, 135.

¹⁰⁷ BENKŐ–UGHY 1984, 19.

¹⁰⁸ LITAUSZKI 2012, 20.

¹⁰⁹ LITAUSZKI 2012, 130.

¹¹⁰ ÉRI–BÁLINT 1959, 58.

¹¹¹ LITAUSZKI 2012, 117.

¹¹² PARÁDI 1970, 230–231.

¹¹³ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 11–12.

¹¹⁴ DÉNES 1996, 203–208.

function are also unclear. The cemeteries at Keresztúrfalva,¹¹⁵ Cristuru Secuiesc,¹¹⁶ and Firtănuș¹¹⁷ are counted among those newly established. All three of them functioned during the 17th century. Cemeteries which are not accompanying a church are found in archives starting from the 17th century, and in greater numbers from the 18th century.¹¹⁸

The cemetery in Orășeni predates by far the similar cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei. This is the only one that was opened before the Reformation gained ground. As our settlement was still subordinate to the church in Petreni, we may rightly ask ourselves who established it. If we analyze the village's toponyms, we can see that one of the creeks pouring into the Homorod from the left side, is called *Zsidó-patak* (meaning Jewish-Creek),¹¹⁹ and that the mound we excavated used to be called the *Jewish cemetery*.¹²⁰ Such names hold indirect significance with regard to social history.¹²¹

If we look in historical archives at the names of the families that lived in Orășeni, we will notice a foreign name appearing: *Lencz*. Pálmay noted regarding this family that they originated from northern Germany, and that they had moved here when German officers were being settled in Merești, Ocland, and in Crăciunel.¹²² We don't have any data suggesting when exactly this happened.¹²³ It is certain that when the settlement is first mentioned in writing, in 1566,

Péter, János, and Albert Lencz are mentioned as *primipili* serving in the army of King John II.¹²⁴ In 1602, István Lencz is mentioned as one of the four *primipili* swearing oaths of allegiance to the emperor.¹²⁵ By 1614, Miklós is mentioned from the Lencz family.¹²⁶ In 1627, his brother István was also presumably recorded.¹²⁷ During the following large scale military census in 1635, Miklós was noted as deceased, with his son Mihály serving in his place, and at the same time, István's son, Bálint was also recorded. A family branch represented by János is noted at this point, who was the grandson of the deceased Máté Ilyés.¹²⁸ Bálint is mentioned as being absent from the 1653 Moldavian campaign, having returned home with the sick.¹²⁹

By the end of the 17th century, the male branch of the family had died out. István's daughter, Kata, remained the sole heir, who became the wife of Ferenc Kénosi. She was still alive in 1693, as she is noted for having offered a table cloth as a gift to the parish.¹³⁰ By 1712, neither Kata, nor Ferenc were alive anymore, as the census only recorded the names of their sons.¹³¹ The memory of the now defunct family's name is still guarded by the toponym *Lencz Garden*.

Based on written archives, it is easy to imagine that a foreign family appeared in the village at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, who opened their own cemetery, as they were not allowed to

¹¹⁵ BENKŐ 1992, 176.

¹¹⁶ BENKŐ 1992, 160, 164.

¹¹⁷ BENKŐ 1992, 76.

¹¹⁸ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 30–40.

¹¹⁹ VOFKORI 1998, 607.

¹²⁰ FERENCZI 1980, June 6th.

¹²¹ SZABÓ T. 1972, 164.

¹²² PÁLMAY 1900, 148. A settlement named Lenzen can be found in Northern Germany, in Vorpommern, as well as on the banks of the Elba.

¹²³ German colonists appearing in market towns in Székely Land are mentioned as early as the 15th century, for example in Târgu Secuiesc in 1427 (SzOKL I, 122.), and in Sfântu Gheorghe in 1492 (SzOKL III, 118.).

¹²⁴ SzOKL II, 196.

¹²⁵ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 103.

¹²⁶ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 300.

¹²⁷ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 730.

¹²⁸ SzOKL ú.s. V, 225.

¹²⁹ SzOKL ú.s. VI, 317.

¹³⁰ MOLNÁR B. 1999, 155.

¹³¹ PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 184.

bury their dead in the village cemetery. By the middle of the 16th century, this family already had *primipili* status, and had become completely integrated in the Székely community. The graves from the 16th century are the most numerous (16 graves), but they are also many from the 17th century. During this period, the mound's western side was used most often. The last child grave (no. 48) on this horizon was buried sometime after 1710.

During the 18th century few Romanian families appear in the village as serfs. Sources from the Seat of Odorhei mention that there were Romanians immigrants coming and going, not yet bound to a location through serfdom, mainly from the area of Făgăraș, especially after the end of the 16th century.¹³² Their numbers at this point are minimal and they are mentioned especially in the context of livestock theft.¹³³ They moved in larger numbers after the beginning of the 18th century, as a result of the wide scale depopulation of the area caused by the Kuruc freedom fight led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, and the several years of drought that followed.¹³⁴ In Orășeni, the earlier large noble estates created by the Kornis family were partitioned, so few Romanians settled here in comparison to other villages. In 1745, the numbers of serfs owned in the village were as follows: Dávid Kénosi owned two (Márton Antal, and István Balog), Zsigmond Kénosi owned four (Mihály Szász, János Biró, Márton Kusztura, András May), János Györki owned one (Mihály Szőcs), Baron Mózes Jósika owned two (István Jakab, István Szász), Dávid Bethlen owned one (András Doka), and Gábor Kendeffi also owned one (István Jobb).¹³⁵ The Greek Catholic inhabitants of Orășeni belonged to the church in Aldea starting from 1826, while

the Eastern Orthodox were listed as belonging to Drăușeni.¹³⁶ According to a 1761 census the number of Greek Catholics and Eastern Orthodox was 10 and 10, in 1826 there were 7 individuals (two families) belonging to the Greek Catholic faith, while in 1850, this number had risen to 21. According to the data from the national census of 1857 there were 4 Greek Catholics and 3 Orthodox, in 1868 2 Greek Catholics, in 1880 there are two families of each faith, while the following census only showed one of each, and by 1910, both faith had been fully absorbed.¹³⁷

The few Romanian families started using the earlier abandoned cemetery sometime during the second half of the 18th century, and used the mound's top predominantly. Two of the excavated graves date back to this period (28, and 53), five date back to the turn of the century (18, 51, 54, 55, and 56), with the remaining 12 (12, 19, 25, 26, 33, 35, 36, 40, 42, 46, 50, and 59) dating to the 19th century. This information matches the census data perfectly, as the number of Romanians in the village is the largest during the middle of the century. We don't know when exactly the cemetery was abandoned. The most recent coin is from 1861. According to the locals, even tomb stones are remembered to have once existed here, however, no trace of these remains today.

Because we have not excavated the entire surface of the cemetery, and we don't have even an approximate number for the graves that were previously destroyed, we cannot make any demographic estimations. Future bio-archaeological analyses (DNA, strontium-isotope) could shed more light on the origins and the family ties existing between those buried here.

¹³² HERMANN-KOVÁCS 1991, 158.

¹³³ SZOKL Ú.S. I, 59.

¹³⁴ PÁL-ANTAL 2008, 230.

¹³⁵ Romanian National Archive, Cluj County Directorate, Cluj-Napoca. Székely Lada. Fond M. 16. No. 35/11. January 7th 1745.

¹³⁶ HERMANN-KOVÁCS 1991, 171, 184, 187.

¹³⁷ VARGA E. 1998, 32–33.

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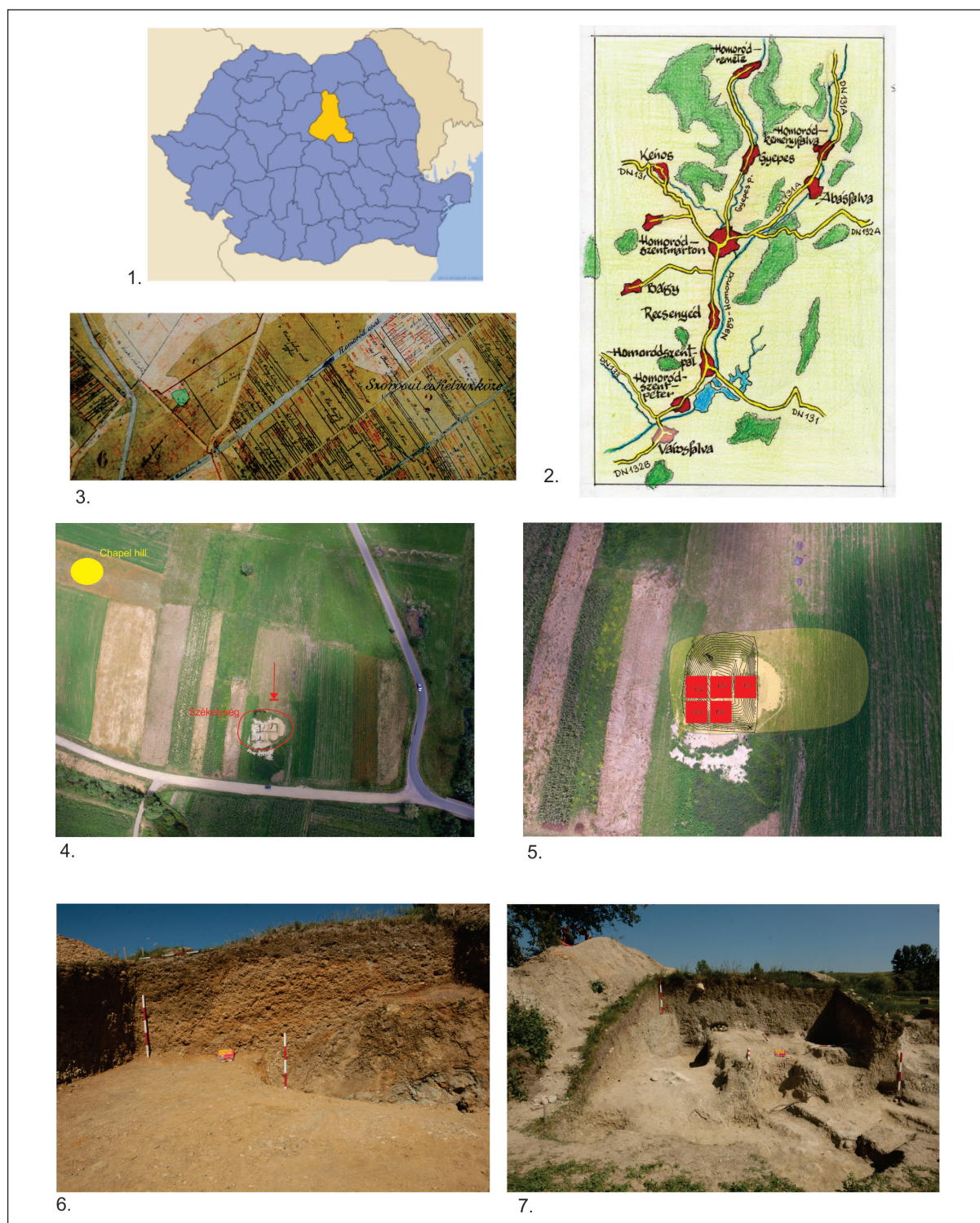
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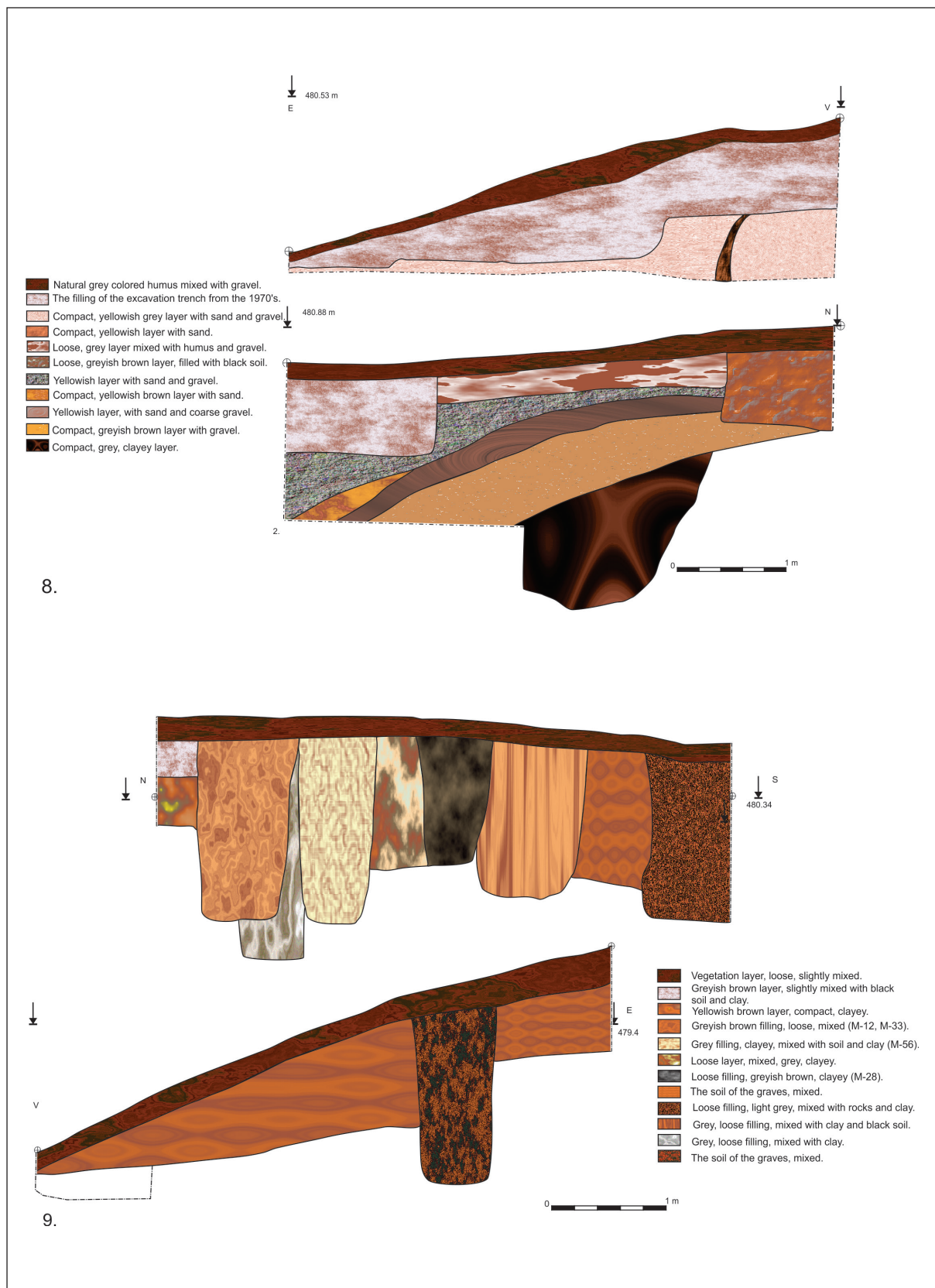
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1. Map of Romania, with Harghita County.
2. Map of Mărtiniș Commune with Orășeni (Drawn by János Gyöngyössi)
3. The 19th century cadaster map of Orășeni with the location of the cemetery marked.
4. Images captured by drone, with Székelység and Kápolna domb toponyms.
5. The original outline of the site with the excavation trenches on the topographical survey.
6. Trench 1 from a north to south direction.
7. Excavated trench 2 from the north.



8. The northern and southern profiles of trench 1.
 9. The eastern and northern cross sections of trench 2.



10.



11.



12.



13.

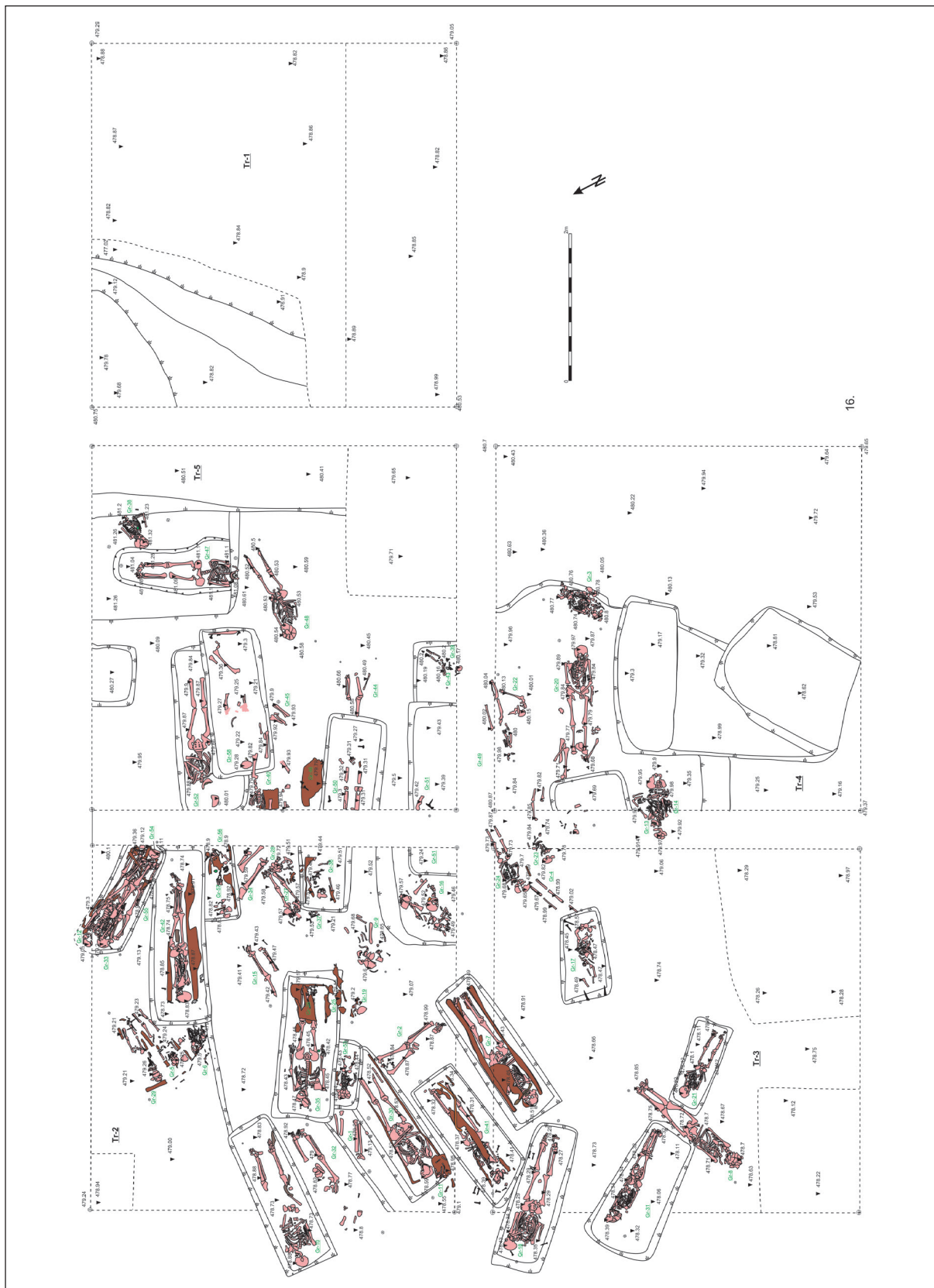


14.



15.

10. Trenches 2 and 3 during excavation.
11. Excavated trench 4, from a southern perspective.
12. The reversed orientation in the case of grave no. 20, found in trench 4.
13. Grave no. 21 inside trench 3.
14. Grave without coffin nails: trench 2, grave no. 30.
15. The last grave on the superpositions (trench 2, grave no. 12).



16. The summary drawing of the layout of the 2016 excavation.



17. **1.** Grave no. 57, right hand, the coin minted under Leopold I, **2.** Grave no. 56, Austrian Kreutzer, Joseph II, near the right hand, **3.** Grave no. 48 the coin minted under Joseph I, **4.** Grave no. 52, left hand, the coin minted under Matthias II, **5–9.** Grave no. 42, the coin minted under Francis I, **10.** Grave no. 41, right hand, the coin minted under Francis I, **11.** Grave no. 37, coin minted under Polish king Sigismund III, **12.** Grave no. 39, coin minted under Ferdinand I, **13.** filling of grave no. 39, the coin minted under Ferdinand II, **14.** Grave no. 35, the coin minted under Francis I. **15.** Grave no. 24, King Vladislaus II, **16.** The filling of grave no. 26, the coin minted under Francis I, **17.** Grave no. 20. The coin minted under Michael I, **18.** Grave no. 20, the coin minted under Ferdinand I. **19.** Grave no. 12, coin from 1861, **20.** The filling of grave no. 10, the coin minted under Ferdinand III, **21.** Grave no. 10, the coin minted under Matthias II. **22.** Grave no. 5, Coin minted under Rudolph. **23.** Filling of grave no. 24, Coin minted under Matthias I. **24.** Filling of grave no. 20. Coin minted under Charles III. **25.** Filling of grave no. 51, coin minted under Francis II. **26.** Filling of grave no. 15, coin minted under Matthias I. **27.** Filling of grave no. 58, coin minted under Ferdinand II. **28.** Filling of grave no. 51, coin minted under Francis I. **29.** Grave no. 15, coin minted under Ferdinand I.



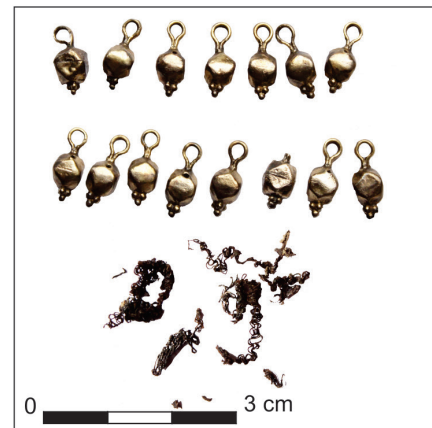
18.



19.



20.



21.

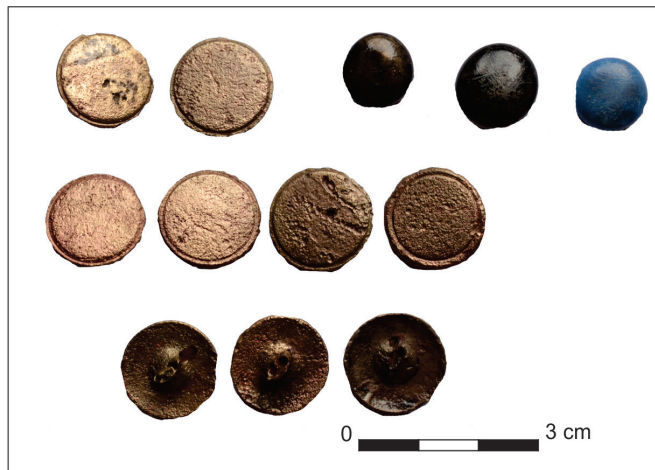


22.



23.

18. The remains of a bearded headdress on the child's skull inside grave no. 6.
 19. Silver hairpins with inwrought decorations from near the skull in grave no. 6.
 20. Pigmentation on the chest area of the skeleton in grave no. 7.
 21. Gilded polyhedron shaped buttons and silvered threads from the neck area in grave no. 7.
 22–23. Textile remnants and yellow copper buttons from the neck area inside grave no. 47.



24.



25.



26.



27.



28.



29.



30.

24. 19th century glass and copper buttons from graves no. 36 and 42.
 25. Belt buckle with middle prong from the filling of grave no. 52.
 26. Signet ring with geometric imagery carved into the bezel, from the phalanges in grave no. 8.
 27–28. Hollow silver ring with 8 angles, from the phalanges of the right hand in grave no. 7.
 29. Silver ring with bezel from the filling of grave no. 17.
 30. Cast bronze signet ring from the filling of grave no. 30.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AARGNews</i>	Aerial Archaeology Research Group Newsletter
<i>Acta</i>	Acta. Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>ActaArchHung</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
<i>ActaMB</i>	Bruckenthal. Acta Musei, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ActaMoldMer</i>	Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Vaslui
<i>ActaMP</i>	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
<i>ActaMT</i>	Acta Materialia Transylvanica. Technical Sciences Department of the Transylvanian Museum Society, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár
<i>ActaPraehistA</i>	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica
<i>ActaSic</i>	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
<i>ActaTS</i>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
<i>AISC</i>	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice Cluj
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>Aluta</i>	Aluta. Studii și cercetări
<i>AmJPhysAnthropol</i>	American Journal of Physical Anthropology
<i>AnatRec</i>	Anatomical Record. American Association of Anatomists
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>AnMuzOlt</i>	Anuarul Muzeului Olteniei
<i>AnnForRes</i>	Annals of Forest Research
<i>AnnHN</i>	Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
<i>ANsachs</i>	Archäologie in Niedersachsen
<i>AnthrK</i>	Anthropológiai Közlemények, Budapest
<i>Antiquity</i>	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
<i>ArchAust</i>	Archaeologia Austriaca
<i>ArchBulg</i>	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
<i>ArchHist</i>	Archaeologia Historica, Brno
<i>ArchHung</i>	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz
<i>ArchPol</i>	Archaeologia Polona,
<i>Areopolisz</i>	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
<i>Argesis</i>	Argesis. Studii și comunicări, Pitești
<i>ASz</i>	Agrártörténeti Szemle
<i>AusgrFuWestf</i>	Ausgrabungen und Funde in Westfalen-Lippe

<i>AVes</i>	Arheološki vestnik, Ljubljana
<i>BÁMÉ</i>	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
<i>BAR (I.S./B.S.)</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford
<i>BerRGK</i>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
<i>BMI</i>	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
<i>BMJT (S.A.)</i>	Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman (Seria Arheologie), Alexandria
<i>BuletinCIVA</i>	Buletinul Cercului de Istorie Veche și Arheologie „Vladimir Dumitrescu”, Sibiu
<i>BulletinPeabody</i>	Bulletin of the Peabody Museum of Natural History
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice
<i>CCAR</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
<i>CommArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
<i>Cumania</i>	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kecskemét
<i>CurrSweda</i>	Current Swedish Archaeology
<i>CsSzMÉ</i>	Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Csíkszereda
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne, București
<i>DissArch</i>	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
<i>DolgKolozsvar (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár
<i>DolgSzeged</i>	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
<i>Drobeta</i>	
<i>EJA</i>	European Journal of Archaeology
<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>FI</i>	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
<i>FolAnt</i>	Folia Anthropologica, Szombathely
<i>FolArch</i>	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
<i>Gallia</i>	Gallia. Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine
<i>Georeview</i>	Georeview. Scientific Annals of Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava, Geography Series
<i>Germania</i>	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>Hierasus</i>	Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani
<i>HOMÉ</i>	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc
<i>HTRTE</i>	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, Déva
<i>HZ</i>	Historische Zeitschrift
<i>IJOsteo</i>	International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
<i>Istros</i>	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei
<i>JAHA</i>	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology

<i>JAMÉ</i>	A Nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
<i>JASc</i>	Journal of Archaeological Science
<i>JAT</i>	Journal of Ancient Topography – Rivista di Topografia Antica
<i>JbAS</i>	Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz
<i>JbRGZM</i>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
<i>JCerEnvD</i>	Journal of Ceramics and Environmental Design
<i>JHumEvol</i>	Journal of Human Evolution
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
<i>JOM</i>	JOM. The Journal of The Minerals, Metals & Materials Society
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRomPotSt</i>	Journal of Roman Pottery Studies
<i>JSchrVgHalle</i>	Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale)
<i>KJb</i>	Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte
<i>KM</i>	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
<i>KRRMK</i>	A Kaposvári Rippl-Rónai Múzeum Közleményei
<i>KuBA</i>	Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica
<i>Levant</i>	Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History
<i>MacActaA</i>	Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica, Prilep
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
<i>Marisia-AHP</i>	Marisia: Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium, Târgu Mureș
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
<i>MFME</i>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
<i>MMMK</i>	A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei
<i>MTAK (II)</i>	A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-Történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei (1950–1966), A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Filozófiai és Történettudományi Osztályának Közleményei (1966–1981)
<i>NMME</i>	Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve, Salgótarján
<i>OxfJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
<i>ProblemeKfsNsg</i>	Probleme der Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet
<i>ProcPrehistSoc</i>	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
<i>PZ</i>	Praehistorische Zeitschrift
<i>RCRFA</i>	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta, Tongeren
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>Sargetia (S.N.)</i>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
<i>SCA</i>	Studii și Cercetări Antropologice
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
<i>SlovArch</i>	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
<i>SMMK</i>	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
<i>StAntArch</i>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>Starinar</i>	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd

<i>StCercNum</i>	Studii și cercetări de numismatică, București
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>StComVrancea</i>	Vrancea. Studii și comunicări, Focșani
<i>StudiaAA</i>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>SUBB-Historia</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca
<i>Századok</i>	Századok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóírata, Budapest
<i>Terra Sebus</i>	Terra Sebus, Acta Musei Sabesiensis, Sebeș
<i>Thraco-Dacica</i>	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan” Centrul de Tracologie, București
<i>Tyragetia</i>	Tyragetia. The National Museum of History of Moldova, Chișinău
<i>UPA</i>	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
<i>VAH</i>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
<i>VMMK</i>	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
<i>WMMÉ</i>	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<i>ZBf</i>	Zeitschrift für Balkanforschung