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Muzeul Județean Mureș / Mureș County Museum CP 85, str. Mărăști nr. 8A, 540328 Târgu Mureș, România e-mail: marisiaedit@gmail.com

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NEWS ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE RUINS FROM GRĂDIȘTEA MUNCELULUI IN THE INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL PRESS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Aurora PEŢAN^{*}

The natives' discovery of several coin hoards in the neighbourhood of the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului (Hunedoara County), at the beginning of the 19th century, determined the Habsburg authorities to make investigations among the villagers and to forbid treasure hunts on the state lands. On this occasion, they discovered the impressive ruins of the Dacian fortress on the Grădiștea Hill, later on identified as Sarmizege-tusa Regia, and huge official excavation campaigns were initiated aiming both at finding gold and for scientific reasons. The news related to the discovery of the ancient city up in the mountains and of the treasures, spread all over the world, the local and the international press reporting at large or briefly on this topic. The article herein is meant to analyse the information from the press of the time and the way in which it was spread.

Keywords: historiography, Dacian Kingdom, coin hoards, Sarmizegetusa Regia, Grădiștea Muncelului, the press of the 19th century

Cuvinte cheie: istoriografie, Regatul Dac, tezaure monetare, Sarmizegetusa Regia, Grădiștea Muncelului, presa secolului al XIX-lea

PREMISES

On the passage from the 18th to the 19th century, a series of information spread out, related to the existence of some treasures around the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului (today Grădiștea de Munte, Hunedoara County), where in antiquity laid the fortress of Sarmizegetusa Regia, capital of the Dacian Kingdom. The natives from the nearby villages but also those from the newly founded colony of workers in the vicinity of the ruins rushed to the area, in search for gold.¹

The authorities found out about the discovery of a treasure consisting in Lysimachos-type gold coins in the area around Ceata hill (The Anineş valley, a few kilometers away from the ruins of Sarmizegetusa), in the autumn of 1802. The discoverer had been denounced at the end of February the following year, but the authorities started an investigation only at the beginning of the summer and forbade all other private searches on the imperial lands. The investigator, Paul Török,² went at the beginning of June to Ocolişul Mic, where the discoverer was living, and then he climbed up the Ceata Hill, at the place indicated by the villager. In the meantime, on the 16th of June, the priest from Vâlcelele Bune, shortly followed by a larger group of searchers, discovered in the vicinity of the ruins from Grădişte a hoard of 400 kosons, near the path leading to Godeanu Hill. The news was quickly spread and numerous villagers climbed

^{*} Aurora PEȚAN. Study Centre of Dacica Foundation, Alun, RO, aurora.petan@dacica.ro.

¹ Pețan 2018, 44 sqq.

² For Török's activity, see MITTHOF-MÁDLY 2016.



up the hill in search of gold. On the 29th of June, the investigator went to Vâlcelele Bune, in order to get information about the new discovery, and on the 1st of July, he reached for the first time the ruins from Grădiștii Hill. Three days later, amazed by his discovery, he drew up a report, which set the authorities in motion. This is the first officially registered written report related to this site.

Copies of Török's report from the 4th of July reached several institutions.³ He recommended the halt of villagers' diggings and that the ruins should be investigated in an organized way, not only in search of treasures, but also for scientific reasons.

As a result of this report, the Transylvanian Treasuriate Office, seated in Sibiu, mobilized itself and took steps towards organizing an excavation campaign. They started on the 15th of July and used miners and day workers, while a military garrison watched over the site. Simultaneously, the indictment of private persons to dig on the state owned lands was renewed. The campaign lasted till autumn, but its results were not up to expectations. Yet, the discovery of several Lysimachos-type coins determined the authorities to approve resuming the excavations the following year.

The first reports on the excavations organized by the Tax Authorities were not drawn up before the beginning of August 1803, well over two weeks from the beginning of the campaign. But, the mobilization of forces drew the public attention and, in this period, news, most often inaccurate and contradictory, traveled fast.

THE PRESS RELEASE OF THE TREASURIATE OF SIBIU

In this context, the Treasuriate decided to release a "press report" thereby to clear things up. The text, dated 28 July 1803, edited at Sibiu (Hermannstadt) was published for the first time in the 20 August edition of the Austrian bi-weekly *Wiener Zeitung.*⁴ From Vienna, the news spread all over the world, being taken over by publications from Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, England, Ireland and even the United States.⁵

³ Pețan 2018, 580.

⁴ Wiener Zeitung, 20 August 1803, no 67, 3182–3183.

⁵ For sure, the widespread of this piece of news is even larger, but we used in this article only the publications identified on the Internet. Yet, they are enough to suggest the importance and the wide spread of the news.

The text starts with a disambiguation: "There has been for some time much talk about treasures found and about an antique city or fortress discovered in our country. The rumors spread about this topic are so different and even contradictory that it is our duty to set the truth in its own right, according to the official reports".

There follows the presentation of three important events. The first is the discovery of a monetary treasure in the month of March of the same year, by two Romanians, Ieremia Toma and Zaharia Andrei, in the woods around Ocolişul Mic. The former found 214 pieces, the latter 66, and all the 280 pieces were handed over to the mint of Alba Iulia, hence they were sent to the Treasuriate of Sibiu which, in turn sent them to Vienna. The treasure consisted of Lysimachostype gold coins, just two pieces belonging to Pharnakes and Asander.

Undoubtedly, it is the treasure of Arimie Popa, investigated by Török in June 1803. Probably, the real name was Ieremia Toma, as mentioned by the Treasuriate, but in the investigations, it appears as Arimie, while "Popa" ["priest" in Romanian] must be related to his office as a priest. The number of pieces is the same both in the witnesses' declarations and in the report, but the place of discovery is different: the press release mentioned the woods around Ocolişul Mic, while the investigation pointed at the Ceata Hill, on the Anineş Valley. As to Zaharia Andrei, the person who seemingly accompanied Arimie/Ieremia, he was mentioned only in the press release.

The second item of information is related to the discovery of the ruins of an old city of considerable size, in the woods of Hunedoara County, up the Grădiștea Mountains. No inscriptions had been found yet, to enable us establish the old name of this city. A single piece of brick was found, engraved with the letters PERSCO Rilo.

These items of information, even if scarce, were taken from Török's report of 4 July, which also mentioned the discovery of the famous pot fragment carrying the embossed inscription PER SCORILO, discovered on 1 July 1803.⁶

The third event is represented by the discovery of a gold koson-type coin hoard, by another Romanian priest. The discovery was made in the neighborhood of Godeanu Mountain (spelled Gottiano or Gattano in different publications that published the news). The pieces, 400 in number, very well preserved, were purchased by the Treasury of Sibiu at the price of 4217 florins. There follows a description of this monetary type and a few opinions on the origin of kosons. It is acknowledged that they are 2000 years old and it is pointed out that the opinions of the numismatists are divergent: these coins are either supposed to have been issued in the Etruscan city of COSAE, or assigned to Marcus Iunius Brutus. The legend KO $\Sigma\Omega$ N was misspelled in Wiener Zeitung, as Κοζην, but it was corrected by the editors of other publications, who drew the attention upon this mistake.

We are certainly talking about the treasure found by the priest from Vâlcelele Bune near a spring in the vicinity of the fortress, on the 16th of June 1803.

Finally, the press release states in the end that the state took steps towards continuing the diggings and investigations at the ruins discovered and around them.

THE REACTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

The first publications that reported on the press release and published it entirely, without alterations, was the German daily *Allgemeine Zeitung*, issued in Munich, ten days after its publication in Vienna.⁷ From here, at the beginning of September, the news reached Italy, where it was

⁶ Јако́ 1968, 435; Ретал 2018, 354 sqq.

⁷ Allgemeine Zeitung, no 242, 30 August 1803, p. 968, München. Five days earlier, another newspaper from Munich published an incomplete version of this press release: Kurpfalzbaierische Münchner Staatszeitung, No 200, 25 August 1803, 981–982, München.

published by *Il corriere milanese*, which made a summary of the information, yet sticking to several details.⁸ In October, in Brussels, a large excerpt was published from this letter, which was wrongly said to come from *Armstadt* (instead of *Hermannstadt*).⁹ In Paris the news was published in the same year, to the same length as in the publications mentioned before, under the heading *Découverte de médailles et des ruines d'une ville ancienne en Transylvanie*.¹⁰ The editor corrected the legend on the koson-type coins wrongly mentioned in the Viennese version of the press release.

Towards the end of the year, a brief piece of news on the discovery of the ruins was taken from this report and included in a London monthly, on the 1st of January 1840.¹¹ The same text appeared in Dublin in February 1805.¹² A larger version was published by another London magazine in 1804,¹³ and, one year later, London readers were given access to the almost integral text of the letter sent by the Transylvanian Treasuriate.¹⁴

The news of the discovery of treasures and of an ancient city crossed the ocean in the autumn of 1804. At the beginning of September, a New York weekly ¹⁵ published it at length, and in the former half of 1805 one can find it in a publication from Philadelphia.¹⁶ The American public would have news on this site only more than a century later.¹⁷

The information spread at the slowness that characterized those times and until it got to England or over the ocean, the excavations had already been closed and the subject abandoned. Nevertheless, the fact that the news was spread all over the world within a year and a half, shows the high interest of the international press for this topic.

NEWS IN THE LOCAL PRESS

The news in the local press is more numerous. Very short after the press release made by the Treasuriate, on 1 August 1803, the Transylvanian newspaper *Siebenbürger Bote* published an article signed by Franz Xaver Hene¹⁸ about the coins found by the treasure hunters in the vicinity of the ruins from Grădiștea Muncelului. Hene's text announced the beginning of the diggings managed by the authorities, the mobilization of the appropriate institutions and it promised to publish the results at the proper moment (which, unfortunately, never happened). It was also in August 1803 that Zeitschrift von und für Ungarn¹⁹ published a text signed by the Saxon historian Joseph Karl Eder, under the title Antiquarische Erörterung neulich in Siebenbürgen gefundener Goldmünzen und Ruinen, about the gold coins discovered by the treasure hunters at Grădiștea Muncelului. The discussion was focused on the interpretation of the koson-type coins, but it also gave some information on the ruins. The author mentioned remnants of walls and of a gate, carved stones and roof tiles and

¹⁸ Siebenbürger Bote, 1 August 1803, no 29, apud FINÁLY 1911, 349.

¹⁹ Eder 1803.

⁸ Il corriere milanese, lunedì, 5 settembre 1803, 570, Milano.

⁹ Le nouvel esprit des journaux français et étrangers, tome second, octobre 1803, 124–125, Bruxelles.

¹⁰ Magasin encyclopédique, ou journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts, rédigé par A.L. Millin, IXe année, tome troisième, 1803, 219–220, Paris.

¹¹ The Monthly Magazine; or British Register, 16, part. II for 1803, no 109, January 1, 1804, 6 of vol. 16, 565, London.

¹² Walker's Hibernian Magazine, or Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge, for February 1805, 123, Dublin.

¹³ The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle for the year MDCCCIV, 74, Part the first, 1804, 58, London.

¹⁴ The Philosophical Magazine: comprehending the various branches of sciences, the liberal and fines arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, by Alexander Tillich, 20, 1805, 282–283, London.

¹⁵ Prospect: or View of the Moral World, for the year 1804, by Elihu Palmer , 1, no 40, Septembre, 8, 1804, 320, New York. ¹⁶ The Literary Magazine, and American Register, for 1805, from January to June, 3, 1805, 477, Philadelphia.

¹⁷ In the summer of 1934, a special correspondent of The New York Times announced that, finally, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom, the legendary city of Decebalus, Trajan's terrible opponent, was discovered. Although the ruins had already been known for over a century, their identification with Sarmizegetusa Regia, acknowledged only in the inter-war period, by archeologist D.M. Teodorescu, represented a sensational subject for the American press. PEŢAN 2018, 463–464.

it is shown that the ruins are overgrown by an old forest. This is the first published description of the ruins. Eder had access to many of the Transylvanian archives. He is the one who saved several documents, by copying them, among which a few reports of the Austrian Tax Authority.²⁰ His information is probably sourced from these reports. His text appeared after the first digging reports had been drawn up and, for this reason, he brought extra information, as compared to the Treasuriate press release.

Most remarkably, Eder intuited the Dacian origin of these vestiges and assigned them to Decebalus who, in his opinion, would have built them for defense, after the first war with Trajan. He quotes historian Konrad Mannert, who claimed that these mountains were Decebalus' refuge place, after he had been chased out of his own residence. Just as Hene, Eder pointed out to the fact that the officials mobilized in order to investigate the area.

The text with the greatest impact all along the 19th century was that of Major Péchy Mihály, published on the 1st of July 1805 in a Transylvanian newspaper under the heading *Bemerkungen über die unlängst vorgefundenen alten römischen Ruinen bei Gredistie*.²¹ Dispatched to Grădiştea Muncelului short after the diggings made by the Tax Authority had ended, the major drew up a report on the 26th of June 1805, preserved to this day in the Imperial War Archives of Vienna and immediately published by the Transylvanian magazine.

The text is short and it has two parts: the description of the most important monuments seen on the site (four in number) and an attempt at establishing the identity of the antique city. In his capacity of architect with a classic instruction, Péchy was influenced by what he knew from Greek and Roman architecture, so that he sought for similarities in the vestiges from Grădişte. Thus, the great stone circle was, in his

opinion, a *monopteros*-type temple, by analogy with the one in Pozzuoli (which proved later to be a *macellum*). The large building south of the fortification was that of a Roman bath, according to him. He also noticed the city walls, built of limestone and a clay pipeline placed on carved stone blocks. His conviction was that the ruins of Grădiştea Muncelului are those of a Roman city, identified as *Aquae*.

The echoes of this text are to be found a few years later in the press: for instance, in 1807, *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* published a press review for the year 1805 and included an abstract of Péchy's article.²²

As the chamber authorities never published the results of the excavations from 1803–1804, and Péchy's report was the only text published at that time on the excavations, the public opinion attached the major's name to these excavations. To this, surely contributed the fact that the image of the officer was attached to the garrison that had really taken part in the excavations and which the public opinion was knowledgeable of. The error persisted until the publication of the Austrian Tax Authority reports by Sigismund Jakó. He showed that Péchy was mistakenly attributed the management of the excavations, since he never took part in them, but he only visited the site one year after they had been closed.²³

The public opinion must have waited with interest for the publication of the excavations' results. Unfortunately, they were not made public until a few decades ago. More than a century after Xaver Hene's article, announcing the beginning of the diggings and promising that the results would be published, Finály Gábor pointed out that nothing had been published related to the official endeavors deployed at these ruins and he, somehow ironically, expressed his hope that they would not have to wait for another hundred years to hear some news related to this topic.²⁴ Unfortunately, his fears turned true.²⁵

²⁰ Pețan 2018, 133.

²¹ PÉCHY 1805. For a detailed analysis of this report see PETAN 2018, 129-131 and 241-243.

²² Allgemeine Literaturzeitung vom Jahre 1807, Erste Band, Januar bis Junius, no 98, 24 April 1807, Coll. 780, Halle-Leipzig.

²³ Јако́ 1973, 636.

²⁴ Finály 1911, 349; Finály 1916, 12.

²⁵ The excavation reports were identified in archives and edited by S. Jakó in 1966-1973, but they were turned into account only in 2018, see PETAN 2018, 82.

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Pețan 2018

A. Pețan, Sarmizegetusa Regia. 1. Redescoperirea cetății (Alun 2018)

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Institut, Berlin
Acta	Acta (Siculica), Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
ActaAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Academia Scientiarum Polona Collegium Cracoviense, Kraków
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AnnalesUA, SH	Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
Angustia	Angustia, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scien- tiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKorr	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Mainz
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
ASZ	Agrártörténeti Szemle
AttiSocFriuli	Atti della Sociéta per la preistoria e protostoria della Regione Friuli – Venezia Giulia
AVSL (NF)	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, (Neue Folge), Hermannstadt
BAI	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis, Iași
BAM	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, Iași
Banatica	Banatica, Muzeul de istorie al județului Caraș-Severin, Reșița
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice
BMA	Biblioteca Mvsei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia
BMM	Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis, Archaeologia, Târgu Mureș / Cluj Napoca
BMN	Bibliotheca Mvsei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
BMP	Bibliotheca Mvsei Porolissensis, Zalău
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
CA	Cercetări Arheologice, București
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
СММ	Catalogi Musei Marisiensis, archaeologia, Târgu Mureș
ComArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
Cumidava	Cumidava, Anuarul Muzeelor Brașovene
CsSzMÉ	Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Csíkszereda
Dacia (N. S.)	Dacia. Recherches et décuvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924– 1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.), Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire anciene, București

DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Univer- sitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestinensis provenientes, Budapest
DolgKolozsvár (Ú.S.)	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár
Drobeta	Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
EphemNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ESzNMJ	Emlékkönyv a Székely Nemzeti Múzeum 50 éves jubileumára
FK	Földtani Közlöny, Budapest
Hesperia	Hesperia, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Hydrobiologia	Hydrobiologia. The International Journal of Aquatic Sciences
JAMÉ	A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
JQS	Journal of Quaternary Science
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
Lymbus	Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Forrásközlemények, Budapest
Marisia	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MIMK	Molnár István Múzeum Kiadványai, Cristuru Secuiesc/Székelykeresztúr
MNy	Magyar Nyelv, Budapest
Művészet	Művészet, Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, Budapest
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
NyIK	Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi közlemények
NumZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien
RevBis	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
RevIst	Revista Istorică, București
Sargetia	Sargeția, Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
StudiaAA	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Studia UBB	Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca
Studia UBB, TCV	Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai, series Theologia Catholica Varadinensis
Studii	Studii. Revistă de Istorie, București
Suceava	Suceava, Anuarul Complexului Muzeal Bucovina
Századok	Századok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóírata
Terra Sebus	Terra Sebvs, Acta Mvsei Sabesiensis, Sebeş
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
WMMÉ	Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
Ziridava (StudArch)	Ziridava (Studia Archaeologica 2010–), Arad