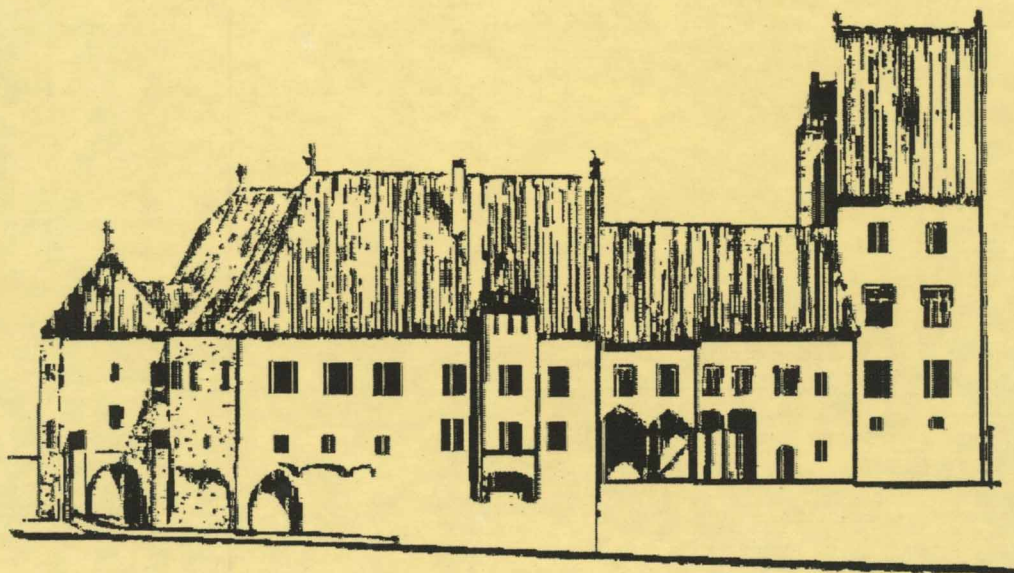


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**PREHISTORIC SIGNS AND SYMBOLS FROM TRANSYLVANIA (1). „THE SECRET TABLET”
THE NEOLITHIC AND AENEOLITHIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL SETTLEMENT FROM
TĂRTĂRIA-GURA LUNCII (ALBA COUNTY)**

Sabin Adrian LUCA*
Florentina MĂRCUȚI**

Abstract: *The preventive archaeological researches from Tărtăria-Gura Luncii started in 2014 resulted in the discovery of a tablet that has sacred signs, with almost perfect analogies in symbols present on the round Tărtăria tablet.*

Key words: *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, Tărtăria tablets, “the Secret Tablet”, Neolithic period*

Rezumat: *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii începute în anul 2014 au dus la descoperirea unei tablete cu semne sacre, cu analogii aproape perfecte în simbolurile de pe celebra tăbliță rotundă de la Tărtăria.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, tăblițele de la Tărtăria, “tăblița secretă”, perioada neolitică*

The settlement Tărtăria-Gura Luncii is known in the literature since 1906 (Orosz 1908). After excavations during the Second World War prepared and published by K. Horedt (Horedt 1949) follows others made by N. Vlassa (Vlassa 1963; Vlassa 1976; Vlassa 1976a). Since this moment there are some problems related to the romanticized history of archaeology, between two of the most important Neolithic and Eneolithic Transylvanian researchers: N. Vlassa and I. Paul (linked mainly to internal chronological of the site and its cultural relations with the world around it and with the cultural horizons it contains). These occur – frail, indeed - in I. Paul's presentation when he received the title of *Doctor honoris causa* of the University of Timisoara (PAUL 2007). The discovery of *The Tărtăria tablets* and the whole story around them made the delight of researchers in the past 50 years. Some pros, some against it. Some expressed their views on their stratigraphy and stratigraphic position, others on the signs that appear on the three tablets (nature, origin, significance, implications).

I was one of the researchers who tried to clarify my position and attitude when I joined a working group that deals with research of signs, symbols and - even, some say - the knowledge and

explanation of "the Danube writings". This working group led by J. Marler, edited - alone or in conjunction - several volumes (Marler (Ed.) 2008; Marler, Dexter (Eds.) 2009; Luca (Ed.) 2009; Maxim, Marler, Crișan (Eds.) 2009.). The last one, from 2014, was totally dedicated to the research of Tărtăria (Marler (Ed.) 2014).

Of course there existed a Romanian coordinator of research, which is Prof.dr. Gh. Lazarovici. Throughout his life he sought to explain in more detail the conditions of the discovery of these artefacts that are still unique in Europe, their manufacturing, the implications of the signs and symbols on the overall development of the Danubian civilisation and many other aspects (Lazarovici 2009; Lazarovici, Kalmar 1991; Lazarovici, Merlini 2005; Lazarovici, Merlini 2009; Merlini, Lazarovici 2007). One of his PhD students, M. Merlini, has made a profession of faith in promoting the idea of "the Danubian writing" (Merlini 2009). The research of all aspects of Tărtăria tablets was continuously pursuit (LAZAROVICI *et al* 2011).

Other researchers mentioned their opinions on the matter, namely A. László (László 2009), C.-M. Lazarovici (Lazarovici C.-M 2010) or G. D. Zanotti (Zanotti 2009).

The general idea of this paper is not to position my research on one of the sides – antagonistic, of course – arising from this dispute, as recently did – quite offensively – a German researcher (Qasim 2013). At this moment, I can only say that the long and dark period of communism is not understood

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by those who memorise and know it from books or from stories told by others.

During the archaeological works I discovered a clay tablet, obviously reflecting the ideas of another civilization – Turdaş culture, at Turdaş-Luncă – not the ones of the Vinča culture, as is the case here, at Tărtăria. There are some obvious similarities, but also a conceptual distance of the message broadcasted through the symbols covering the piece (Luca 1993; Luca *et al* 2009).

In a second article we have tried to group the signs in order to "find something". Our disillusion resulted in the conclusion that these clay tablets tell a "story" known only to its bearer. It is obvious that, after the death of the wearer – or two to three its followers – the meaning of the message is lost forever.

In 2010 we resumed the archaeological researches from Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, using a superior system by comparison to previous research, seeking to obtain a complex stratigraphic profile to more accurately explain all the historical and cultural aspects of the site (Luca *et al* 2009a; Luca *et al* 2011; Luca *et al* 2012). It began the publication of parts of the documentation (Dumitrescu *et al* 2014). As to my research, I tried to publish new archaeological materials from Tărtăria (Luca 2003) and to chronologically frame the stratigraphy here by comparison to other great Transylvanian archaeological sites (Luca 2001, 147-151). In 2014 began the preventive archaeological research on the site and the surrounding area. We will publish within a reasonable time the main results of these researches (Luca 2015).

On this occasion we found, in clear stratigraphic conditions, a piece that is - without any doubt - a tablet with sacred signs.

Starting from the ground level today, the excavations took place until the depth of 0,50 m, until the burnt adobe, where the Vinča culture dwellings appeared. The area around one house, next to the one labelled L XIV, towards east, was scraped and so was unveiled a new circular complex sized 1,20x1 m, with filling consisting of a pale, yellowish-silty compact and dense soil with ceramics belonging to Petreşti culture. During the systematic arrangement of the railroads (during 20th century), the higher levels of the archaeological complex were affected so that only the bottom level of the complex was preserved, having a depth of about 0.40 m. In the filling of complex C LXV, at about 0.30 m deep, appeared near its circular bottom, a ceramic plate, unburnt but forcedly dried, probably near a heat source, on the surface of which there are intentional superficial marks (I have to say that the archaeological team wrote

these comments in their logs). The context where the piece appeared is formed of a layer of grinder and stone placed on one of the half sides of the bottom of the pit (photo 1).

I must mention that, according to the normal stratigraphy of the site, the works carried out for the railways, but also the ones for preparing the trench of a thirteenth century AD fortification, lead to the "disappearance" of at least 1.5 m of stratigraphy in the area that was studied. Petreşti pits reach - not infrequently - depths greater than 2 m after our previous observations, in places where the medieval construction did not destroy the top side of the site.

The first *in situ* horizon is – in fact – one of the first, as age, of the site namely Vinča A. It is characterized by the presence of massive buildings which preserve large masses of burned adobe. The pit pillars around the pit belong to the same culture. By pure luck, complex C LXV was developed in a way that did not affect the presence of the foundation structures of the Vinča A complex. There were destroyed the burned ruins of the dwelling L XIV and of C LXVIIA, also dated in Vinča A.

But let's return to the tablet. I quote again from the observations made during the discovery: "circular ceramic plate unburnt, forcedly dried, perhaps near a heat source, on the surface of which are superficial marks made intentionally". Indeed - at a superficial observation - seems a lot like sandstone, which is not true - in my opinion. This observation has been used before in the dispute related to the originality of the Tărtăria tablets (the three already famous ones). We did not "reinforced it" (the artefact physically or chemically) by any method. One can see it as appeared in the ground. Moreover, this tablet keeps fingerprints from the moment of the making (in the form of impressions), especially the "front side" a sign that was not polished very carefully.

Signs of the front side (left, as we look at the illustration) – in our view – were made by very fine incisions (Photo 3-4; Fig. 2). We believe that the procedure is performed in this manner, very fine, "secret", to protect the symbols of too bold viewers, in order to "hide their story". Hence – the sacred character, but - at the same time - secret of "communication".

These incisions on the front side of the piece have a quite common form in the previous archaeological culture – Turdaş. So we find them Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, punct X₂ (Marler (ed.) 2008, 100), Turdaş (Luca, Pinter; Luca 1997; Luca 2001; Maxim *et al* 2009, 142, Cat. 25, 32-33, 51, 67, 111) or - ranked - in synthetic papers (Winn

2009, 56; basic sign: DS 152; options: DS 151, 153-157). Gh's opinion. Lazarovici (Lazarovici 2009, Table B2) they are birds. I tend to believe in the partial and symbolic contexts appropriate in this opinion.

Interesting conclusions - even if formal - can be extracted by comparing the writing of the so-called Old Europe and Linear A (comparison of the signs in the Danube area with the object from Dispilio) (Owens 2009, Fig. 2.B și I).

The back side (right as we look at the illustration) –in our view– is decorated with impressions, short cuts, seemingly unorganized, without hiding the obvious symbolism. We notice also wider and less profound incisions, which can be interpreted in conjunction with the first. We see the same sloppy modelling of the surface of the artefact (finger impressions are kept evident on both sides, but also on the edge of the tablet).

For a better view of these intentional interventions we preferred publishing high resolution photos under different exposure to light. The drawn result of such views is seen (at least for incised decoration) in Fig. 2. We preferred not to mark - in graphic illustration - the "ornaments" obtained through modelling, which are quite evident in the photos.

In this moment of the interpretation we must notice that the piece is ornamented by several techniques: tiny incisions very narrow (in front) or wider incisions (on the back side), cuts on the backside, finger impressions (evidently organized throughout its maximum proximity and side) and elongated V-shaped impression, visible on the front side. These depressions are observed on the photos (Photo 3-6). They were not graphically expressed because they would have "filled" too much the drawing.

On the front side of the piece (and we describe it after the coloured variant, more visible thanks to the use of a bright, side light and a sharp increase in image quality; right as we look at the illustration) on the extreme side of the artefact are seen, here and there, partitions signs in the form of short cuts and points made by impressions, scattered "V" shapes – on the right side triangular impressions – and in the central area, two incisions arranged at an angle of about 45 °. The right one has 5 inwards incisions, and the left is "continued" with four incisions (two parallel and a "V"), but also compositions on the inferior side, with two possible anthropomorphic connotations and another similar anthropomorphic one. A possible analogy is to be found at Turdaș (Maxim *et al*

2009, 142, Cat. 58). It is an evident intentional composition, which is very similar to others in Turdaș culture (classified chronologically and culturally in Turdaș culture, second phase, by the end of it) (Luca 2001, „Pot with houses”, 85, fig. 26/5; level II – superior, Turdaș culture II, final). Now, when we look with fresh eyes at Turdaș older discoveries, we see that the communication element is present in high numbers in the above mentioned archaeological site (Roska 1941, Abb. CXXXIV/3-6, 8, 12).

Incidentally, we must mention that at Turdaș we find almost perfect analogies in symbols present on the round Tărtăria tablet (quarter-right, up) (Roska 1941, Abb. CXXXV/15). So the so-called "cup" on the quadrilateral drilled tablet from the same archaeological site (right register, down) (Roska 1941, Abb. CXXIX/11 – up). And so, at Turdaș-Luncă there were found since the nineteenth century and were published in the twentieth century many of the sign that are represented on the famous Tărtăria tablets.

On the back side of the piece (and we describe it after the coloured variant, more visible thanks to the use of a bright, side light and a sharp increase in image quality; right as we look at the illustration) are seen, here and there, by lateral side of the piece, partitions signs form of short cuts, points made by *impressum* arranged by the sides, scattered "V" shapes, but also compositions (on the lower half) with anthropomorphic connotations (two) and another similar one, anthropomorphic also (?).

Wearing these pieces is evident, at the neck, having visible analogies in illustrations and photographs with the statuette from Liubcova I (Luca 1990; Luca 1991; Luca, Dragomir 1987; Luca, Dragomir 1989 (all previous papers with analogies); Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2014, Fig. 18a-B; 19.) and Liubcova II (Luca 2001a; Luca 2002; (all previous papers with analogies); Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2014, Fig. 18c.). Very obvious are also the analogies from Cucuteni cultural area from Frumușica (Monah 1997, Fig. 62/2), Trușești (Monah 1997, fig. 62/3), Drăgușeni (Monah 1997, fig. 63/4) and many other.

We stop here the investigation of the tablet and we propose it to your investigation and analysis meditation. Perhaps this one – along with the tablet discovered in Turdaș-Luncă (Luca *et al* 2009) – will bring more light in the controversial issue of how the information was delivered in the Neolithic period.

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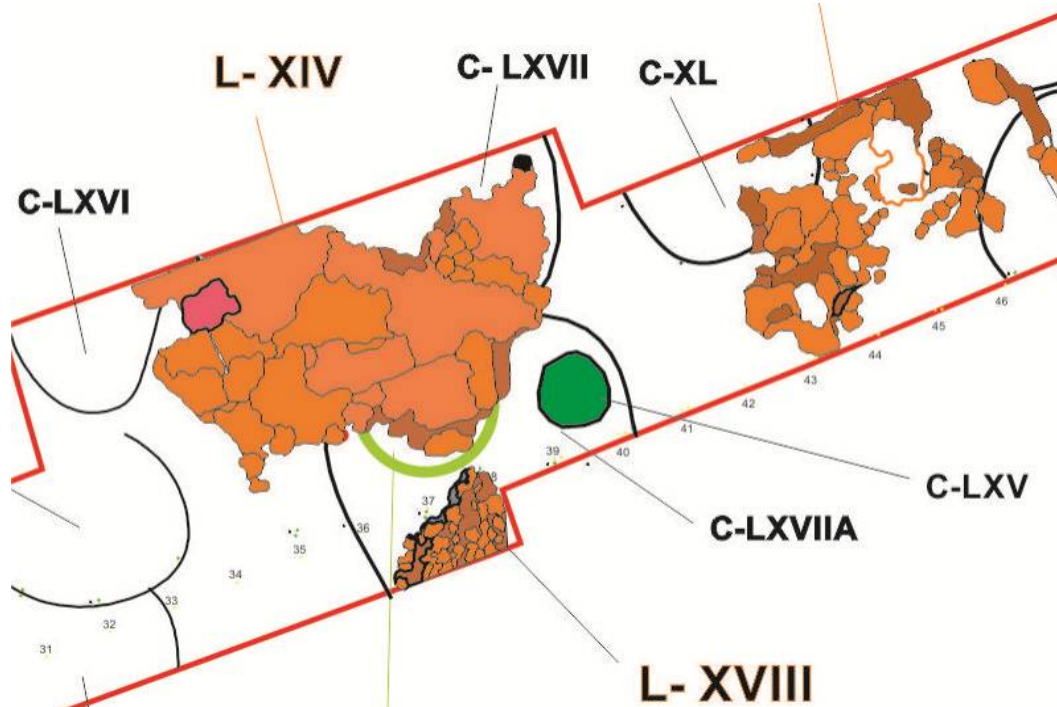


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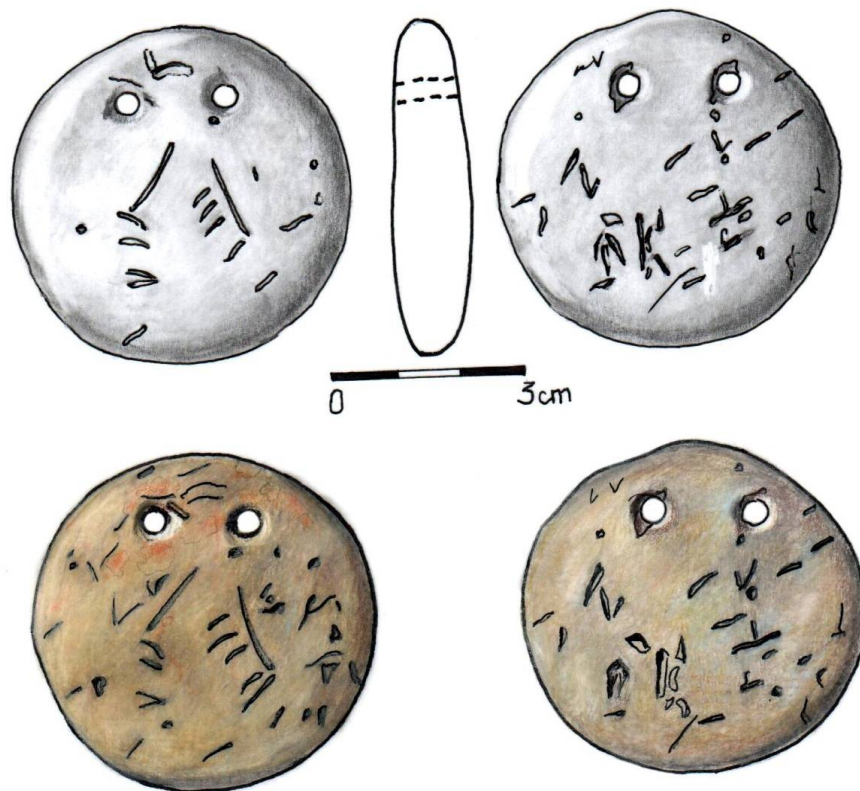


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DATA REGARDING THE MORPHOLOGY OF STARČEVO-CRIȘ POTTERY FROM CRISTIAN I (SIBIU COUNTY)

Anamaria TUDORIE*

Abstract: *The article presents new information regarding Starčevo-Criș pottery from Cristian I (Sibiu County), resulted from the salvation excavations carried on the 4th section of Sibiu-Orăștie Highway, at the end of 2011, this time focusing morphology of the pottery.*

Keywords: *pottery, Starčevo-Criș culture, Early Neolithic, pottery typology, Cristian I*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față prezintă noi informații privind materialul ceramic Starčevo-Criș, de la Cristian I (județul Sibiu) rezultat în urma săpăturilor de salvare realizate pe traseul tronsonului 4 al autostrăzii Sibiu Orăștie, de la finele anului 2011, focusându-se asupra analizei morfologice a vaselor.*

Cuvinte cheie: *ceramică, cultura Starčevo-Criș, neolitic timpuriu, tipologie ceramică, Cristian I*

1. General information

The site from Cristian I was discovered during the archaeological diagnosis that was necessary for building Orăștie – Sibiu Highway Lot 4, works that were conducted by a team from Brukenthal National Museum, led by Professor Sabin Adrian Luca (Luca 2012, 7-9).

The archaeological repertory of Sibiu County indicated several discoveries made on the territory of Cristian village. In what concerns the prehistorical materials, there were only the following mentions: a "probably Neolithic" scraper and a plane clay cup, without a base – discovered in the wood upper from *Schleifengraben*; a Coțofeni culture settlement – situated on the territory of the village; prehistoric pottery and a polished stone chopper – at *CFR Train Station* point; pottery fragments belonging to "Coțofeni Eneolithic culture (?)" – in *ÎnVăi* point and ceramic fragments that "could belong to early bronze age" – in *ÎnVăi II* point (Luca *et al.* 2003, 90-91).

After the diagnosis researches the site now called *Cristian I* was discovered, and based on the pottery the following chronological framings were made: Roman Age, Bronze Age and Early Neolithic – Starčevo-Criș culture (Luca 2012, 9-10).

The salvation archaeological excavations undertaken identified discoveries belonging to Early Neolithic and Roman Age. For Early Neolithic there were identified two habitation horizons (Luca *et al.* 2012, 284-285): the first

belongs to the oldest Starčevo-Criș colonisation from Romania's territory, comprising a sanctuary made of ritual deposits pits; the second horizon is represented of houses with the roof supported by stones, flint and obsidian processing workshops, kilns, a water well and inhumation graves.

2. Working method

The fact that the archaeologist are so interested in the study of pottery can be explained by the following statements (Williams 1990, 27-28):

- the pottery shards are the most common artefact discovered in the archaeological excavations, making possible their dating, starting from prehistory towards Middle Age period;
- the pottery is a material that resists very well into the soil through ages, contrary to others;
- the clay pots generally have a reduced period of use, being quite easy to accidentally break, but also their normal use can lead to destruction, this being the reason why this pots do not "survive" to the generation that created them, which often makes them to be contemporary with other archaeological materials discovered in the same context;
- considering the way it was produced and decorated, the pottery can determine the specificity of a certain archaeological culture;
- recent discoveries made possible a variety of analysis that can be applied on this type of archaeological material (microscopic analysis, macroscopic analysis, chemical analysis, dating etc.) that can provide important information regarding the ancient technologies of pottery production.

The nature of the studies made on Starčevo-Criș pottery from Cristian I is a macroscopic analysis

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and then a statistic one. The analysis was concentrated on three approaches: the fabrication methods analysis, the typological and ornamentation analysis.

In what concerns the analysis of the fabrication methods (general aspects, colour, temper, surface treatment and burning), but also ornamentation the results were discussed through several studies dedicated to this archaeological site (Luca *et al.* 2013, 11-27; Luca *et al.* 2013a, 35-44; Luca *et al.* 2014, 13-21; Tudorie 2014). On the following article it will be presented the morphology of the pottery from Cristian I.

3. Morphological analysis

Cristian I archaeological site was the provider of a new series of typologies of rims, bases, handles, but very important, for entire pot shapes, this situation being possible due to the unicity of this discoveries, but also to the large number of pottery fragments that were discovered and afterwards analysed.

For L1 feature, from the entire amount of analysed fragments, 1088 **rims** had their type established. They were framed in 110 categories. Even if at first site we are talking about great diversity, from these 110 categories, 5 of them have a wider representation: Y – with 86 fragments, A – with 72 fragments, I – 66 fragments, E – 66 fragments and D – 61 fragments. Practically, these 5 categories represent more than half of the percentages, exactly 32%.

From the rims category, a "medium" representation from this feature have the following codes: P – with 28 fragments, F – with 27 fragments, J2 – with 26 fragments, and equally, each with 23 fragments: B, H, H7, Y2 and we are closing this list with code J, which was identified in 22 cases.

All the remaining codes have a representation of under 20 fragments each: 18 fragments – Q5, 17 fragments – J9, 16 fragments – Y3, 15 fragments – G, 14 fragments – H15, 13 fragments – J8, 12 fragments – N, 11 fragments – E1, 10 fragments each – G10, H12, U1, 9 fragments each – H11, J1, J4, J5, H8, 8 fragments each – G11, M, U, Z, 7 fragments each – B6, G2, G5, J10, J11, L6, 6 fragments each – B3, B7, G4, G6, H6, J1, 5 fragments each – B10, H4, Q6, W, 4 fragments each – H5, V, 3 fragments each – B4, D1, G12, H14, H2, H3, L7, R, 2 fragments each – A1, B11, B15, B2, D2, E2, G8, L, L2, L8, P3, P4, Q7, U3, U4, Y4, and in the case of 22 codes (B12, B13, B14, B16, B17, B5, B8, F1, G1, H16, H9, J3, J6, J7, P2, Q8, U2, W1) they were represented only by one fragment.

In the case of L2 feature, there were identified only 18 rims (but we have to consider also the reduced number of fragments from this feature – 552 fragments, by comparison with feature L1) framed into the following categories: A2 – 1 fragment, B – 1 fragment, D – 1 fragment, D1 – 1 fragment, E – 2 fragments, F – 2 fragments, G1 – 1 fragment, G2 – 1 fragment, G9 – 1 fragment, H12 – 1 fragment, H4 – 1 fragment, J – 1 fragment, J2 – 1 fragment, N – 1 fragment, Y – 1 fragment.

The total number of rims identified in feature L3 is 208, framed in 48 categories. The best representation is for I code, with 24 ceramic fragments, followed by A2 and Y, each one with 15 fragments; P code was identified in 14 cases, codes A and E have each one 12 fragments.

From the entire lot of pottery from Cristian I, 764 presented **bases** fragments, for which it was possible a framing into the established typology.

From feature L1 were collected 610 fragments, from L2 – 13 fragments and from L3 – 141 fragments.

From the entire amount of pottery, three codes have the highest representation (with over 50 fragments each): B2 – 92 fragments, I1 – 65 fragments, P – 53 fragments, this three coded totalizing 15% from the total. The categories of bases having a medium frequency are: I6 – 49 fragments, H3 – 43 fragments, I5 – 30 fragments, I3 – 28 fragments, L – 26 fragments, D – 24 fragments, H4 – 24 fragments, I9 – 24 fragments, H2 – 22 fragments, I8 – 22 fragments, I10 – 21 fragments. The rest of the codes have a representation of under 20 fragments, as it follows: J2 – 19 fragments, I7 – 16 fragments, X1 – 14 fragments, J2, J4, Q – each 13 fragments, O – 11 fragments, B1 – 10 fragments, G, M, I4 – 9 fragments, A, J3, X, I12 – each 8 fragments, R, X3 – each 7 fragments, J, J1, I11 – each 6 fragments, B, H1, J5 – each 5 fragments, E, U1 – each 4 fragments, D1, X2 – each 3 fragments, J6 – 2 fragments, and C, I1, K, S, U, V – each 1 fragment.

In what concerns the **handles** typology, a total of 251 fragments could be identified in 36 variants. From these, type E1 (a handle having vertical perforation) is by far the most popular type, with a representation of 53 fragments, practically 21% from the total. With a representation of minimum 10 cases there are the following categories: type Y – 23 fragments, type L and W6 – 16 fragments each, type P – 15 fragments, type Y2 – 12 fragments, type W8 and K – 10 fragments each.

With a subtracted representation are the following codes: type Y1 – 9 fragments, type X2 – 8 fragments, type W5 – 7 fragments, type W7 – 7

fragments, type W9 – 7 fragments, type X1 – 6 fragments, type J – 5 fragments, type P2 – 5 fragments, type W2 – 4 fragments, type W – 5 fragments, type W4 – 4 fragments, type R – 4 fragments, type A – 2 fragments, type E2 – 3 fragments, type W3 – 3 fragments, type P3 – 3 fragments, type B – 2 fragments, type X – 2 fragments, type A – 2 fragments and one fragment for each of the following: C1, D, D2, E3, P4, Q, V, Z, Z1.

A totally special case is represented by a rim discovered in feature L1, made under the shape of a calf or a bull (Plate 3/1).

As I have already mentioned, the site of Cristian I was the provider of an important quantity of **entire pot shapes**, which was difficult until that moment because pottery is almost every time fragmented and the pieces of the *puzzle* didn't match every time in order to reconstruct totally the pot's shape, or the shapes analysed fitted into the catalogue elaborated by Zoia Kalmar Maxim (Kalmar-Maxim 1999).

Until the moment when I have analysed the pottery form Cristian I, there were only two new codes pot shapes (Tudorie 2011, 10, fig. 4), but the catalogue was enlarged with seven codes: LD, LE, LK, LM, LN, LO and ZA (Luca *et al.* 2013b, fig. 4).

4. Conclusions

The categories of identified rimes form Cristian I can be framed, in most of the cases, in the typologies that were elaborated by Gheorghe Lazarovici and completed by Zoia-Kalmar Maxim (Kalmar-Maxim 1999). I am referring myself to the codes Y, A, I, E or D.

The most common rim type from Cristian I is Y, but this code is being represented in absolutely all the sites where I have analysed the pottery in this manner (Tudorie 2013, 183). This is a rim that was part of a bowl, truncated, straight and high (Lazarovici 1979, 37), having a slight opening towards exterior. Type A, the second one considering the frequency, can be framed in the same category of bowls.

In what concerns type I, this can be established in the category of bowls that have the rim diameter

bigger than the maximum part of development of the belly (Ciută 2005, 81).

Types E and D can be framed into the category of plate, truncated bowls but, in this situation, the opening of the rim is higher, the rim's diameter overtaking the one of the base.

If in the case of the rims the most common typologies are the ones from designed into the first catalogue of this kind, in the case of bases, the most frequent type – B2 – is a code that appeared latter in the catalogues (Tudorie 2011, 10). This type of base belongs to the truncated, straight bowls, as it was the case for rims E and D. The base type I1 belongs to some hemispherical globular pots (Lazarovici 1979, 37, fig. C5), the same as type P.

The new typologies of shapes identified at Cristian I can be framed in the pots category (Lazarovici 1979, 37). LD and LO – are globular pots, with a straight, easily elevated rim and a base that was a little elevated towards its inner part, while code LK, LM, LN represent globular pots having a rim that was strength elevated.

The last code, ZA, I consider as the starting point of a series, due to its shape: a pot with two mouths. It was discovered in the ritual deposits area from Cristian I (Luca 2012, 101, photo 44). A Starčevo-Criș pot with two rims was also discovered in dwelling L5 from Zăuan, Sălaj County (Băcuet-Crișan 2007, 36), but this one in framed, from a chronological point of view, in the last sub phase of evolution of Starčevo-Criș culture – IVB. If one compares, at first sight, this two objects it can notice the fact that the pot from Cristian I has a globular shape, it was covered with a red slip which peeled off in most of the parts and the colour of the burned clay is light-brown. The temper used included a large quantity chaff. On the other hand, the pot from Zăuan has an almost bitronconical shape, the base us heightened, the colour is darker – greyish-black with brown, very good polish and considering the general aspect it seems that the temper used included, in this case, a large quantity of sand. So, even if we considered a common typology for this two cases, besides the existence of two mouths, there aren't other common elements.

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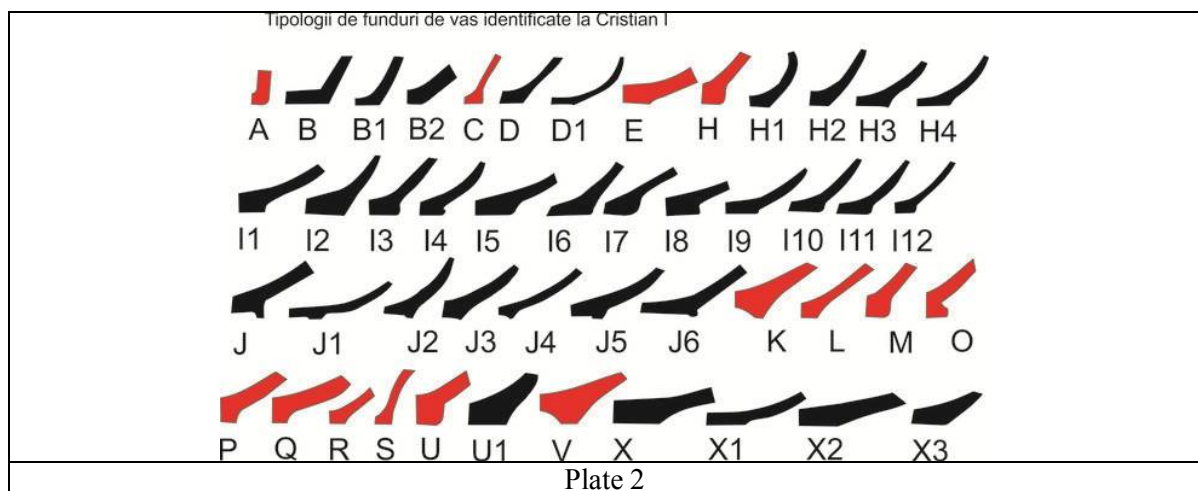
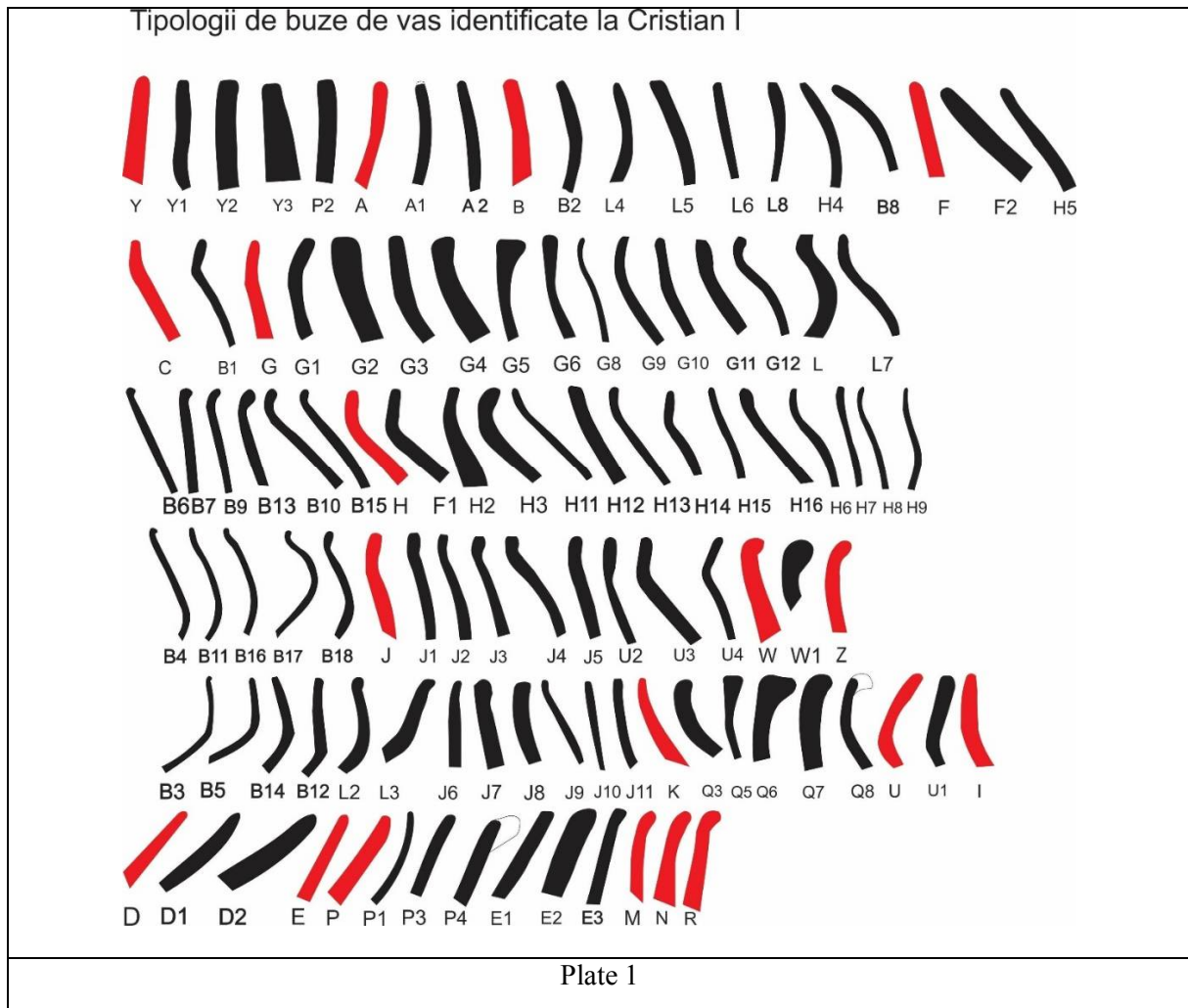
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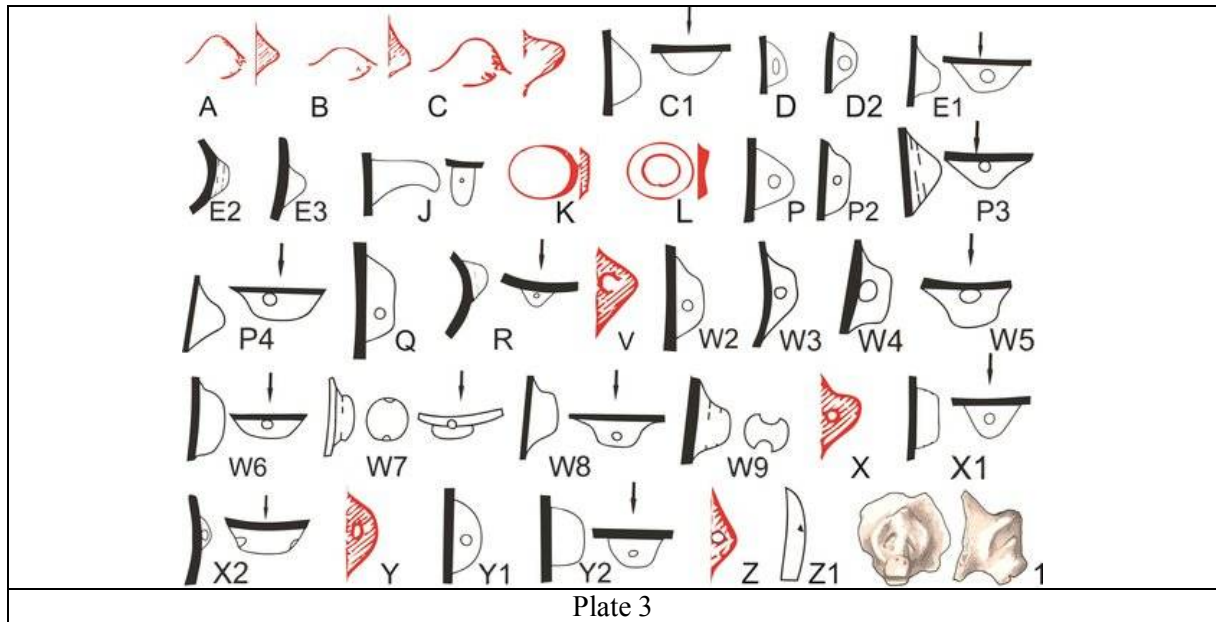
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Plate 1: The typologies of rims identified on the pottery form Cristian I. With red colour were marked the typologies from the catalogue elaborated by de Zoia Kalmar-Maxim (Kalamar-Maxim 1999) and the one with black were elaborated by Anamaria Tudorie (Tudorie 2011, Tudorie 2013)

Plate 2: The typologies of bases identified on the pottery form Cristian I. With red colour were marked the typologies from the catalogue elaborated by de Zoia Kalmar-Maxim (Kalamar-Maxim 1999) and the one with black were elaborated by Anamaria Tudorie (Tudorie 2011, Tudorie 2013)

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS FOR TWO SKELETAL SAMPLES FROM TURDAŞ AND CRISTIAN

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Norbert SZEREDAI**
Beatrice KELEMEN***

Abstract: *In this report we present the results of the osteological analysis performed for two skeletal samples from Cristian and Turdaş. The samples comprise 6 and 5 individuals, respectively, both adults and subadults. The preservation of the skeletal material is very poor and this has consequently limited our observations. A number of pathological features were identified, including osteoarthritis, periosteal inflammation, cribra orbitalia, porotic hyperostosis, and enamel hypoplasia.*

Key words: *physical anthropology, neolithic, Romania, bioarchaeology.*

Rezumat: *În acest articol prezentăm rezultatele analizei antropologice realizată pentru două loturi osteologice, de la Cristian și Turdaş. Cele două loturi cuprind un număr de 6, respectiv 5 indivizi. Aceștia sunt atât adulți cât și subadulți. Gradul de reprezentare și conservare al scheletelor este foarte scăzut, ceea ce a limitat într-o foarte mare măsură analiza efectuată. Printre aspectele patologice identificate se numără osteoartrita, inflamația subperiosteală, cribra orbitalia, hiperostoza porotică și defecte ale smalțului dentar.*

Cuvinte cheie: *antropologie fizică, neolitic, România, bioarheologie.*

Introduction

Both skeletal samples display a poor degree of preservation. After we cleaned the bones with water, it resulted a number of osseous fragments but only few of them could be reconstructed by using dental silicone. In order to avoid losing important information, we also screened the material before cleaning it. The sample from Cristian comprises of 6 individuals, whereas the sample from Turdaş included 5 skeletons.

Unfortunately, the small size of the samples and the poor degree of representation of the skeletons did not allow us to make extended inferences based solely on the anthropological analysis (see Table 1).

Materials and methods

For the anthropological analysis, we followed the guidelines of Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) and Steckel *et al.* (2011), along with the works of White *et al.* (2012) and Ortner (2003).

Sex was determined only for adult individuals. For this, we analysed the morphology of the cranial (nuchal crest, petrous pyramid, supraorbital margin, glabella, mental eminence) and pelvic (subpubic concavity, subpubic angle,

ischiopubic ramus, ventral arch, the great sciatic notch) elements.

With regard to adult individuals, age at death was determined using the morphology of the sternal rib ends (Işcan *et al.*, 1984), pubic symphysis (Meindl *et al.*, 1985), auricular surface (White *et al.*, 2012, 401), and the closure of the cranial sutures and dental wear (White *et al.*, 2012, 389-392). For subadult individuals, age at death was approximated by using measurements of the long bones, degree of epiphyseal fusion and the dental eruption scheme (Schaefer *et al.*, 2009, 140-338; Steckel *et al.*, 2011, 17-18).

Stature could not be calculated, as there were no long bones preserved well enough to be measured accurately. In what matters the pathological features, we screened all the skeletons for the presence of abnormal porosity on the skull vault and orbital roofs, periosteal reactions on the long bones and osteoarthritis.

Dental inventory and the recording of dental pathological changes were recorded using the standards produced by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994, 52-57) and Steckel *et al.* (2011, 15-19). Last but not least, trauma and fractures were analysed using the methods of Lovell (1997).

Results

The skeletal sample from Cristian

Grave no. 1

The adult skeleton is poorly represented. Before the soil was removed with water, the skull was still hold in position by soil and we could

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therefore assess the cranial diagnostic elements. As so, we determined that the skeleton belongs to a male individual. On the other hand, under the mandible we could see the diaphysis from a humerus. This and the fact that the mandible was still in its anatomical position next to the skull is consistent with the drawings from the archaeological excavation.

On the orbital roofs and cranial vault we could see porosity specific for *cribra orbitalia* and porotic hyperostosis (Fig. 01). A number of 25 teeth were available for analysis along with fragments from the mandible and maxillary. Dental calculus is slight. On the crown of the right mandibular canine we could see an enamel defect in the form of an extended hypoplastic line measuring 2.15 mm (Fig. 02). On the other teeth the presence of enamel defects was not noted. Molar wear is slight to moderate. On the preserved postcranial skeleton no periosteal reactions were identified.

The subadult individual is even more poorly preserved. The skeleton is represented by fragments from the skull, coxal bones and long bone diaphysis. Apart from these, a number of 33 teeth were available, of which 9 are deciduous, 12 are permanent and erupted, and the remaining 12 are permanent but unerupted. Dental calculus is slight. Dental enamel does not display hypoplastic lines. However, dental wear for the deciduous molars is strong. Based on the dental eruption stage, the age at death for this individual was approximated between 7 and 8 years. No pathological changes suggestive for nutritional or metabolic deficiencies were seen.

Grave no. 2

The first individual is probably a male based on the morphology of the cranial elements, with an age at death between 20 and 25 years. The skeleton is moderately represented. A number of 4 teeth were preserved. Slight dental calculus and periodontitis was observed, but no linear enamel hypoplasia. Dental wear is moderate, consistent with the age of the individual. Out of 11 joint elements present for analysis, none exhibits degenerative changes. Moreover, out of 12 long bones preserved, only the right tibia displays periosteal reactions but in a healed state. Although the orbital roofs were not available for observation, on the cranial vault we could see slight porosity.

On the left parietal, next to the sagittal suture, there is a circular trauma sustained with a blunt object. It measures 8.40 mm in diameter and is 1.95 mm deep. Next to this feature, another fracture was seen, extending from the circular

trauma and measuring 72.2 mm in length (Fig. 03 and 04). Both the trauma and the fracture are healed; along the fracture line we could see slight callus formation. Furthermore, as the skull was in a fragmentary state, we could see that the cranial vault is considerably thick, measuring up to 12.8 mm. There are no other pathological changes which could link this feature to Paget's disease of bone or other bone forming disorder (Ortner, 2003, 435-440).

The second individual is also an adult, but it is extremely poorly represented. Sex could not be determined. Although only one joint element is available and it does not display degenerative changes, on the preserved long bones we could see musculoskeletal markers with a rather rough appearance, which is suggestive for intensive physical activity. Out of the five long bones which could be analysed, none displays periosteal reactions. Only two teeth were recovered; these do not present any pathological features. A small healed trauma measuring 15 mm was identified on the posterior surface of the proximal right femoral diaphysis.

Grave no. 3

The adult skeleton is moderately represented. Teeth are missing. Age at death was determined based on the morphology of the auricular surface, which pointed to a range between 35 and 39 years of age. Sex could not be determined due to the lack of diagnostic elements. We noted the presence of osteoarthritis on 5 joint elements. Out of 9 long bones which could be analysed, only the right femur exhibits slight periosteal reactions.

The second individual is a subadult and is represented by teeth, fragments from the skull and very small fragments from long bone diaphyses. The dentition belongs both to the deciduous one (5 teeth) and the permanent, unerupted one (9 teeth). The development of the teeth suggest an age at death between 2 and 3 years. On the deciduous maxillary incisors from the left side we noted the presence of an enamel defect known as nursing-bottle caries (Fig. 05 and 06) (Oxenham *et al.*, 2008, 201).

The skeletal sample from Turdas

C2054

The skeleton is moderately preserved. Based on the morphology of the pubic symphysis and the degree of molar wear, age at death was approximated between 25 and 35 years of age. The pelvic elements point to the fact that this skeleton possibly belongs to a female individual. There were 13 permanent teeth preserved. No

dental caries or abscesses were recorded. Enamel defects were not observed on the incisors or canines. Dental wear is moderate. Only 12 joint elements were preserved; out of these, the right acetabular fossa and the bones of the left hand displayed slight changes due to osteoarthritis. Furthermore, out of 13 long bones available for observation, none presented inflammation of the periosteum. The left humeral diaphysis exhibits an abnormal curvature, although no bony callus is present or other indicators for a healed fracture. Nevertheless, this could be a defect or a fracture acquired during childhood. In addition, on the right tibia, on the lateral surface, we identified a healed trauma.

C201A

This skeleton is very poorly preserved. The only bones available for analysis were the diaphysis of the left femur, a fragment from the right tibial diaphysis, a few bones from the right hand and a fragment from the diaphysis of the left humerus.

As a consequence, there were no diagnostic elements present for inferring the sex and age at death for this individual. Nevertheless, from the general morphology and development of the bones, we can say that they belong to an adult individual. No teeth were preserved either, as well as no joint elements.

From the three long bones present for analysis, though in a highly fragmentary state, only the left femur displayed signs of periosteal inflammation. Apart from the human bones, we also found two fragments of animal bone.

C1100B and C144 – M2

For these two individuals, the recovered fragments are very small, under 1 cm. Still, after sieving the soil with flowing water, we recovered a number of teeth. No pathological features were observed.

For individual C1100B we recovered 8 teeth, of which 3 are from the deciduous dentition (1 canine and 2 molars) and 5 are unerupted, from the permanent dentition (1 maxillary central incisor, 2 canines, 2 molars). Based on the development of the teeth, age at death was approximated between 3 and 4 years of age.

For individual C144 – M2, we recovered 12 teeth, of which 7 are from the deciduous dentition (3 canines and 4 molars) and 5 are unerupted, from the permanent dentition (2 canines, 1 maxillary central incisor, and 2 molars). Age at death provided a result similar to the one for the subadult from C1100B, that is between 3 and 4 years of age.

C1442

This individual is also poorly preserved and the bones are very fragmentary. Based on the morphology of the bones, we can say that this individual is an adult. Moreover, on a number of long bone fragments we could see periosteal inflammation.

Conclusions

No perimortem trauma was identified on neither skeleton and thus no hypotheses can be made regarding their cause of death. Nevertheless, three individuals displayed healed trauma and fractures, either on the skull or on the long bones.

The adult individual from Grave 1 from Cristian exhibits skeletal indicators for nutritional stress sustained during childhood: *cribra orbitalia*, porotic hyperostosis and enamel hypoplasia (Lewis, Roberts, 1997, 581-583). Still, the enamel defect is present only on one tooth (the right mandibular canine) and this could also be explained by a trauma to the tooth (Goodman, Armelagos, 1985, 479). *Cribralia orbitalia* and porotic hyperostosis can be linked to a high number of disease complexes, the most common one being iron-deficiency anemia (Walker *et al.*, 2009, 113).

On the other hand, the child from grave no. 3 from Cristian displays an enamel defect called nursing-bottle caries or Early Childhood Caries (ECC) which consist of extreme crown destruction due to carious lesions in children (Oxenham *et al.*, 2008, 201). The child from Turdaş has an age at death between 2 and 3 years. There are many causes for ECC, including low levels of fluoride in the water, prolonged breast-feeding, and the transmission of cariogenic bacteria from the mother (Oxenham *et al.*, 2008, 201). However, the extended destruction seen on the incisors of the child from Grave no. 3 would have caused him or her considerable pain.

These two skeletal samples offer additional data regarding the Neolithic communities and the health status and life-quality levels experienced by their inhabitants. Still, the small number of individuals and the poor degree of preservation greatly hinders the conclusions which can be drawn from this analysis.

Acknowledgements

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

- Fig. 01. The adult individual from Grave no. 1 from Cristian. Cribra orbitalia on the left orbital roof / Individul adult din M1, Cristian. Cribra orbitalia pe tavanul orbital stâng.
- Fig. 02. The adult individual from Grave no. 1 from Cristian. Enamel defect on the mandibular canine (arrow) / Individul adult din M1, Cristian. Defect al smalțului (săgeată) pe caninul mandibular.
- Fig. 03. The male individual from Grave no. 2 from Cristian. The cranial vault displaying healed trauma (arrows) / Individul de sex masculin din M2, Cristian. Fragment din calota craniană cu cele două traume vindecate (săgeți).
- Fig. 04. The male individual from Grave no. 2 from Cristian. Detail with the circular trauma / Individul de sex masculin din M2, Cristian. Detaliu cu trauma circulară.
- Fig. 05. The subadult individual from Grave no. 3 from Cristian. Labial view of the left maxillary central incisors displaying early childhood caries / Individul subadult din M3, Cristian. Suprafața labială a caninului maxilar central de pe partea stângă prezentând distrugere puternică a smalțului.
- Fig. 06. The subadult individual from Grave no. 3 from Cristian. Lingual view of the left maxillary central incisor displaying early childhood caries / Individul subadult din M3, Cristian. Suprafața linguală a caninului maxilar central de pe partea stângă prezentând distrugere puternică a smalțului.



Fig. 01.



Fig. 02.



Fig. 03.

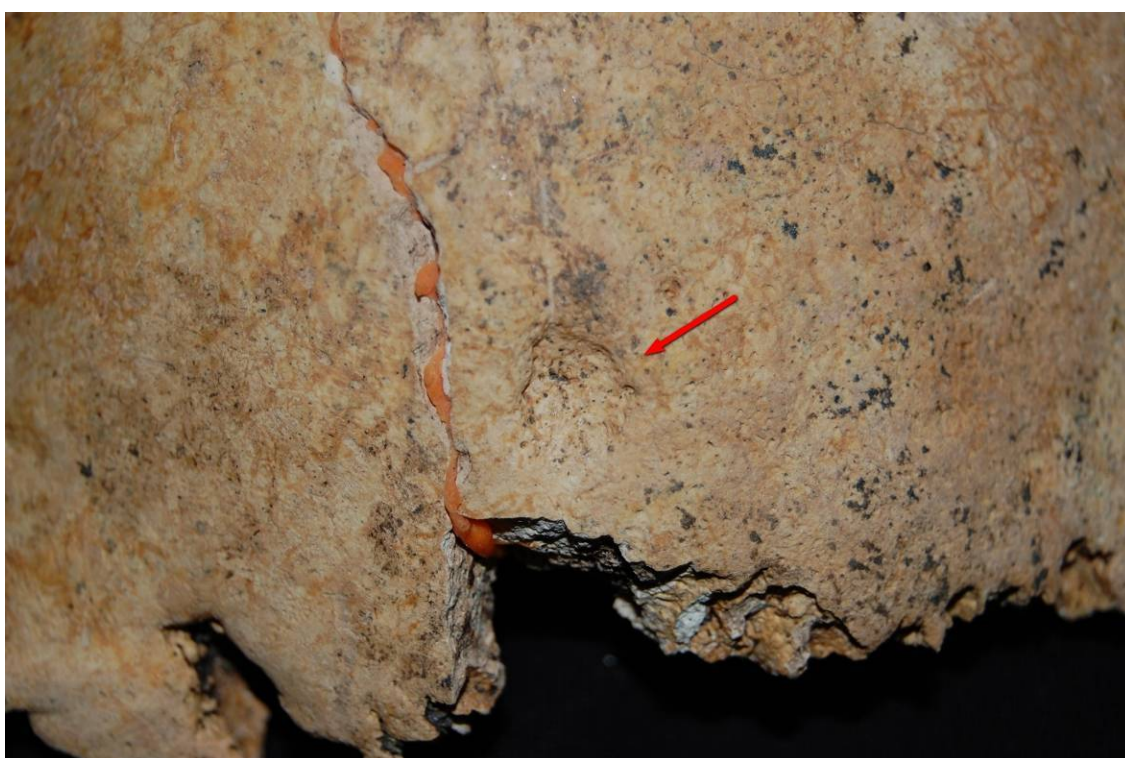


Fig. 04.



Fig. 05.



Fig. 06.

Necropolis	Grave no.	Age at death	Sex	<i>Cribrra orbitalia</i>	Porotic Hyperos.	Enamel defect	Periosteal reaction	Trauma/ Fracture
Cristian	1	Adult	M	√	√	√		
	1	7-8	Ind					
	2	20-25	M		√		√	√
	2	Adult	Ind					√
	3	35-39	Ind				√	
Turdaş	3	2-3	Ind			√		
	C2054	25-35	F					√
	C201A	Adult	Ind				√	
	C1100B	3-4	Ind					
	C144-M2	3-4	Ind					
	C1442	Adult	Ind				√	

Table no. 1. Sex, age at death, and pathological features for the analysed individuals.

OBJECT PHOTOGRAPHY IN 19TH CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY. THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF ZSÓFIA TORMA'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION

Laura COLTOFEAN*

Abstract: *This article is a case study about how object photography was produced and used in 19th century archaeology, revealing its importance in facilitating the dissemination, exchange and publishing of archaeological information. It aims to present eight photographs depicting objects from the archaeological collection of Zsófia Torma (1832-1899), a pioneering Hungarian woman archaeologist of 19th century Transylvania, who had a significant contribution to the development of prehistoric archaeology in Transylvania and researched the settlement of Turdaş-Luncă, one of the most important sites in today's Romania. These photographs are of an exceptional importance to the history of Romanian and Hungarian archaeology, because they were made during Zsófia Torma's lifetime. Moreover, until this stage of archival researches, they are the only known surviving photographs of her collection on the territory of Romania and Hungary that date from that time. Based on unpublished archive documents, this paper will trace the history of these photographs and analyse their significance in the cultural context in which they were taken and employed.*

Keywords: *Zsófia Torma, archaeology, object photography, collection, Transylvania, 19th century.*

Rezumat: *Acest articol este un studiu de caz cu privire la modul în care fotografia de obiect era realizată și utilizată în arheologia secolului al XIX-lea, evidențiind importanța sa în facilitarea diseminării, schimbului și publicării informației arheologice. Scopul articolului este de a introduce în literatura de specialitate opt fotografii reprezentând obiecte din colecția arheologică a Zsófiei Torma (1832-1899), o femeie arheolog din Transilvania secolului al XIX-lea, care a contribuit semnificativ la dezvoltarea arheologiei preistorice în această regiune și a cercetat așezarea de la Turdaş-Luncă, aceasta fiind unul dintre cele mai importante situri arheologice din România de astăzi. Fotografiile ce constituie subiectul acestui articol sunt de o importanță deosebită, deoarece au fost realizate în timpul vieții Zsófiei Torma și, până în acest stadiu al cercetării, constituie singurele fotografii ale colecției sale în România și Ungaria, care au supraviețuit trecerii timpului și datează din perioada respectivă. Folosind documente de arhivă inedite, articolul trasează istoria acestor fotografii și analizează importanța lor în contextual cultural în care au fost realizate și folosite.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Zsófia Torma, arheologie, fotografie de obiect, colecție, Transilvania, secolul XIX.*

Introduction

Archaeology and photography developed in the 19th century. It is a generally accepted fact that they have been linked from the very beginning (Downing 2006, 88; Bohrer 2011, 27-28; Hamilakis, Ifantidis 2015, 134; 137-138), being “made for each other” as Frederick Bohrer stated (2011, 27). In fact, photography helped archaeology evolve from antiquarianism to a scientific discipline (Lyons 2005, 25; Downing 2006, 88-89). Initially depicting antiquities, ruined monuments in their landscapes and ancient inscriptions, photography was gradually introduced in recording different phases of excavation, features and finds, providing

essential visual evidence for the study of the past (Lyons 2005, 22-33), although often at the beginning only the exceptional objects were photographed, isolated from their context of discovery (González Reyero 2007, 398). It also played an important role in the process of nation-building, through capturing “tangible symbols and places of collective memory” (Lyons 2005, 25; also see Hamilakis, Ifantidis 2015), as well as in raising public interest in and support for archaeology (Bohrer 2011, 12-15).

Being a mechanical reproduction, photography was considered to provide a reliable and objective alternative to the manually produced drawings that had started raising suspicions due to the errors and imprecisions that very often

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contained. The incorporation of photography in archaeology improved archaeological methodology, as well as the communication and exchange of knowledge and information among specialists (González Reyero 2008, 206).

The development of photographs representing archaeological objects has received little attention (González Reyero 2007, 245) from scholars, despite the fact that they form the largest part of archaeological photographs, along with site photographs (Bohrer 2011, 54). As Elizabeth Edwards stated, “their repetitive, functional nature and very ubiquity makes photographs of objects appear transparent in the extreme, lacking the immediate aesthetic or ideological compulsions of other photographic expressions of cultural alterity” (Edwards 2001, 51).

This article is a case study about how object photography, defined as the photography of movable artefacts (Dorrell 1995, 154)¹, was produced and used in 19th century archaeology, revealing its importance in facilitating the dissemination, exchange and publishing of archaeological information. It aims to present eight photographs depicting objects from the archaeological collection of Zsófia Torma (1832-1899), as well as to reconstruct the cultural context in which they were taken and employed. Moreover, it considers photographs as material culture, following the idea that photographs are “both images *and* physical objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience” (Edwards, Hart 2004, 1).

Zsófia Torma was a Hungarian pioneering woman archaeologist of 19th century Transylvania which at that time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She had an important role in the development of prehistoric archaeology in Transylvania and is especially known for her researches undertaken at the Eneolithic settlement of Turdaş-*Lunca* (Hunedoara County, Romania) which is one of the most important archaeological sites in today's Romania. Also, this site gives name to

¹ The complete definition of object photography according to Peter Dorrell: “the photography of movable artifacts, neither so large that they have to be photographed *in situ* nor so small that they need the techniques of close-up photography” (Dorrell 1995, 154).

the Turdaş culture that has been the subject of debates among Romanian archaeologists for years. The richness of finds allowed Zsófia Torma to create an impressive archaeological collection in her house in Orăştie town, which towards the end of her life consisted of 10387 objects (Roska 1941, 5). The largest part of this collection can be found today at the National History Museum of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), as well as in several Romanian (in Deva, Aiud, Sibiu *etc.*) and other European museums (in Budapest, Mainz, Munich and Berlin) (see Anders 1999, 57-80). Based on the incised signs that many of her artefacts were decorated with, Zsófia Torma believed that these are part of an ancient script that she connected with the oldest known writing systems of the time. She considered that various elements of the Mesopotamian culture were transmitted to the Thracian inhabitants of Troy and Turdaş, and survived in the art, customs and beliefs of her contemporary Hungarian, German and especially Romanian peasants.²

In the previously presented context, the photographs under discussion are of an exceptional importance to the history of Romanian and Hungarian archaeology for two reasons. Firstly, because they were taken during Zsófia Torma's lifetime and secondly, because until this stage of my archival researches, they are the only known surviving photographs of her collection on the territory Romania and Hungary, that date from that time. Other photographs might also exist in the museums and institutions where Zsófia Torma sent objects of her collection.

This article is the result of researches that I have undertaken in the archives of the five main institutions in Romania and Hungary that hold documents concerning Zsófia Torma's life and scientific activity: the National Archives of Hunedoara County (Deva, Romania), National History Museum of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), National Széchenyi Library (Budapest, Hungary), Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest, Hungary), and the Hungarian National Museum (Budapest, Hungary).

² For more information about Zsófia Torma's life and scientific activity see Gyulai 1972, Makkay 1999 and, more recently, Coltofean 2012; 2014.

Following this introduction, the first part of the article focuses on the description and analysis of the eight photographs, while the second part traces their history and role based on Zsófia Torma's existing correspondence.

The photographs

Before beginning the description and analysis of the photographs, I will briefly present three types of artefact representations in the archaeological photography of the 19th century, as identified by Susana González Reyero (2007, 2008). The first type is the so called still life photography, influenced by the composition studies introduced in the art academies. These photographs depicted artefacts grouped into artistic compositions that resembled still life paintings. Besides their artistic value, they also provided a cheap solution for publishing more objects on the same plate (González Reyero 2007, 245-246; 2008, 213). A good example of this category are the photographs of archaeologist Erich Schmidt, that portray the exceptional finds resulted from the excavations at Tepe Hissar (Bohrer 2011, 124-125). The second type of representation is individual photography, which focused on depicting a single archaeological object, generally against a background that contrasted with its colour. This manner provided a more complete image of the objects, with details, and was ideal for their systematisation. Due to the costs that it involved, it was initially less popular than still life photography, but in time technical progress allowed it to become the dominant way of photographing artefacts (González Reyero 2007, 246-247; 2008, 213). The third type is the mosaic photography of specimens that Elizabeth Edwards named "floating objects". It was borrowed from the natural sciences and depicted objects as specimens. The basic idea was to create a "point of view" that made the specimens resemble; lighting was used to give the objects uniformity, emphasizing their form, texture, material and decoration. The background context was then removed by the photographer through the manipulation of the photographic negative, and in the resulting final image the objects gave the impression of floating (Edwards 2001, 58-59; González Reyero 2007, 248-250; 2008, 213-214). Therefore, this method could be used for creating typological tables (González Reyero 2007, 246-247; 2008, 248).

The eight photographs that are discussed in this article (see fig. 1-8) can be found at the *National Archives of Hunedoara County* [Direcția Județeană Hunedoara a Arhivelor Naționale], in the *Hunedoara County's Society of Historical and Archaeological Sciences – Dr. Zsófia von Torma Fonds* [Societatea de Științe Istorice și Arheologice a Comitatului Hunedoara – Dr. Zsófia von Torma], in Folder no. 1/1844-1901 [Dosarul nr. 1/1844-1901], under the following inventory numbers: 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49.

The photographs are sepia-toned and printed on paper. They represent a selection of grouped artefacts from Zsófia Torma's collection, such as three almost complete vessels, potsherds (most of which are decorated), anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurine fragments, complete and fragmentary weights, a pintadera, one stone axe fragment and, in one photograph, osteological material (see fig. 5). Although there is no obvious criterion in the organisation of these finds, their grouping certainly allowed a better comparison and study. It is important to mention that one of the artefacts was cut out from a photograph (see fig. 2) for unknown reasons. There is no doubt that these archaeological objects belong to Zsófia Torma's collection, as most of them can be identified on the plates of the monograph that archaeologist Márton Roska published in 1941 about the same collection.³ Only three of the artefacts can be found in Zsófia Torma's publications (for fig. 1, see Torma 1879, Pl. IX.21, and Torma 1880, Pl. IX.13; for fig. 8, see Torma 1880, Pl. IX.6.).

³ I managed to identify the following archaeological objects:

For fig. 1, see Roska 1941, 159, Pl. LVII.13; Roska 1941, 25, fig. 15.1.

For fig. 2, see Roska 1941, 269, Pl. CXII.16; Roska 1941, 269, Pl. CXII.8.

For fig. 3, see Roska 1941, 259, Pl. CVII.15; Roska 1941, 207, Pl. LXXXI.16; Roska 1941, 209, Pl. LXXXII.4.

For fig. 4, see Roska 1941, 273, Pl. CXIV.13.

For fig. 5, see Roska 1941, 171, Pl. LXIII.1 (possibly);

For fig. 6, see Roska 1941, 287, Pl. CXXI.21.

For fig. 7, see Roska 1941, 302, Pl. CXXIX.23.

For fig. 8, see Roska 1941, 325, Pl. CXL.2; Roska 1941, 302, Pl. CXXIX.20.

The arrangement of the artefacts is quite improvised, with no special attention given to background, lighting, positioning and other basic principles of object photography that are nowadays mentioned in the manuals of archaeological photography (see for example, Dorrell 1995, 154-176). Several photographs (see fig. 2-4, 6, 8) show that the objects were set against a vertical wooden surface (perhaps the back of a bench), its verticality being proven by the nails that were used for supporting the potsherds. With one exception (see fig. 8), sheets of paper were used as background, in order to delimitate the objects from the wooden surface. It is important to notice that no scale was placed next to the objects, with one exception (see fig. 7), where a thimble that appears behind a figurine is used as a measuring instrument. As a matter of fact, in the 19th century thimbles were often used as units of measurement.

The display of the artefacts somewhat resembles the plates with drawings from publications. It also indicates the intention of emphasizing their decoration and other details with possible relevance for archaeological analysis and interpretation. Although object photography could and can often have artistic values (see Bohrer 2011, 141-172), the previously described arrangement clearly points to the fact that this cannot be said about the photographs under discussion. Their purpose is scientific and the objects were selected by Zsófia Torma in order to present an example of the most representative finds for her collection, as the following part of this article will demonstrate.

The history of the photographs

The discovery of the above discussed photographs in the National Archives of Hunedoara County raised questions regarding their author, as well as the reason for and context in which they were made. A thorough research undertaken in the archive of the Hungarian National Museum revealed the existence of several original and draft letters that might offer answers to these questions, as they mention the existence of eight photographs. I believe that these photographs are the same as the ones from the National Archives of the Hunedoara County for several reasons.

The letters were written in the context of the 8th International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology that took place at the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, in 1876. This event was of major importance for Hungarian archaeology and scholars, because it meant their international recognition (Hampel 1902, 10; Bartosiewicz *et al.* 2011, 282).

Zsófia Torma also participated in this Congress that represented a turning point in her life, marking the beginning of her archaeological career. It is for this event that she started undertaking archaeological excavations in 1875 at site of Turdaş-Luncă, as well as creating an impressive collection from the discovered artefacts. At the Congress she exhibited a part of this collection, managing to impress the participant scholars among whom she established valuable contacts. These contacts were the core of a vast scientific correspondence that Zsófia Torma developed in the years after the Congress with Hungarian and especially foreign scholars (such as Archibald Henry Sayce, Francis Haverfield, John Lubbock, Johannes Ranke, Albert Voss, Otto Helm, Eduard Krause, Friedrich Lindenschmit, Abraham Lissauer, Matthias Much, Jaroslav Palliardi, Paul Reinecke *etc.*), with the purpose of disseminating her researches and receiving advice regarding the interpretation of her finds. However, this event was also the beginning of her professional conflicts with some Hungarian scholars, such as archaeologist and politician Pulszky Ferenc, director of the Hungarian National Museum, as well as of her struggle to gain general recognition in Hungarian archaeology (Gyulai 1972, 9-46; Tulok 1999, 22-35), all these strongly affecting her (see Coltofean 2012; 2014, 261-265).

The Congress resulted in the publication of two large volumes, the first in 1877 and the second in 1878, both generically entitled *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-rendu de la Huitième Session a Budapest*. The first volume gathered the presentations of the main participants, while the second volume was dedicated to the Bronze Age finds from Hungary. The letters mentioned before are directly connected with the publication of this latter volume.

In a letter written on 17 March 1878 to József Hampel, archaeologist and at that time curator of the Hungarian National Museum, Zsófia Torma expressed her wish to publish the most representative artefacts of her collection in the second volume of the Congress, this being the first time that the existence of the photographs is mentioned: "I only received the first volume of the *Compte-rendu* these days – in which I read that you have accepted the editing of the 2nd volume. In case it is not too late and there is space for the publication of the most representative objects of my collection – I am ready to send you their description, photographs, perhaps the originals" (MNMI-ÉR, 60/1878, letter from 17 March 1878). Being aware of the importance of her collection and encouraged by the appreciations received at the Congress, Zsófia Torma explains the reasons of her wish: "(...) it would be a pity if the *Compte-rendu* would not make such new and important Neolithic finds from our country known" (MNMI-ÉR, 60/1878, letter from 17 March 1878).

Zsófia Torma's request received József Hampel's positive response, who agrees to publish her article, but warns her that the number of illustrations might be limited due to financial issues: "We openly offer you space in the second volume of the <<compte-rendu>>, but as the expenses of this volume are not yet exactly established, the article cannot have as many illustrations as it might be needed. Regarding the language of the article, we ask you to write it in French, the editorial board will correct it before publishing. Difficulties can only be caused by illustrations. While only the author of the article is responsible for the correctness of the text, the editorial board is usually responsible for the correct or incorrect preparation of illustrations. This is the reason why the illustrations should be made under my supervision and therefore good photographs are needed or I will ask you to send to Budapest the objects intended for drawing" (MNMI-ÉR, 60/1878, letter from 20 March 1878).

Therefore, Zsófia Torma sends József Hampel drawings and eight photographs showing a selection of typical artefacts of her collection, asking him to choose the ones that would be published in the second volume of the Congress: "I am lucky to attach 8 pieces of photographs of important finds from my

collection, together with their description, with the purpose of asking you to choose which will be used as illustrations in the <<Compte-rendu>>, because I would like to present several. Is it possible to publish the incisions on the bottom of the vessels on a smaller scale, on the same plate, as well as the finds from plate IX? All the incisions are being now engraved on a smaller scale in Vienna, for the "Archiv" in Sibiu, as well as the objects from the 8 pieces of photographed plates, which will perhaps be published at the end of the next month" (MNMI-ÉR, 81/1878, letter from 29 March 1878). This quote includes several important information concerning the photographs under discussion. Firstly, it indicates that the photographs were most probably taken between 1875 – the year Zsófia Torma started her excavations at the settlement of Turdaş-Luncă and began creating her archaeological collection, and 1878 – the year the letters that mention the photographs were written. It seems that several copies of these photographs existed, as the same eight were sent both to Vienna and Budapest. Secondly, it reveals that the photographs had an important role in the publication of one of the first accounts of Zsófia Torma's discoveries. The name "Archiv" in the quote actually refers to *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* that was the journal of the *Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* – the Transylvanian Saxons' association for the scientific knowledge of this region. It is in this journal that teacher Carl Gooss published in 1878 an article about Zsófia Torma's collection – *Bericht über die von Fräulein Sofie von Torma in der Sitzung der historischen Section des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde im August 1877 ausgestellte Sammlung prähistorischer Funde*. All this information proves that the drawings and photographs mentioned by Zsófia Torma were sent to Vienna in order to produce the illustrations for the article of Carl Gooss, the first through wood engraving and the latter through traditional photo-etching on zinc plates: "Gooss announces me that the photographed finds that will be annexed to his article will be etched on zinc plates, a method that is much cheaper for them in Vienna than wood engraving – but more precise. He also writes that he believes that the association from Sibiu will agree to give you the zinc plates that will no longer be

needed (MNMI-ÉR, 81/1878, letter from 29 April 1878)⁴. The photographs might have been made especially for the publication written by Carl Gooss, but there is no evidence for this. However, the four plates of the final article that was published in 1878 do not include any object from these photographs. The letters do not offer any clue about this absence, but the reasons behind it are probably financial, as illustration production was expensive. In fact, this is a problem that Zsófia Torma encountered several times when attempting to publish.

The journey of the photographs from Budapest soon ended. In a letter from 17 May 1878, József Hampel sent the photographs and drawings back to Zsófia Torma, telling her that the article can be written without them: “I believe that your article for the *Compte rendu* can be written independently from the drawings and plates, starting with the description of the undertaken researches and of the site, and continuing with the description of the finds according to the levels of deposit” (MNMI-ÉR, 108/1878, letter from 17 May 1878). Although Zsófia Torma’s name and finds are several times mentioned throughout the second volume of the Congress, her article was never published, the exact reasons still being under research. However, in this case, the photographs are an example of how object photography enhanced the exchange of information regarding the artefacts needed for writing and illustrating a publication.

There is no clear information about the author of the photographs. In the archives of the Hungarian National Museum there are two original letters that a photographer named Fritz Geltch sent to József Hampel in 1883 concerning the sale of 48 photographs depicting objects from Zsófia Torma’s collection (MNMI-ÉR, 317/1883; 329/1883). Fritz Geltch was a photographer in Broos (the German name for Orăștie) and owned a photography studio. Some of his studio photographs representing individual and group portraits have survived and now circulate on the internet.⁵

⁴ The quote corresponds with the information given by Carl Gooss to Zsófia Torma about the same topic, in a letter from 1 May 1878 (Gyulai 1972, 69-70).

⁵ See, for example:

Unfortunately, the set of 48 photographs that he sent to the Hungarian National Museum does not exist anymore in the institution’s archive, and therefore it is impossible to tell whether there is any connection between the eight discussed photographs and the other 48. However, the possibility that both photograph sets were made by Fritz Geltch is not excluded.

Conclusions

This article has been built around eight photographs from the National Archives of Hunedoara County (Deva, Romania), depicting objects from the archaeological collection of Zsófia Torma (1832-1899), a pioneering Hungarian woman archaeologist of 19th century Transylvania. These photographs are extremely valuable, because they were made during Zsófia Torma’s lifetime and are the only known surviving photographs of her collection on the territory of Romania and Hungary that date from that time. The objects were selected by Zsófia Torma in order to show a set of representative finds for her collection. Their improvised arrangement lacks any artistic value and demonstrates a clear scientific purpose, the focus being placed on emphasizing decoration and other details with possible relevance for archaeological analysis and interpretation.

Zsófia Torma’s correspondence indicates that the photographs were taken between 1875 – the year she started her excavations at the site of Turdaș-*Luncă*, and 1878 – the year in which the letters that mention the existence of the photographs were written. It seems that at least two sets of copies of these photographs existed. One set was sent to Vienna to be used for preparing the illustrations of a publication authored by teacher Carl Gooss (1878), which was among the first accounts of Zsófia Torma’s archaeological activity and finds. The other set was sent to József Hampel, archaeologist and at that time curator of the Hungarian National Museum, in order to select the artefacts intended to be the topic and illustrations of an article in the second volume of the 8th International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology that took place in Budapest, in 1876. However, none of the archaeological objects shown in the photographs was published in the articles they had been planned for, most probably because of

<http://www.ipernity.com/doc/297783/31051451/in/album/464307>.

financial reasons. The vast scientific correspondence that Zsófia Torma developed after the Congress underlines her permanent preoccupation with disseminating her researches and finds. In her letters to scholars she describes artefacts in great detail and asks for opinions and advice concerning their interpretation. Other copies of the photographs discussed in this article might have accompanied these letters, in order to offer a clearer image of the finds.

The example of these photographs once again reveals the importance of object photography, its uses and advantages in 19th century archaeology. Object photography was a remarkable, precise visual evidence that responded to the requirements of positivist research, and allowed the exact reproduction of numerous and various details with relevance for archaeological analysis. In case of publications, it facilitated the time saving production of photographic illustrations that were considered to be more objective and reliable. It was therefore seen as an alternative to the subjective, often imprecise and time consuming drawings, although later the objectiveness of photographs also proved to be debatable⁶. However, this does not mean that photography excluded drawings from scientific writings. On the contrary, the two completed each other in developing a more accurate argumentation

(González Reyero 2007 64). In addition to this, object photography provided a rapid and less expensive dissemination, study, comparison and classification of archaeological finds, without the need of transporting them or travelling to the owner/place of discovery. Therefore, object photography, as part of archaeological photography, enhanced the circulation of archaeological information and knowledge in a century dominated by the idea of progress.

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⁶ For more information about the debatable objectivity of photographs in archaeology see: Shanks 1997, González Reyero 2007, Bohrer 2011.

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS USED ON THE PREVENTIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SITE FROM MIERCUREA SIBIULUI IV, SIBIU DISTRICT.

Adrian LUCA*

Abstract: *The purpose of this study is not to provide a general view over the discoveries made on Miercurea Sibiului IV archeological site, but rather to provide information on the way the preventive archeological work was conducted. The paper presents the non-destructive and potentially destructive archaeological techniques and methods used on the preventive site from Miercurea Sibiului IV.*

Key words: *Miercurea Sibiului IV, non-destructive archaeological techniques and methods, potentially destructive archaeological techniques and methods.*

Rezumat: *Scopul acestui studiu nu este de a oferi o imagine de ansamblu asupra descoperirilor făcute pe situl arheologic de la Miercurea Sibiului IV, ci, mai degrabă, își propune să aducă informații asupra modului în care s-a desfășurat cercetarea arheologică preventivă. Lucrarea prezintă principalele tehnici și metodele arheologice non-distructive, dar și cele cu potențial distructiv utilizate pe șantierul arheologic preventiv Miercurea Sibiului IV.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Miercurea Sibiului IV, tehnici și metode arheologice non-distructive; tehnici și metode arheologice cu potențial distructiv.*

All archeological sites that were identified before the construction of the Orăștie – Sibiu highway section Cunța – Săliște, 3rd lot, came to the attention of archeological community as a result of the diagnosis made by the National Museum of Romanian History, from Bucharest, in August – October 2011. Between km 51+050 – 52+000, the borders of an archeological site, belonging to the Hallstatt era were established. The preventive archeological digging that followed, managed by the archeological team from the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu¹, established that the remains actually belonged to five different cultural horizons: starting with the Middle Bronze Age, the Wietenberg culture, the second belonging to the Late Bronze Age, the Noua culture, the third is dated in the second age of Iron, Middle La Tène period, with two phases of habitation, the fourth horizon belongs to the migration period, while the last belongs to the Early Medieval period (Table 1, fig. 1) (LUCA *et al.* 2013a, 59). From this point

forward we will refer to the archeological site, situated in the nearby course of the Secaș River (40 to 250 m) and approximately 1 km north, north – east to the town of Miercurea Sibiului, between highway km 51+050 – 52+000, as *Miercurea Sibiului IV* (Table 1, fig. 2). The surface affected by the project is approximately 66.459 m², while the surface affected by the research was approximately 53.481 m² (Table 2, fig. 3).

The archeological site is situated in the *Depression of Apold*, where the relief is wavy in the form of beveled hillock, elongated towards Secaș valley (BADEA *et al.* 1971, 58 – 59). As far as the climate goes the course of Secaș fall within the general framework of moderate continental climate, but the opening to Mureș Valley, makes the area in question to be frequently affected by advective temperate oceanic air that enters the western continent, sometimes maritime tropical air from the southwest and less than continental air advection from the north and east (POSEA 1982, 691). In these circumstances, the Secaș valley is the warmest area of Sibiu County, with an average annual heat 9-10 °C. The same climatic factors influence the level of rainfall, the average annual value of which is placed between 500 and 600 mm (POSEA 1982, 694). Hydrographically the micro-region is drained by the Secaș River, a tributary of Sebeș River, through which it provides the connection to the Mureș river basin area (BADEA *et al.* 1971, 31). Vegetation is azonal, meadow,

¹ Archeological collective: Ph.D. Professor Sabin Adrian LUCA – responsible, Ph.D. Gheorghe Vasile Natea, Ph.D. Anca Sorina Nițoi, Ph.D. Florina Maria Nițu, Vasile Palaghie, Ph.D. Victor Cristian Sava, Ph.D. Maria Raluca Teodorescu, Ph.D. Anamaria Tudorie, Ph.D. Florian Chioar-Dumitrescu.

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where the pasture and riverside coppice alder (*Alnus nigra*), willow (*Salix alba*, *Salix cinerea*, *Salix fragilis*), hazelnut (*Alnus glutinosa*), sloe bushes (*Prunus spinosa*), rosehip bushes (*Rosa canina*), blackberry brambles (*Rubus fruticosus*), cattail swamps (*Typha latifolia*) and bulrush (*Eleocharis palustris*) dominates the landscape, based on our observations.

Before any preventive archeological digging can be started it absolutely necessary to research the archeological findings that were noted in the past. For the area in question the discoveries were rather isolated (PROTASE 1966, 166; LUCA *et al.* 2003, 140, no. 2, 4, 5); but, in the same time, we know of different systemically undergone archeological research as is the case for *Miercurea Sibiului* point *Petriș* (LUCA *et al.* 2006, 9-20), point *Mălăiești* (LUCA, RODEAN 2000, point 961), of a *villa rustica* (BRANGA 1993, 311) and also the presence of a *vicus* (POPA 2000, 173, 190), situated 150 m on the left side of the Secaș Valley.

The purpose of this study is not to provide a general view over the discoveries made on *Miercurea Sibiului IV* archeological site; this was done in the past (LUCA *et al.* 2013b, 11-28), but rather to provide information on the way the preventive archeological work was conducted.

It is important that before the actual digging starts to make sure that we've identified correctly the main objectives of the excavation and also that we have the suitable means to finish the research in the timeline discussed with the beneficiary, long before the actual work starts. One can imagine that this is a very tough task which requires careful planning, especially if you take into consideration that nobody can predict the weather on such a long period of time, or other aspects that simply cannot be planned.

For the *Miercurea Sibiului IV* archeological site we identified as main objectives the following: to determine the structures, complexes, artifacts or ecofacts affected by the highway construction; to determine the spatial distribution, area stratigraphy, their nature and state of conservation; to determine the cultural heritage risk assessment in relation to construction project implementation; to save, process, preserve / restore, record and classification of mobile archaeological heritage found on this occasion. Another important step that we should begin with is the classification of the large amount of information in a database.

The techniques and methods used to investigate the archeological site should also be known before the work starts, for preventive archeological research they can normally be classified into two larger

categories: first are the non-destructive techniques, afterwards the ones with potentially destructive.

The non-destructive techniques are represented by the ones that do not actually affect the archeological site in any way. Here we have to start with the study of the orthophotoplans (Table 2, fig. 4) attached to the construction project (1:5.000 scale), of the satellite photos and other available maps (Josephine mapping – *Josephinische Landesaufnahme*, Table 3, fig. 5), in order to identify the anthropic structures of history value. A second method used, which is meant to verify and record any abnormalities of the landscape (differences in color of vegetation, anthropic soil arrangements and so on), or to identify the presence of archeological material (ceramics, lithic and metal materials, remnants of construction materials and so on), is to have a walking journey on the future path of the highway and to collect any archeological material that comes your way. These methods lead to the discovery of most of the archeological sites known to us today. Another technique that was used for the research of *Miercurea Sibiului IV* was the research for any old archeological discoveries or any points of interest in this region (Luca *et al.* 2003). The last non-destructive method used is the architectural study of some constructive structures after which the existence of surface dwellings was observed, as well as the existence of deepened dwellings. In the same time the existence of domestic and different nature pits, ovens and fireplaces, in and outside the habitation complexes. Photography plays an important role as well in archaeology as it is the best reminder of the artifacts discovered. Photographs were taken to each excavation unit as an ensemble to help locate all complexes later on. The profiles and details photos were photographed when considered necessary. When archeological complexes were discovered, photos and specialized draws were taken in all stages of the archeological research (at delineation, at cross section and in the end). For a better administration of the photos taken at the archeological site, their primary evidence was recorded by noting the date when the picture was taken in the yard journal and in the Data sheet for the Research Unit, for Complex and for Special Material. The last step was to create an archive that contains all the pictures taken on the field, in order to have a good administration of them a folder (named after the archeological site was created), and several sub-folders (named after every research unit).

Archeological site drawing and topographical support represent probably the best evidence over

the archaeological research that was done. For the excavation units where archaeological vestiges were discovered were drawn as well as the relevant profiles (at a scale of 1:20, 1:40). The archaeological research units plan was digitally made based on the topographic points recorded by surveying company made available by the beneficiary (to outline a section - at least four topographic points were taken, if the complex is round shaped more points should be taken). In the case of archaeological complexes, drawings were made in all the different archeological research stages. In order to realize the Preventive Research Report all drawings from the archeological site were scanned and digitized. For the good management of archeological site drawings, their primary evidence was accomplished by recording the data Unit Research sheets and Complexes Research sheets, the date when they were done.

The potentially destructive techniques used for this archeological site have been successfully tested by the same team of archeologist on many different places such as: *Turdaş Lunca*, *Cristian I*, *Cristian II* and *Cristian III*. Firstly some excavation units (sections, cassettes, surfaces) are made on the entire length of the studied section. They are excavated mechanically with the help of an excavator equipped with a batter blade and manually with the help of the workers, under the direct supervision of an archaeologist all the time. This stage of research is very important as it helps us determine whether the digging of the entire surface of interest is necessary or not, this is usually determined by the number and range of the archaeological material. For *Miercurea Sibiului IV* site it involved the execution of main sections along highway duct, arranged parallel to each other on the whole width (60 m), which defined the archaeological site. This technique helped us realize the general stratigraphy of the site as it was already shown (Luca *et al.* 2013b, 13-14).

The second step was to mark, with wooden landmarks (stakes), the excavation units mentioned above, or the areas susceptible to anthropogenic facilities or the presence of archeological complexes.

Afterwards all the profiles and primers were manually cleaned by the workers, under the direct supervision of the archeologist, in order to be photographed and drawn. When an archeological complex was discovered, the research was made manually in order to determine their shape. In such situations, preventive research aimed the delimitation of the remains, recording vertical stratigraphy and the nature of discoveries

(dwelling, necropolis and so on). Complexes were investigated in two stages: in the first they were emptied halfway to achieve *cross section*, and in the second, after collecting the materials, photographing and drawing, completely emptying the complex. When the second stage was finished the complex was once again photographed and drawn.

Another important element in an archeology preventive research is the archeologist himself who carries on his shoulders a great amount of responsibility. In order to document properly all the new information that is presented to him, he has certain tools to help him. One of those tools is the yard notebook where every day's work is marked, all the new discoveries, activities, work plans. This notebook is often overlooked but its value is priceless when it comes down to realizing a database with the research that was done. Another important tool that the archeologist has is the Unit and Complexes Research sheet. These sheets are used to describe each and every archaeological unit that was discovered. The first table in the sheets that we used for the *Miercurea Sibiului IV* site contained information regarding the number of the complex that was described, the archeological site, the town where the work took place, the toponym of the archaeological site, the county, research unit, date of delineation of the complex, date of cross section and date of finalization (the last three sections apply for digging, drawing and photography). The second table was dedicated to the description of the complex/ context that was described. It contained the delineation depth, the final depth and final depth from delineation (all the information was in the metric system), the shape seen from a plan, the shape of the complexes walls, type of filler, dimensions, type of context, stratigraphic observations, general observations, the proposed timeline, archaeological cultural framing, found material (clay, stone, glass, bronze, iron, precious metal and organic material). The Special Materials sheets were also used on the preventive archaeological research site, which consisted information regarding the artifact that was considered to be of greater value.

In order to collect all the materials that were discovered we had to use hundreds of raffia sacks dedicated to each and every research unit. We would separately collect ceramics from bones and stone and each sack would be written on the name of the complex, the depth and what sort of archaeological material it contained. Also inside the sack we would add a special note that

contained more information regarding the archaeological material, which would be written on the spine top as well. It is an understatement that the special material would go in separate cardboard boxes, again with information regarding the complex where the artifact was found, the depth, and a short description, doubled on the spine top as well.

The archeological preventive research established that the *Miercurea Sibiului IV* site was not belonging to the Hallstatt period, as the original archaeological diagnosis suggested, but the remains of five cultural horizons were discovered: starting with the Middle Bronze Age, the Wietenberg culture, the second belonging to the Late Bronze Age, the Noua culture, the third is dated in the second age of Iron, Middle La Tène period, with two phases of habitation, the fourth horizon belongs to the migration period, while the last belongs to the Early Medieval period. Before starting to work in a preventive archeological digging it is important to have a clear idea of natural habitat, the past discoveries, the

archaeological techniques and methods that you need to apply. The research of this site allowed the enrichment of local and national archaeological history and in the same time the Brukenthal National Museum collections. Scientific processing of archaeological materials will bring certainly valuable new information about historical periods mentioned above.

****This work was possible with the financial support of European Social Fund, Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007 - 2013, Priority no. 1 "Education and training in support for growth and development of the knowledge society", Key Area of Intervention 1.5 "Doctoral and post-doctoral research support" Title: "MINERVA - Cooperation for elite career in PhD and post doctoral research", ID POSDRU 159/1.5/S/137832.**

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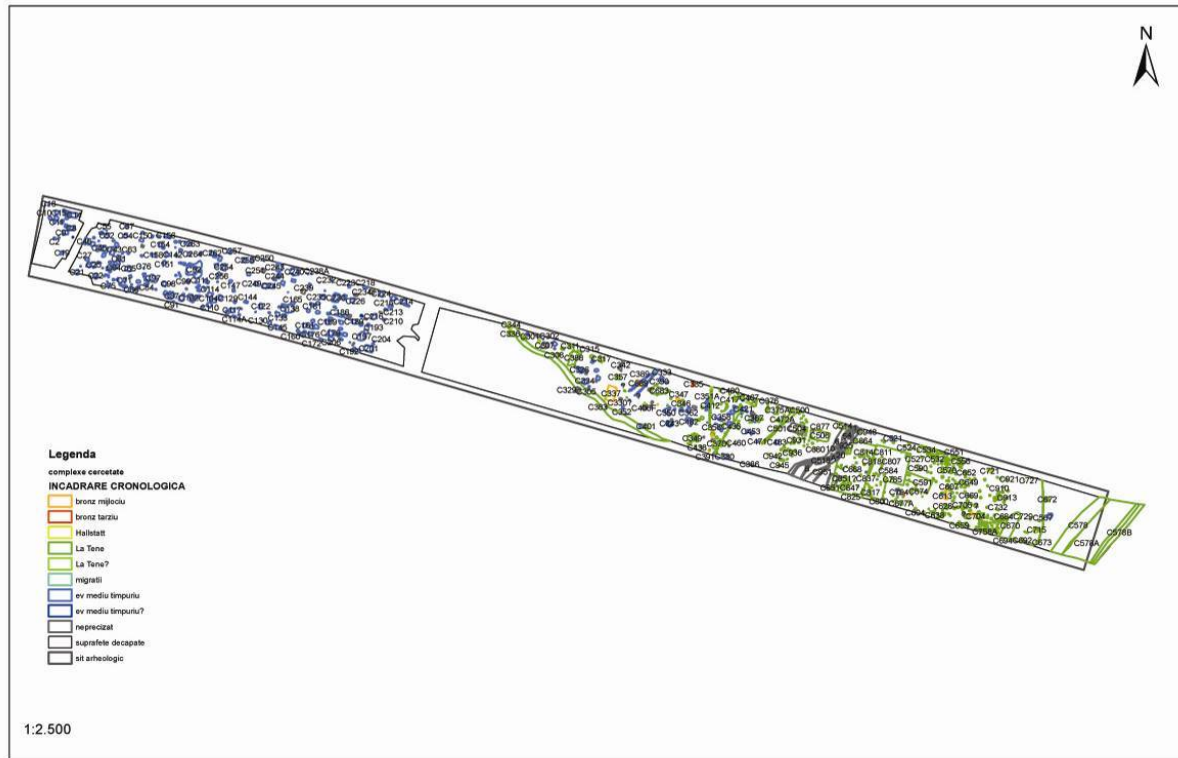


Figure 1: Orăștie – Sibiu Highway, 3rd lot, archeological site *Miercurea Sibiului IV*, km 51+050 – 52+000. Layout. General framing of the investigated complexes.
Source: GIS plan.

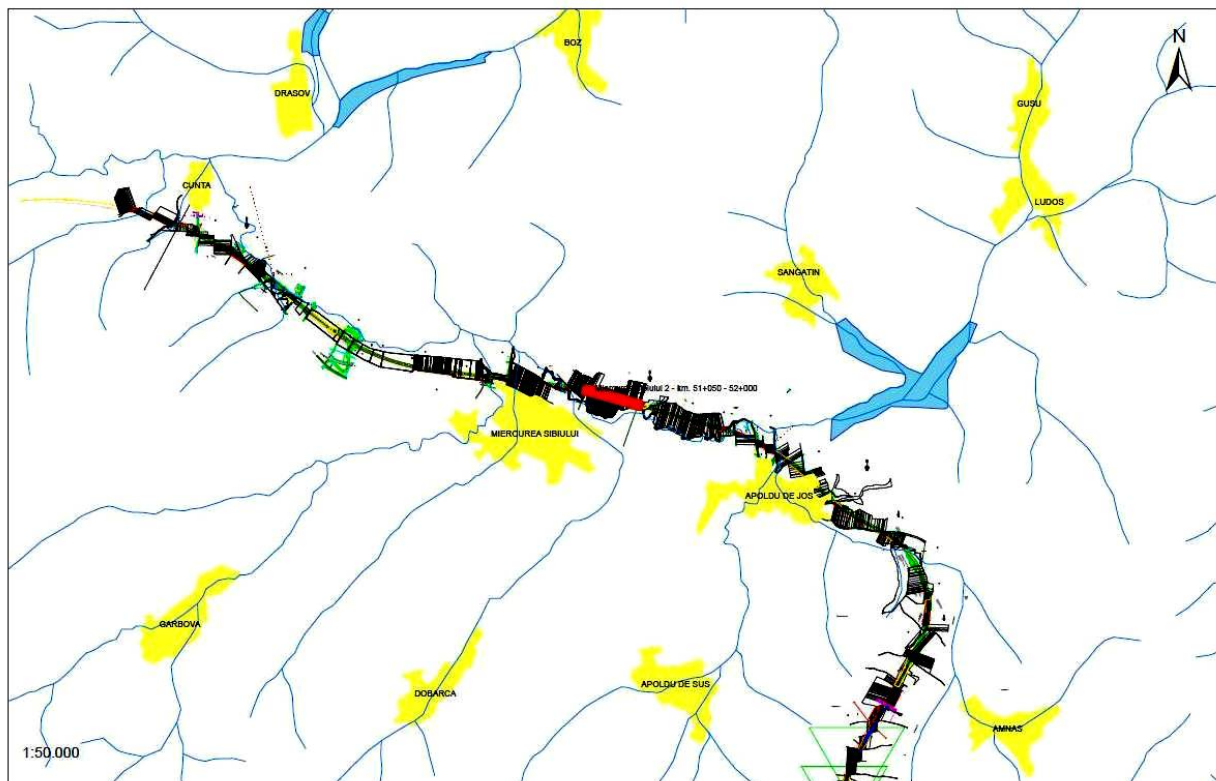


Figure 2: Orăștie – Sibiu Highway, 3rd lot, archeological site *Miercurea Sibiului IV*, km 51+050 – 52+000. Layout of *Miercurea Sibiului IV*.
Source: Plan provided by the beneficiary.

Table 1

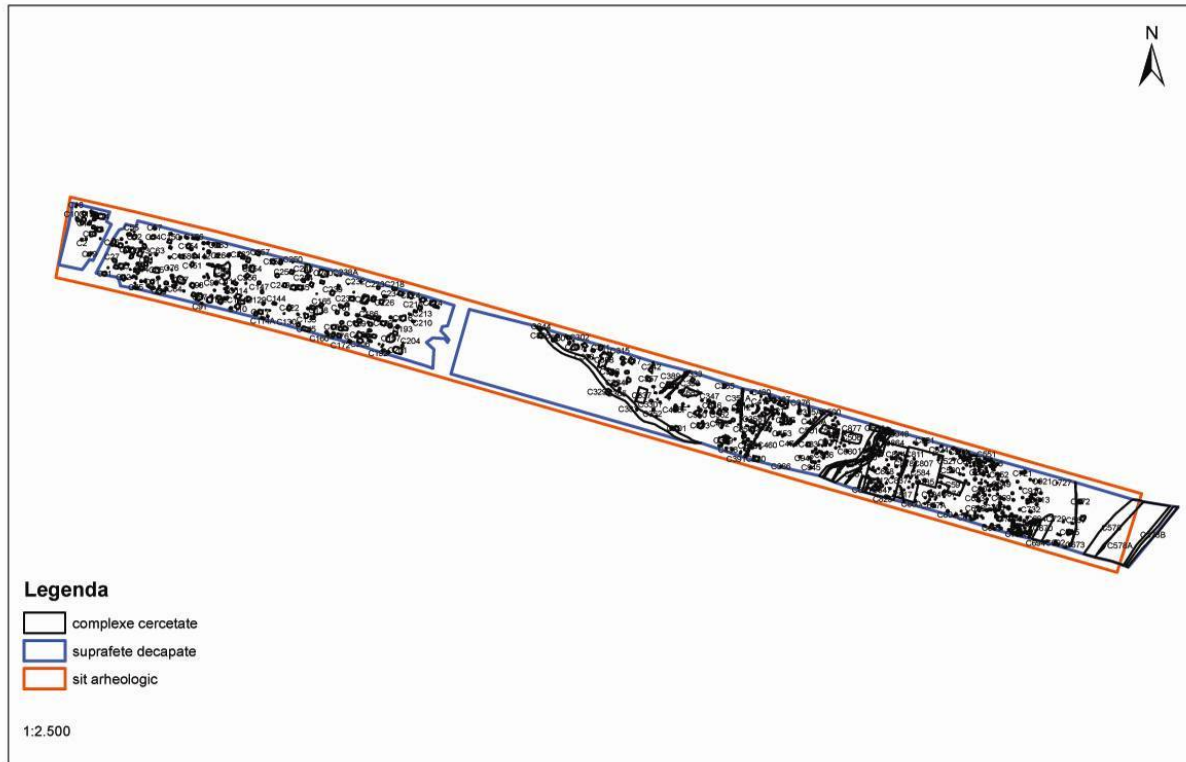


Figure 3: Orăștie – Sibiu Highway, 3rd lot, archeological site *Miercurea Sibiului IV*, km 51+050 – 52+000. General plan of archeological excavations.

Source: GIS plan.

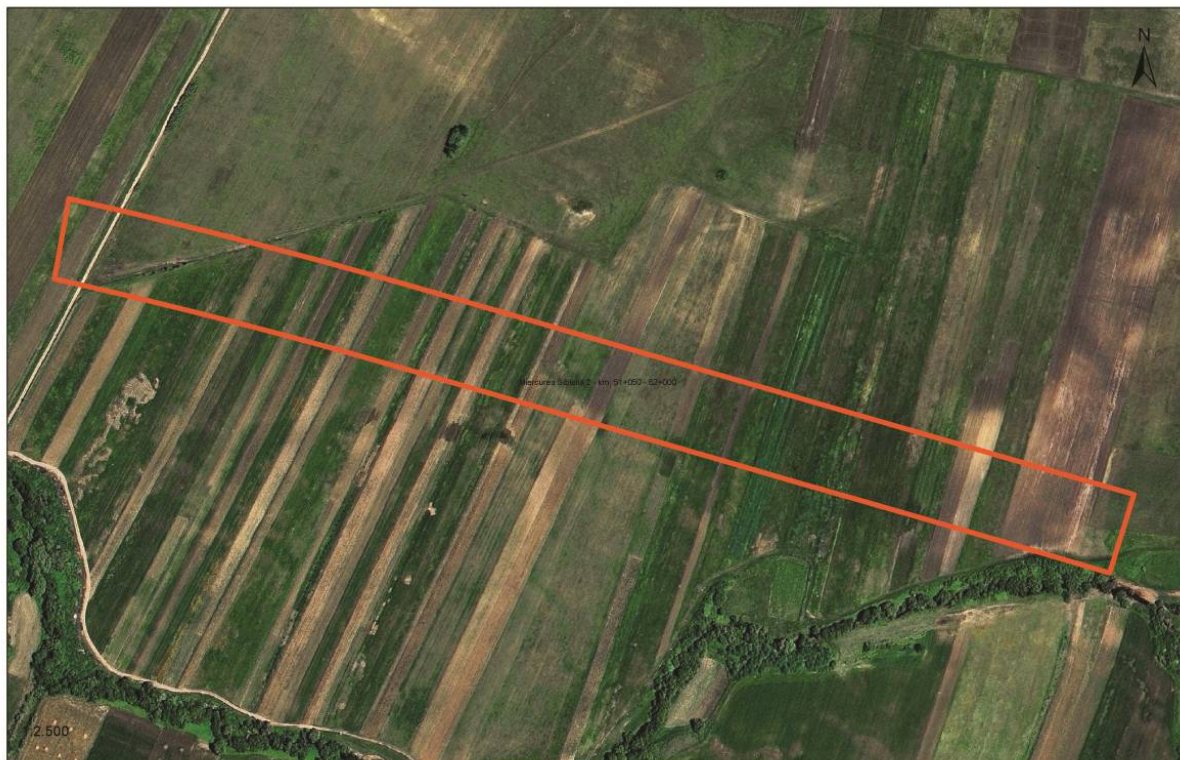


Figure 4: Orăștie – Sibiu Highway, 3rd lot, archeological site *Miercurea Sibiului IV*, km 51+050 – 52+000. Ortophotoplan.

Source: Luca *et al.* 2013b, 25, Plate 1, fig. 1.

Table 2



Figure 5: Miercurea Sibiului in Josephine mapping of Transylvania, 1769-1773.

Source: [//ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miercurea_Sibiului#/media/File:Josephinische_Landaufnahme_pg203.jpg](https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miercurea_Sibiului#/media/File:Josephinische_Landaufnahme_pg203.jpg)
Table 3

TRACES OF HABITATION FROM THE ARPADIAN PERIOD IN THE AREA OF GHIOROC (ARAD COUNTY)

Florin MĂRGINEAN*

Abstract: The article aims at presenting the results of a preventive archaeological research performed in the western border of the municipality of Ghioroc in 2011. Out of the 22 archaeological complexes discovered there, three have been attributed, on the basis of the pottery material they contained, to the medieval period. The contexts, the few pottery fragments (small cauldrons and jar-shaped pots), and one fragment from a hand mill discovered in these medieval complexes suggest the fact that they were only seasonally inhabited. This was most probably the shelter of a family or a group that lived there for a relatively short period of time.

In the context of these discoveries, corroborated with other finds from the Lower Mureș area, we deemed useful to insert in the end of the article several observations connected to the habitation forms of the eleventh-thirteenth century.

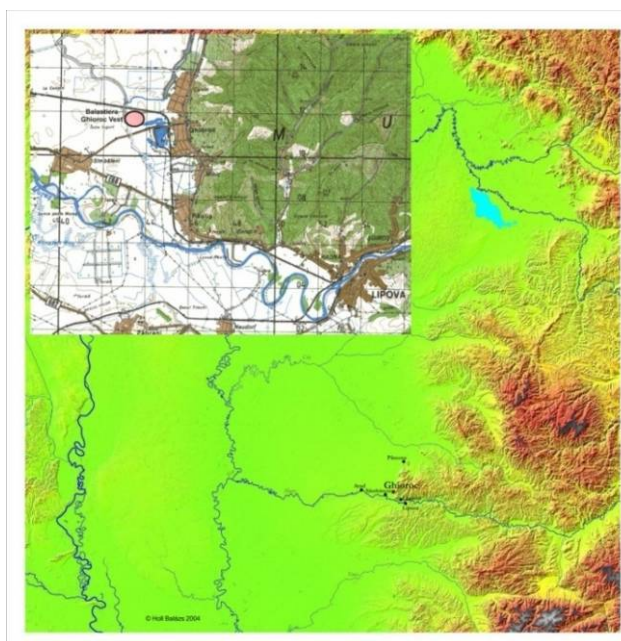
Keywords: habitation, pottery, hearth, Arpadian period, Lower Mureș, Ghioroc, Arad County.

Rezumat: Articolul își dorește să prezinte rezultatele cercetării arheologice preventive realizate la vest de localitatea Ghioroc în anul 2011. Din cele 22 de complexe cercetate aici trei au fost încadrate, pe baza materialului ceramic, în perioada medievală. Contextul arheologic, cele câteva fragmente ceramice (căzănele și vase borcan) și un fragment de moară de mână ne determină să afirmăm că aceasta reprezintă o locuire sezonieră, cel mai probabil un adăpost al unei familii sau a unui grup care a locuit aici pentru o scurtă perioadă de timp.

În contextul acestor descoperiri coroborate cu alte decoperiri de la valea mijlocie a Mureșului am considerat oportun includerea la sfârșitul articolului a cateva observații referitoare la locuirea în această regiune în secolele XI-XIII.

Cuvinte cheie: locuire, ceramică, vatră, perioadă arpadiană, valea mijlocie a Mureșului, Ghioroc, jud. Arad

Several archaeological complexes were discovered over a small strip of land in the summer of 2011, after the extension of a sand quarry, in the western border of the village of Ghioroc (see the map on the right, with the administrative location in the upper left medallion); due to its location, the site was labeled “Balastiera Vest”¹. The archaeologists from the Arad museum have initiated preventive research² there that envisaged documenting the archeological contexts and recovering the artifacts from the soil, as the plot was about to be permanently disturbed by the extension of sand exploitation. The team has discovered 22 archaeological complexes over the researched area that measured 2023 m². Three of the complexes could be dated to the medieval period and the



others to the Neolithic Era (Starčevo-Criș Culture) – (Sava *et al* 2015 – under print).

Geographic localization of the discoveries. The site is located in the middle of the Arad Plain, the

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¹ On satellite maps the lake already formed in the exploited area is called “Lacul Ghioroc 4”.

² The research team consisted of George P. Hurezan (scientific coordinator), Florin Mărginean, Victor Sava, Luminița Andreica, Adelina Stoenescu, and Roberto Tănăsache.

eastern part of the great Pannonian Plain, 4.2 km away from the Mureș riverbed and 2.4 km west of the municipality of Ghioroc, to which it belongs today from an administrative perspective. On satellite images (Pl. 1/2) one can note the fact that the site is placed near a former branch/channel of River Mureș. No special archaeological vestiges have been noted in this low plain area before the opening of the sand quarry. There was an exception for the earth banks that cross the plain from the south northwards (Dörner, Boroneaț 1968), namely the inventory of a tomb dated to the eleventh century, and a presumed earthen fortification (*RepArh* 1999, 64). One of the earthen banks is marked on the first Habsburg military survey (see pl. 1/1), close to the perimeter where the site under discussion is located, to the WNW of it. Due to intensive agricultural works, the bank is only visible today in the area researched by our team.

In his ample monograph work focusing on the old county of Arad, Sándor Márki mentions two settlements in the area under research here: the core of present-day Ghioroc (Márki 1892, 202, 231; Márki 1895, 150, 163) and Martoni, a settlement that has been abandoned (Márki 1892, 209), and a fortification - *Töviskvár* (Márki 1892, 120, 218). Today one can hardly discuss the existence and exact localization of some of these spots. On the one hand, Márki's sources for the localization of some medieval sites are uncertain and can provide erroneous indications (see the case of Bizere monastery, located north of the Mureș (Burnichioiu 2011, 39-42), in fact on the medieval site of the chapter house of *Orod*, currently the municipality of Vladimirescu). It is no less true that the landscape of the Lower Mureș Valley underwent ample changes over the last century and this can also hinder the localization of certain medieval realities mentioned both in documents and in the existing historiography.

Description of the discoveries. 27 archaeological complexes became apparent after the mechanical removal of the vegetal layer. Among them, three (Cx_05, Cx_16, and Cx_20) could be dated to the medieval period, on the basis of the material discovered inside them.

Cx_05: an agglomeration of sandstone blocks has been delimited in the eastern part of the researched surface. The traces of burning and coal, visible since the identification of the feature, have suggested from the very beginning that it was a fire-making installation, most probably an open hearth. After the removal of the first layer, the

team could see more clearly the almost circular, prolonged to the east shape of the deposition of rocks (Pl. 2/2a-2b, Pl. 5/1). In the center of the rock pile, the soil was also pigmented with fragments of coal and burnt wood, besides its gray-sand-like consistency (Pl. 2/2c). Pottery fragments were found towards the eastern side, in an alveolus, and they allowed us to date the complex to the Medieval Period. The lot consisted of four rim fragments, from wide-rim or jar-shaped pots; four fragments from pots bellies decorated through incised parallel lines, wavy lines, or the so-called nail-made impressions; one pot base, with oblique walls; and fragments from two small cauldrons. From the same spot, the archaeologists have recovered animal bones (most probably from ovidae), some calcined, probably due to having been cooked over the fire.

Cx_16: on the western side of the researched area the team has identified an agglomeration of rocks, pottery fragments, and bones (Pl. 2/1). Among them there was half of a hand mill, several atypical medieval pottery fragments, and some animal bones. They most probably disturbed the Neolithic habitation level (Pl. 5/3).

It is worth mentioning that one iron fragment, most probably originally from the medieval level, was also recovered from complex Cx_15 located slightly southwards from Cx_16, from the agglomeration of adobe and Neolithic material. Besides, other two iron fragments were recovered from this level (one might have been the blade of a small knife).

Cx_20: slightly south-westwards from the hearth labeled Cx_05 archaeologists have identified the contours of the bottom of a small circular pit that contained several pottery fragments (Pl. 2/1). Only the rim of a small cauldron can be recognized.

The archaeological material. The poverty of the resulted archeological material paints the image of a shabby household, or maybe a group of households, perhaps only seasonally inhabited.

The recovered artifacts can be grouped into three categories, among which pottery includes, naturally, the most numerous lot (though they are not too numerous either); there are also a few iron items (most probably fragments of deteriorated and abandoned utensils or tools, of which the easiest to recognize is the blade of a small knife) and the upper half of a hand mill. The discovered pottery can be included in the group of common ware, so unitary and typical in the area under discussion that it allows for no specific attribution. One can

distinguish fragments from wide-rim pots, jar-shaped pots, and small cauldrons. In the case of simple pots, they all have obliquely or straight, flaring rims, rounded or with a small outer frame (Pl. 3/1-4). The diameter of their mouths varies between 10 and 20 cm, and this can suggest the height of the pots as well. The temper material used by the potters consisted of rather fine sand and small pebbles. The firing is both oxidizing (Pl. 3/3-4) and reducing (Pl. 3/1-2). One fragment preserves traces of secondary firing on the outside, probably during exposure to fire (Pl. 3/4).

The decoration of the pots is minimalist and typical to this cultural horizon. In this case, there are fragments of pot bellies with continuous, parallel incised lines (Pl. 3/5) or interrupted lines (Pl. 3/7). Another type of decoration consists of wavy lines, grouped in a single stripe (Pl. 3/8). Nail impressed decoration features on two fragments, one placed with interruptions, alternating with smaller incisions (Pl. 3/4) and the other consisting of several continuous incisions (Pl. 3/6). A single pot can be better reconstructed, as two parts of base have been preserved (Pl. 3/9). Rather coarse to the touch, on both the outer and inner surface of the walls, the preserved traces suggest that the pot was made on a slow-turning potter's wheel. The temper material used consisted of sand and the firing was made in a reducing atmosphere.

Still in the pottery category, the two recovered cauldron parts seem to be the most interesting of the entire lot and they allow for the relative chronological dating of the discoveries. The fragments in question have been discovered in the alveolus located on the eastern side of the hearth. We initially believed that they were part of one and the same vessel, but under closer scrutiny it became apparent that there were differences in the shape of the rims. Both fragments display flared rims, but in one case the flaring is stronger (Pl. 4/10) and in the other, less stressed (Pl. 4/11). Only one of the fragments preserves the starting of the pair of in-turned loops (Pl. 4/10). The suggested drawing and reconstruction indicate that these were probably similar cauldrons, trunk-shaped and with semi-spherical bases. Both items are made of rather fine fabric, with inclusions of sand and small pebbles as temper material, and were fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. On the fragment from the cauldron that can be reconstructed (Pl. 4/11) one can note traces of secondary firing both on the outside and on one part of the inner surface. On the other fragment, the traces of secondary firing are only visible on the outside, certainly caused by the

use of the pot over open fires, a detail that provides an indication to the manner in which the pot was used. Similar traces are also visible on pottery fragments belonging to wide-mouth pots (Pl. 3/1-4, 9), probably produced by the same type of use. It is very possible that in some cases the secondary firing took place after the pots have been broken and discarded (the case of the small cauldron that can be reconstructed).

There are few and much corroded iron items recovered; therefore we believe it suffices to mention them here briefly. Out of the three fragments, one can note the tip of small knife blade, with a preserved length of 7.5 cm; the two other fragments cannot be determined.

Ca. 45 m west of the hearth, in a less clear context labeled Cx_16, the team has found half of the upper part of a hand mill that completes the poor inventory of the habitation. The item indicates a mill of the central perforation type ($\varnothing = 5.2$ cm), turned by hand, with a maximum determined diameter of ca. ca. 44 – 46 cm and a thickness of 4 cm. The edges are slightly flattened (Pl. 4/12). The upper part of the item, crucial in grinding, was probably discarded due to its wear and deterioration.

Items catalog. We have included in the catalog and the illustration only the representative items discovered through archaeology and several other items are just mentioned in the text. The description of each item in the catalog has the following structure: 1. current number; 2. item name; 3. material; 4. technique; 5. description of the item (includes its size, expressed in cm: L = length, L_t = total length, l = width, l_{max} = maximum width, h = height, g = thickness, \varnothing = diameter, \varnothing_{max} = maximum diameter, \varnothing_{int} = inner diameter, \varnothing_{ext} = outer diameter); 6. place of discovery; 7. place of preservation (C.M.A. = Museum Complex Arad); 8. inventory number; 9. illustration.

Pottery

1. Pot rim; clay, reducing firing, sand as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; fragment of flared rim from a black pot, shows traces of secondary firing on the outside ($\varnothing_{estimated} = 10.3$ cm, g = 0.5 cm); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/1.

2. Pot rim; clay, reducing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; fragment of flared rim from a black pot, shows traces of secondary firing on the outside and

on the rim ($\text{Ø}_{\text{estimated}} = 12.5 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.6 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/2.

3. Pot rim; clay, oxidizing firing, sand as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; fragment of flared rim from a light brown pot, shows traces of secondary firing both inside and outside ($\text{Ø}_{\text{estimated}} = 14.2 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.5 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/3.

4. Pot rim; clay, oxidizing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; fragment of flared rim from a brick-red pot, shows traces of secondary firing on the outside, on the rim, and on the belly ($\text{Ø}_{\text{estimated}} = 20.2 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.6 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/4.

5. Pot wall fragment, atypical; clay, reducing firing, sand as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; it is very probably part of the belly of a pot decorated with parallel incised lines, with traces of secondary firing on the inside ($g = 0.7 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/5.

6. Fragment from a pot's belly and start of the neck; clay, reducing firing, sand as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; it is very probably part of the belly of a pot decorated with incised wavy lines, with traces of secondary firing on the inner surface ($g = 0.4 - 0.7 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/6.

7. Pot wall fragment, atypical; clay, reducing firing, sand as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; it is very probably part of the belly of a pot decorated with stripes of parallel incisions, with traces of secondary firing inside ($g = 0.8 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/7.

8. Pot wall fragment, atypical; clay, reducing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; it is very probably part of the belly of a pot decorated with incised wavy lines, with traces of secondary firing on the inside ($g = 0.5 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/8.

9. Pot base fragment; clay, reducing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned pottery; the base of a medium-size pot, dark brown on the outside and light brown on the inside ($\text{Ø}_{\text{base}} = 11 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.5 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/9.

10. Fragment from the upper part of a small cauldron, with the hanging loops only partially preserved; clay, oxidizing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned clay cauldron; the oblique position of the wall

suggests that it was very likely part of a trunk-shaped cauldron with semispherical base ($\text{Ø}_{\text{mouth}} = 29.4 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.5 - 0.7 \text{ cm}$), with obvious traces of secondary firing on the outside; Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/10.

11. Fragment from a cauldron that can be reconstructed; clay, oxidizing firing, sand and pebbles as temper material; made on the slow-wheel-turned clay cauldron; according to the preserved parts, one can estimate that it was trunk-shaped and had a semispherical base ($\text{Ø}_{\text{mouth}} = 26.3 \text{ cm}$, $g = 0.6 \text{ cm}$); Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/11.

Functional stones

12. Fragment from a hand mill; stone, carving/polishing; hand mill with central, slightly off-centered perforation ($\text{Ø} = 5.2 \text{ cm}$), turned manually, with a maximum determined diameter of ca. 44 – 46 cm and a thickness of 4 cm. The edges are slightly flattened; Ghioroc Vest, Cx_05; CMA; Pl. 3/12.

Typological and chronological identification of the discoveries. Taking into consideration the small number of discovered complexes, one could believe that the recovered archaeological material represents the “remains” of a household, or maybe of a group of households scattered in the plain north of River Mureş. A brief analysis indicates that the discovered archaeological material was part of the minimal dowry of a seasonal household, established there either due to land cultivation reasons or/and activities connected to animal husbandry (Takács 2000, 242). It is possible that the excavation has only identified one part of this modest household, i.e. one open hearth, a small household refuse pit, and one fragment from a hand mill, most probably grouped around a dwelling that has not been, unfortunately, found. The accumulations around the hearth, the preserved leftovers, and the hand mill fragment are proof of the fact that habitation there only extended over a short period, most probably of several months. One might say that this is not surprising as such arrangements were probably typical to the Arpadian period in plain areas. Discoveries of this type have been mentioned over the entire micro-region around the Lower Mureş Valley (we could mention here the discoveries from Lots 1 and 2 of the Nădlac – Arad highway, those made south of River Mureş, those by the beltway of Arad or around the town of Pecica).³ One can also add the

³ These are recent discoveries; I took part in some of them and this made me believe that once published and

older discoveries, though many lack clear contexts and the corresponding documentation (Barbu, Ivanof 1978, 83).

As for the few elements of material culture discovered, the most interesting of the lot seem to be the cauldron fragments left around the open hearth. Their tronconic shape and semispherical base are typical and widely spread in the Mureş area (Blăjan, Dörner 1978) and beyond (Diaconu 1956; Lukács 1984). Their distribution over the entire Carpathian Basin was gradual (Takács 1986; Stanojev 1996), generating typical shapes in certain regions. We mention this because no such pots, dated earlier than the eleventh century, have been attested in the lower Mureş valley. One can also state that on the basis of data gathered so far, cauldrons of the type under discussion feature in all kinds and forms of habitations, from isolated dwellings (the case discussed here probably included), groups of dwellings (Nădlac – Arad Highway, Lot 1), settlements (Felnac “Complexul Zootehnic” (Zdroba, Barbu 1976, 47-50), Şeitin (Blăjan *et al.* 1976, 425-428; Blăjan, Dörner 1978, 128), monasteries (Cenad (Tănase 2008, 33), Frumuşeni “Mănăstirea Bizere”⁴, Bulci (Ferenczi, Barbu 1978, 72-73), and fortifications (Vladimirescu “Cetate” (Zdroba, Barbu 1976, 50-54; Barbu, Zdroba 1977, 17-26; Barbu, Zdroba 1978b, 101-113; Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 181-193), but their dating is not earlier than the eleventh century or is, anyway, in the obscure arbitrary and debatable limit between the tenth and the eleventh century. Their wide distribution suggests the fact that they were also produced in the area of the Lower Mureş starting with a chronological period near the onset of the new administrative and religious organization of the area that certainly took place after the year 1000. Master potters probably came to the area, besides other “professional” categories.⁵ They mainly produced common pottery types (Vagner 2002, 309-342). This fact can be supported by the discoveries made

corroborated, of course, with older finds, they will shed new light on our knowledge of the forms of habitation from the Arpadian Period in the Lower Mureş Area.

⁴ Several cauldron fragments, from levels associated with one coin issued by Stephen IV and one onion-shaped prick-spur, thus datable during the second half of the twelfth century, were found in the area of the well-tower and of the boat imprint, in the western part of the monastic complex.

⁵ The monastic orders (Benedictines, later Cistercians) played a significant role in this, as through their knowledge they certainly contributed to the technological progress of the area.

in Vladimirescu “Cetate”, where a pottery kiln was documented outside the earthen fortification, on the northern side,⁶ but especially those around the town of Pecica.⁷ Older discoveries, corroborated with those recently performed along the Pecica – Arad highway sector confirm the existence there of a pottery production center, especially producing this type of small cauldrons on the introduction and disappearance of which enough uncertainties still persist. One can only state, at the present level of research, that this type of pots, of certain eastern origin, started to spread during the eleventh century in the region of the Lower Mureş where they were discovered in all habitation types (from monastic ones, to politic and military ones, and down to the simplest forms of habitation). And, as the demand for them was probably great, one can certainly state that the production of small cauldrons was at some point made locally, in pottery centers such as the one discovered in the vicinity of the town of Pecica.⁸

According to M. Takács’ typology for the discoveries in the Carpathian Basin, the two small cauldrons can be included in type 2/a, dated during the tenth and eleventh centuries (Takács 1996, 169) or type IID1a – IID1b (Takács 2010, 147-149, Fig. 5; Takács 2012, 229-242, Fig. 11). In my opinion, and on the basis of preliminary analyses, for the Lower Mureş Area the dating of this type of cauldron is not earlier than the eleventh century. Starting from known written sources on the history and development of the Lower Mureş Area right after the year 1000, completed over the last decades with a series of notable archaeological discoveries, many still unpublished, I believe that the entire context discovered in Ghioroc can be dated to the twelfth century.

⁶ Data on the excavations performed in Vladimirescu “Cetate” is still being processed and will be included in a synthesis work on habitation in the Lower Mureş during the Arpadian period.

⁷ There is a series of older discoveries, completed by personal researches along the Nădlac – Arad highway sector, currently under processing, connected to the discovery of an Arpadian Era pottery production center around the present-day town of Pecica. I was able to present some of the data during several conferences focusing on medieval pottery (Bistriţa 2011 and Carei-Bobald 2013).

⁸ Nine pottery kilns were found so far, on several spots, along the Pecica – Arad highway sector; one can add two more such kilns discovered by chance in the western part of the town of Pecica (see Blăjan, Dörner 1978, 128).

For the period under consideration here, agriculture was already practiced, for certain; the fact is proven by the discovery of typical iron tools (sickles, spade frame, plough irons etc.), but also storage pits for cereals. Cultivated cereals were most probably processed domestically, using hand mills. In this context one can discuss the mill fragment discovered on the site of Ghioroc; it might be an indication of the way in which cereals were ground for the needs of a single household. Few similar items dated to this period have been published from the Lower Mureş Valley, despite the fact that the use of hand mills is certain in settlements from this period (Selmeczi 1999, 32-47; Crişan 2006, 73). One can mention, as evidence for this, one paragraph from the text of St. Gerard's legend, from 1061-1075, that makes reference to a "hand mill that was turned by a woman who only turned it with her own hand" (Váczy 1958, 278; Glück 1978, 94; Suciu, Constantinescu 1980, 33, 50). An interesting interpretation connected to this type of hand mills came to light through the excavations performed not far from Felgyő (county of Csongrád, Hungary), on the spot called "Geda-halmot" in an Arpadian-period settlement. Archaeologists have discovered there several hand mill fragments, in a fact a small deposit of them. A small distance away, agricultural works have revealed an entirely preserved hand mill associated to several agricultural tools. On the basis of this discovery, Gyula László sought to provide a possible explanation for this context, using, among other arguments, a parallel with an eleventh-century western-European source that mentions how a local lord destroyed all hand mills from a certain settlement so that the inhabitants would grind their cereals at his mill (László 1988, 46). This is an interesting scenario, but no more than that, and one could imagine many others as well.

To the present state of research, one can state that, in general, some types of hand mills have preserved their shape from Antiquity until not so long ago (Stanciu 211, 277). There is a repertory of such finds for the western and north-western area of Romania, but some of the items lack clear contexts that would allow for a certain dating (Dumitraşcu 1986, 31-34).

Another aspect is related to the rocks that these hand mills are made of. An initial observation made in relation to our item could be the fact that hand mills made during Antiquity were made of porous rocks (scoriaceous basalt), a fact noted in the case of the majority of finds from the hilly and

plain areas that flank River Mureş. The hand mill under discussion was made out of a rock (quartz schists)⁹ that is abundant in Zărand Mountains. This remains a topic open to future research, since with the arrival of the monastic orders along the Lower Mureş one can suspect the onset of more advanced technologies in cereal grinding with water mills. It is possible that besides agricultural taxes collected in rough products or processed goods by the landowners (Makkai 1974, 45), such gifts were also demanded by the monasteries with human settlements on their lands. It is nevertheless certain, and confirmed by archaeology, that all these changes that took place in cereal grinding technology did not take out of use the common hand mills.

Several observations on the forms of habitation during the Arpadian Period in the Lower Mureş. Attempting to contextualize these discoveries, one notes that the small household or "sălaş", as one still calls such habitation forms outside settlements, is not far from significant centers of the Early Middle Ages in the Lower Mureş. Among them one should mention *Orod* (today Vladimirescu), a political (i.e. the earthen fortification) and religious center (i.e. the *praepositura*), certain monastic settlements (the monastery of Bizere), or significant settlements such as Ghioroc, Sâmbăteni, Cladova, Zăbrani etc. These were once included in the county of Arad, set apart from the previously-created county of Cenad. Some settlements are mentioned in the few early documents preserved (Györffy 1963, 166) and others have benefited from archaeological researches that have proven their existence and importance (Boroneanţ 1976; Zdroba, Barbu 1976; Blăjan *et al.* 1976; Boroneanţ 1978; Barbu, Zdroba 1978a; Ferenczi, Barbu 1978; Boroneanţ 1979; Ştirbu 1979; Boroneanţ 1980; Barbu 1980; Boroneanţ 1982; Boroneanţ, Hurezan 1984; Boroneanţ, Hurezan 1987; *RepArh* 1999).

Nevertheless, our discoveries raise an issue related to the attribution of the contexts and artifacts discovered in areas/places where no settlements like those mentioned above have been documented. Due to the limitations and poverty of the written sources preserved from the eleventh-thirteenth century, the reconstruction attempts of the topography of habitation forms are generally limited to the results of archaeological researches

⁹ I hereby thank Lorena Apachiţei (geologist), master student at the Faculty of Geology and Geology, Bucharest University, for the kindly provided specialized data.

(Blăjan, Dörner 1978; Crișan 2006). But in their case as well, the simple attribution of the discoveries, either made through archaeological researches or during simple field surveys, to certain settlements, has not led to noticeable results in understanding the structuring of Arpadian-era habitation forms. In the light of older research, but especially in that of the more recent ones, triggered by the large infrastructure works, one can draw several conclusions on these forms of habitation. One of these conclusions is that there were few nucleus-type settlements, or, according to the current terminology, systematized settlements. The title selected by architect T. O. Gheorghiu for his book entitled “Habitation and nonSettlement” (Gheorghiu 2002) would better fit the Arpadian Period, when settlements were not yet stable and mobility was generated by facts often linked to “survival”. We do not know what was the outlook of the few settlements mentioned in the written sources or touched by archaeological research and in the case of which one can presume some degree of structuring. One can but speculate on the fact that they fell under the control of certain ecclesiastic institutions, being located in their close proximity, and that the most numerous among them had access to River Mureș. I believe that such settlements, somewhat structured and stable, were located where they can be associated with cemeteries and, later on, with churches (Tari 2000, 169, 172) (e.g. Cladova “Dealul Carierei”, Pecica “Șanțul Mare” (Mărginean 2011), Vladimirescu “Cetate” and “Pădurea Vrăbiilor”, Frumușeni “Tancodrom”). To these nucleus-type, therefore stable settlements, one can add the group of small groups of dwellings, in fact small clusters of familial or clan households, spread over high terraces in the region adjacent to the Lower Mureș Basin. Their mobility is suggested by the relatively high number of areas with traces that can be attributed to such forms of habitation,¹⁰ a possible indication of their periodical relocation, either in the search for fertile lands, or just for the sake of new locations. One can also add the dwellings of the master potters identified in the area of Pecica that were also seasonally inhabited. Archaeologists have noted that in the case of many such dwellings, on the basis of the contexts (both stratigraphic accumulations and the few abandoned artifacts),

¹⁰ This fact could be noted both during archaeological researches and on the basis of finds made at ground level in several areas of the Lower Mureș (field researches in UAT Vladimirescu, Pecica, or Nădlac, performed at the request of city halls in order to complete the new GUPs).

that the dwellings and built elements around them were only used for a short period of time. It is also very possible that many of these groups of dwellings, apparently dispersed, belonged to families that “resided” in closely knit settlements or they came together subsequently, in such settlements. We shall not detail the topic further, as this is not the aim of the present article; we just want to show the possible character of the type of habitation discovered in Ghioroc.

The formation of royal power centers (i.e. counties and, with them, royal *castra*) and of religious centers on the Lower Mureș had a significant contribution to the demographic boom of the area and, naturally, to the creation of a network of settlements (Niedermaier 2012, 175-178). They were formed gradually and written sources mention at least five types: *villa*, *terra*, *possessio*, *locus*, and *praedium* (Szabó 1966, 36-54; Takács 2000, 240). Many of them were created and their existence depended on a lay or ecclesiastic lord. The large number of discoveries and the attempt to classify the types of habitation could not be corroborated with the written sources, therefore we believe that each region of the Arpadian kingdom might have had its own specificities, also depending on its geographic location. The area under discussion, in a plain area with fertile lands, has also allowed for a greater mobility of people. If nucleus-type, stable settlements were created in the proximity of the Mureș, most probably due to the commerce in which people engaged along this river and to the presence of important lay and ecclesiastic institutions, groups of dwellings, more or less isolated from each other, were mostly documented on the higher terraces and on natural levees.

The attempt to classify the settlements and the other forms of habitation nevertheless raises serious problems, as in the lack of attentive archaeological researches all attempts to include finds into one or another form is doomed to fail if performed just on the basis of the few written sources, correlated and completed with the results of simple field surveys. Eventually, this will only lead to the updating of older archaeological repertoires and the creation of new ones. For this reason, we believe that once free of censorship and the occasional frustrations, with national(ist) flavor, the processing and publication, at least to a minimal degree, of the older or more recent archaeological excavations will allow us to reach accomplishments valued amidst authors of specialized literature.

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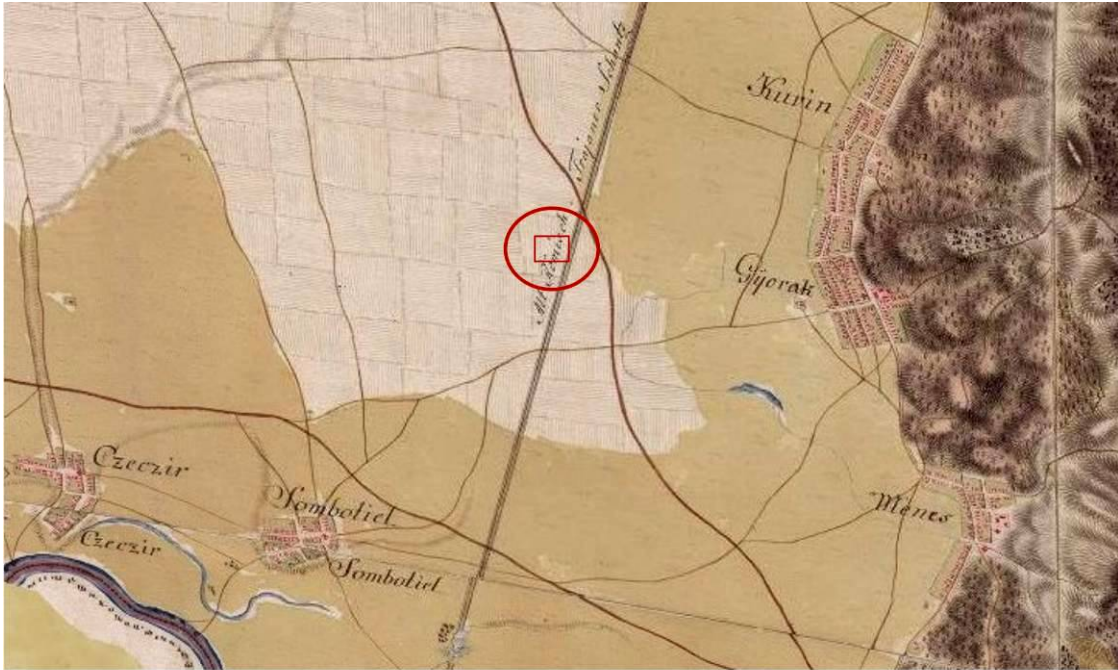
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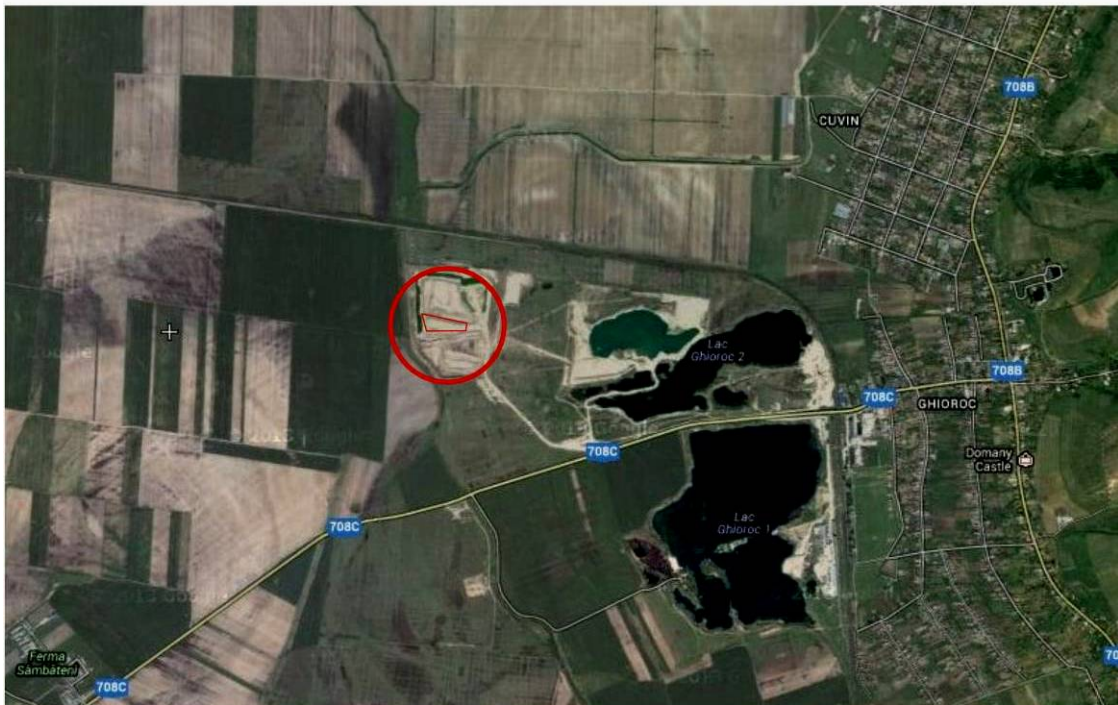
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Plate 1. 1. Austrian military map (1763-1787) with the approximate localization of the site; 2. Satellite image with the location of the site (Ghioroc Balastieră Vest).

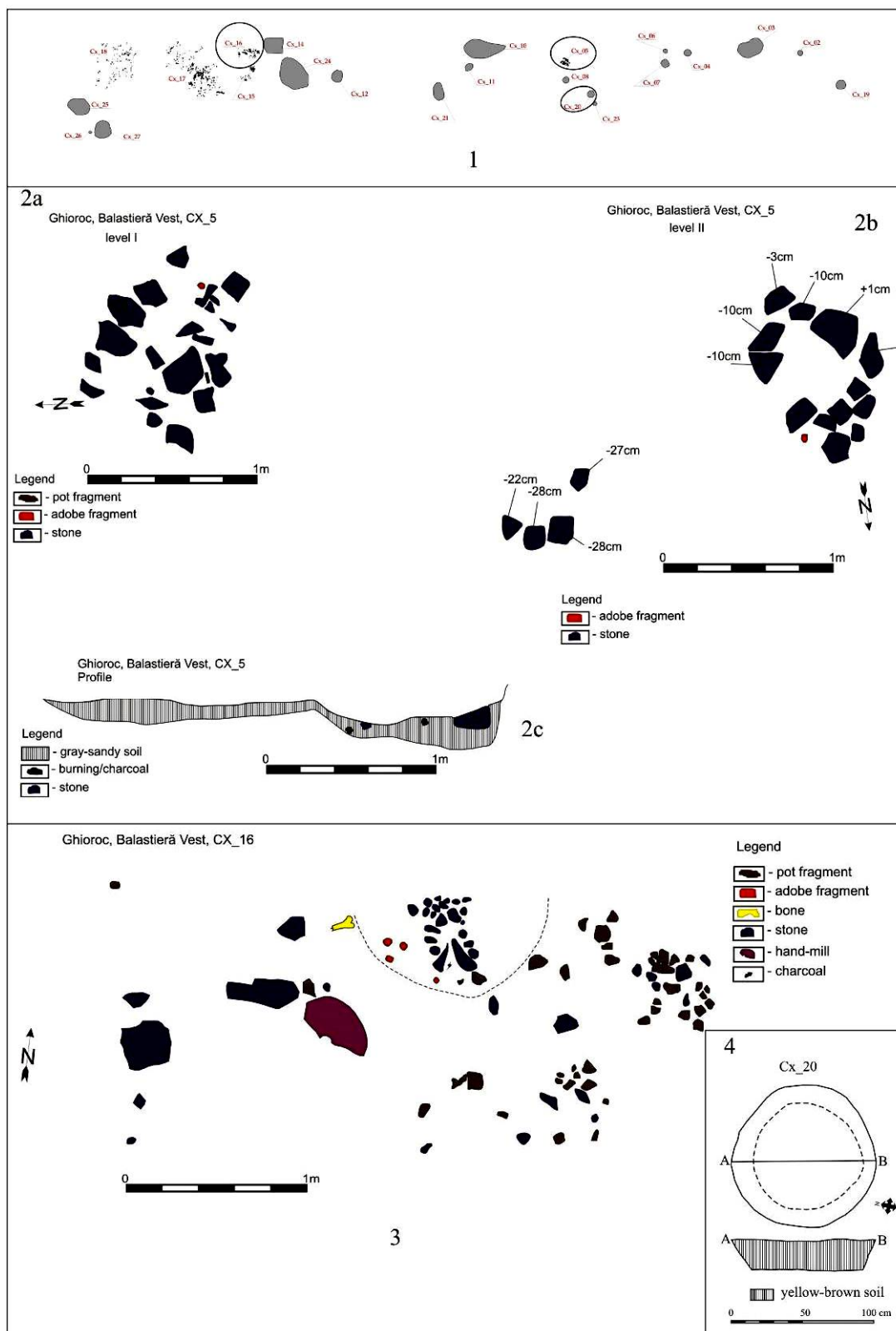


Plate 2. 1. Localization of the medieval complexes Cx-05, Cx_16, Cx_20; 2a-c on a topographic survey. Ground plans and profile Cx_05; 3. Ground plan Cx_16; 4. Ground plan and profile Cx_20.

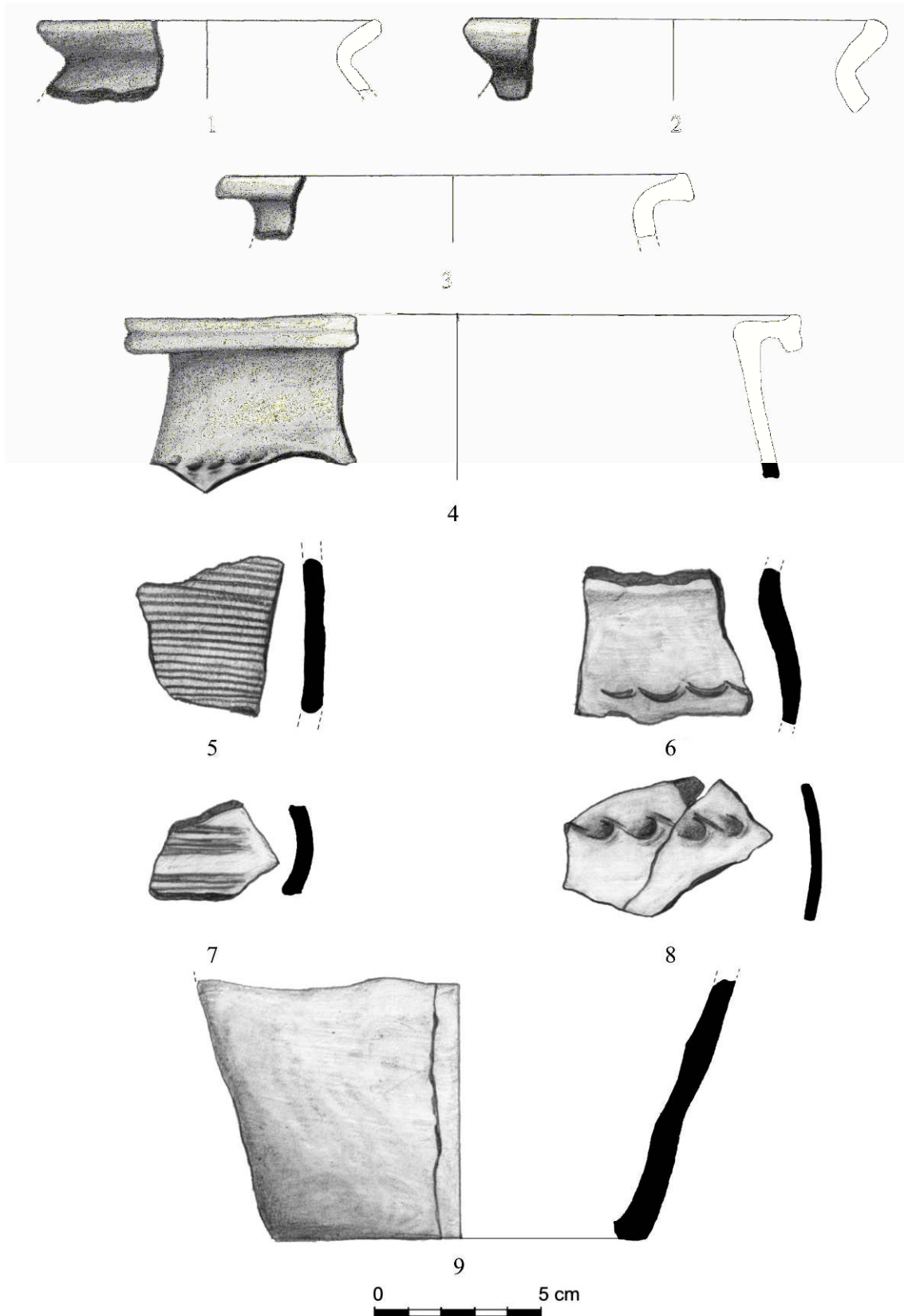


Plate 3. Pottery from complex Cx_05.

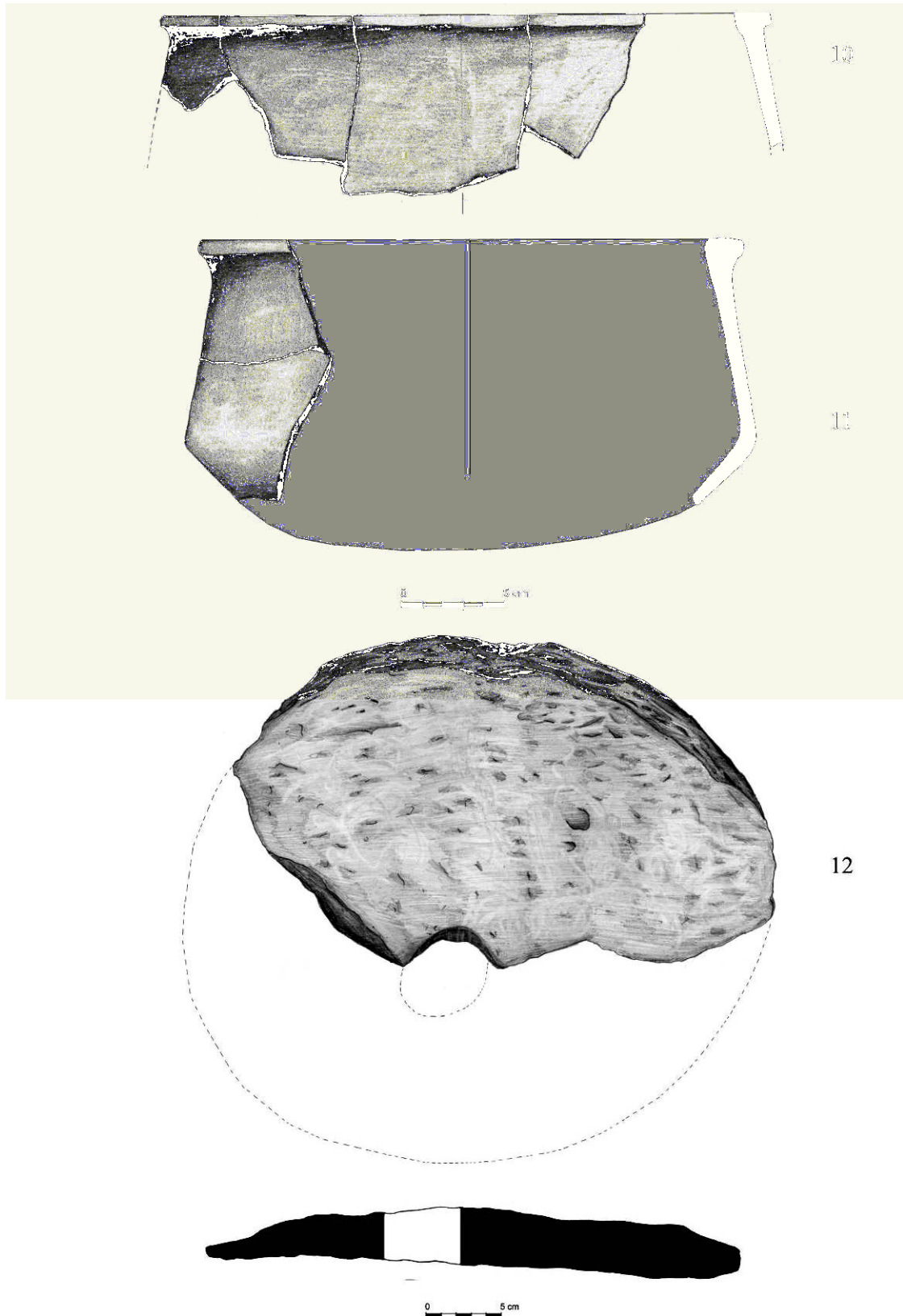


Plate 4. Pottery. 10-11. Cauldron fragments from complex Cx_05; 12. Hand mill from complex Cx-16.



Plate 5. Archaeological complexes: 1-2. Cx_05; 3. Cx_16; 4. Cx_20.

**THE DAILY LIFE AND MORALS OF CIRCASSIAN SOCIETY:
A HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION BASED ON SOURCES FROM THE
PERIOD BETWEEN THE MID-16TH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURIES**

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Abstract. *This article, based on records of personal origins left behind by travelers from the period between the mid-16th and the first half of the 19th centuries, features a historical-comparative study into the evolution of the daily life and morals of Circassian society. The author examines the language, religion, social fabric, apparel, anthropological appearance, traditions, and social avocations of Circassians. The paper introduces into scientific circulation for the first time the idea that the civil war in the littoral part of Circassia was provoked by the uprising headed by Sheikh Mansour in Chechnya. As a result of his study, the author establishes that Circassia was comprised of fragmented tribal units which spoke different languages and had no uniform language of interethnic communication but, at the same time, brought together many tribes across its area which were different from each other in many ways. This diversity lay in the mentality of the area's mountainous, littoral, and lowland inhabitants, as well as their religious beliefs. Note that there are no records of any migration processes taking place in Circassia at the time.*

Keywords: *Circassia, Circassians, daily life, morals, historical-comparative study, period between the mid-16th and the first half of the 19th centuries*

Rezumat: *Articolul se bazează pe memoriile călătorilor străini din perioada cuprinsă între mijlocul sec. al XVI-lea și prima jumătate a celui de al XIX-lea, fiind în fapt un studio istorico-comparativ asupra vieții cotidiene și moralei societății circasienne. Autorii examinează limba, religia, trăsăturile antropologice și tradițiile acestei societăți. Lucrarea aduce în fața publicului de specialitate pentru prima dată ipoteza conform căreia războiul civil de aici a fost provocat de Sheikh Mansour din Cecenia. Unul din rezultatele acestei cercetări a fost și faptul că Circassia s-a format dintr-o uniune de triburi ce vorbeau limbi diferite dar care aparțineau aceluiași teritoriu. Această diversitate rezidă și din mentalitatea oamenilor din regiuni diferite precum și din credințele religioase. Trebuie menționat și faptul că nu există migrări atestate dintr-o zonă în alta.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Circassia, viață cotidiană, morală, studiu istoric comparative, mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea – prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*

Introduction

The evolutionary development of peoples has always been of interest to not just researchers but a significant segment of the general public as well. This interest always rises when it comes to areas which have been impacted by various civilizations. Circassia, whose tribes have inhabited the vast

territory of the North-West and partially Central Caucasus, is rightfully considered an area of this kind. There are various maps of Circassia. One of them, which dates back to 1830, is provided in a work by L. Ya. Lhuillier dedicated to the native peoples of Circassia (Lhuillier 1990, 19-30). The map features the following tribes across Circassia: the Natukhai, Shapsugs, Ubykhs, Abazins, Kabardians, Abadzekhs, Besleney, Hatuqwai, etc.

This article aims to explore, through a historical-comparative prism, the evolution of the daily life and morals of Circassian society during the period between the mid-16th and the first half of the 19th centuries.

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Materials and methods

This article utilizes published firsthand accounts and diaries by travelers who visited Circassia during the period between the mid-16th and the first half of the 19th centuries.

One of the first testimonies on life in Circassia known to us is the account of Giorgio Interiano, a Genovese traveler, historian, and ethnographer, who visited the region in 1551. The materials provided by him have given us an insight into what had changed and what had not in the traditions of the mountaineers of the Black Sea area over the period at issue. It should be noted that there is a nearly hundred-year timeframe between the time of the fall of the empires of Byzantium and Trebizond and that of Interiano's visit to Circassia. In this regard, of major interest is the degree to which certain traditions of the Christian empires had persisted with Circassians.

In the 17th century, a few more European travelers visited Circassia. In 1629, the area was visited by the Catholic missionary Giovanni da Lucca, who laid his observations out in his work "An Account of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on Tatars, Circassians, the Abaza, Mingrelians, and Other Peoples". At around the same time, between 1622 and 1633 the office of Prefect of Kaffa had been held by Emiddio Dortelli d'Ascoli, who also left behind accounts of daily life and traditions in Circassia. In 1637, Circassia was visited by Adam Olearius, who was among the ambassadors sent by the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein and wrote "Travels to Muscovy and, through Muscovy to, Persia and Back".

In the 19th century, with the commencement of an open confrontation in the Caucasus, Circassia began to be visited by not only travelers but foreign spies, emissaries, as well.

One of the first individuals to visit Circassia was member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Saint Petersburg Julius von Klaproth, who explored the Caucasus between 1807 and 1808. He was followed by the French traveler Jacques Victor Édouard Taitbout de Marigny, who also left behind impressions about Circassia and Circassians.

In 1833, Circassia was visited by the Frenchman Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux. Of interest is the fact that, compared with the other travelers, de Montpéreux was an archaeologist and naturalist by trade.

Two years later, the region was visited by the Russian spy Fedor Fedorovich Tornau, who lived in the area until 1838 and wrote his "Reminiscences of a Caucasian Officer" during his stay.

Edmund Spencer is an English traveler who visited Circassia in 1836. In 1838, he released in London an account of his trips.

The English emissary James Bell resided in Circassia between 1837 and 1839. His in-depth work "Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the Years 1837, 1838 and 1839" was published in London in 1840.

It was around the same time that John Longworth, who was an employee of the London *Times* newspaper, lived among the mountaineers in Circassia (from 1837 to 1838). Upon his return to London in 1840, he published the diary he had kept during his stay in the region, "A Year in the Region of Circassians". John Longworth had stayed among the mountaineers in company with James Bell, and Longworth's diary thoroughly complements J. Bell's account.

The works of G. Interiano, J. Klaproth, J. Bell, E. Spencer, J. Longworth, and other foreign authors were introduced into scientific circulation in the Russian language by scholars from Kabardino-Balkaria who organized their translation and publication, including with commentaries, in Nalchik during the period between the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

One of the first attempts at historical-comparative research into Circassia was made by Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux in his book "Voyage au Caucase chez les tcherkesses et les abkhases en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée", published in Paris in 1843. The work contains elements of comparison of testimonies by the Genovese Giorgio Interiano, who visited Circassia in the mid-16th century, with those of his own. Note that the book includes interpolations of additional materials published at the time.

Currently, there are historiographical surveys of compositions by domestic and foreign authors coming out now and then on Circassians and other peoples of the North-West and Central Caucasus (Ivantsov *et al* 2015, 70-80).

Methods

The methods of investigation utilized by the author in this work are the principles of objectivity, historicism, systemicity, taking account of things in an integrated manner with respect to the object of study, and maintaining as much neutrality as possible in terms of the researcher's attitude towards interpreting and assessing the material discussed in the sources of personal origins.

This article places a special emphasis on the significance of the historical-comparative method, which is about investigating the content of sources of personal origins while comparing the segments

of the evolution of daily life and traditions in Circassian society during the above centuries. Based on the problem-chronological method, the author identifies key issues in each period, more specifically: the people's anthropological appearance, language, religion, social fabric, apparel, traditions, and social avocations.

Results

Anthropological appearance

The Genovese Giorgio Interiano left us in the 16th century just a brief description of the appearance of Circassians. He notes that the Zikhs [Circassians] were, par excellence, handsome and well-shaped, their beauty much admired among Cairo mamluks. That said, their women never seemed to shy away from men (Atalikov 2010, 28).

Almost 300 years later, descriptions of the anthropological appearance of Circassians became more detailed. Thus, for instance, in describing the appearance of a Circassian, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux notes: "The Circassian inhabiting the seashore is tall in stature, shapely in body and limbs, and thin in waist; relentless in striving to enhance this type of beauty even more, he tightens his waist with a leather belt. His gait is graceful and light, his head is oval-shaped; by default, the Mahometan shaves his head but keeps a mustache and grows a black non-thick beard; as black are his deep-set eyes; his not long thin nose is quite shapely; the frame of his jaw is elongated and clearly defined. Quite often you can come across Circassians with auburn hair and beards" (de Montpéreux 2010, 40-41).

In 1836, the English traveler Edmund Spencer, who visited Ubykhia, took notice of the anthropological appearance of Ubykhs. Spencer noted that Ubykh peasants had "dark-brown hair, prominent [noses], narrow [faces], ears like those of the Jews, and a head more compressed than we usually see among the Circassians; the latter, in this as in every other particular of their external physical conformation, resembling some of the most favourable specimens of the European population" (Spencer 2008, 164) [11].

It is worth noting another circumstance which was mentioned in the notes of the Russian spy F.F. Tornau: "...they [Ubykhs] originated from the Abazins, Circassians, and Europeans cast up on a Circassian shore, according to a legend, back in the time of the first Crusade" (Tornau 2008, 164) [13]. There is a tale that says the Europeans were able to assimilate a portion of the locals and thus create a new community – the community of Ubykhs.

So what were the reasons behind the fact that the anthropological identity of Ubykhs had persisted? E. Spencer notes that, in line with the practice followed throughout the centuries, "with few exceptions, each tribe intermarries only with its own members" (Spencer 2008, 166) [15]. Had inbreeding among the tribes been a more common practice, the Ubykhs would likely have lost their anthropological appearance. Besides, it is worth remembering that the geographical situation of the area inhabited by the Ubykhs, in terms of defense, was better than that of other tribes. This circumstance protected the Ubykhs from hard-power external impact. There was another circumstance that had a direct impact on the preservation of the anthropological appearance. Each tribe, each clan had been in a state of constant competition: if someone started to, all of a sudden, have the edge, wealth-wise, over the rest, forays would normally ensue. The mountaineers differed by reputation as well. It was commonly believed among them that it was the Medoveys from the Abazin community who had the reputation of inveterate brigands (Tornau 2008, 157) [16]. According to F.F. Tornau's testimony, all the tribes within the Abazin community were at feud with each other (Tornau 2008, 162) [17]. Note that all the mountainous tribes were distinguished by being highly bellicose, impunity being the major reason behind this bellicosity. It was a virtually hopeless task to adequately react to the actions of the mountaineers who were protected by gorges and rocky terrain. Feuds often grew into vendettas, which, in turn, produced no positive impact in terms of the interbreeding of clans.

Julius Klaproth had this to say about the appearance of Circassians: "The Tscherkessians upon the whole may be termed a handsome nation; and the men in particular are distinguished by the elegance of their shape, which they use all possible means to preserve and improve. Their stature does not exceed the middle size; but they are extremely muscular, though not corpulent. The shoulders and breast are broad, but the waist is always extremely small. They have in general brown hair and eyes, rather long faces, and thin straight noses" (von Klaproth 2008, 219).

E. Spencer found Jewish roots with the Abazins. To prove it, he furnished evidence of the existence of certain ancient manuscripts in Georgia, Mingrelia, and Armenia attesting that some of the clans that existed at the time (the 19th century) in Abazia (with the Abazins) descended from early

Hebrews converted into Christianity. The Hebrews, persecuted by their tribesmen and the rulers of the Roman Empire, fled to the Caucasus and settled down there. E. Spencer corroborated his point of view with his personal observations, noting that “the features of several of these tribes still bear the stamp of their Israelitish origin; their religion to this day is a mixture of Judaism and Christianity” (Spencer 2008, 159) [18].

There is another circumstance pointing to the southern origins of Abazins that can hardly be overlooked. It is known that the mountaineers of the Black Sea area highly revered their sacred groves, springs, etc. It was the nature of this phenomenon that was brought to light by English traveler Edmund Spencer, who received the following reply to this question he put to the Abazins: “... our fathers, on arriving from the parched desert, found friendly shelter beneath their venerable shade” (Spencer 2008, 180) [19].

Thus, in contrast with the brief description by Giorgio Interiano, the 19th century travelers discovered that the anthropological appearance of Circassians was not uniform, i.e. the travelers noted certain differences in appearance between the Adyghe, Ubykhs, and Abazins¹.

Language

The Genovese Giorgio Interiano testified in 1551 that the language of Circassians was completely different from that of their immediate neighbors, its sounds pronounced gutturally (Atalikov 2010, 25). Besides, the traveler noted that the mountaineers did not have their own writing system. In administering the divine service, their clergymen used the Greek alphabet and writing system, which the Zikhs did not know. If the mountaineers wished to write something to someone, which happened rarely, it was done for them by the Jews, who would use the Jewish alphabet at that. The mountaineers preferred to communicate their news orally, through messengers (Atalikov 2010, 26).

The Russian spy F.F. Tornau noted in the first third of the 19th century that Circassians did not have an official language. Thus, for instance, there were three languages in use on the coast of the Black Sea in the Ubykh village of Sochipsy: Circassian, Abazin, and Ubykh (Archive, s.a., 13-14). There is no doubt Turkish was used in the region as well.

James Bell wrote that the Circassian “language is used from the eastern extremity of Kabarda to the Black Sea, including Abazak. Along the coast the people reckon three languages, viz., Adighe, as far south as the small stream Bu (which is the boundary of Notwhatsh); Abaza, between the Bu and Hamish; and Azra, thence southward to the frontier of Mingrelia. The difference is such that natives of any two, who speak only their own languages, cannot understand each other” (Bell 2007, 42).

In 1833, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux noted that Circassians did not know how to write, just like in the time of Interiano; legends and reminiscences about great epochs in their history were preserved in songs. Their trade and industrial relations being scarce, they did not have a need in that powerful tool, the messenger being like a living letter to them. When that method would not work, they would normally turn to some Turkish mullahs, living with them, asking them to write a message for them, and mullahs would do them that favor. The only hieroglyphs known to Circassians were the symbols they used to mark their horses.

When they got together, upon the arrival of fall, with their associates, princes and noblemen, to set out for a foray, they would speak, in an attempt to conceal the import of their messages from others, a totally original language, which they called *Takobza* and which had nothing in common with Circassian, but the people were not allowed to speak in it (de Montpéroux 2010, 54). Thus, de Montpéroux also notes the fact that the mountaineers had their own little-known dialect.

Mentions of the language of Circassians made during the period between the 16th and 19th centuries attest that different Circassian tribes spoke different languages. No language was set apart so as to be given the status of the language of interethnic communication.

Religion and religious rites

Religion was a crucial component in the life of the mountaineer community. Giorgio Interiano had this to say commenting on the religiousness of Circassians in 16th century: “They call themselves Christians and have Greek clergymen among them, but they baptize their children after the age of 8. That said, the clergymen just sprinkle them with holy water, in accordance with their custom, and utter a brief blessing” (Interiano 1974, 47).

Speaking of the nobles, G. Interiano wrote that “nobles never enter a church until they are sixty years of age, because, as they live by rapine, they are deemed to desecrate the sacred edifices. But when they reach the age when they stop robbing

¹ For more details, see: Cherkasov, A. A., Šmigel', M., Ivantsov, V. G., Ryabtsev, A. A., & Molchanova, V. S. (2014). The mountaineers of the Black Sea region (the early XIX century): Geography, demography, and anthropology. *Bylye Gody*, 32(2), 152–153.

and looting, they attend the divine service, which they used to listen to on horseback in their youth behind the walls of the church” (Interiano 1974, 47).

The catholic missionary Emiddio Dortelli d’Ascoli wrote in the first third of the 17th century that Circassians retained a number of kindly Christian customs. For instance, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they ate no meat throughout the year. They observed fasts before the holy apostle holidays in June and the Dormition of the Mother of God feast in August, fasted for several days before Christmas and throughout Lent – all in alignment with the tenets of the Greek denomination (Atalikov 2010, 49).

Before we move on to describing the numerous testimonies by travelers in the early 19th century, it should be noted that the process of creating a religious society in Circassia was rather lengthy. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Russian princes of Tmutarakan, as well as the tsars of Georgia had been converting Circassians into Christianity. The Christianization of the region was largely facilitated by the activity of Byzantium as well. The fall of Byzantium in the 15th century facilitated the creation of the Crimea Khanate and the possibility of impact on Kabardians on the part of Crimean Tatars. Having found themselves surrounded by the Ottoman Empire, Circassians, just like a number of other ethnicities of the Caucasus, continued to stick to their Christian traditions, which had become for them the legacy of their ancestors. Christianity gained an especially firm foothold on the coast of the Black Sea, while Mahometanism was penetrating Kabarda from Crimea. Nonetheless, despite the implantation of Islam in 1763 and 1768, Circassians (the Ingush and Kabardians) were asking the Russian leadership to christen them into the Orthodox faith (Yudin 1914, 221). This situation persisted up until 1785, when the Black Sea Circassians had just three religious books: the Bible, the Psalms of David, and the evangelists’ book.

The situation changed due to the civil war in the mountainous community, which had to do with the activity of the so-called Sheikh Mansour. Following large-scale military clashes and the defeat of the Circassian gentry, a new system of religious rules was instituted in Circassia, which now included four books: the Bible, the Psalms of David, the evangelists’ book, and the Quran (Bell 2007, 192). This triggered an influx of Turkish missionaries into Circassia.

Despite the introduction of the new system of religious rules almost 60 years later, in 1837, the Black Sea Circassians continued to perform Christian rites on a mass scale. The English emissary J. Bell had this to say on the matter: “At a marriage-feast Georgi attended the other day, between Pshat and Ghelenjik, the greater number of those present went to an ancient cross, and, taking off their bonnets, kissed it. It is said that but a small proportion of the people are as yet circumcised Mussulmans. I am inclined to believe this, from the small proportion I see say their prayers” (Bell 2007, 256-157) [6].

As far as performing religious rites, the mountaineers seemed to have divisions by income qualification. J. Bell shares one representative example. The Shapsugs had a rite wherein up to 50 representatives of the local gentry, noblemen, once took part. Each participant brought with them some food items as a contribution. In addition to food, several “goats were sacrificed, lighted tapers being placed at their heads at the time, while others were placed on the cross. At a short distance from the latter the tables were arranged, and each person, on passing them, took off his bonnet; but no one approached the cross excepting some three or four individuals who said aloud a short prayer – an invocation to the Deity for the averting from them of war, pestilence, and every other evil, and sending them plenteous harvest and happiness. On approaching the cross and saying the prayer, one of these individuals held in one hand some of the eatables taken from the tables, and in the other a bowl of the national drink, shuat, which were then distributed among the congregation” (Bell 2007, 80-81) [7].

John Longworth called this national drink “suat”. The drink was a mixture of overfermented millet-flour and honey. The liquid was thick and turbid (Gardanov 1974, 535) [8]. Shuat was generally served in large wooden bowls with a handle; the bowl would be passed around from hand to hand among groups of tough warriors (Bell 2007, 98) [9]. The ancient name of the bowl is “bratina”. The bratina in Ancient Rus was a vessel with a lid in which drinks were served at feasts (Yuzhakov 1902, 645) [10]. Slavs and many other peoples associated the honey drink with crossing over to the other world. Honey was a sacred beverage for special occasions: weddings, burials, and special holidays. It was in this context that mead was used across the Black Sea area.

As regards the traditions dealing with sacrifices, these were highly common among Christians not

only across the Black Sea area but the Caucasus as well. Thus, for instance, the ancient rite of animal sacrifices is still in use in Georgia, despite the fact that Georgians are an Orthodox people. In other words, in rare exceptional cases the Church did not forbid practicing certain regional characteristics of the cult, which normally was the case when it was impossible to suppress it through imposing bans.

Another author who testifies about the Natukhai's Christian holidays is Taitbout de Marigny, who noted that one could observe in the vicinity of Gelendzhik a number of clergymen, who were wearing plain burkas, or felt coats, and were surrounded by a crowd of people standing in deep silence, approaching a cross in the forest which had sacred significance to them; there they prayed to the Creator, asking him to preserve their fields, grant them abundant crops, and rid them of plague. Several small candles were affixed to the cross; over one of them the clergymen would burn a tuft of wool pulled off a bull that was going to be sacrificed; they would pour over the bull's head some millet ale that was presented to God, along with some unleavened bread cooked with cheese. The ceremony ended with a feast that was put together with contributions from the locals chipping in whatever they could afford, followed by dancing and games (de Marigny, 307).

The English emissary J. Bell, who had lived among the mountaineers for about two years, depicted a good deal of Christian rites practiced by the mountaineers of the Black Sea region. Thus, for instance, in October 1837 Bell penned in his diary: "At this season, and for about a fortnight, is celebrated a very ancient festival, called Merem. Troops of young folks go from house to house in succession, and spend the night in dancing, singing, and regaling with boze, etc. Part of the ceremony consists in some of the company holding cakes, with cheese in them, which they wave about, while all shout out an invocation to Merem, begging her always to send them health, plenty, and happiness. It is in disuse in the north of Notwhatsh, excepting hereabouts; but prevails to the south, and to the east" (Bell 2007, 281) [11]. You can learn more about the nature of this holiday in a special article (Ryabtsev Cherkasov 2011, 154-161).

Despite the fact that the holding of the Merem festival overlapped with the time of crop harvesting, the mountaineers of the Black Sea area were fully confident that it had been instituted in honor of the mother of Jesus at the time Christianity had prevailed in the region (Bell 2007, 281) [15].

The epicenter of the spread of Islam in the 17th and 18th centuries was the city-fortress of Anapa, which was inhabited by Turkish citizens who traded with neighboring regions and Kuban. At the same time, starting from Gelendzhik and further into the littoral part of Circassia, Christianity was the dominating religion all over. The locals observed Lent, celebrated Easter (with painted eggs) and Maslenitsa [Butter Week]. Also still in use with the majority of Circassians was the ancient custom of drinking wine, despite all the prohibitions and prescriptions of the Quran (Bell 2007, 390) [16].

At the same time, many faithful Circassians observed just external rules. On the one hand, they completely renounced wine drinking, but on the other that did not prevent them from consuming the other type of liquor – mead (a beverage made of honey and overfermented grape syrup). The mountaineers consumed local vodka as well (Bell 2007, 17) [17].

This fact has also been confirmed by the naturalist Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux: "It is done only by Circassian princes and nobles – the Moslems observe Mahometan rites, but they do it only for the sake of removing their scruples and in total indifference, often making fun of all those ceremonies" (de Montpéreux 2010, 49). We believe that some of the princes and nobles adopted Islam in an attempt to retain their control over the major portion of the population, for following the civil war the gentry had lost much of their power over the common people and the system of governance had been shifted to the so-called democratic path.

In 1838, following the establishment of the Russian military presence in the Sashe district (today the modern city of Sochi; the littoral part of Circassia at the time), the Ubykhs had a great debate about removing some ancient crosses located within the area where the Russians were likely to operate. Of these crosses, there were three particularly noted: one pendent from a tree and two erect of some gilt. According to J. Bell, "the people, in general, wish them removed for fear they should fall into the hands of the Russians, who might thereupon found some claim to the country, as having been originally Christian; while the chief, Ali Achmet Bey – who drinks wine abundantly, has never been known to say Mussulman prayers, and is suspected of a bias to the ancient faith of the country – protests against the profanation – by removal – of these relics of their forefathers; prefers defending them where they are, and claims the right of ordering that they shall be left intact" (Bell 2007, 20) [18].

J. Bell left us a detailed description of a cross pendent from a tree on Mount Aublaarmykh in the vicinity of the village of Sashe: “Here I came to the object of my curiosity, pendent from the arm of a huge old oak, to which it was attached by an iron wedge. The accompanying sketch can best convey some idea of this curious relic of antiquity and undoubted proof of Christianity having once here prevailed, as well as of the locality chosen for it. The hooks were the recipients of many a various offering, which were scrupulously left there till borne off piecemeal by the elements. Some rags of the last showed that such offerings had not long since been made” (Bell 2007, 48).

Prince Ali Achmet Bey, standing in defense of the cross, “claimed the right of preventing the desecration of this relic of the faith of his remote ANCESTRY” (Bell 2007, 48). It is worth noting another circumstance mentioned in the notes of the Russian spy F.F. Tornau: “...they [the littoral Circassians] originated from the Abazins, Circassians, and Europeans cast up on a Circassian shore, according to a legend, back in the time of the first Crusade” (Tornau 2008, 164). The first Crusade, which took place between 1096 and 1099 (Yuzhakov 1902, 514) [22], had, no doubt, a great impact on the region, as the troops had been gathering in the vicinity of Constantinople.

Prince Ali Achmet Bey, also known as Ali Achmet Oblagu in Russian transcription (Cherkasov 2006) [23], was the most influential prince across the area from Sashe to Bzyba (the present-day river Bzyb in Abkhazia). During Bell’s first meeting with Ali Achmet Bey, the Englishman took notice of the prince’s Spanish silver sword. Bell looked it over and discovered an inscription in Spanish on it: the word “cavalero” alongside the motto “Ad majorem Dei”. The sword bore information on where and when the sword was made, “Anno, 1664”. In noting the other characteristics of the sword, Bell stressed its being greatly worn out (Bell 2007, 72) [24]. In all likelihood, the motto copied by J. Bell from Ali Achmet Bey’s sword was incomplete – it must have lacked the last word, “gloriam”. If we gather these words into one phrase, we get the Latin motto of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), “Ad majorem Dei gloriam”, which is translated from Latin as “For the greater glory of God” (Laktionov 2007) [25].

This fact about such a sword being owned by a powerful Circassian prince and its condition testifies, in our view, to its having something to do with Christianity and, quite possibly, to that this

relic had a direct relation to the clan (Cherkasov *et al.*, 64-72).

Crosses were seen by other English emissaries as well. Thus, for instance, John Longworth describes a cross he saw in the vicinity of Pshada: “There is a mouldering wooden cross on the acclivity, not far from the sea, which, while it probably still attests the zeal of the Georgian queen, Thamar, who laboured to spread the light of Christianity on these shores, has long ceased to convey the slightest knowledge of Christianity or, a ray of its light, to the Circassians. Those who accompanied us, it is true, doffed their bonnets on approaching it; but on asking why they did so, they answered me with a shrug, that their fathers had done so before them. Shreds of cloth were attached to the wood, which I was told were meant for votive offerings; also to tie up the malady of those who placed them there” (Gardanov 1974, 542) [26].

In the first half of the 19th century, the mountaineers of the Black Sea area celebrated one more Christian holiday – Commemoration of the Sacrifice of Abraham. This day can be called the day of bringing an infant to the temple. According to an ancient custom, every child, upon reaching a certain age, had to be presented to the Lord and one animal had to be sacrificed for him. The custom became common among virtually all of the residents of the Black Sea area, including even the so-called “Moslems”. J. Bell offers a representative example on the matter: “and such consideration has this usage attained, that even those who profess themselves Mussulmans, and hold all these observances somewhat in aversion, as “not ordained by their book,” are constrained, either by the force of habit or the influence of the opinion of the majority, to comply with it. Thus my present kind host, Zekwahaz-oku, one of this class, to-day presented his son” (Bell 2007, II 94-95) [27].

The rite was held in the valley of the Pshat. As was customary on many such occasions, a green with a little grove of oaks was chosen as the sacred venue for the rite. In the midst of it stood a cross, across from which there were several other crosses, which were decayed from time. Before it were arranged tables covered with loaves of bread and pasta. Some of the donators, upon handing their donations to the priest, took off their caps, kneeled before the cross, and bowed their foreheads to the ground.

After that, the rite commenced. We shall examine this ceremonial in greater detail: “[the ceremonial] commenced... with a short petition to the “Great God” (Ta skho), for the conferring of every

blessing, and the averting of every evil. The chief priest in pronouncing it held forward towards the cross in his right-hand a wooden goblet (of the same form as those used in our church service) filled with shuat, and in his left a large cake of unleavened bread, which he then handed to his attendants, and received from them five or six times successively other goblets and cakes, over which the same benediction was said, and repeated aloud by all the congregation, who had placed themselves in ranks behind the priest on their knees, and with their caps off, bowing their foreheads to the ground at the termination of each benediction, as did the matrons also. The shuat and cakes were then distributed to all of us. The victims; viz. a calf, a sheep, and two goats, were next brought in front of the cross, each held by a couple of men, while the priest pronounced a benediction over each, poured upon its forehead some shuat from one of the goblets, and singed some of its hair there with one of the waxen-tapers which burned at the foot of the tree behind the cross. They were then led away to be slaughtered, which was the signal for the congregation dispersing rather tumultuously – at least the younger portion of it – some of whom went to aid in the cutting up and preparing of the meat, in a row of large kettles, and others to amuse themselves till it was ready, by racing, leaping, etc.; while the seniors spent the interval in conversational parties. As for the chief priest – who performed his duties with considerable dignity – he remained, during all the time, erect in front of the cross and tables, his head uncovered, a mantle over his shoulders, and a staff in his hand, directing his assistants in their duties, not the least important part of which appeared to be an equal distribution of the meat among the numerous tables, of which there were about sixty. Over each of them a benediction was pronounced by the priest before they were served to us on the green around – to the females as well as males – along with abundance of shuat” (Bell 2007, II 95-97) [28]. The number of guests present on that occasion might have been from four to five hundred, although on a number of occasions the number of participants exceeded two thousand. At the end of especially mass religious fetes, numerous amusements were held, such as dancing, horse-racing, mark-firing, etc.

Circassians held religious fetes quite often, and, apart from serving religious objectives per se, these solemnities were much “beneficial in frequently bringing the people amicably together, and in refreshing with animal food those who might otherwise seldom taste it; for besides what may be

eaten by all those who choose to make their appearance at the festivals, many of the poorer folks are to be seen carrying home portions of meat for their families – distribution to the poor being a part of the religious services enjoined” (Bell 2007, II 89) [29].

There were other rites as well. Thus, for instance, F.F. Tornau noted after visiting the Abazin tribe of Medoveys (the present-day area of Krasnaya Polyana) that in Medovey only the prince and some noble families followed the Mahometan religion, while the common people were inclined towards heathendom and, having no defined faith, turned their prayers in time of trouble to certain rocks and sacred trees, while being “overwhelmingly childishly fearful of Shaitan” (Tornau 2008, 156) [30].

On certain occasions, Christian holidays incorporated other beliefs as well. Thus, for instance, during one of these rites held in the valley of the Pshat (by the Shapsugs) there were between 120 and 130 young people assembled, with several elders in charge of the congregation. The young men formed “two sides of a square, at some little distance from the largest tree; beside which stood erect one cross, while against it were laid numerous disused ones, which had served the sacred purpose in their day, and are now consecrated to “decay's slow ravage”. ... In front of the cross were ranged, in rows, from forty to fifty small tables covered... with loaves of bread and masses of pasta; and behind it hung from a transverse beam sundry large kettles over a blazing fire”. Two goats were then sacrificed, after which an “invocation was then made to the Spirit of Thunder [Shibla] by those few who had charge of the tables, and who remained uncovered throughout, interceding for general protection, and that the bolt, as well as every other evil, might be averted from them and their families. And immediately afterwards two large cakes were served to me, along with a bowl of shuat (millet-flour, honey and water fermented), and then a general distribution of these refreshments was made to all assembled, down to the very youngest boys, and the beverage continued to be circulated around” (Bell 2007, II 87-89) [31]. The cult of thunder and lightning had a purely pagan character, yet it, nevertheless, smoothly harmonized in the culture of the Shapsugs with Christianity. In our view, this was due to the fact that various religious layers had been superimposed upon each other for many centuries.

Thus, despite the active Islamization of the region in the early 19th century, a significant, if not overwhelming, portion of the population of littoral

Circassia continued to follow Christianity. This was due to the existence of common Caucasian traditions, which also include the legacy of the ancestors. Christianity was the faith of the forefathers in the broad sense of the word, and Islam was becoming a compulsory measure, a measure imposed, including through military means, from the outside.

Social fabric

In the mid-16th century, according to the testimony of the Genovese G. Interiano, the mountaineer community was divided into nobles, vassals, serfs, and slaves. The nobles were held in high esteem among the rest of the population and spent all of their time on horseback. They did not tolerate their subordinates having horses like theirs. If someone outside the noble circle started to raise a foal, the nobles would take it away and give them a different animal in return, like a horned livestock animal. They would normally say to the person, "This is what's for you, not a horse" (Atalikov 2010, 26).

Many nobles had vassals and lived independent from each other. They did not acknowledge any authority over themselves, except that of God. They had neither written laws nor persons to administer justice. All their disputes were resolved in the 16th century through power, agility, and intermediaries (Atalikov 2010, 26).

The sacralization of the nobles' authority was reaching its peak. According to G. Interiano, "no man not born a noble can be one, even if he were a chief; they would want that a noble know neither how to count nor how to do trade, unless it is, however, about the sale of booty; the obligations of a noble lie in governing his subordinates, protecting them, hunting, and doing military exercises" (Atalikov 2010, 27).

In the first third of the 19th century, in regards to Circassia's social fabric, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux compared the region to the civilizations of Germany and France during the reign of their first kings and called Circassia an exemplar of the feudal knightly aristocracy of the Middle Ages and the heroic aristocracy of ancient Greece. According to de Montpéreux, the Circassian "constitution is purely feudal; the caste spirit reigning there is as strict as it once was in France and Germany" (de Montpéreux 2010, 35).

Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux identified five major classes: princes, nobles, those set free, serfs, and slaves. In classifying and characterizing the classes, the author notes that "one no longer acquires the title of a prince but by birth.

Therefore, the princes, desirous to preserve their genealogy in spotless purity, are highly strict in respect of matrimonial unions, unequal matches considered a great disgrace to them. The extent of their power is gauged by the number of their vassals, next of kin, and allies who could stand up for them in time of trouble".

De Montpéreux goes on to describe the rest of the classes. "The second class includes the nobles (worq); some of them become powerful by establishing ties of kinship with many families; they perform the duties of a squire to the prince and attend on him at the table.

The class of those set free consists of serfs who were granted freedom for certain achievements or, after having been sold into slavery, came back with some fortune and acquired a mansion; they enjoy the same rights as the nobles, and their fortunes are passed on to their progeny.

The bondsmen, or serfs, make up the fourth class; these are like vassals in Europe at the time of feudalism; they live in total subjugation to the will of the prince or nobleman, tilling the soil in time of peace and standing up for them in time of war, and this bondage is passed on from father to son. Each serf has a parcel of land and some cattle, to which his overlord has no rights; nor does the overlord's authority apply to the vassal himself and his family, and, if the bondsman, or vassal, is not happy with his overlord, he can leave him and settle somewhere else. Except, as a punishment or through the court, the overlord can sell his serf, in which case the community has to convene to decide on the matter.

The four classes differ little in terms of the kind of clothing their representatives wear and the kind of lifestyle they lead. One could even venture the assertion that they are totally equal; that is how insignificant the authority of the prince or nobleman over their vassals is; all of their sway is founded on trust, on patriarchal conviction; the entire authority is determined by ancient customs.

The fifth class is made up of slaves, or tchohhotl (tliaquatle). Any stranger who has the courage to penetrate the region but fails to name his kunak (consecrated friend) or master, can always expect being turned into a slave; day by day the princes and nobles enlarge the number of their slaves, as they range about the area occupied by the Russians in search of them; the slaves are a source of wealth for slaveholders; they sell them to Turks or keep them and hurry to marry them off" (de Montpéreux 2010, 35-36).

Note that Julius Klaproth concurs with this division into classes and their characteristics (von Klaproth 2008, 208).

According to de Montpéroux, all “the princes are equal to each other, just like the nobles are. In all that vast population... no man of influence and intelligence is capable of forming a close-knit union with someone else... : every noble, even every serf granted freedom is his own overlord and only obeys himself”.

One of the most credible testimonies on the life of the mountaineers in the vicinity of the river Socha (an Ubykh aul) was left behind by Staff Captain Baron F.F. Tornau, the Russian spy who had lived among the mountaineers for several years: “The people obey the princes and nobles little, whom the customs, some wealth, and personal prowess entitle to respect their compatriots, without providing them with any authority at that” (AOAGS. F. R-348. Op. 1. D. 19. L. 8). This statement by F.F. Tornau appears to indicate that by the first half of the 19th century the Ubykh community had reached the period of the disintegration of feudal relations with pronounced elements of decentralization. From now on, the prince is a nominal figure commanding no influence.

F.F. Tornau adds: “Within the council, when the prince is known for his prowess, when he is capable of winning over others by virtue of his qualities and is good at coordinating his intentions with the wishes of the people, then he can expect some, and then only temporary, obedience. The volatility of character and levity cause these people to constantly divide, with everyone pursuing only their own personal objectives” (AOAGS. F. R-348. Op. 1. D. 19. L. 9, 13).

In characterizing the system of governance in the mountaineer community, it is worth noting the way they had evolved: in the 16th century, the centralization was highly intense and hinged on the authority of the nobles. Following the civil war of 1785, the community became decentralized. Here we can clearly see elements of social tension. First of all, it is the existence of two bodies of governance (the town council and the remnants of the authority of princes and nobles); in other words, we observe here a division of powers. Second of all, a characteristic trait of a decentralized mountaineer community is “living for today”. It goes without saying that the princes desired greater stability, if for no other reason than preserving their wealth.

Apparel

In characterizing the way Circassians dressed in the 16th century, Giorgio Interiano noted that their upper garments consisted of a felt cloak with a slit designed in such a way as to enable the person to let out his right arm. Their headgear included a felt hat that resembled a sugarloaf helm. Under the cloak, the mountaineers wore a “silk or linen terrilicci with pleats from waist to bottom, as was the case with the Roman skirt...” (Atalikov 2010, 27). Besides, Circassians always wore a small leather pouch they hung sideways, in which they carried fire steel. These pouches were sewn for them by their wives... (Atalikov 2010, 28).

One can get an idea of the quality of the traditional clothing of Circassians in the 19th century from the materials from the exposition of the history museum in the resort-city of Sochi. The men’s suit on the left features both a felt cloak with a slit and a bashlyk (a cone-shaped headdress hood). The pouch was an indispensable part of the Circassian’s outfit as well.

In 1629, the Catholic missionary Giovanni da Lucca had this to say describing the Circassian costume: “Their apparel differs little from ours. They wear red cotton shirts and burkas of felted wool or felt, which they turn on the shoulders in the direction the wind blows, for it covers just half of the body” (Atalikov 2010, 38).

Julius Klaproth describes the Circassian’s costume the following way: “The dress of the men resembles that of the Kumück Tartars, but it is lighter, made of better materials, and in general richer. The shirt (*Yana*) is either white linen, or, agreeably to the Georgian fashion, of fine red taffety, and buttons at the bosom. Over this, they wear a silk waistcoat, which is generally embroidered, and above that a short jacket (in Tscherkessian *Ziéh*, in Tartar *Tschekmen*), which scarcely reaches half way down the back, and buttons very close over the belly” (von Klaproth 2008, 220).

Thus, based on what we can gather from the sources available to us, we can register the fact that the design of the Circassian costume persisted for a long period of time.

Traditions

Of major significance in the life of patriarchal Circassian society were traditions. Giorgio Interiano thus describes the traditions and customs of Circassians: “...they inhabit this country, when there is not a single spot that is protected by walls” (Atalikov 2010, 29). G. Interiano testifies that all their homes were made of straw, reeds, or wood. It would be a disgrace to these overlords or nobles to

build themselves a stone house or fortress, for that could signify to their fellow tribesmen the lack of courage and inability to protect and defend oneself” (Atalikov 2010, 29).

According to descriptions by Interiano, Circassians attached high value to generosity and were always ready to give away everything they had, except, nonetheless, their horses and arms. “If any of them wearing an upper garment for the first time or a new, crimson silk, shirt, did not eagerly give it right away to anyone who asked for it, it would be considered a great disgrace to him. As soon as they are approached with such a request, they immediately take off the garment and put on the shabby, sometimes badly soiled, tatters of the entreater; therefore, the nobles are almost always dressed worse than others, but shoes, arms, and horses, the three things they would never give to someone as a gift, are the primary luxury items to them. A nobleman will sometimes give away everything he has for a horse – that is how valuable it is to him” (Atalikov 2010, 28).

Interiano also mentions *kunachestvo* (consecrated friendship) as a tradition: “They [the mountaineers] show hospitality with the utmost heartiness and use the term “*kunak*” to denote the host receiving the guest and the guest himself. When the guest leaves, he is accompanied all the way to the next host’s house, as the host is guarding him despite the apparent dangers to his own life; and, although they view booty from robbing as quite legitimate, *kunaks* are known to be extremely loyal to each other both within the walls of the house and without” (Atalikov 2010, 28).

In 1637, Circassia was visited by Adam Olearius, who noted, in describing the dwellings of Circassians, that they “were very wretched ones, as being built only with laths nailed across, and plastered over with clay” (Atalikov 2010, 55).

We find a lot of things from the 16th century in the 19th century traditions of Circassians.

J. Klaproth, in characterizing the dwellings of the mountaineers, noted that all their houses were made of straw, reeds, and wood, for it “would be deemed a great disgrace to a prince or nobleman, if he were to build a fortress or a habitation with solid walls” (von Klaproth 2008, 256).

John Longworth relates that in the event of an enemy attack, the Circassians “would set fire to their houses and retreat precipitately with their families and cattle to the mountains” (Longworth 2002, 91). The author also testifies that the mountaineers were highly generous and easily gave away things. If someone had two shirts or two

pairs of shoes, it was a must for him to share them with others. A system of this kind had “also its serious disadvantages, entitling as it does the slothful and dastardly to share the fruits of industry and enterprise...” (Longworth 2002, 159).

Julius Klaproth, who visited Circassia in 1807, writes about the hospitality of the mountaineers, relating that guests were “waited upon by the host himself, never by servants, and accompanied to the next *Kunak*” (von Klaproth 2008, 125). Klaproth notes: “Among these people age procures the highest consideration. When therefore any business is to be transacted, the oldest of the princes, *usdens*, and also of the most opulent *boors*, assemble and discuss the matter” (von Klaproth 2008, 209-210).

Thus, the mountaineers exhibited much permanence in the way of preserving their traditions. The conservatism of traditions was a distinctive trait of the life of Circassians.

Social avocations

In describing the social avocations of Circassians, Giorgio Interiano notes that “they chiefly subsist on the species of fish still called *Anticei*, as it was named by Strabo of old; it is properly a kind of sturgeon, thicker and shorter than the common sort. They drink the water of their rivers, which tends to promote digestion. They eat also the flesh of all kinds of tame and wild animals. They have no wheat or grapes, but great quantities of millet and such-like grain, of which they make bread and other sorts of provision, as well as a beverage named *boza*. They likewise drink mead” (Atalikov 2010, 29).

Speaking of the land inhabited by the Circassians, Klaproth notes: “Their country is for the greatest part swampy, covered with reeds and rushes... [The mountaineers have] many [secret] fords and passages [by which] they clandestinely proceed to attack the poor peasants, whom they carry off with their cattle and children from one country to another, and sell or barter them away” (Atalikov 2010, 26-67). Klaproth adds that the “greatest part of the slaves sold by them are carried to Cairo in Egypt; and there fortune elevates them from the lowest rank to the highest honours and dignities, as to the rank of Sultan, Admiral, etc.” (Atalikov 2010, 26).

Among the social avocations of women in the mountaineer community, Giorgio Interiano mentions just those of noblewomen. The traveler notes that all the avocations of Circassian noblewomen were limited to just sewing fire steel pouches and belts of very soft leather (Atalikov 2010, 29).

In 1629, in characterizing the social avocations of Circassians, the Catholic missionary Giovanni da Lucca noted that they traded in slaves, animal hides, and wax. They utilized hoes to till the soil, but they used no money and exchanged their goods (Atalikov 2010, 38).

In the early 19th century, the social avocations of Circassians remained virtually unchanged. In this regard, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux writes that “no matter which class the Circassian belongs to, he is always lazy and does everything he can to shirk any kind of work that is a bit harder; he prefers to be exposed to the dangers of a life of brigandage, rather than engage in labor to earn his daily bread. This is especially the case with the Natukhai, Shapsugs, Ubykhs, and all the mountainous tribes in areas with unfavorable soil conditions” (de Montpéroux 2010, 44).

Julius Klaproth notes that there were “very few handicraftsmen among [the Circassians], and of these only smiths, some of whom work in iron, and the others in silver; the former make any thing else than daggers, sickles, and bits for bridles, and the latter than arms and armor. The wife performs the part of tailor to her family, and the husband makes all the household furniture and utensils, in which there is no metal” (von Klaproth 2008, 222).

Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux testifies that there was almost no industry and trade in Circassia. “The relations they had with the Turks at the time were limited to just negligible barter trade. Captives always made up the basis of these relations... The entire industry of Circassians revolved around the ways to lay their hands on this sort of bargaining chip through forays into the area occupied by the Russians and enemy tribes, as well as through sea brigandage, the latter method remaining the same as in the time of Strabo, although it will soon be nineteen centuries since then. The warship headed by Captain Wolf, which took me aboard, has been ordered twice already to chase after the galleys of the Circassian pirates, and it has been convenient for me to watch them. I have noticed just one change: their galleys are large in size and normally accommodate more people; you can count between 60 and 70 people in them (in Circassian, these galleys are called *kaf* or *kouafa*, as well as *kamara*; *akhbat* in Abkhaz; *ghemet* in Turkish-Nogai). They only run on oars, gliding along the coast; the Mamay port (near Tuapse), known in antiquity for its pirates, is still the central location for the Circassian corsairs to this day.

In each family, women are engaged in making almost all objects needed in the household: they weave a sort of cloth, of a rare, yellowish-green or

grey in color; they also can make felt cloaks or mantles, *burkas* in Russian and *djako* [qakua] in Circassian, sew shoes and even undertake [59] the making of saddle cushions and containers for rifles and sabres (de Montpéroux 2010, 54-55).

In confirmation of this testimony of the duties of Circassian women, we may engage the reminiscences of F.F. Tornau, who noted that Circassian women (wives) were invested with the duty of taking care of the household. Assisted by their maids, they wove cloths and linen and dressed their husband and children from head to toe (Tornau 2008, 206).

Based on the above testimonies, we can conclude that over the past centuries the social avocations of Circassians did not change in any way. This was facilitated by the preservation of the originality of their culture, the isolatedness of their territories, and their being true to their traditions.

Conclusions

The absence, noted in the above sources, of uniformity in the anthropological appearance of the various tribes within Circassian society, allows us to speak of there being various independent ethnic groups within its population.

This inference substantiates both the fact that there were different languages spoken by the peoples of Circassia and that they had no uniform language of interethnic communication.

Religion-wise, Circassia was divided into two parts: the population of the Black Sea region was dominated by Christian and pagan rites, while the mountaineers of the Trans-Kuban area were Islamized for the most part, although heathendom persisted here as well. On the whole, the spread of Islam in the region was governed by not only external influences but by the social stratification of the local population and the role played in society by its various social groups.

The unique nature of the social stratification of Circassian society was expressed in the preservation of the rights of the free state of its population (except for the slaves), as well as staying true to common levelling traditions and customs. The civil war of 1785 led to the decentralization of governance and its democratization.

The isolatedness of the territory of Circassia, the poor development level of external relations, the lack of migration processes, and the peculiarities of the population’s mentality provided a rationale for the poor development of crafts, industry, and trade and, on the whole, the character of the people’s social avocations.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION/LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

Figure 1. A holy oak with a cross

Figure 2. Circassians apparel

Figure 3. Circassians. A drawing from the book “Three Voyages in the Black Sea to the Coast of Circassia” by Taitbout de Marigny



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

Brukenthal. Acta Musei, X. 1, 2015

The Daily Life and Morals of Circassian Society:

A Historical-Comparative Investigation based on sources from the period
between the Mid-16th and the First Half of the 19th centuries

TRANSYLVANIA AND SPAIN DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR: NEW DETAILS FROM CHRONICLES AND ARCHIVES *

Oana Andreia SÂMBRIAN**

Motto: „En todas sus partes vi a Marte sangriento, batallando unas naciones con otras por el capricho y conveniencia de uno solo, que en ellas atizaba el fuego de la guerra” [“Everywhere I could see Mars bleeding, as nations were fighting each other out of the caprice and for the convenience of just one of them, that started the fire of war”] (Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Locuras de Europa*)

Abstract: *The Spanish historiography about the image of Transylvania during the 30 years war (1618-1648) can result as extremely appealing to the eye of both experienced and unexperienced readers of Spanish works of history, culture and civilization, due to the richness of details and of literary genres. From archive documents to travel notes, from historic to dramatic literature, the period 1618-1648 is a never ending source of information about Transylvania, to whom we are going to dedicate our attention in this article.*

Keywords: *Spain, Transylvania, image, Thirty Years War, imagology studies.*

Rezumat: *Istoriografia spaniolă reține extrem de puține informații despre imaginea Transilvaniei în timpul războiului de 30 de ani (1618-1648), motiv pentru care o cercetare în acest sens este foarte interesantă pentru orice istoric. De la documentele de arhivă până la notele de călătorie, perioada 1618-1648 este o sursă continuă de informații despre Transilvania, motiv ce ne-a determinat să ne aplecăm atenția asupra lor, în vederea valorificării și popularizării detaliilor conținute.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Spania, Transilvania, imagine războiul de treizeci de ani, studii imagologice*

The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) represented a turning point in European history, given the fact that its *status quo* has been significantly modified after this moment. Actually, the Thirty Years' War was more than a singular, religious confrontation, the pretexts and reasons varying from political until social or obvious religious issues. The open war between the Catholic Church and Reformation had been one of the main catalysers of this period, an inner war that broke Europe in two. Instead of focusing on their common enemy, the Ottoman Empire, the European states threatened by it chose to fight one another in an endless battle for power that ended up by weakening their defence against the Turks. The Pope's attempt to mediate the conflict proved itself useless, especially because of Richelieu's intrigues who had managed to attract the Protestants on his side. In 1634, the Pope was willing to call for two congresses in Rome, under

his mediation, one for the Catholics, and the other one for the Protestants. These were the two last sparkles of the Church trying to hold on to its political power. Later on, the peace treaties from Münster and Osnabrück (1648) separated the laic power from the spiritual one, taking a step further towards modernity.

As for Baroque Spain, two were its main dramas: on one hand, having to undertake the change from the profound medieval tradition towards modernity and on the other, the hegemonic fight against France. Unfortunately for Spain, as later on for the Ottoman Empire, it was their complete lack of will of modernisation that made them lose the hegemonic fight for supremacy. But even this absurd conservatism when the rest of Europe was seeking for a change (Cid Vázquez, 167) can bare a logical explanation. Decades ago, in his book, *The Mediterranean and Mediterranean world during Philip II*, Fernand Braudel argued that, due to its geographical position, Spain, situated between Europe and Africa, was at risk of becoming a mere bridge between the two continents, which made Spain embrace Catholicism, in an attempt to get closer to Europe. On the other hand, France, regarded as the eldest

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daughter of the Catholic Church, had finally chosen to betray its “vocation”, by both accepting and promoting the change, while Spain stood still in its mentality about Reformation.

The war between Catholics and Reformation does not only mean an endless number of military events, but also a very intense and powerful political and propagandistic literature. Due to the variety of means (from sermons and historical literature to the first type or press journals, represented by the *avvisi*), the Thirty Years’ War marked the beginning, not only of a new European order, but also a premiere in the political conflicts: the total war, where an important role is played by the propagandistic fight. From this moment on, the war is not only going to be fought with classical weapons, but also through the WORD.

As a result, Spain accused France of treason in a series of 17th century books, such as *Mundo caduco* by Francisco de Quevedo, *Discurso sobre el estado presente de Europa* and *Locuras de Europa* by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Conspiración herético-cristiana* by Juan Adam de la Parra, among the most important ones. In Parra’s book, where the author enhances the powerful danger represented by the existence of a “schismatic” European country among its borders, a clear reference to France:

Aunque muy nobles naciones de Europa hacen estruendosamente los mayores preparativos de guerra por tierra y mar, y cristianísimos ejércitos amenazando a los cristianos parecen presagiar funestas calamidades para los mortales, nada sin embargo ha anonadado los ánimos de los católicos y ha perturbado a la Iglesia Romana tanto el temor de que tantos males y el furor de las guerras les amenazasen de parte de un rey y un reino cristianísimos (Parra 1943, 13).

[trans.] Despite the fact that many noble European nations make noisy preparations for a big war on both land and sea, while Christian armies menacing the Christians seem to predict fatal calamities for the mortals, nothing has brought the Catholic nor the Roman Church spirits so down as the fright of so many menacing wars led by a Christian king and kingdom.

All of these details are meant to better situate the general background of the image of Reformed Transylvania in 17th century Counter Reformation Spain. In fact, during the 16th century, Transylvania had gained the fame of a Christian state, a *miles Christi*, and therefore, the relationship with Spain had always been a favourable one (Sâmbrian,

2013: 132-150). For instance, on 6th of November 1447, John Huniadi and Alfonso V signed in Casoli a collaboration treaty, the military deeds of John Huniadi against the Turkish Empire being well known at that time. In Spanish historiography, John Huniadi’s victory against the Turks from Belgrade (1456) was well known due to the chronicles of Pedro de Mejia, Vasco Díez Tanco or to the play *El rey sin reino* by Lope de Vega. Transylvania’s decision of joining the Reformation under the pretext of supporting the Bohemian Protestants (1619-1622) was therefore unexpected in Spain, hence the Spanish political literature condemned it vehemently. In his book, *Mundo caduco y desvarios de la edad* (1621), Quevedo affirmed regarding the episode of the Czech protestants and the implication of Transylvania that

Raíz de todo esto era la ambición del conde palatino: que con el abrigo del serenísimo rey de Inglaterra y de la correspondencia con Bethlen Gabor, con quien en la secta de Calvino convenía, habiéndose hecho príncipe de Transilvania, vendiendo al turco la libertad y dándole las dos mayores fortalezas (...) le asistía al robo de la corona de Bohemia (Quevedo 1852, 185).

[trans.] The root of all evil was the ambition of the count palatine: whom, with the support of His Serene Highness, the king of England, and with the agreement of Bethlen Gábor, both of them belonging to Calvin’s sect, becoming the latter prince of Transylvania and selling the freedom of his country to the Sultan, by giving him the greatest fortresses, helped him steel the crown of Bohemia.

With the Ottoman Empire’s support, Bethlen obtaining the control of several cities, such as Bratislava (October 1619), Košice, Nové Zámky, Tyrnavia and Nitra. Meanwhile, in November 1619, Viena was sieged, when suddenly, Bethlen gave up the attack after finding out that the Polish and the Habsburgs were supporting Gheorghe Homonnai, pretender to the throne of Transylvania, who was planning an attack on Bethlen’s principedom.

Bethlen’s continuous change of moods does not escape Quevedo’s witty remarks, the Spanish writer expressing his disapproval of this kind of behaviour, calling Bethlen a traitor: „after he found out about the victory (the defeat of the Bohemians at the White Mountain in 1620), Bethlen joined hands with the lucky ones (...) and retreated from Austria to Tyrnavia, in Hungary; and in order to applaud the winner, he sacked the road, robbing the Hungarians that had summoned him” (Quevedo

1852, 189). Subsequently, Quevedo presents the events from 1621, reminding the “attacks and thefts that Bethlen Gábor was committing against the Hungarians, the Turks and Tartars” (Quevedo 1852, 187), setting a new example of duplicitous behaviour.

Two years before Quevedo, Juan Salazar advised in his *Política española* about the religious disagreements in Europe, being of the opinion that the Protestants did not represent a threat for Spain, nor for the Emperor, as they were very divided:

Y lo que más es, que una y otra Germania, así la alta como la baja, discordan en materia de religión. Como también los de Dinamarca, Noruega, Transilvania, Gocia, Suevia y Grisones: de forma que no se podrán unir así fácilmente contra su Majestad, en especial mientras conserva con el sueldo a los católicos esguízaros; i al Rey de Polonia y Transilvania, con matrimonios, ligas y confederaciones amigables, para tener más enfrenados a los protestantes” (Salazar 1619, 274-275).

[trans.] And what is even more important, the Two Germanies, both the Superior and the Inferior, are divided in matters of religion. The same goes for Denmark, Norway, Transylvania, Gotland, Swabia and Grisons: so that they will never be easily united against His Majesty, especially while he is keeping on his side the Swedish Catholics with wages and the king of Poland and Transylvania with matrimonies, leagues and friendly confederations, in order to keep the Protestants under control.

Even if at the beginning, the Habsburgs had been dissatisfied with the access of Gabriel Bethlen to the Transylvanian throne, finally they were made to sign the treaty of Trnavia (6 May 1615), renewed in 1617, recognising his reign.

The chronicle of Céspedes y Meneses, *Primera parte de la Historia de Felipe IV, Rey de las Españas* (1631) gives a series of details about Gabriel Báthory and his successor, Bethlen Gábor. Portrayed as a Calvinist rebel (Céspedes y Meneses 1631, 23-24) as well as a promoter of war (Céspedes y Meneses 1631, 579), Meneses outlines a not too favourable portrait of Gabriel Bathory:

El Gabor (Báthory, n.n.), famoso hereje calvinista y de quien quetan que no siendo más de un mediano caballero, se supo hacer tiranamente dueño y señor de Transilvania. Después que el claro Segismundo, por su inaudita enfermedad, trocó la espada con el

ocio (...) sobreviniendo grandes males en Transilvania (originados por el primero) en conclusión redundó dellos el venir a levantarse con la presa, desheredando, y aún haciendo morir al príncipe Gabriel. Este pues es Velen Gabor, y ahora a quien los rebeldes (como su intento conformaba en privar de las coronas de Hungría y Boemia a Ferdinando), no les fue duro de ganar.

[trans.] Gábor (Báthory), a famous Calvinist heretic who, being no more than half a knight, he managed to become lord and despot of Transylvania. After the mighty Sigismund left the sword for the pleasure (...) terrible evil things happened in Transylvania (because of the first one), subsequently somebody came and took the prey, disinheriting and also killing prince Gabriel. This somebody was Velen Gábor, whose aim was to deprive Ferdinand of the crown of Hungary and Bohemia.

Bethlen's anti Habsburg policies are well known in historiography, being responsible for the deterioration of the relationships with the Moldavian prince, Gaspar Grațiani, who had made an alliance with the Habsburgs. Despite his policies, after the treaty of Mikulov (6th January 1622), Bethlen had to give up the title of king of Hungary in favour of Ferdinand. On the other hand, he received certain benefits, such as his recognition as prince of Transylvania, adding the titles of elected prince of the Roman-German Empire and duke of Oppeln and Ratibor.

The leitmotiv of religious conflict as main reason of the Thirty Years' War confrontation is determined by the fact that the Catholic Church feared the menace represented by the Christian states that had turned their faces towards Reformation, Transylvania being one of them. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584-1648) is probably the personality who better resumes the facts that took place during 1618-1648. Both a writer and a diplomat, he was for 35 years the main representative of the external policy of Philip IV, whose trust he had previously gained. In 1631, he was named ambassador in Rome and two years later he travelled to Bavaria, a region well known for its fierce battles during the Thirty Years' War.

One of his most interesting works was *Locuras de Europa*, written as a dialogue between Lucianus and Mercurius. The intention of the author is extremely clear: to reveal the “madnesses” of Europe, which refused to recognise the merits of the Habsburgs. Apart from this madness, the text enhances others, like the general madness of war,

the madness of the Portuguese rebellion against Catalonia, the madness of the Dutch Republic that was in favour of the prince of Orange, etc. (Saavedra Fajardo 1973, 23)

An interesting information about Transylvania is revealed in the manuscript version of *Locuras de Europa*, from the Spanish National Library (MSS/12931/17), as none of the printed versions, starting from the first one, dated 1748, until the most recent (which probably copied from the previous versions) mention it:

Yo te digo de verdad que he tenido los ojos sobre Munster y Hosnaburg más que sobre las demás partes de Europa, porque son las fraguas donde se limpian y templan las armas de todo el mundo, y oficinas de ligas, invasiones, sorpresas y usurpaciones. Desde allí (...) se envían embajadores con instrucciones y noticias particulares a Holanda, Dinamarca, Suecia, Polonia, (Moscovia, Tartaria, Transilvania) y Constantinopla, para que todos pongan fuego en Europa. (f. 3v)

[trans.] I honestly tell you that I have had my eyes on Münster and Hosnaburg more than on other parts of Europe, because they are the forges where everybody's weapons, leagues, invasions, surprises and usurpations are washed and tempered. From here (...) ambassadors are sent with instructions and private news to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Moscow, Tartaria and Transylvania, for all of them to set fire in Europe.

In real fact, Saavedra was not mistaken when predicting the important role played by Münster and Osnabrück, both of them situated in Westfalia, in the Thirty Years' War. Although he did not live to see the end of the war, the excerpt above demonstrates the high spirit of anticipation of the Spanish diplomat. The sensible matter of Transylvania and its position in the Thirty Years' War did not escape the critical eye of Spanish Golden Age literature, that years after Bethlen Gabor's death, occurred in 1629, still evoked his figure. In Baltasar Gracián's well known *El Criticón*, published between 1651 and 1657 and representing the expression of the feeling of despair that Spain had had during the Thirty Years' War, there are several mentions to what we could call a "collective character" named "betlengabor" or in plural form, "betlengabors". The use of this word as common noun made us enquire about the traits that somebody should have had at that time in order to be considered a "betlengabor". Here are the fragments we have identified.

In the first part of *Criticón*, in the chapter entitled "The magic of Artemia", which describes the supernatural powers of this woman, as well as her capacity to transform people, we can read that "it is said that she could transform a stable boy into a Betlengabor and a page into a nobleman of Tenza". In the second part of Gracián's work, in the chapter "The wheel of time", there is an apocalyptic image where "the pages were being transformed in Betlengabors and Taicosamas". The scientific disputes began in 1929, when Oliver Brachfeld published his article „Belengabor: un curioso error de Gracián”, where he argued that the Spanish writer ignored Gabriel Bethlen's noble condition, assimilating him to a taicosamas (a Japanese slave) (Brachfeld 1929, 277). The answer to Brachfeld's affirmations comes almost immediately. In 1930, Leo Spitzer published an article where he contradicts Brachfeld's theory, affirming that as long as the feminine character Artemia metamorphosized people, it should not surprise us that humble characters could be turned into noble ones and vice versa (Spitzer 1930, 174).

We agree with Spitzer, being of the opinion that Brachfeld did not understand very well Gracián's text. Or maybe he just wanted to write a sensationalist text, given the fact that his study was written the year that the third centenary from Bethlen's death was being celebrated.

It is true that by reading Gracián's text we could not find an answer to our question regarding the collective representation of Gabriel Bethlen. Nonetheless, from the point of view of the historical analysis, we find it interesting that Bethlen's name keeps repeating itself, transforming little by little from an individual to a collective character. It is obvious from our viewpoint that some decades after Bethlen's death, the Spain had not forgotten him and did not ignore his noble position either; otherwise there would not have been the contrast between "betlengabores" and "taicosamas". Although he was a negative character of the Thirty Years' War, seen from the Catholic side, this conflict only amplified Bethlen's fame, already a character of previous works, such as the memories of the Spanish soldier, Diego de Estrada, *Memorias del desengañado de sí mismo*, written between 1614-1645, a subject we are not going to focus on, as we have already done it on previous occasions (Sâmbrian 2013, 59-74).

There is obviously still a lot to study about the political implications of Transylvania during the Thirty Years' War and the way these implications

were perceived in Spain at that time. Our article wishes to constitute just a glance over a more

complex issue we are going to debate upon in the years to come.

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OBJECTS AND PRODUCTS OF SIBIU LOCKSMITHS GUILD IN THE COLLECTION OF BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM, MUSEUM OF HISTORY-ALTEMBERGER HOUSE

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Abstract: *The article presents some unpublished objects in the collection of the Museum of History Altemberger House, made by the guilds of locksmiths that was founded in Sibiu*

Keywords: *locksmiths, guild, medieval period, convener, guild sign, money bag*

Rezumat: *Articolul prezintă câteva obiecte inedite aflate în colecția Muzeului de Istorie Casa Altemberger, confecționate de breasla lăcătușilor care a funcționat la Sibiu*

Cuvinte cheie: *lăcătuși, breaslă, epoca medievală, convocator, semn de breaslă, pungă de bani*

Sibiu was in medieval and modern times one of the most famous craft centers in Transylvania. Its products due to favorable geographical position were sold in the entire Romanian, but also beyond, in East and Central Europe.

The first documentary mention of a guild in Sibiu dates back to 1367, when they were mentioned the tanners. From 1376 dates the first regulation of organization of guilds in Sibiu, but the statement that during that year they were "reinstated" justifies the assumption that they appeared even earlier. The status is mentioning 25 crafts, grouped in 19 guilds. Guilds of Sibiu were identical as organization and operation to those of the Transylvanian Saxon towns and similar to other professional associations in Central Europe.

Constituted to regulate the production, disposal of products, the purchase of raw materials, creation of new workshops and to combat competition, guilds also had military obligations.

Each guild defended a tower and a portion of the city fortified wall, and, during peacetime, its members were obliged to provide security services. Since the Middle Ages, a skill widespread in everyday life was the processing of iron, since blacksmith products were necessary for all social categories. Working iron during this period experienced a great expansion. Due to this reason, there appeared new handicraft industry, and according to the needs, products were more numerous and more diverse. Maximum development phase with regard to the processing of ironing was recorded in the sixteenth century, when developed the processing techniques: casting, forging, alloying.

The climax in iron processing was reached during

Renaissance, when objects that were strictly necessary and common (doors, gates, crates, wind flags, locks, keys, locks, etc.) were turned into decorative pieces by applying acid engraving techniques with chisels, nickeling, pressing, fretting.

The improvement and development of craft tools have led to the appearance of several industry e: locksmiths, farriers, cutlers and later roofers.

A branch that separated from the blacksmiths guild was the newly formed locksmith's guild that manufactured different sizes and shapes of padlocks, latches, locks, keys, piggy banks, etc.

The development of blacksmith handicraft in all its compartments and the technical progress have led to the tendency of each guild to broaden its scope of activity, hence the struggle for privileges to ensure their advantageous position as procurement of raw materials and disposal of products.

Such privileges were obtained by the locksmiths in the main cities of Transylvania.

In order to be able to defend their interests, locksmiths joined spurs makers and obtained confirmation in August 20, 1518 (VLAICU, 2003, 261). In 1581, the guilds of locksmiths from Transylvanian towns formed a union with their own regulations, on which occasion it was established that the purpose of activity of these craftsmen was to make keys, locks, latches, closers and coats of mail, mail or lances (PASCU 1954, 169).

Identifying objects such as trunk, or tin sign, flag, seal were individualized and were used during important moments such as receiving new guild members or meetings throughout the year. In the box were kept documents - statutes, registers, receipts - money collected from contributions and fines and seal, sign, etc. The box was opened

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during general assemblies and in front of it were performed the ceremonies of receiving disciples or enshrined master titles. The collection of the History Museum-Altemberger House hosts locksmiths guild chest dated in 1682 and the locksmiths, blacksmiths and cutlery fraternity of journeymen chest, dated in the seventeenth century.

The sign of guilds had the purpose to spread the message of its rulers and to inform the masters of the various events that took place. The museum collection preserves two wooden signs, one dated in the eighteenth century and the second one dated in 1838. Initially there was only one sign that announced various events that took place in the neighborhood. Beginning in the eighteenth century burial signs appear (NAGLER, 1967, p. 181). They differed by symbols and inscriptions from the others.

From the 18th and 19th century, along with signs begin to be used convening notices - were known as *the columna*, these were simple pieces of square or rectangular timber provided with a grip handle decorated by carving or burning (NAGLER, 1967, p.196). Their role was to summon guild members to quarterly or general meetings that were held during the year. They differed from the classical ones, because on one side was a table set with paper that included the name of the guild members. Members were required to sign it, either by a hole made with a nail in front of their name or by fingernail on the wax layer that was recorded on the narrow sides of the convener (NAGLER, 1967, p.196). Two such convening belonging to the guild of locksmiths are present in our museum collection.

Documents authenticated by seals are testimony to the guild activity, the seal serving as secret guarantee or to ensure authenticity act. By signs (logo, text), it was a means of identifying in time and space the issuer, that could have been both a person or an institution. In medieval times, the seal represented the authority holder, its place in society, and a statement on the importance given to the instrument or document bearing it. The History Museum has a great collection of seals that belonged to guilds in Sibiu and not only. Among them we must mention the farriers and blacksmiths guild, the locksmiths being members of the guild as attested in the existing field sealing.

On the buildings where guilds were active guild symbols were fixed to mark the respective companies. The History Museum has a collection of firm signs (BIELZ 1936-1937, p. 9-10) that belonged to different guilds of Sibiu including the locksmiths.

The large number of objects and items belonging to the guilds that were involved in processing iron, in existing museum collections, demonstrate their importance locally. If during their beginnings journeymen brothers did not have the resources to buy their own buildings in which to operate, since the eighteenth century came the first houses where these "associations" were active. Among existing firms, our collection hosts the one of the brotherhood of journeymen locksmiths, roofers and spurs makers dated in 1842.

Hardware products that are kept in our museum collection show a remarkable continuity in the craft of iron processing and a tendency of molding on the great artistic styles of wood and bone carving, pottery etc. Making keys and locks meant an ingenious, but also a special category of technical operations. We note, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the craftsmen concern to mask their mechanisms by beautiful ornamentation and vegetal motifs.

Analyzing existing keys and locks in our museum collection and by comparison with those found in the literature we concluded that every century has embraced its decorative style. Thus in the 15th century, the flower keys appear as a diamond and toward the end of the century began to appear rosette flower and circular shaped flower divided into four rods of iron. For the 16th and 19th centuries one can observe a powerful Renaissance and Baroque influence on keys making. The flower is circular, the rods are cylindrical and the complexity of drawing helps us dating beard key (the complex the beard, the newer the key). They will be the subject of another article dedicated to products made by the locksmiths' guild.

CATALOGUE

1. Locksmiths' guild box, 1682 (fig. 1-2)

Provenance: Donation Guild locksmiths

Dimensions: H: 32cm; L: 74cm; LA: 40,5cm

Dating: 1682

Brief description: Box made of soft wood, rectangular lid fitted with perches as profiled. Pewter is handmade artistic hardware, brackets, escutcheon, hinges and handles have decorative and functional purpose. Inside the chest, on the left, is a casket in which the money was deposited. The lid is painted inside with blue tempera and the dating by the inscription: "*Petrus Klein/ 1682 / verehret mich*".

Inv. No.: M5054 /14.473

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

2. Journeymen locksmiths, cutlery and blacksmiths brotherhood box, 17th century (Fig. 3-4)

Provenance: Journeymen locksmiths, cutlery and blacksmiths brotherhood

Dimensions: H: 29cm; L: 57cm; LA: 52cm

Dating: 17th century

Brief description: Chest made of hardwood, as socket cap shaped fir. Inside the crate on the left is a wooden box with a lid for keeping money. Both the lid and the body casing are decorated with artistic wrought fittings inside the lid are soldered metal bands and other applications. The locking system is provided with two holes for different keys.

Inv. No.: M5049 /1922

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

3. Locksmiths seal, 1716 (Fig. 5-6)

Provenance: custody of the National Archives

Dimensions: Q: 9,4cm; Dmax.: 3,2cm

Dating: 1716

Printing seal of oval shape, made of cooper alloy and engraved by incision. Legend is engraved after the external field:

“*DER.EHRLICHEN.HUEF.V.[ND].EISEN SCHMIT.ZECH.SIGIL.INHERMANS[TADT]*”.

The field is a shield seal of Baroque cut in the first register is engraved the emblem of the city and the year 1716. In the second register are engraved blacksmith tools and products of handicraft branches gathered in this guild: a padlock, two cuts cross, a horseshoe. On the handle there are engraved two figures with the purpose to mark the correct position of sealing.

Inv. No.: M5464 / 14.268

References: Danuț Nicușor Ivănuș, "Patterns guild seals from the collection of the History Museum," Museum Magazine, No. 2, 1993, p.62

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

4. Locksmiths and spurs makers guild sign, 18th century (Fig. 7-8)

Provenance: Donation Guild locksmiths

Dimensions: H: 17,6cm; LA: 10,7cm

Dating: 18th century

Brief description: Sign made of soft wood; on one side is carved a branch with leaves intersecting a hammer, a padlock and a firearm; and on the other side over leafy branch intersects a spur and a hammer. These symbols represent the handicrafts that joined at that time into one guild.

Inv. no.: M4373 /14.464

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

5. Convener of the locksmiths' guild, 18th century (Fig. 9-10)

Provenance: Locksmiths guild

Dimensions: L: 21,7cm; LA: 7,8cm

Dating: 18th century

Brief description: Convening notice made of soft rectangular wood, provided with a grip handle. To the wooden support is applied a list of names of masters locksmiths: Side 1 "*Catalog [...] Samuel Haas, Ludwig Hesse, Carl [...], Carl [...] Leopold Hess Josef Heß, Mi (chael) Ziegler [...], Gustav Pettscher, Freinz Goetz, Andreas Binder*"; Side 2: "*August Klein, Samuel Wagner, Emanuel Salamon, Carl Theil, Friedrich Klein, Daniel Theil, Wilhelm Schindelar, Josef Kunt, Johann Kloss, Johann Witt, Carl Theil Feilhauer, Carl Better, Wilh Gundhart, G. Oessi, Carl Moss*"

Inv. no.: M5458 /14.466

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

6. Convener of the locksmiths' guild, 17th century (Fig. 11-12)

Provenance: Locksmiths guild

Dimensions: H: 41cm; To: 8,1cm

Date: 17th century

Brief description: Convening notice made of soft rectangular wood, provided with a grip handle. The wooden support is applied to a list of names of masters locksmiths: Side 1 "*Catalog / Schlosser (?) Zeug Schmied und Meister / Petrus Binder / And Reinert / Mich Kloss, Mich Vonner / Mich. Enzedter / Mich. Reinert / Joh. Haupt / Joh. Roth (?) And Helch, And. Czinch / Mich. Ginch / Joh. Wagner / Petr. Volff / Mich. Schneider / Joh. Haupt / Joh. Fleisch / Hart. Venzes / Mich. Schloss / And. Schunn / And. Ongert / Mich. Reschner*"; Side 2: "*Mich. (?) / Petr. Heiss (?) / Mich. He (?) / Joh. Vonner / Joh. Fetter / Martin Hermann / Petrus Veber.*"

Inv. no.: M5457 /14.466

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

7. Bag of Money, 18th century (Fig. 13)

Provenance: Locksmiths Guild

Dimensions: H: 23; LA: 13 cm

Dating: 18th century

Brief description: Cylinder leather money bag, provided at the top with perforations through which the strap that closes the bag.

Inv.no.: M4558 / 14.463

Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House

8. Plate, 1764 (Fig. 14-15)**Provenance:** Locksmiths' guild**Dimensions:** H: 1.8 cm; Dg: 21.8 cm; Db: 14.8 cm**Dating:** 1764

Brief description: Pewter Plate flat, circular, concave edge to lip slightly thickened. The vessel is short the bottom is straight, undifferentiated. On the edge it has two stylized leafy branches arranged in the shape of a wheat ear, and inside are engraved the sign of the locksmiths guild and the year 1764. On edge is the inscription: "NEU IAHRS GESCHENCK HRN: HERB: AU: Andr: HIHN / MICH MEISTER LADEN: KRAUS. Andr: Filtsch / ALT: Gesell MICH: CONRAD".

Inv. No.: M293 / 14.461**Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House****9. Locksmith's guild money casse, 1800 (Fig. 16-17)****Provenance:** Locksmiths guild**Dimensions:** H: 21.5 cm; D: 12 cm**Dating:** 1800

Brief description: Wooden money casse of cylindrical shape, painted dark brown. The cover is provided with a timber knob which is fixed to a clamping ring of iron. The cap closures are fixed for three padlocks incomplete because it does not keep locks. In the front is the fourth key lock system.

The body is written with red paint money casse inscription: I. Cz 1800

Inv. No.: M5515 / 14.462**Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House****10. Convener of the locksmiths' guild, 1816 (Fig. 18-20)****Provenance:** Donation Guild locksmiths**Dimensions:** L: 28.5 cm; LA: 12 cm; H: 4.2 cm**Dating:** 1816

Brief description: Convener made of soft wood with walnut veneer, in book form is provided on both sides with two sliding covers. Inside, the wooden base, is written in black ink the inscription: "Vorwort der Bruderschaft von Schlosser Ehre Michael Scheuer Herbergs Vatter 1818. 14 Janare ". This part is a list of names of guild members from that period: "Alexander Harte / Samuel Hass / Dniel Schuster / Ludwig Heß / Karl Turner / Karl klein / Leopold Heß / Josef Heß / Michael Ziegler / Gustaf Gritscher (?) / Franz Gorz / Andreas Binder / August Klein / Samuel Wagner / Emanuel Salamon / Karl Theil / Willhel Schniedelatz / Friedrich Klein / Karl Theil / Johan Witt / I. KlößWittwe / Karl Better / Willhite. Grundhard / Geza Ossi".

Inside the other side is also written in black ink, another inscription: "29/6 Fritz Conert Altgsell 1885". On a blank sheet of paper are copied part of the names on the first list: "Alexander Harte / Samuel Hass / Dniel Schuster / Ludwig Heß / Karl Turner / Karl klein / Leopold Heß / Josef Heß / Michael Ziegler / Gustaf Gritscher (?) / Franz Gorz / Andreas Binder / August Klein / Samuel Wagner / Emanuel Salamon. "

Inv. No.: M4182 / 14.467**Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House****11. Locksmiths' guild sign, 1838 (Fig. 21-22)****Provenance:** Unknown**Dimensions:** H: 16,3cm; LA: 15,1cm**Dating:** 1838

Brief description: Guild sign made of tin under the shape of a heraldic shield. On one side are impressed guild marks, a spur at the top, a key and a rifle central and on the other side is incised the year 1838. Below is the opening of a compass in which a file is located. The compass is flanked by the name "Michael Hefs (?)" and below the file appears incised "Junior". It is probably a reference to the name of guild master Michael Hefs the Younger. On the other side is incised inscription: "Der Herr spricht: Versammelt unter euch euch Mein Friede Sey".

Inv. No.: M6983**Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House****12. Firm of the brotherhood of journeymen locksmiths, roofers and spurs makers, 1842 (Fig. 23)****Provenance:** Guild custody from locksmiths**Dimensions:** L: 56,5cm; LA: 13,8cm; Q: 52cm**Dating:** 1842

Brief description: Firm made of iron, a gilded bronze key fixed in a metal box with glass sides. As described in the old inventory registry, on the key linchpin was attached a horse trammel. On one side was incised the inscription: "Andenken 1842" on the other side the inscription: "Pet. Weber". Below the horse trammel was attached a riding lader, on which there were engraved the inscriptions: "in diesem Einigkeit Sey" on one side and "Hause Friede" on the other side.

Inv. No.: M5790 / 1926**Brukenthal National Museum, History Museum-Altemberger House****13. Firm locksmiths guild inn, 19th century (Fig. 24)****Provenance:** Guild custody from locksmiths

Dimensions: L: 47.5 cm, LAbeard: 9,5cm;
Dflower: 16,5cm

Dating: 19th century

Brief description: Firm made of iron under the shape of a key, with traces of gilding. The key flower is circular with two rows of leaves of water

lilies and a central rosette. The rod and beard key are decorated with stylized geometric motifs.

Inv. No.: M4203 /14.198

**Brukenthal National Museum, History
Museum-Altemberger House**

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Fig.1



Fig.2



Fig.3

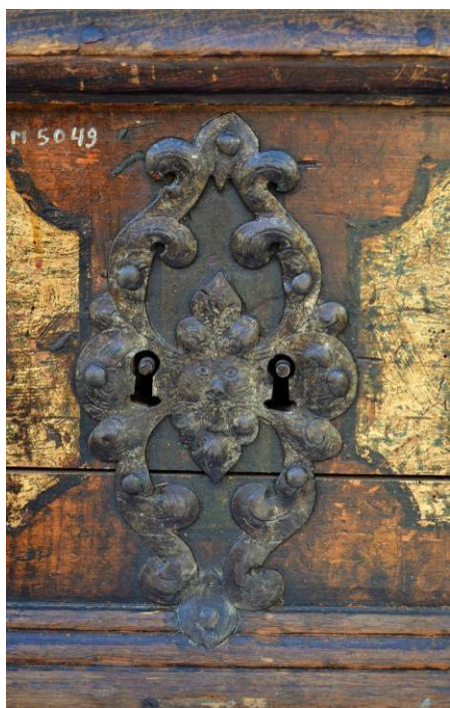


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig.6



Fig. 7



Fig .8



Fig. 9

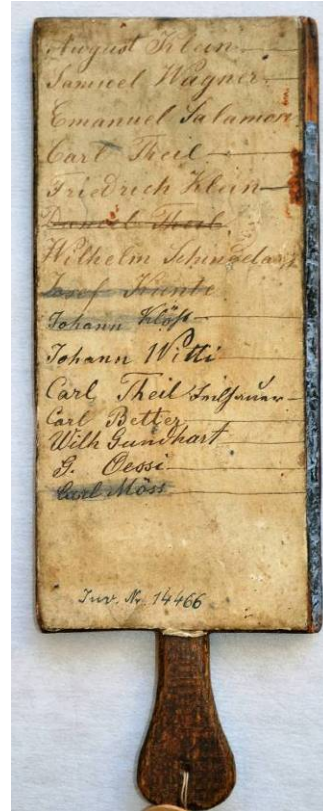


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig.23



Fig.24

A PORTFOLIO OF OLD MAPS IN THE BRUKENTHAL LIBRARY

Radu TEUCEANU*

Abstract: *This article is about a portfolio of mainly engraved plans of municipalities, regions, and battles; the maps are from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. They are both black and white and coloured. Several spectacular pieces are included. Most probably, these works arrived by way of donations. Carefully arranged, they could be promoted in order to raise the prestige of the museum and to make them more known to researchers.*

Key words: *Portfolio, maps, engravings, plans, towns, battles.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față tratează despre o mapă cu hărți (în special gravate) de orașe, regiuni și bătălii. Aceste hărți datează din secolele XVII, XVIII și XIX. Ele sunt atât simple (alb-negru) cât și colorate. Mapa cuprinde și o serie de piese spectaculoase. Cel mai probabil, aceste lucrări au ajuns în muzeu ca donații. Aranjate cu grijă, ele puteau fi promovate pentru a ridica prestigiul muzeului și pentru a le face mai cunoscute cercetătorilor.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Mapă, hărți, gravuri, planuri, orașe, bătălii.*

The Brukenthal Library is in possession of a highly interesting portfolio of old plans of municipalities, regions, and battles fought across western and central Europe. They are mostly bird's-eye-view maps, hand-drawn and printed.

Writing about maps in general, in the 18th century Voltaire urged the public: „Take a map and you will notice that the universe does not limit itself to the neighbourhood that you work in” (Duță 2005, 178). Later, the Romanian geographer and ethnographer George Vâlsan (1885-1935) considered them an instance of individual thinking. They give us a freedom of thought hardly matched by the lines of a book that bind us, at least while reading, to the words and to the reason of the author (** 2009, 7). The writer Mihai Frunză from Brăila (1947–) stated that any globe is the Earth shared to everyone (** 2000, 61).

In dreams, the earth often occurs in the form of a two-piece world map or planisphere. The earth is universally associated with the mother and together with the sky, identified with the father, forms a sacred couple. The earth is perceived as possessing a maternal nature, to it being assigned the positive values of nourishing, physical as well as affective (Morel 2008, 105).

We do not know the origin of these maps – in any case, most of them are either an acquisition made

by the baron Brukenthal, or a later donation, probably from one or several 19th or 20th-century distinguished Transylvanian Saxon personalities.

Another map by Mathias (Matheus) Seutter (one of the engravers of maps from the portfolio), “Nova et accurata Tartariae Europae”, today in the collection of the Brașov County Museum, had belonged to Julius Teutsch (Radu 1989, 373).

The portfolio is made up of two dark red to brown, marbled cardboard covers, and all the maps are stuck to the back either by glue or by Arabic gum. The title is short – *Plaene (72 Blätter)* – so a number of 72 sheets. It has got the shelf mark No. 463, and the inventory number: H/631. The state of conservation of the sheets is excellent, a remarkable thing if we think that the earliest date from the 17th century.

The first map is a sketch – in three copies (no. 1, 2, and 3) (30.5 x 41) – of the ruins of the old capital of Roman Dacia, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, and those of a Roman camp („Grundriss der in Siebenbürgen im Hatzeger Thale zu sehenden Spure eines römischen Lagers und der Stadt Ulpia Traiana nach einer neuern Aufnahme”). The scale is set in Viennese *Klaftern* (fathoms) („Masstab von 300 W. Klft.”) and the south-south-east is above. Made after a recent topographic survey, this map is most probably a China ink drawing. The area represented is in practice divided into two parts by the railway which passes through the village Ostrov, today part of the commune Râu de Mori, in the Hunedoara county. Near the edge of

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the map, the railway is given the explanation „Vom eisern Thor”, so that on reading this one knows that it is about the line which comes from the Danube Iron Gate. From the spelling „Thor”, one can easily infer that the map was made sometime before the spelling reform of 1902. The only relief forms carefully rendered are the mountains. They are rendered by way of hachures, the slopes being very clearly marked. The hydrographic network is quite exactly drawn, and the vegetation is figured through small woods (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 188) and the river meadows by way of rows of trees; a tree is figured by a sign resembling an arrowhead. With a capital *A* are marked the walls of the square camp which surrounded the Roman capital; the walls as such are represented by two parallel lines.

The second map (no. 4) (19 x 29) is a symbolic engraved depiction of the battle of Peterwardein (Petrovaradin, today part of Novi Sad in Serbia) of August 5 1716 between the Austrians and the Turks. The composition is entitled „Hungarisches Kriegs-Theatrum” and there is asserted that the file was available in Leipzig, in the Boutique zum Contoir Calender. Above the legend, Christian and Ottoman flags are represented. In the right lower part, the image of five Turkish tents is placed. The map includes two main areas, one of swamps – which cover most of the territories represented – and the cultivated fields, whose extent is much smaller. The hills are engraved, as well as the woods (by way of conventionally rendering groups of small trees), and the rivers. The Danube, whose course of flowing is indicated by use of arrows, is quite exactly rendered, including the islands, which are no less than fourteen in number. The lakes have thickened outlines. The conventional rendering of a tree is in the shape of a laurel leaf; the human settlements are also conventionally represented.

Another interesting, quite beautiful military map is that showing the positions of the Austrian army near Belgrade („Kriegskarte of Belgrad”) (no. 5) (31.5 x 84). The north-west is above, a circle divided into four equal parts, coloured in pink and light green, being placed in the upper right corner, near the legend. In the Baroque tradition, the latter is drawn as a parchment roll, wrapped up at the lower end (it is a China ink drawing). South of the Danube, the Serbian territory is light green. The roads and bridges are brown; the former are thin, contrasting with the green-coloured surface in the south. In the Sava river is represented the Great Gypsy Island („Grose Zigeuner Insel”) and the Little Gypsy Island („Kleine Zigeuner Insel”). A bridge linked the latter with the bank, whereas near

the oblong eastern end of the former one were two bridges which ensured a continuous crossing between the two banks, in a straight line. Especially the defence works are carefully represented, the walls being light brown and they can be found everywhere in the territories mapped – along the rivers and on the islands. The warships are also figured. The city of Belgrade, more exactly the groups of buildings, is carmine. Much of the area west of Belgrade was a swamp („Morast”), the swamps being pale pink.

The sixth map is the plan of the pleasure castle and garden of Schönbrunn in Vienna (42 x 31.5). This beautiful plan was drawn and engraved by Hieronymus Benedicti and it draws our attention by the contrast between the dark pink in which the buildings are coloured and the light and dark shades of green of the gardens. The larger alleys are cream-coloured, and the smaller, thinner alleys are pale green, thus a balanced, harmonious colouring results.

A coloured oval plan of Oradea („Stadt Grosswardein”) (no. 8) was drawn by the surveying engineer Gabriel Margitay. The streets are cream-coloured, whereas the built areas are light pink. Notable buildings, including the fortress (*Festung*) are in brilliant dark red. To the north-east the hills are finely and clearly drawn, and that whole area is coloured in pale pink. The course of the river Criş (“F. Körös”) is artistically rendered, by way of gradation, and its way towards Hungary is indicated by a delicate China-ink-drawn arrow. The legend is also oval in form.

The plan of the French fortified town Montmédy from 1822 (no. 10) (23 x 26.5) is a fine work, even though it is only black and white. It is both meticulously and precisely engraved. In general, the appearance of fortified settlements tends to resemble rosettes. The roads are figured by two parallel lines, one thin and the other thick. The waterways are rendered alike, being filled by many thin lines, the islands not being forgotten either.

The plan of town Sighișoara (Schaessburg) (no. 11) (26.5 x 42), dating from 1865 – just two years before the Compromise –, is painted in watercolour. The whole was painted with the brush in a hasty manner, the colouring not being uniform. So the importance of this map is mainly a reference one. The streets and roads are light yellow, the built areas, light red, and the rest is blue and light green.

A military map (no. 13) is that of the main battle („Hauptschlacht”) that took place near Râmnicu Sărat between the Russians and the Austrians on

one side and the Ottomans on the other, on September 22 1789. The whole map and is represented like a parchment scroll, which has an irregular form and several rolled up endings. It was drawn in sepia and China ink; the roads are represented by way of sepia lines, and the woods, in light brown wash-tint. Some maize fields („Kukurutz Felder”) are represented in coarse parallel China ink lines.

The plan of Gibraltar (map no. 14) by the well-known 18th-century French hydrographer Bonne (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 194) is also included. The portfolio sheet is actually made up of three separate maps. In the first – and smallest (10.5 x 15) – the Iberian peninsula and the surrounding seas are conventionally represented; yet, the borders are deeply coloured. The second, which is larger (33.5 x 15), renders the whole British possession, which corresponds to the Gibraltar peninsula, whereas the third and largest (23 x 32) represents southern Spain and the northern tip of Morocco. The Spanish territory has a thin yellow outline, the Portuguese, a green one, and the Moroccan, a pink one. The Mediterranean sea is coloured in a pale, yellowish green shade, having also a thicker green outline. The British Gibraltar, like Montmédy, is meticulously drawn. The land areas are coloured in pale beige and the shore is surrounded by the same green stripe as that which outlines the sea. The meridians and parallels are figured by long thin black lines. All three maps have yellow frames, but not equal in depth. This sheet is followed by a conventional Baroque *veduta* of the rock of Gibraltar (no. 15), engraved by C. Schütz (*C. Schütz sculp.*) in 1782 (18 x 30.5). Schütz was one of the foremost Viennese painters and engravers (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 199). The rock is represented in the background, in the first foreground ships at sea being figured. The third and last of this set is a coloured engraving (no. 16) (15 x 24.5) representing a floating battery newly designed for the siege of Gibraltar. Here are three images. In the first, the battery is represented in profile (being actually a technical drawing), in the second one, from the front, and in the third, seen from behind. Within this new system, the body of an old vessel is not dismantled, but is used further on. This warship effectively resembles a house, having a double-sloping roof and two rows of small openings on the front side, and three big square openings on the rear side.

A large beautiful military map is that of the battle of Tonhausen of August 1 1759, during the Seven Years' War (no. 17) (60 x 67). The title is framed in a cartouche typical for the epoch, in the lower

right corner, and is surmounted by an eagle holding a laurel branch in its beak and below two Amors and a lion, and also symbols pertaining to war in general: swords, drums, cannons, and cannon balls. Other two phases of the battle are represented on two flapping and overlapping pieces of paper. The whole map is black and white, only the rectangles symbolising the troops being coloured, in dark pink, blue, and light red; the artistic execution as such is of high quality. The text, written in French in small italics, occupies the left edge of the map, and has a beautiful Rococo margin on the part towards the interior. This map was engraved under the direction of I. v. Schley (Jan van der Schley, a famous Dutch engraver) (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 190) and was published in the Hague in 1760, with the financial support of P. de Hondt.

Several competently drawn plans of battles fought during the War for Spanish Succession are also included. These are the siege and taking of Ath, on October 2 1706 (no. 18) (34 x 45), the plan of the battle of Ramillies of May 23 1706 (no. 19) (32 x 46), and of the battle of Malplaquet et Camperdu of September 11 1709 (no. 20) (38 x 47.5) *etc.* All three plans were published in Brussels by Eugene Henry Fri(c)x, the royal printer, and each of them shortly after the battles themselves had been fought. The first plan is by far the most complex; the graphic execution is flawless, and the relief forms are rendered by way of fine hachures. The unit of measure is the scale of 3,000 feet („Echelle de 3000 Pas”). At the Utrecht Congress, which put an end to the war, maps were used, to be sure that no controversy would ever appear on the matters on which one had agreed (Burke 2004, 195-196).

An extremely detailed engraved plan of Rome (no. 21) (62 x 82.5), made in Zurich in 1677 by Johann Meyer („Johann Meyer fecit Tiguri”), has in its upper right corner a legend written in capital letters and surrounded by the heraldic escutcheons of the fourteen districts of the city („Die XIV. Regionen oder Hauptmannschaften der Statt Rom”), as they were first established by the emperor Augustus. On the top, in the middle is the shield with a slanting fascia bearing the ancient Roman motto „SPQR”. This map forms part of the famous book *Teutsche Academie* by Joachim von Sandrart („Zu den anderten Theil der Teutschen Academie Ioachimi von Sandrart gehörig”). This map is typical for the copper engravings made in the 17th century and for those which are part of books (Klemp 2000, XVII). Johann Meyer, the son and pupil of Dietrich the Elder, lived in Zurich between 1614 and 1666 and was a flower painter and engraver. The Zurich

Library is in possession of two paintings by this artist (** 1999, Tome 9, 562).

A colourful plan of the French town Béthune (no. 24) (25.5 x 37) was printed in the Hague by de Jong. This plan is engraved and coloured; the scale is 100 *Toises* (fathoms). The moat round the fortress and the channels are coloured in emerald green, whereas the surrounding plains are lighter green. The channels form a finely drawn network in the upper left part of the plan, and they come out in relief on the background of the lighter coloured plain, thus resulting a harmonious play of shades of green. In the upper left corner is the legend, drawn in the form of a scarf coloured in a pale yellow that, again, pleasantly harmonizes itself with the rest of the composition.

A plan of Luxemburg (no. 29) (50.5 x 57) was published by Homann's heirs. It is also an engraved and coloured plan; the title is contained in a long bright dark pink stripe, whereas the town itself is light pink. Like the previous plan, the rivers are emerald green, and their meadows have got a slightly lighter shade. The fortress is coloured in dark mustard yellow (the inner walls) and green (the outer walls), whereas the surrounding fields are figured in very light shades of green and pink. The whole map has a yellow outer margin, this being a decorative feature of the coloured plans in this portfolio.

The fortified town Berguen op den Zoom (today Bergen op Zoom, in western Netherlands) (no. 30) (48 x 55) is represented in a pair of plans, drawn by the engineer Albert d'Herbort. The god of war, Mars, is represented sitting beside a camp of tents of different types; he is surrounded by war symbols – cannons, shields, but the author's trade is also referred to, by way of compasses, mason's squares, a protractor, and a compass. The palette of colours resembles that of the plan of Luxembourg; the town is pink, the seashore and the lakes are emerald green. An extensive moor, which stretches west and north-west of the town, is coloured in green. The cultivated fields (the Dutch polders) are divided into plots in shades of light yellow, pink, and green, and to the south-west a windmill is represented („le Moulin de Haltern"). In the second part (no. 31) of the plan, having the same size, the hexagonal fortified town of Steenberg is drawn; to the south-west the small pentagonal Fort Heinrich is represented; the moats are dark emerald green. On the top a small beautiful wind rose is figured, bright dark pink and yellow; the east is above.

Another work by d'Herbort is the plan of Maastricht, which was surrounded by a highly complex Vauban fort (no. 44) (34.5 x 41.5). The town itself is pink, and the fort, green and brown. The river Meuse, in whose middle the island Saint Antoine is found, is coloured in dark green. The plan itself is flanked by two columns of explanatory text, written in French, in italics, and below is an engraved black and white *veduta* of the town, with the defence works in the foreground.

A gem of the portfolio is the plan of the town Magdeburg and its fortress (no. 36) (46 x 66); the execution of this map is exquisite. The built areas of the town are figured in a shade of pale pink, and the streets and squares are cream-coloured. The churches in the town, fourteen in number, are bright dark red and are marked with Roman figures. The upper part of the walls of the fortress are yellow-orange with an orange outline, whereas the inner parts are grey with imitation of chiaroscuro. The river Elbe is coloured in a pale light blue, and the islands are either pale green or pale yellow. In the river are set several finely drawn arrows. The two legends, which are set in the upper corners, are drawn in the form of bluish parchment pieces, whose rolled up ends are dark blue.

The Flemish port Ostende and its immediate surroundings are represented in a spectacular plan (no. 37) (37 x 57) published under the supervision of Matthias III Seutter, a drawer, copper engraver, „Kaiserlicher Geograph und Kunstverleger" (1678-1757). He was a pupil of J. B. Homann in Nuremberg. He ran in Augsburg a publishing house of (mostly coloured) land maps, plans, and *vedutas* (**, 30. Band, 542). The town, which is roughly heart-shaped, is dark pink, the most important buildings being bright red. Ostende was surrounded by a Vauban fortress, and the moat is coloured in emerald green. The sea and the rivers are light red, and the legend is divided into rectangles, pink, light green, and light yellow. Below the plan is a conventional Baroque set of engraved works, which consists of a *veduta* of the town, flanked by two square allegorical compositions. Under Seutter's supervision the plan of Utrecht (no. 47) (36 x 55.5) was also made. Here, one can notice the windmills, grouped on the north-western edge of the town, and they are a clue of economic or encyclopaedic interest. The general appearance is airier, because the street network was left blank and the spaces between the built areas are quite large. Another colourful plan is that of Amsterdam (no. 48) (49 x 57.5), published by the heirs of Johann Baptist Homann, with privilege

from the emperor („Cum Privilegio S.C.M.”). Here the streets running parallel to the central core of the city, which is coloured in dark pink, stand out, and these peripheral parts are light yellow. The frame inside which the white and black *veduta* is contained has the form of a façade of an Italian Renaissance church, flanked on both sides by big S-curved volutes.

Matthias Seutter himself drawn and engraved another spectacular plan of Rotterdam (no. 45) (36 x 56). The street network and the built areas are carefully drawn, and they are light yellow, pink, and green, whereas the rivers are coloured in dark emerald green. The parallel rows of trees and the conventional lines which fill the river beds are drawn with scholarly exactingness, and the built areas are filled with many black dots. In the upper left part is the legend – which contains 132 explanations – figured as a parchment roll. Below is a narrow, prolonged black and white *veduta* of the city.

A sketch („Grund-Riss”) and a vertical projection („Auf-Riss”) of the lazaretto and hospital built on the field outside Rosenau (today Râşnov, in the Braşov county) was drawn by the artist J. B. Barbenius (no. 40) (27 x 37). The square building is divided into four sections: for the sick, for the half-convalescent, for the convalescent ones, and the last, for the persons suspected of being ill. Between the two drawings, a small quaint rose wind is drawn, having bright dark yellow, pink, and green arms, set in a dark blue circle with a thin green frame. The legend is contained in a light blue decorative form imitating a parchment, and even five bright red seals are represented, and also three copper nails, which would normally fasten the sheet of paper, against a board.

The portfolio also includes a later plan of Kronstadt (Braşov), dating from 1874 (no. 49) (50 x 70). The built areas are brick red, and the numerous *Nachbarschaften* (vicinities) are carefully represented, together with their numbers. Paying attention to this aspect, we can remember nostalgically the words of Voltaire from the previous century. The gardens and parks surrounding the town are coloured in a dense green shade, whereas the mountainous areas are light green. Overall, the map is full of names. A quaint element is the big, 10-centimetre-long arrow which is placed in the lower right corner, set in a rectangle, and points to the north-east; it is surmounted by the word „ORIENTIRUNG”. Here we can call the attention to the old specific character of Braşov as a town of the travellers, also

a meeting point. Within the legend is also given the scale, where the units of length are explained („ein Wiener Zoll = 250 Schritte”; „Ein Meter = 3,16 Wiener Fuss”).

The town Cluj (in Latin, *Claudiopoli*) and its surroundings (no. 53) (33.5 x 37.5) are represented in the plan of a battle which, in our opinion, is a China ink drawing. This map is more of a sketch, and the mountains are artistically and conventionally rendered. The emphasis is put exclusively on the military part as such; so that only the walls of the town, including the towers, are represented, alongside with a few small details within the town itself and a few churches, including the cathedral. The fact is interesting that the text is in Italian, and the main sights are marked with capital letters, from A to O.

Gerard Bouttats, a drawer and engraver from the Flemish school, born in Anvers towards 1630 (***) 1999, Tome 2, 690) engraved a series of maps, all black and white and in Italian; these maps are flawed by many inaccuracies as to the placing of settlements and the estimate of distances. The first is a map of Transylvania (no. 54) (31.5 x 40). The unit of measure is „Milliaria Germanica communia”. The waterways are clearly represented; the simple settlements are figured by a small circle, and the fortified ones, conventionally, by way of a few small towers. The mountains are also rendered in a conventional-artistic manner. The woods are represented by way of groups of trees; in a single case, the name is given (Seideswold). The map also includes a small portion of „Walachiae Pars”, Campolongo (Langenaw) being represented. Sibiu is rendered as a walled town, and the name given here is very inexact (Hermanscat/Cubintum). In the same manner are made a map of Hungary, named „Carta di Vngharia moderna” (no. 59) (37.5 x 65) and of Poland (no. 68) (34 x 43) „Polonia Regnum”. On the first map, the unit of measure is the „Milliaria Germanica communia”, but also the „Millaria Hungarica communia”. This time, Sibiu is also rendered as a fortress, but is spelled „Hermanstat Cibinium”, and to the south, very incorrectly, the „Ruinae Olim Ciuitatis Sarinisgethusa” are placed. The map of Poland is considerably richer, because of the small size of the map.

Bouttats is also the author of a plan of Bremen, also black and white (no. 57) (32 x 41.5). The Vauban fortification and the built areas as well are carefully rendered, and the latter are figured by groups of houses. Towards the outskirts, a few windmills are also represented. This plan has got 26 entries in the list, such as: „Arsenale”, „La

Borsa”, „Il mercato”, „Porta delle Legne”, „Porta delli Pastori”, as well as the tandem „Casa uecchia de grani” and „Casa nuova del grano”. One can ascertain the role of the Lutheran confession in the life of the town, from the name „Porta delli Pastori” (the Gate of the Ministers), to whom the special honour had been given to enter through a special separate gate. Another urban plan is that of Erfurt (Erphordia) (no. 67) (32 x 41.5).

Bouttats also engraved a cycle devoted to the Austro-Turkish war of 1663-1664 (no. 60–63). The sheet depicting the tactical positions before the battle of Saint Gotthard (no. 62) (32 x 62) is a very fine work. The camps and squares are represented in a perfect order. The surroundings are also figured – the river Raab, the village Saint Gotthard, the relief forms (the plain and the hills in the background). Other elements are also present – the camels from the Ottoman camp, the artillery pieces, riders and other. In the lower left corner, the monastery of Saint Gotthard, surrounded by greenery, is represented. In the plate no. 63 (33 x 49) the ensuing naval operations of September 1664 are represented; two *galeotte* with Latin sails are figured. In the plates no. 64 and 65 two main phases of the battle of Vila Viçosa are represented (both 30 x 38). As a completion, a map of Portugal is included, named “Portvgalia et Algarbia quae olim Lvsitania”) (no. 66). The units of measure are the “Scala Milliarium Hispanicorum” and “Scala Milliarium Germanicorum”. Unlike the other maps by Bouttats, this one is in Latin, due of its official character.

Two naval battles from the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1666) are rendered at no. 69 (30 x 37) and 70 (22.5 x 30.5). The first battle took place on June 13 1665, and the other on August 12 the same year. The first engraving is both spectacular and dramatic; after the cannon shooting, men and mast pieces thrown in midair are figured. In the second engraving, the attack of English ships on the combined Dutch and Danish fleet in the harbour of Bergen, in Norway, is rendered. This work is not by Bouttats, but by another engraver, A. Bloem, who was much interested in this war (*** S.a., 4. Band, 125). The town is represented in the left part, and in the background the mountains.

One can now find a representation of the centre: two anonymous small plans, placed on a single sheet (no. 72), are those of the two capitals of the Romanian Principalities, Bucharest and Iași, and they have the same size (13 x 17). In the first plan, the west is above, whereas in the second, the north. These plans are not spectacular, but are clear; the

built areas are carefully drawn, and the slopes of the surrounding hills, as well as the roads, are clearly marked.

The plan of the another capital, Sibiu (Hermannstadt) (no. 74) (31.5 x 48), drawn in 1776 by the Baron Anton Bernardin von Posarelli, also forms part of the portfolio. Posarelli was born in 1745 in Laibach in Crain (today Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia) and was a *Weg-komissarius* in his native province (Zieglauer 1876, 65). In spite of the title of the map, it renders mainly the Sibiu depression, since Posarelli was interested in roads. The town itself is coloured in pale pink, and near its south-eastern corner a wind rose is represented, having two pairs of arms – one, green and brown, and the other, yellow and black (the latter pair are the official colours of the House of Habsburg). Many areas of dark ochre can be found on this map – perhaps maize or hay fields. An unexpected and hard to explain element is the image of a spider, placed at nearly six centimetres’ distance from the eastern edge of the town. This animal symbol is undoubtedly linked to the *prisca sapientia* (ancient wisdom); the thread of the spider is the golden chain which ties the creature to its creator, and on which the first tries to climb to the latter. This theme is conjured up by Plato and was adopted again by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1995, III, 39). Soon after finishing this map, Posarelli became a freemason, being initiated in Sibiu as well (Zieglauer 1876, 65), so that it may signify the nature of Freemasonry, which, like a spider, makes everywhere a home (Oliver 1850, 35). He may have wanted to suggest that Sibiu was an ideal place for freemasonry, the Royal Craft, just as, more than a century earlier, the Englishman Arthur Dee (1579-1651) felt a special affection for Hungary, which, in his outlook, was a chosen place for alchemy (Laszlo 2004, 53). Sibiu is presented in other two much less spectacular plans, the smaller one („Grundriss of Hermannstadt”) being replicated in four copies (no. 73, 77, and 78) (16.5 x 19.5) and the last (no. 75) (28 x 32). The first plan was initially published as part of a wall calendar („Wandkalender für das Jahr 1837”). It is simple, clearly drawn, and only black and white – the built areas are finely hachured, the north is above, and the scale is in *Klaftern* (fathoms). The second plan is actually a sepia sketch, not in a very good state of conservation. We do not know either the drawer or the time when it was made. The town, whose name is clumsily spelled here „Hermanstat” is rendered only taking account of the surrounding walls and defence works. The old

fortification canal of the town – which had formerly been mistaken with a water pipe (*Wassersleitung*) – is not forgotten either, being represented in the map no. 79 (*Situationsplan*) (20.5 x 116), as a blue waterway which crosses marshy areas. These areas, when they were treeless, are rendered light green, but of a hue mixed with white, and when there are trees extant, in a darker shade, mixed with yellow. The roads are, again, brown.

The conclusion is that this stock of maps were carefully arranged and pertain mainly to events and placed where the ruling dynasty of Habsburg was involved – such as their wars in Europe. At the same time, the main Transylvanian Saxon settlements are represented: Sibiu, Braşov, and Sighişoara were put together; these maps and not others were probably chosen because of their

beauty, size, and richness of information. Occult symbolism and other strange elements are not missing – let us not forget that in Sibiu freemasons were numerous and prestigious at the time. The centre-periphery relationship is blurred, however, by the fact that the military maps depict battles and fortresses remote from the capital cities. Nevertheless, from aesthetic reasons, the custodians of the museum thought it best to have the most spectacular town plans included in this portfolio as well, and they might also have had in mind the fact that it is better to have these sheets collected in one single place. This thing could only make easy the work of researchers as well. The existence of such pieces also raised the prestige of the institution, which could boast such rarities or have them exhibited in an organised framework.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE OLD ROMANIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bogdan ANDRIESCU*

Abstract: *We bring forward two old Romanian books, unknown to the bibliographic sources, identified in the Special Collections of the Astra County Library and Brukenthal Museum Library in Sibiu: Versuch einer erdeschreibung des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen, Sibiu, ed. I 1789 ed. II 1804 (An Attempt of describing the Grand Principality of Transylvania) Abbildung der in den Sächsischen ortschaften bestehenden vielzbrandzeichen nach und den einzelnen stühlen districten geordnet, Sibiu, 1826 (the illustration of the cattle markings in the Saxon settlements, ordered by each place and district).*

Key words: *old Romanian books, Sibiu Astra County Library, Brukenthal Museum*

Rezumat *Aducem în prim plan două căți românești vechi, necunoscute surselor bibliografice, identificate în Colecțiile Speciale ale Bibliotecii Județene Astra Sibiu și în Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal: Versuch einer erdeschreibung des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen, Sibiu, ed. I 1789, ed. II 1804 (Încercarea unei descrieri a Marelui Principat al Transilvaniei), Abbildung der in den sächsischen ortschaften bestehenden vielzbrandzeichen nach den einzelnen stühlen und districten geordnet, Sibiu, 1826 (Ilustrația marcajelor pentru bovine existente în localitățile săsești, ordonate după fiecare scaun și district).*

Cuvinte cheie: *carte românească veche, Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu, Muzeul Brukenthal.*

We present two old Romanian books, unknown in the bibliographic sources, identified in the Special Collections of the Astra County Library and Brukenthal Museum Library in Sibiu. The first one, published in two editions in 1789, 1804 (Versuch einer erdeschreibung des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen), is written by Michael Lebrecht (1757-1809), a Saxon priest from Sura Mica, and is listed in the "Transylvania" catalog (first edition). (Nagler, 1982, 235-236) The book, a remarkable achievement, briefly presents geographic and demographic historical aspects of the towns and villages in Transylvania, by anticipating „a current of the historical Saxon geography that will flourish in the middle of the 19th century; a predilection for ethnic communities and nations statistics in Transylvania". (Armbruster, 1980, 144) Concludes that the Romanians formed the absolute majority in Transylvania at the end of the 18th century (729,316), besides "Hungarians and their Saxon subjects" 385,596), "Szeklers and few Hungarians "(123,085) and "Saxons and a few Hungarians "(181,730). (Armbruster, 1980, 145) We consider that the book can be included in the old Romanian book heritage, because the names of the localities in Transylvania are written in Romanian (Latin letters), along with those in German, Hungarian and Latin languages. We mention some other

writer's works: Siebenbürgens Fürsten, I-II, Hermanstadt, 1791, 1792; Über den-Charakter National der Nationen in Siebenbürgen befindlichen, Vienna, 1792 (without indicating the author's name), Geschichte der Volker aborigenen dazischen (The History of the Aboriginal Dacian people, Hermannstadt, 1791 (published in a first edition in Sibiu 1784, with a changed title; third edition, 1797 Vienna). (Armbruster, 1980, 79-80) In the last mentioned work, elaborated in the form of school courses, he embraced and supported the theory of the Latinity of the Romanians (using as arguments the Romanian language, the Romanian folk customs and holidays). His was appreciated by Ioan Budai Deleanu, who called him „our Lebrecht patriot". (Armbruster, 1980, 143-146)

The second book, Abbildung der in den Sächsischen ortschaften bestehenden vielzbrandzeichen nach und den einzelnen stühlen districten geordnet (Illustration of the existing markings of the cattle in the Saxon settlements, listed by each county and district), published in Sibiu in 1826, presents the „dangalele" (sign-letter or number, made with hot iron on horses or cattle skin to help identifying them) of several villages in Transylvania. We believe that the printing is part of the old Romanian literature, considering the fact that the name of the localities is given in the Romanian language too (along with the German and Hungarian ones). We give further bibliographic description of the printed matters.

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VERSUCH / EINER / ERDBESCHREIBUNG /
DES / GROSSFÜRSTENTHUMS /
SIEBENBÜRGEN, / VON / MICHAEL
LEBRECHT / DERMALIGEN LEHRER UND
DER REBEKUNST UND GEOGRAPHI.
Hermanstadt, Gedrukt Buchdrucker und und bei
Martin Hochmeister Buchhandlern.

Contents:

-sheet 2 unnumbered: Vorbericht [Initial Report];
p. 1: Einleikung [Introduction]; p. 12: Erstes Stück
der Unteralbenser County [The first part of the
Alba Inferioară County]; p. 28: Zwentes Stück mit
der Vereinigte Hunnader Zarand County [The
second part of Hunedoara County joined with
Zarand]; p. 44: Drittes Stück von der mit einigen
Theilen Oberalba Vereinigte Hermannstadter
County [A third part of some areas of Alba de Sus
County joined with Sibiu]; p. 80: Viertes Stück der
mit dem Vereinigte Szekler County Kokelburger
Marusch Stuhl [The fourth part of the Szekler
County Mureş joined with Târnavelor County]; p.
86: Fünftes Stück mit der Fogarascher County
Vereinigte eigigen Theilen von Oberalba [The fifth
part of Făgăraş County joined with some areas of
Alba de Sus]; p. 96: Leschkircher Der Stuhl [Chair
Nocrih]; p. 97: Der Stuhl Großschater; p. 98: Der
Schaßburger Bezirk [District Sighișoara]; p. 101:
Der Repser Bezirk [District Rupea]; p. 105:
Sechstes Stück mit der Haromszeker County
Vereinigte Oberalba und dem von einigen Theilen
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County joined with some areas of Alba de Sus and
with Bârsa Upper District]; p. 106: 1. Borzenster
oder Der Kreis Burzenlander [District Bârsa]; p.
111: 2. Der Kreiss Schepschier [St. George's seat];
p. 112: 3. Der Kreis Keßdier [Chizdia seat]; p. 124:
Siebentes Stück mit der Udvarhelner County
Vereinigte Csik und den Stühlen Gyorgyo [The
seventh part of Odorhei County joined with Ciuc
and Giurgeu Counties]; p. 124: 1. Udvarhelner Der
Zirkel [Odorhei County]; p. 127: 2. Der Zirkel
Csikéria [Ciuc County]; p. 131: Achtes Stuhl mit
der Thordaer County Vereinigte Unter dem District
Kolosch Doboka und Bistritz [The eighth part of
Cluj County Turda Dăbâca united with Cluj
Dăbâca Inferior and Bistrița District]; p. 131: 1.
Der Kreis Oberthodaer [Turda County Superior];
p. 133: 2. Der Kreis Koloscher [County Cluj]; p.
134: Der Zirkel Dobokaer unter [County of Dăbâca
de Jos]; p. 136: 1. Im sachsichen Antheil District
oder [In the Saxon or]; p. 137: 2. Im wallachischen
Antheil ist [It is in the Wallachian]; p. 140:
Neuntes Stück mit der Koloscher County
Vereinigte Unter dem Szekler Thord und Stuhl
Aranyas. 1. Im Zirkel eigentlicher Koloscher
Oberkolosher Ganze District gehört wohin der ist

der vorzüglichte [The ninth part of Cluj County
united with Turda Inferioară and Arieş district. 1.
In the real Cluj County where the entire Cluj
Superior District belongs]; p. 147: 2. Der Kreis
Thordaer / dahin gehört [Turda County / belongs to
it]; p. 150: 2 [3]: Der Stuhl Aranyasch [Arieş seat];
p. 154: Zehendes Stück der Inner Szolnoker
County, Vereinigte mit Ober Doboka [A tenth of
Solnoc Interior County, united with Dăbâca
Superioară]; p. 154: 1. Im Oberdobokaer Kreis ist
[In the County Dăbâca Superioară it is]; p. 155: 2.
Die beiden Szolonoker die zusammen Kreise 94 st
wa Ortschaften haben, worunter [Both counties
Solnoc, together with 94 towns, including the]; p.
158: Elstes Stück der Mittlere Szolonoker County,
Vereinigte mit und Crass Kövar [Eleventh part of
Szolnok Middle County, united with Kövar and
Krasna]; p. 158: 1. Der Kreis Szolnoker [Solnoc];
p. 159: 2. Der Kreis Kraßnaer [Krasna County]; p.
160: 3. Der Kreiss Köwarer [Kövar County]; p.
162: Anhang von der aus dem Berwaltung often
Steinfalzes der Geschichte des Steinfalzes achten
Hauptstück von Herrn v. Fichtel [Appendix of
Steinfalz administration of the eighth main part of
Steinfalz History by Mr. v. Fichtel] .; p. 165: 1. In
das Königreich Ungarn [the Kingdom of Hungary];
p. 165: 2. In das Temeschwarer Banat [in the Timis
Banat]

Nägler, 1982, p. 235, no. 865.

**Brukenthal Museum Library, Inventory No. TR
XVIII / 434.**

Pagination: 4 unnumbered pages+ 167 numbered
pages.

Pagination mistakes: p. 146 is numbered 246.

Binding: recent cardboard covers.

Comments: We render the title page translation:
An attempt of describing the Grand Principality of
Transylvania, by Michael Lebrecht, a former
professor of viticulture and geography. Sibiu,
printed at Martin Hochmeister's, printer and
bookseller; we find this text on the title page: Man
muss es sein Vaterland kennen wenn man Lieben
Will [First you must know your country and only
then you can love it]; stamp on the title page,with
the text: Brukenthalisches Museum in
Hermannstadt; it is the first edition, published in
1789.

VERSUCH / EINER / ERDBESCHREIBUNG /
DES / GROSSFÜRSTENTHUMS /
SIEBENBÜRGEN, / VON / MICHAEL
LEBRECHT / PFARRER VON
KLEINSCHREUREN. / ZWEYTE, DURCHAUS
VERANDERTE, VERMEHRTE UND /
VERBESSERTE AUFLAGE. / MIT EINER
KLEINEN GENERALCHARTEN VON

SIEBENBÜRGEN. Hermannstadt, Ben Martin Hochmeister in Verlag, k. k. Priv. Dicasterial Buchdrucker. 1804. (Fig. 1)

Contents:

-sheet 2 unnumbered: Vorberricht [Initial Report]; p. 1: Das Grossfürstenthum Siebenbürgen [Grand Principality of Transylvania]; p. 23: I. Hauptstück. Die ungarischen Gespanschaften, oder der Grund Nobilitar. I. Den Hunnader County [First main part. The Hungarian Counties or the Nobiliary Land. Hunedoara County]; p. 37: II. Der Zarander County [Zarand County]; p. 41: III. Der Unteralbenser County [Alba Inferioară County]; p. 59: IV. Der Ober = Albenser County [Alba Superioară County]; p. 61: V. Der Kükülöer County [Târnava Mică County]; p. 67: VI. Der Thordaer County [Turda County]; p. 75: VII. Der Coloscher County [Cluj County]; p. 86: VIII. Der Dobokaer County [Dăbâca County]; p. 89: IX. Der Inner Czolnoker [Solnoc Interior County]; p. 93: X. Der Mittlere Czolnoker [Solnocul Middle County]; p. 96: XI. Der Krassnaec County [Kraszna County]; p. 97: Der Distrikt Kővárer [Kővárer District]; p. 99: Der Distrikt Fogarasch [Făgăraș District]; p. 102: II. Hauptstück. Das Land der Czekler, oder Fundus Siculorum. I. Der Háromfzeker - Stuhl [The second main part. Secuilor County, or Fundus Siculorum. Háromszék County]; p. 106: II. Der Udvarhelyer - Stuhl [Odorhei District]; p. 111: III. Waruscher Der Stuhl [Chair Waruscher]; p. 114: IV. Der Csikéria - Stuhl [Ciuc District]; p. 120: V. Aranyosch Der Stuhl [Arieș District]; p. 121: III. Hauptstück. Das Sachsenland, Fundus Saxonicus s. Regius [The third main part. The Saxon Country. Fundus Saxonicus s. Regius]; p. 123: I. Die Landschaften drain, oder die Uralte Hermannstädter Grasschaft (Comitatus Cibin. Stylo Vetere.) [The three countries or The Old Shire of Sibiu (Comitatus Cibin. Stylo Vetere)]; p. 146: III. Das Weinland, Regio Vinifera [The Wines Country. Regio Vinifera]; p. 154: II. Burzenlander Der Distrikt, Districtus Coronensis [Bârsa District. Districtus Coronensis]; p. 172: I. Ahang die nicht den Gegenstand einiger Geographen so sehr als den Forscher interessiren [Objects List that is not of interest to geographers or researchers]; p. 186: II. Anhang von der Berwaltung des Steinfalzes, aus dem der Geschichte des Steinfalzes achten Hauptstück, von Herrn v. Fichtel [Appendix to Steinfalz documents administration, Mr von Fichtel Steinfalz history]; p. 1 unnumbered: Inhalt [Contents]; p. 4 unnumbered: Druckfehler: Übersichts = Karte von Siebenbürgen [Print, map: Transylvania General Map].

Sibiu Astra County Library.

Inventory No. 1965.

Pagination: 4 unnumbered pages + 192 numbered pages + 4 unnumbered pages + a map.

Binding: recent marbled cardboard; corners and spine bound in a blue cloth.

Notes: p. 60: 28 Saxon villages of Saxon serfs and others devoiced by Saxons through serfdom; p. 140: Perisieni; call page: The Latin Inscription at St. Nicholas church tower in Brasov. Pia concessionary Elisabethae Petravnae Monaeratricis invictae hic locus sacer renovatus East Anno 1751. However some Slavic inscriptions can be seen there.

Comments: the translation of the title page text [An Attempt of describing the Grand Principality of Transylvania by Michael Lebrecht, a priest in Șura Mică. Second Edition, amended and improved. Including a small general map of Transylvania. Sibiu, Martin Hochmeister, private imperial editor, 1804]; it is unknown to the Romanian bibliographic resources; it is mentioned in „Doina Năgler, Transilvanicelor catalogue vol. 2 (18th century)”, Sibiu 1982, p. 235-236 first edition published in 1789; It was considered as belonging to the „Transylvanice” shire though the names of localities in Transylvania are written in Romanian too (Latin Letters), along with those in German, Hungarian and Latin; we review a few localities with name given in Romanian: Braschov, Sebes, Musna, Boitza, Kornetz, Amnás, Poplaka, Rákovitz, Talmatschell, Sibiel, Orlath, Insula Christiana, Christian, Turnu, Szad, Reschinar, Tsisznedie Mare, Tsisznedie, Szibiu, Pojana, Toportscha, Apold den Szusz, Romos, Orestie, Almas, Dragus, Dridiff, Albota, Ludisor, Opra Kertsisora, Szerata, Skorej, Sarkaitza, Pojana Morului, Hurez, Grid, Lupsa, Szestsor, Todoriza, Preluka, Toplitz, Kraszna, Magura, Lapos, Bontzida, Apahida, Bothiza, Clusch, Szelistye, Thurda, Lunka, Csetate de Balte, Alamor, Bisztra, Buzd, Ohába, Ponor, Tartaria, Abrud, Fenes, Ajud, Vinț, Belgrad, Dumbrava, Pestere, Brad, Petrilla, Pojenitz Thomi, Sibisel, Tirnavitz, Alun, Batiz, Cserna, Glod, Homoród, Nuksóra, Almá Szelistye, Dyeva, Hunyedora, Guraszáda, Dipse, Petris; call page: autograph signature: George Barițiu; oval stamp with the words: Associated library Trane Rom. P. Cult. and Romanian People Literature; title page: rectangular stamp with the text, Astra Library (The Associations of the Romanian People Literature and Culture) Sibiu Branch No. 1965 on call page, page 2 unnumbered; oval stamp with the words: Central Library of the Sibiu Association, on page 3 unnumbered, p. 41, 101.

ABBILDUNG / DER IN DEN / SÄCHSISCHEN ORTSCHAFTEN / BESTEHENDEN / VIELZBRANDZEICHEN / DEN NACH EINZELNEN / STÜHLEN UND DISTRICTEN GEORDNET . Herausgegeben im k . k . Privil. Litographischen Institute zu Hermannstadt. 1826. (Fig. 2)

Contents:

-(I) page 2 unnumbered: Hermannstädter Stuhl [Sibiu Parish] (Fig. 3); (II) p. 1 unnumbered: Schäßburger Stuhl [Sighișoara Parish]; (III) p. 1 unnumbered: Kronstädter District [District Brasov]; (IV) p. 1 unnumbered: Mediascher Stuhl [Mediaș Parish]; (V) p. 1 unnumbered: Bistrizer District [District Bistrița]; (VI) p. 1 unnumbered: Müllenbacher Stuhl [Sebeș Parish]; (VII) p. 1 unnumbered: Gross-Schenker Stuhl [Ciuc Parish]; (VIII) p. 1 unnumbered: Repser Stuhl [Rupea Parish]; (IX) p. 1 unnumbered: Reußmärkter Stuhl [Miercurea Parish]; (X) p. 1 unnumbered: Leschkircher Stuhl [Nocrih Parish]; (XI) p. 1 unnumbered: Szászvároser Stuhl [Orăștie Parish]; (XII) p. 1 unnumbered: military Gränzortschaften [Military border localities].

Sibiu Astra County Library

Copy 1.

Inventory no. 281 803.

Pagination: 2 unnumbered sheets + 51 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 17 p. numbered + 5 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 26 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 26 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 24 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 11 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 22 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered + 18 p. numbered + 4 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 11 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 12 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 13 p. numbered + 1 p. unnumbered + 2 p. unnumbered + 7 p. numbered + 1 p. unnumbered .

Binding: original cardboard covers.

Comments: the translation of the text on the title page [Illustration of the cattle markings in the Saxon settlements, ordered by each place and district. Published in Sibiu Privileged Royal Lithography Institute]; the name of the Romanian localities with Romanian population is written in Romanian too (240 localities): Szibii, Szád, Deija, Avrig, Brad, Gurarauluj, Kasholz, Hambach, Krisztian, Surramike, Turnisor, Moh, Sura Mare, Csiznedia, Amnás, Popláká, Resinar, Ruszcsor;

Selimber, Szakadát, Nou, Szlimnik, Gusteritza, Rossie, Vurper, Talmatsch, Talmatsell, Boitza, Sebissa din szusz, Porcserst, Felduoare, Csiznedioare, Prostijemare, Prostijemike, Kolun, Musna, Rukur, Russ, Sitvej, Szelistije, Szibijel, Tiliska, Valije, Gális, Kakova, Kornetzal, Segyisoare, Beja, Danis, Arkita, Holdjilág, Széléus, Netuse, Prod, Seus, Dája, Kiszd, Lászlje, Apold, Czelline, Brássou, Bott, Feldiáre, Hérmán, Heltjie, Krisztian, Magjarus, Présme, Szinpetru, Rottbav, Gjimbav, Volkan, Apátze, Csernatu, Szátulung, Krizba, Tohán nou, Zernest, Medies, Buzd, Bráte, Atzél, Bjertán, Koptsa mare, Valdhidu, Sárosu, Mosna, Alme, Njemse, Bazne, Weltz, Bogat, Krisch, Soale, Moardesch, Koptsa mike, Freue, Sejka mare, Sejka mike, Haság, Bistritze, Dorotjie, Dipse, Sád, Dumitritza, Lekintza, Dumitra mare, Petris, Pintjik, Zselna, Gjinda, Zsaika, Sebes, Killnik, Lankrem, Lomán, Piana Rumenjaske (Piana din szusz), Péterfalau, Rekau, Rekite, Strugar, Pianu Szeszezck (Piana din szusz), Sinka mare, Bohaltza, Barkut, Brui, Gjerdjál, Kálbor, Csinksor, Somortin, Mergendiál, Rodbáf, Noistad, Toarkla, Prost, Rusa, Soárs, Selistja, Veszeud, Agnita, Verd, Felmer, Helmiagu, Homorod, Katza, Lovnik, Merkjáse, Tikusa Rumunilor, Gájvár; Simbor, Sona, Tikusu Szaszilor; Ungra, Mjerkur, Doburka, Kerpenis, Apold din Josz, Apoldu din szusz, Ludos, Pojana, Rets, Girbova, Topurtsea, Nokrich, Fofeldjie, Glimboake, Hozmán, Kürper, Magarie, Marpod, Alzina, Szaszaus etc.; page 1: stamp with text Julius Ernst Egurzgevich Hermannstadt-Sibiu; cover 3: stamp with text: Antiques Sibiu, 200 lei.

Copy 2

Listing: C.XXXVII / 2.

Pagination: 2 unnumbered sheets + 51 numbered pages + 3 unnumbered p. (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 17 p. unnumbered + 5 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 26 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 26 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 24 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 11 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 22 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered + 18 p. numbered + 4 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 11 p. numbered + 3 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 12 p. numbered + 2 p. unnumbered (white pages) + 2 p. unnumbered + 13 p. numbered + 1 p. unnumbered + 2 p. unnumbered + 7 p. numbered + 1 p. unnumbered .

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Fig. 2. Front page / Fila de titlu.
Fig. 3. Hermannstädter Stuhl (p. 47) / Scaunul Sibiului (p. 47).

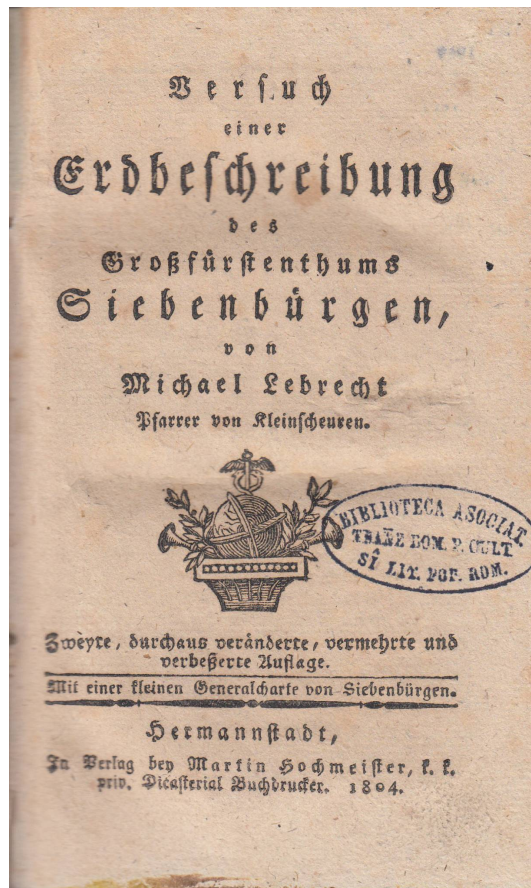


Fig. 1

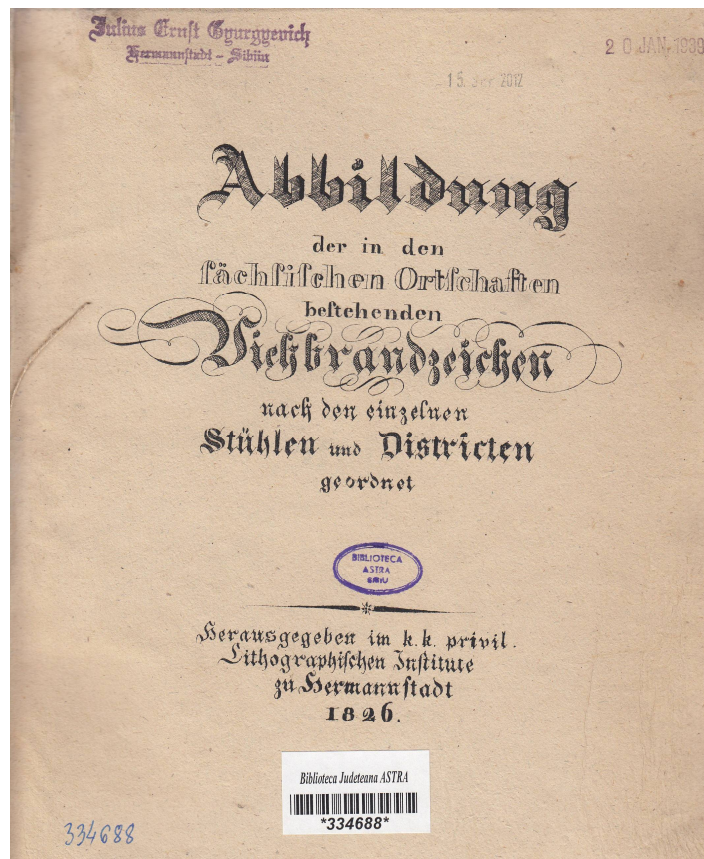


Fig. 2

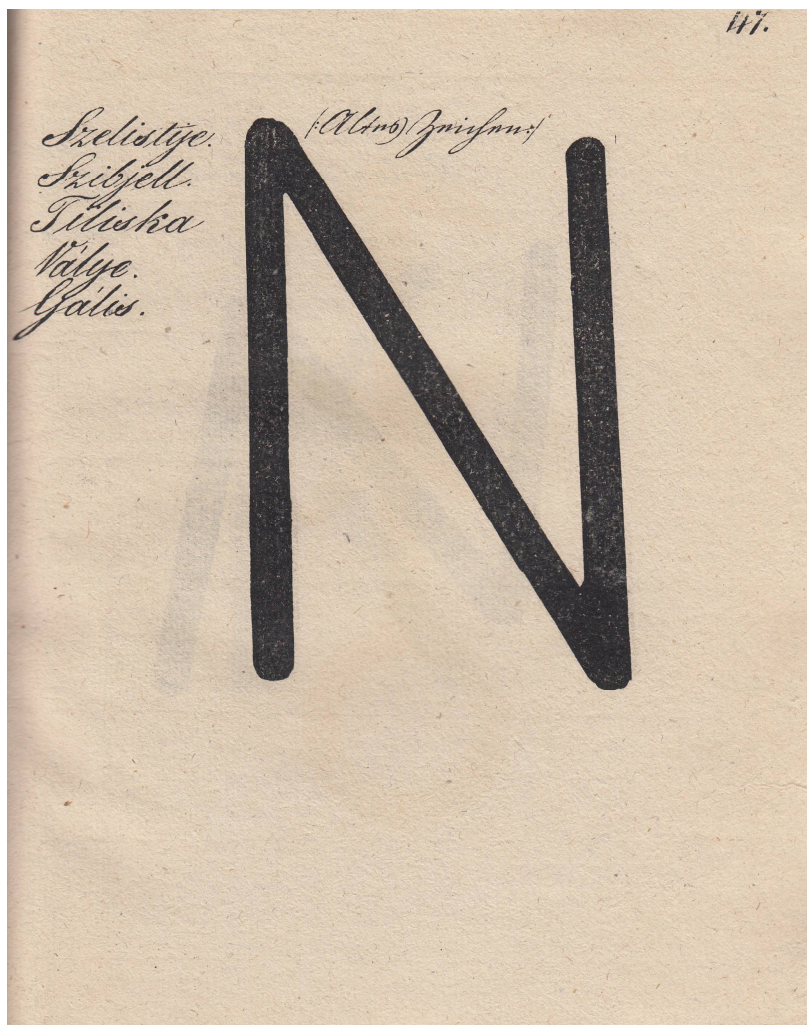


Fig. 3

SIBIU AND THE URBAN NETWORK OF TRANSYLVANIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Răzvan C. POP*

Abstract: *The present article wants to identify the urban network of the Great Principality of Transylvania, during the Habsburg Empire, more precisely, in the 18th century. A document from 1790, recently republished, offers us a complete image of the urban life in Transylvania. We can observe an urban triad in the region, a triad formed by Cluj, Braşov and Sibiu. The Transylvanian urban administration had a medieval origin, maintaining its privileges and its juridical aspects. The 18th century is the century in which the Transylvanian cities are transforming themselves from a medieval form into a modern one. The new legislation, imposed by the Habsburg administration, such as the Tolerance Edict or the different architectural programs, managed to solve a physical and cultural transformation of the Transylvanian cities.*
Key words: Sibiu, Transylvania, Habsburg Empire, Urban History.

Rezumat: *Prezentul articol îşi doreşte a identifica reţeaua urbană a Marelui Principat al Transilvaniei, în perioada habsburgică, mai precis în secolul al XVIII-lea. Un document din 1790, republicat recent ne oferă imaginea integrală a vieţii urbane a Transilvaniei. Observăm existenţa unei triade urbane în regiune, triada formată din oraşele Cluj, Braşov şi Sibiu. Administraţia oraşelor transilvănene venea din perioada medievală, menţinându-şi privilegiile şi prevederile juridice. Secolul al XVIII-lea este secolul în care oraşele transilvănene se transformă din forme de tip medieval în forme moderne. Legislaţia impusă de administraţia imperială habsburgică, precum Edictul de Concivilitate sau programele arhitecturale, au dus în cele din urmă la o redimensionare fizică şi culturală a oraşelor transilvănene.*

Cuvinte cheie: Sibiu, Transilvania, Imperiul Habsburgic, Istoria oraşelor.

For a better image of the Transylvanian cities in the past centuries and for a better understanding of their evolution, of the urban expansion, it is necessary to understand the reasons that stood behind - this historical process. The causal, means pointing out the main situations that determined the modifications of the urban aspect in Transylvania. It is not enough just a simple enumeration of the political, social, religious events or of other nature, for creating a complete picture of the urban history in the 18th century in Sibiu and Transylvania.

It's necessary to see, first of all, which were the institutions that organized the Transylvanian city. The oldest urban regulations that were still in use even in the 18th century were „The Municipal Statues” from 1583 (Tonstch 2001, 60). They were the basis of the urban law, private, penal and procedural law as of the political and administrative regulations in the Saxon autonomous area. (Tonstch 2001, 60) The Statues were even compatible with the Habsburg Civil Code from 1811. (Tonstch 2001, 60)

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In 1790 in Sibiu it was published the local guide (Hochmeister 2007, 11). This book is considered to be the first guide of today's Romania. It's apparition is directly connected to the German speaking areas of Europe. The necessity of such a book comes from the notoriety growth of the urban spaces from Transylvania.

This work is providing us the best image of the Transylvanian urban network. Not only is it offering us the important administrative centers but is giving us the secondary cities. From this book we are informed that Transylvania, after the administrative reform of 1784 (Hochmeister 2007, 21), was divided into three regions. Sibiu region had as subdivisions the city of Sibiu, the district of Sibiu, Hunedoara, Alba and Târnava counties, and also Sebeş, Miercurea Sibiului, Mediaş and Orăştie seats. (Hochmeister 2007, 21) Cluj region coordinated Cluj district, Turda, Solnocul Inferior and Solnocul de Mijloc counties, Nocrich, Şinca Mare, Rupea, Sighişoara seats and also Bistriţa circumscription. (Hochmeister 2007, 21) Făgăraş region coordinated Treiscaune şi Odorhei counties, Arănieş, Sfântu Gheorghe, Târgu Secuiesc, Telechia, Micloşoara, Brăduş and Caşin seats. (Hochmeister 2007, 21) Also, the same document, is enumerating the border militias from Miercurea

Ciuc, Târgu Secuiesc, Orlat, Năsăud, Sfântu Gheorghe. (Hochmeister 2007, 21) Most curiously the city of Braşov is missing from these lists, but knowing the evolution of Transylvania we can presume, that Braşov, alongside Sibiu and Cluj, was one of the important cities of the Great Principality of Transylvania. The same document is offering us a better image of the urban network through the postal routes. We can see that the principal stations are Cluj, Bistriţa, Braşov, Făgăraş, Sighişoara, Dumbrăveni and Sibiu, the last one being a connecting link. For example, the route coming from Cluj or Timişoara or from Buda and Vienna was passing through Miercurea Sibiului Sebeş, Alba Iulia and from here either through Aiud and Turda or through Orăştie and Deva.

We can observe that Transylvania was organized in a triangular urban scheme. Three cities defined the Transylvanian urban network in the 18th century. Sibiu was the capital of the Great Principality, being the seat of the main institutions. Sibiu, from a political perspective, was until the creation of the dual monarchy in the second half on the 18th century one of the main centers of Transylvania. It's autonomy was defined through the Leopoldine Diploma. (Derer 2003, 47). Only after 1876, that the autonomy and the Saxon University were dissolved by the Hungarian authorities. Throughout the 18th century, Sibiu was the main capital of Transylvania, inside the Habsburg Empire. In Sibiu, the Gubernium, the governor, the imperial army and the Chancellery were seated. This fact was established through a successful attempt to re-approach the Saxon ethnic minority towards the Habsburg House, made by the emperor Joseph the IInd. He will decide that the main Transylvanian institutions will reside in Sibiu. "Dieta" will meet permanently in Sibiu between 1733 and 1747 and between 1749 and 1781. Another important political center, was Cluj. During the 18th century it was the second main centre of the province. The urban spiritual and cultural center of the Hungarian nobility, Cluj would developed more and more its political influence. Cluj will develop constantly under the permanent possibility of taking over of the administrative functions of the province, process that had happened at the end of the studied century. Braşov, the third important city, it was the most powerful economical centre. If Cluj developed itself inside the Hungarian ethnic minority area, becoming thus a very important urban centre, Braşov and Sibiu were cities founded into the royal territory (K. u. K.). These three cities were considered by the Habsburg administration as the

most important cities of the province. (Roth 2006, 127) There were other cities important in the medieval period, that maintained some potential even in the 18th century or that had resisted to the different administrative reforms of the province. Bistriţa, Sighişoara, Alba Iulia, Deva, Sebeş or Mediaş are such examples. Făgăraş is becoming an administrative centre that would permit it's development much more significantly than the medieval fortress had offered during the medieval epoch. Other localities were either too small to be considered part of the urban network (such as Năsăud) either the Habsburg administration didn't permit a proper development.

The Austrian administration brought in Transylvania a new approach that had complied with the old laws of the region. The Gubernium was the main executive institution. Alongside it functioned the Aulic Chancellery that was formed by six councilors and the governor of Transylvania. The "Dieta" was the legislative institution. The Treasury and the "Tabla Regia in Magna Transilvaniae Principatu Judiciaria", both seated in Târgu Mureş (Bărbulescu 1998, 284) were also important institutions that helped the political, social, economical and administrative politics inside the region, provided by the Austrian state.

The Transylvanian urban administration was formed by the Magistrate and the "Centumviri" Assembly, having both a legislative and juridical roles. The mayor was the executive aspect of the local administration. (Bărbulescu 1998, 284) the Magistrate was organized in a hierarchically way. (Bărbulescu 1998, 55) after age and administrative position. The Magistrate was the main institution involved in the evolution of the urban life of a city. Just to give an example, it even supervised the propriety transactions inside of a city. The "Centumvir" Assembly was the one that coordinated the local administration, the local finances and also the petitions. (Bărbulescu 1998, 52) After 1718, it won't be obligatory for the Assembly to be complete at every election. The conditions to be a member were to have a propriety inside - the city, to be married and to have a spotless reputation. (Bărbulescu 1998, 53) Twelve of the senators elected inside the local Senate, were the ones who formed the "Centumvir" Assembly.

The mayor was the one who applied the Magistrate decisions. He was obliged to participate at every Magistrate meeting. He was helped by the administrative officials with very well defined duties. One of the most important officials was the "vilik". He was the one who supervised the financial spending of a administration. He was also

involved in the process of urban development. After he was investigating the Magistrate report he was giving the consent for a new building. Also, he was the one who followed that construction rules are respected. The “Vilik” was in charged with the well being of the common constructed area, as the fortifications, the wells, the bridges, the markets or the streets. (Bărbulescu 1998, 53) Subordinated to the Magistrate it was a chief inspector (architectus or inspector architecturae) who, helped by a deputy (adjunctus architecturae civicae), was completing the evidence register of the constructions.

Important institutions that helped at the administrative life of a Transylvanian city were the neighborhoods and the “decuriae”. The neighborhoods were administrated by two “vilik” (an old one and a young one) and by the Elderly Assembly. (Bărbulescu 1998, 50) The neighborhoods were organized after regulations voted by the Magistrate. During the Habsburg administration there were 31 such entities. (Bărbulescu 1998, 50) The neighborhoods were the ones that were keeping the wells, the gullies and the street pavement. Also, they were obligated to participate in the general effort inside a constructing site. The neighborhoods were abolished as an administrative body at the middle of the 18th century. The “Decuriae” (Zahntschaften) were urban military units who were involved in the safeguard and arson activities. They were coordinated by a member of the Magistrate. In 1745 there were 75 “decuriae” in Sibiu (Bărbulescu 1998, 52).

Georg Schuller had a true to life remark about the situation of the administration and of its relation with the local communities at the beginning of the century. In the center of the community, thought all the period was the town-hall. (Czekelius 1976, 4) Not only as a building, an important sight inside of a town, but as an institution. In Sibiu, the town-hall at the beginning of the Austrian administration was in a tensioned situation with its own citizens. „Actum Cibirij” from 4th of January 1652 signed by the public notary of the town, Simon Johann (Seivert 1859, 94), limited the life of the citizens in many aspects. The wedding glitter and even the baptizing and funeral one or the one of the houses, was forbidden. The Magistrate acted in the most Lutheran way. This was not only the case of Sibiu, similar actions taking place in other Transylvanian cities, the majority of the Reformed churches did the same in the case of everyday life of their people.

Transylvania and alongside the urban life of the province will endure at the beginning of the 18th

century important developments of the fortifications. At Sibiu and than in Alba Iulia, the Italian engineer Mirando Visconti will project new citadel shaped fortifications. He was the one who mapped for the first time Transylvania, and no wonder, he mapped the main cities of the region. In the same time in Cluj and Braşov were built new fortifications in form of a castle, positioned on a hill above the hearth of the cities. The two “castles” are still standing in the present. The most important fortification constructed at the beginning of the 18th century was the new citadel of Alba Iulia. The medieval city was almost entirely demolished and on its ruins there was built a Vauban type fortification. The military structures were the first architectural and urban program developed in Transylvania by the Habsburg administration. (Derer 2003, 34)

The delicate historical moment which gave the needed push for, was the already mentioned urban planning program was the Rakoczi Uprising. This moment the existence as it was of the urban life in Transylvania. Only in the case of Sibiu, probably the most fortified city in Transylvania, were needed 10.000 soldiers led by general Rabutin. (Dumitrescu Jippa 1976, 197) He will coordinate the defensive system, based on the important number of canons that the city and his army had. The noblemen members of the “Diet” will take refuge into the city of Sibiu. An important number of the nearby population fled into Walachia. Burning the harvests and the massacre of the civilians were common practice of Rakoczi`s army general Pekri. In the autumn of 1705 the arrival of general Herberville army will help the sieged city of Sibiu. In 1707 the army of baron general Tige had the final victory. Andreas Teusch was named commit of the Saxon Nation due to the help provided by the German community. In the same year, Sibiu was the stage of another revolt. On this case the revolt was from inside. General Tige`s cavalry revolted for the nonpaying of their money. General Tige obliged the city to a payment of 6000 guildens. (Dumitrescu Jippa 1976, 197)

The Habsburg army had a defining role in the evolution of the urban development of Transylvania, not only through the large number of soldiers that needed accommodation but for developing the city itself. The large number of soldiers, in the case of Sibiu, created the situation of building new special areas for the army, these areas becoming the starting point for the majority of the new quarters of the city. Through time, the city of Sibiu lost the permanent image of a sieged town. One of the steps were the shift off the canons

from Soldisch bastion. (Czekelius 1976, 4) In the same time new spaces were portioned and thus new urban spaces were created. The decision of the military quarters, that the children of the Romanian boundary soldiers were allowed to become journeymen in the urban guilds, led to a significant raise of the urban population. Sibiu was one of the main targets for the population that had come from the rural area.

The Habsburgic administration tried to draw near important personalities of the urban communities. In Sibiu the intention was to bring near the military and the clerical elite, a local society so that they can impose their vision upon the local administration. Important patrician families entered into the nobility of the empire. Families like Rothenfels, Zabanius, Ehrenburg, Hermannsburg or Czekelius (Dumitrescu Jippa 1976, 146) accepted the noble titles in the first 30 years of the Austrian administration. The richest of them transformed this tendency into a permanent attempt of tax exemption from the Transylvanian finances. The failing of this attempt created another problem, the local taxes increased significantly. Frustrating for the Saxon families was that the important majority of the functionaries from the Transylvanian and imperial administration were catholic and outsiders inside their cities. The provincial institutions were, from now on, extremely influent concerning the evolution of the urban development. The annual convening of the "Diet" is an eloquent example.

Still the Enlightenment ideas started, timidly, to assert. They became more influent after the first half of the century. In Transylvania we can discuss about two main cores. A Saxon one, around the governor of Transylvania baron Samuel von Brukenthal, in Sibiu and a Hungarian one around the Hungarian intellectuals, partisans to an utopic Enlightenment.

The main acts that affected the life of the Transylvanians cities were the Conviviality Edict from 4th of July 1781 and the Patent of Tolerance issued in the same years. The first act consecrate the right of other nationalities to live and have propriety inside the royal lands, subsequently inside of the cities. The Patent of Tolerance offered the right of the Romanians to legally open schools and churches. (Vlaicu 1996, 19) These two acts were annulled after the death of the Holy Roman emperor, Joseph the IInd, the next emperor, Leopold the IInd, being the one who signed the annulment of the reforms. (Nagler 1997, 310) The inhabitants of the Transylvanian cities had mixed reactions

concerning these reforms. The Hungarian community was the winner one. The Restitution Act didn't abolish the Conviviality Edict and it affirmed further the Hungarian politicians influence. The Romanians immediately answered through *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, signed in Sibiu by the elite gathered near "Școala Ardeleană" and the two national churches. On the hand, the Saxons were badly hit by the political acts mentioned above. As actions, they will dispose Cloos von Kronenthal as comes and name Michael von Brukenthal in the same position. (Nagler 1997, 310) In 1790, they managed to get back their national archive. (Sigerus 1997, 50).

The most complex process, that will deteriorate to a great extent the relation between the Saxons and Vienna, is the Counter Reformation. Triumphant in Central Europe, it played a major role in the reconquering of Hungary and Transylvania. (Luigi 2000, 86) The Counter Reform was felt in the whole Transylvania. Since 1692, Jesuits started to arrive and they were followed by other monkish orders such as the St. Ursula nuns or the Franciscan and Dominican orders. G. Von Hermann believes that the Orthodox social and economical problems made it easier for the Jesuits to affirm themselves in Transylvania's public life. (Hermann 1883, 52). Their ability of persuasion determined some Saxons to pass to Catholicism.

From the economic point of view, the Saxons will be confronted with the challenge of preserving the status that the guilds have benefited from in the Middle Ages. In 1710, the traders of Sibiu will establish the „*Societas Mercatoria Cibiniensis*”, whose main purpose was to eliminate the Greek, the Jewish and Armenian competitions. (Nagler 1997, 252) This project wasn't successful. The trade was further weakened by the frequent wars with the Ottomans, who often closed the trading routs.

The economic factor played a major role in defining and restructuring the Transylvanian cities. The economic situation of Transylvania depended largely both upon the relation with the Romanian principalities and of the Balkan area. The integration of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire and the institution of the Phanariot rulers in the Romanian principalities jeopardized to a great extend the economic relations between the three regions. The enforcement of the Turkish monopoly (Nagler 1997, 245) over the foreign trade of the two principalities considerably weakened the Transylvanian economy.

This period brings to Sibiu the first banker, Samuel Dobosi, who, due to his connections with German lands and the Ottoman Empire, was able to develop his own business starting from 1721, a business that lasted for some time, in Sibiu.

The collapse of the itinerant commerce, a decision taken with the intent of helping Sibiu's merchants, although the Transylvanian Chamber of Commerce controlled the markets, wasn't of any effect due to the fact that the pressure exercised by the other merchants will be too strong. Sibiu became one of the links on the way to Venice and Genoa, trading raw materials from the Romanian principalities (Nistor 1990, 28). This was also the period in which the coins issued in Sibiu registered a comeback on the financial market. The main competitor of the Saxons was the Greek Company. It also benefited from the rights issued by empress Maria Theresa and so was able, at the turn of the century, to control almost all the financial exchanges between the Saxon towns.

The towns were forced to turn their efforts towards

manufacturing goods; the production of such goods covered the losses from trade. The economic life was much more tumultuous. Only in the next century it recovered through the numerous banks and financial societies such as Sibiu's banks Deutsche Allgemeine Sparkasse in 1841 and Albina Bank in 1871 or the Austro-Hungarian Bank (Nistor 1990, 61), The Transylvania Insurance Society, the last one with Romanian - German capital, all this reinvigorated the capital market of Transylvania and Sibiu. The recession in the empire has as a consequence the delay of the of the infrastructure and the transportation problem. Since Transylvania was situated at the periphery of the Empire, the industrialization was, by far, the great gain of this period but much scarce developed as in the main imperial regions.

The population of the province was in 1790 of approximately 1.500.000 inhabitants. (Nistor 1990, 61)

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EMERGENCY MONEY ISSUED BY THE GERMAN TOWNS ARNSTADT AND CARLSHAFEN (1921-1922) FROM THE COLLECTION OF BANKNOTES OF THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM - THE HISTORY MUSEUM „ALTEMBERGER HOUSE” IN SIBIU

Nicușor Dănuț IVĂNUȘ**

Abstract: This article refers to two sets of paper currency from the category of emergency money issued by the German towns Arnstadt and Carlshafen which can be found in the money collection of the Brukenthal National Museum - the History Museum „Altemberger House” in Sibiu.

Key words: emergency money, series notes, the Brukenthal Museum, Germany, Arnstadt, Carlshafen

Rezumat: Ne referim în acest articol la două seturi de bilete de hârtie din categoria banilor de necesitate tipăriți de orașele germane Arnstadt și Carlshafen care se găsesc în colecția de bancnote a Muzeului Național Brukenthal-Muzeul de Istorie Casa Altemberger din Sibiu

Cuvinte cheie: bani de necesitate, bani în serie, Muzeul Brukenthal, Germania, Arnstadt, Carlshafen

This article refers to two sets of paper currency issued by the German towns Arnstadt and Carlshafen. These sets can be found in the money collection of the Brukenthal National Museum-the History Museum *Altemberger House* in Sibiu. The first set contains 6 notes having the value of 10 pfenning. They are of small dimensions – 60 x 82 mm and belong to the so-called category of *Serienscheine* (Series Notes), were printed and then used in the town Arnstadt (Thüringen) in 1921¹. They were illustrated by A. Paul Weber and every note contains short political messages. The fact that they are very well preserved, shows that they were not used much, their period of application being only one month. The editor of this paper currency was rather interested in keeping and collecting it.

1. On the *obverse*², which is the same for the whole set, there is the value printed on a black and red spotted eagle with opened wings which represents the coat of arms of the city, on a background made from red wavy lines.

The text is: *Emergency money of the town Arnstadt/10 Pfennig. Valid for the period of a month from the printing date/ signed by the council authority: Signature/1921, marked „A”*

The black and brown graphic of the *reverse* presents two persons riding on the value, thus on a 10, while the border of the note contains a text that is different for every piece of paper:

2. In the field two men, a fat and happy one and a very thin one having his belt strongly tightened³.

The text: *TAT SICH EINST DAS BÄUCHLEIN RUNDEN ALLES ALLES IST GESCHWUNDENWOG 200 PFUND ZUVOR SCHLÄFT NUN JETZT IM PUSTE=ROHR*

3. In the field two fat men wearing elegant suits, one of them smoking a cigar, while the other one has got a bottle of liquor in his hand⁴.

The text: *DIESE BRUT KENNST DU MEIN LIEBER ES SIND WUCHERER UND SCHIEBER FRUHER WURDEN SIE AN DEN GALGEN GEHO-BEN HEUTE WIRD RUHIG WEITER GESCHOBEN*

4. In the field a woman with a basket on her arm seems to quarrel with a clerk who wears a very big feather behind his ear and who uses a pair of scissors to cut some share tickets⁵.

The text: *BITTE HER BUROKRA-TIUS DAS DOPPELTE QUAN-TUM ICH HABEN MUSS-ICH HAB HUNGER WIE EIN LOWE EINEN MAGEN WIE 'NE KUH-DANN KAUEIN SIE WIEDER, HALTEN SIE RUH*

5. There is a woman who holds a hen in her hands while the hen is laying an egg which falls into a purse held by a man who is carrying a bag⁶.

The text: *WAS NUTZT- UNS ALLER EIERSEGEN, WENN SIE IN ANDRE NESTER LEGEN?*

* Brukenthal National Museum
dan_ivanus@yahoo.com

¹ www.cachecoins.org/arnstadt.htm

² MNB-MI Sibiu, nr. inv. T 1305/6 a.

³ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr. inv. T 1305/6 .

⁴ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr. inv. T 1305/8 .

⁵ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr. inv. T 1305/5.

⁶ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr. inv. T 1305/4.

6. A man having a purse on his shoulder holds his hand open to catch an egg laid by an eagle which has probably eaten the emergency money⁷.

The text: *DIE GANZE SACHE IST NICHT OHNE MAN HOFFT DOCH STARK DASS ES SICH LOHNE LÖST MICH NICHT EIN- DANN KANNS WOHL SEIN*

7. Two women at the market being involved in a vivid conversation, the buffer is holding a balance while the client has got a basket and is giving her a banknote⁸.

The text: *SIND SIE DES TEUFELS DAS IST ZU STARK- FRUHER 'NEN GRO=SCHEN UND JETZT DREI MARKE*

The second set contains 5 notes issued by the savings bank of Carlshafen and having the value of 50 and 75 pfennings, 1, 1,50 and 2 marks. They are made by the brothers Gotthelft from Kassel. All of them have got the same dimensions of 70 x 102 mm.

The upper printing: *Die Stadt-Sparkasse Carlshafen*. On the left and on the right side are two portraits of Carl Landgraf of Hessen and the coat of arms of the town Carlshafen: a shield with an entrance into a fort, placed on a rock and above it the name Sieburg. The central part shows a high pedestal on which Carol's statue is placed. On the left on the pedestal there is a lion with a shield and a sword, on the right there is a snake.

The reverse side has got the same colour and design. The inscription on the frame explains the contents of the pictures, while all the notes are different only as far as their central composition and their value mentioned in their corners are concerned.

8. 50 Pfennig⁹, obverse

Colour: light green

The text: *Zahle gegen diesen Scheck aus meinem guthaben an den Inhaber Fünfzig Pfennig*

9. 50 Pfennig¹⁰, reverse

The inscription: *Stadt Carlshafen / Weser und Hessische Klippen*.

In the field the Weser river and the Hesse rocks.

10. 75 Pfennig¹¹, obverse

Colour: ochre

The inscription: *Zahle gegen diesen Scheck aus meinem guthaben an den Inhaber Fünfundsiebzig Pfennig*

11. 75 Pfennig¹², reverse

The inscription: *Stadt Carlshafen / Invalidenhaus erbauf 1706*.

In the field the building of disabled people built in 1706.

12. 1 Mark¹³, obverse

Colour: grey green

The inscription: *Zahle gegen diesen Scheck aus meinem guthaben an den Inhaber Eine Mark*

13. 1 Mark¹⁴, reverse

The inscription: *Stadt Carlshafen 1830 / Gradierwerke*.

In the field buildings containing technical means of using water in order to produce electricity.

14. 1, 50 Mark¹⁵, obverse

Colour: green

The inscription: *Zahle gegen diesen Scheck aus meinem guthaben an den Inhaber Eine Mark u. Fünfzig Pfennig*

15. 1, 50 Mark¹⁶, reverse

The inscription: *Stadt Carlshafen / Landgräfliches Jagdschloss, später Packhaus der kurh. Handelskompanie Carlshafen, jetzt Rathaus*.

In the field the hunting castle of the count which later on was transformed into the post-office of the Commercial Company of Carlshafen, today being the Mayor's Hall.

16. 2 Mark¹⁷, obverse

Colour: ochre

The inscription: *Zahle gegen diesen Scheck aus meinem guthaben an den Inhaber Zwei Mark*

17. 2 Mark¹⁸, reverse

The inscription: *Stadt Carlshafen / Einzug der Huguenotten im Jahre 1699*.

In the field the arrival of the Huguenots in 1699.

⁷ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/3.

⁸ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/2.

⁹ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/38 a; prezentăm în text culorile originale care sunt pe acești bani de necesitate

¹⁰ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/38 b.

¹¹ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/36 a.

¹² MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/36 b.

¹³ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/37 a.

¹⁴ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/37 b.

¹⁵ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/31 a.

¹⁶ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/31 b.

¹⁷ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/32 a.

¹⁸ MNB-MI Sibiu, nr.inv. T 1305/32 b.

ABBREVIATIONS/ABREVIERI

MNB – MI Sibiu	The National Museum Brukenthal - the History Museum „Casa Altemberger” of Sibiu
nr. inv.	Inventory Number

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS/LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

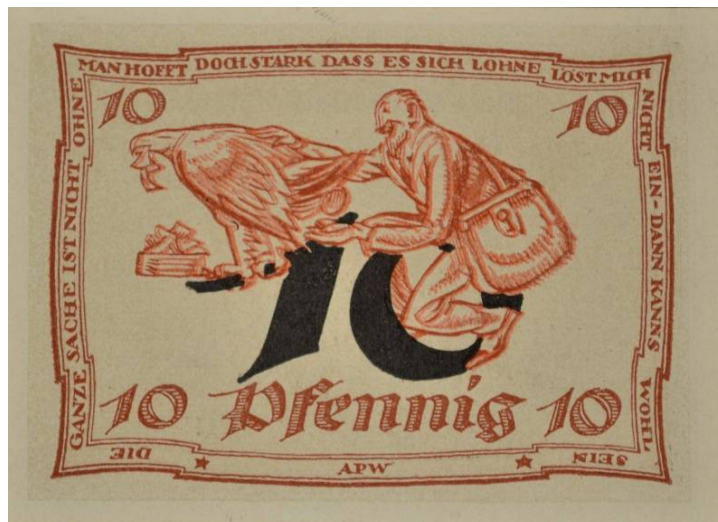


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

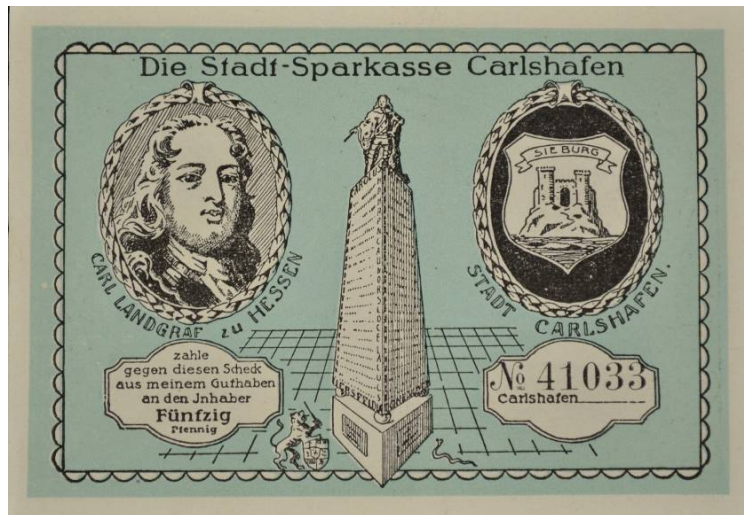


Fig. 8.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

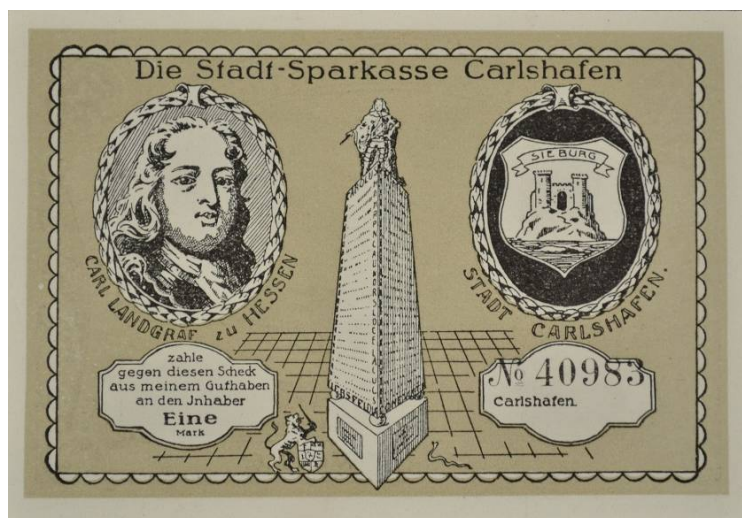


Fig. 12



Fig. 13.

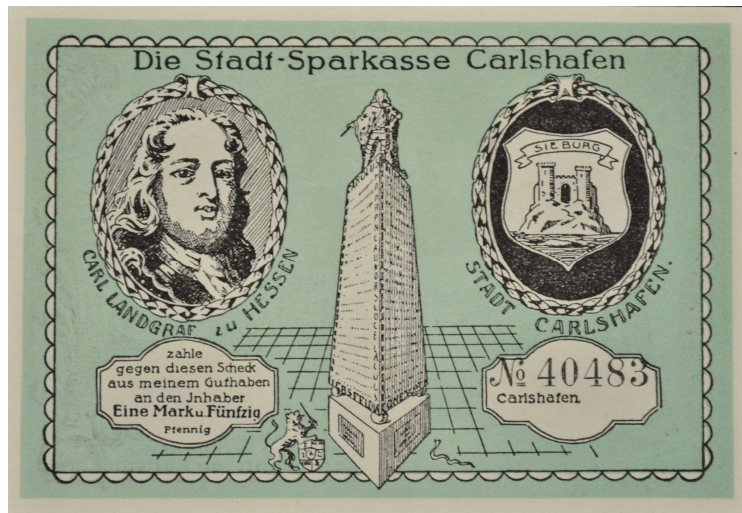


Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

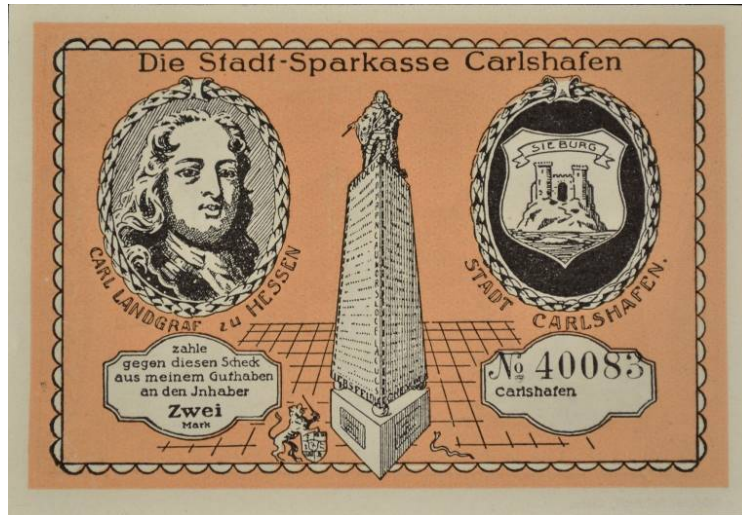


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM IN 2014: A CHRONICLE OF HISTORY EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS

Dana Roxana HRIB*

Abstract: *The study is a synthetic presentation of Brukenthal National Museum's cultural offer in the field of history during 2014.*

Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, history, 2014.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față constituie o prezentare sintetică a ofertei culturale a Muzeului Național Brukenthal în domeniul istoriei, pe parcursul anului 2014.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Istorie, 2014*

1. Temporary exhibitions at the Museum locations¹

- a. 3 exhibitions presenting Brukenthal National Museum's heritage:

100 years since First World War (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Hall, 27.06-24.08)

Curators: Adrian Georgescu and Dr. Dănuț Nicușor Ivănuș, partner: Biblioteca Județeană ASTRA, Sibiu)

The exhibition was dedicated to the centenary passed since the war launching, presenting representative pieces for this crucial moment in the history of mankind. The exhibits display was structured in two thematic groups: the Romanian neutrality period (1914 – 1916) and the Romanian involvement in the war (1917 – 1918).

There were to be seen on display photographs and postcards, engravings by Ludwig Hesshaimer, helmets, white and fire weaponry, decorations, banknotes, military stamps, documents of the Romanian General High Quarter, Transylvanian Troupes' Commandment orders, portraits of the Romanian royal figures – King Ferdinand I and Queen Maria and of some of the upstanding persons inside the Romanian national movement: Andrei Bârseanu, Vasile Goldiș and Ștefan Cicio-Pop.

Travelling journeymen from today and from days past (Brukenthal Palace, Temporary Exhibition Halls, 2.07-03.08)

Curator: Dr. Raluca Maria Frîncu, partners: Casa Calfelor Association, CNM ASTRA).

The exhibition displayed identity-objects and production pieces from the journeymen and their brotherhoods, all envisaging the organization schemes and general activity before the cancelation of the guilds in 1872. There was also a part in the exhibition dedicated to the contemporary journeymen travelling to Sibiu every year since 2007. From July to September, they are to be met on Cetății Street, working in the proximity of city's defensive towers that in the medieval time were held in the guild's care.

A history not well known. The locations of commerce in the historical center of Sibiu (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Hall, 13.11-31.12)

Curators: Dr. Dănuț Nicușor Ivănuș, Dr. Raluca Maria Teodorescu and Marian Bozdoc).

The exhibition was part of a project financed by the Local Council through Sibiu Town Hall² and presented a subject related to both traditional aspects and the features of novelty – the locations of commerce that opened their windows in the historical center of the city of Sibiu. Based on centuries of experience (in the 14th c. the city was the third in Europe for its number of guilds), the economic life in Sibiu was known since Middle Ages for its largely appreciated products that were sold as far as the Orient. From the 15th c. on, Sibiu's economic activity developed concentric around the two central squares – the Grand Square contoured by the

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¹ The short descriptions of temporary exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

² Project "A History Not Well Known. The Locations of Commerce in the Historical Center of Sibiu", financing: Sibiu Local Council through Sibiu City Hall, duration: August – December 2014.

http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/proiecte/index_en.html

houses of the well-faired citizens and the Lesser Square contoured by the houses and workshops of the citizens living on trade.

During 18th to 20th centuries, the economic life in Sibiu continued to be characterized by the diversity of its market that put together haberdasheries, jewelry shops, coffee shops, photographer's shops, grocer's shops, hairdresser's shops, baker's shops, fashion parlours etc.

Some of the shops functioned constantly until present days, other closed up few months after the opening or during the communist period. Their story is the same one that tells about a cosmopolitan city, a charming and romantic mix of Western influence and local flavor.

- b. 1 exhibition presenting Romanian national heritage, hosted by the Museum

Romania's Antique Gold and Silver (Brukenthal Palace, 1st Floor, 19.11.2014 – 18.01.2015)

Curators: Rodica Oanță Marghitu – National Museum of Romania's History and Adrian Georgescu – Brukenthal National Museum, interchange & PR: Dr. Raluca Teodorescu and Chris Balthes).

Organized by National Museum of Romania's History and Brukenthal National Museum, the exhibition was one of the largest of its kind in Romania and it is the result of a project initiated by the National Museum of Romania's History in Bucharest to which have adhered other 30 Romanian museums, Brukenthal National Museum among them.

There were presented 1.004 archaeological pieces dated back to the 5th millennia BC to 7th century AD, all discovered on the Romanian territories: items of royal Getae extraction, Dacian silverware, funerary or hoards dated in late Antiquity or early Middle Ages. Brukenthal National Museum was exhibiting 59 pieces (the inventory of an incineration tomb – No. 1 in Tilișca village and the inventory of a Gepid tomb – M3 and M4 discovered in Miercurea Sibiului village, Sibiu County).

- c. 1 exhibitions inside museum education projects:

Cultural influences reflected in Sibiu's oral history (Museum of History *Altemberger House*, Education Room, 13 – 24.10)

Curators: Dr. Ioan Popa – Asociația Eminescu, Dr. Raluca Maria Frîncu and Dr. Raluca Maria Teodorescu – MNBrukenthal, partner: Asociația Eminescu).³

The most important moments in the life of the city of Sibiu, starting with First World War, as well as the influences that were generated as such, were re-called and presented by students, teachers and historians having as base the oral and documentary sources.

Also, the exhibition attempted a special displaying approach consisting in 12 video projections, 6 glass boxes and 3 panels. The video materials presented interviews carried on by students of „Constantin Noica” High School in Sibiu, „Samuel von Brukenthal” College in Sibiu and „Octavian Goga” College in Sibiu and addressed to German, Romanian, Hungarian and Jewish people of Sibiu extraction. On display, there have been more than 200 objects and photos related to subjects as: “The First World War and the interwar period”, “The German-Saxon deportation and the Second World War” and “Communism and year 1989”.

2. Events related to the history exhibitions (permanent) at the Museum's locations

Long Night of the Museums (Museum of History, 17.05)

Brukenthal National Museum participated in the European programme “Long Night of the Museum” 2014 with a free visiting program for permanent exhibitions.

Medieval art (performance by Anacronic Cultural Group, Museum of History, 17.05)

Part of the Long Night of the Museums program, there has been a show of medieval art – reconstruction and reenactment.

International Day of the Museums (all Brukenthal National Museum's locations, 18.05)

On the occasion of the International Day of the Museums, Brukenthal National Museum offered free access to visitors for all its locations.

The special visiting program on the occasion of Night and Day of the Museum brought a total of 8.555 visitors during the evening of 17.05 and 8.901 visitors during the day of 18.05.

³ The exhibition was part of the “Cultural influences in Sibiu, 18th to 20th centuries”, a project on the 2014 Cultural Agenda of the City of Sibiu and co-financed by Sibiu Town Hall through the Local Council.

3. Events related to the history exhibitions (temporary) opened at the Museum's locations

Book launching: "Cultural influences in the 18th – 20th centuries Sibiu" (Museum of History – *Altemberger House*, Education Room, 17.10, organized by Eminescu Association Sibiu, Brukenthal coordinators: Dr. Raluca Maria Frîncu and Dr. Raluca Maria Teodorescu.⁴

The volume comprises a selection of communications presented during the national symposium within the project having same title – Cultural influences in the 18th – 20th centuries Sibiu, during May 16 – 17, 2014

4. Published materials related to temporary exhibitions at the Museum's locations

a. Catalogues:

Marian Bozdoc, Raluca Maria Teodorescu, Dănuț Nicușor Ivănescu, *Spațiile comerciale din centrul istoric al Sibiului. Piața Mare, Piața Mică și strada Nicolae Bălcescu*⁵, BIBLIOTHECA BRVKENTHAL LXVIII, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2014, 160 pages, full-colour, Romanian language, ISBN 978-606-93765-1-5, free of charge distribution/not in shops.

b. Other

*O istorie prea puțin cunoscută. Spațiile comerciale din centrul istoric al Sibiului (sec. XVIII-XX)*⁶ (leaflet), Romanian language, free of charge distribution.

5. Temporary exhibitions opened by Brukenthal National Museum in Romania⁷

German-Saxon garments, adornments and their representation in painting (Oltenia Museum, Craiova, 3.04-30.06, partner: Oltenia Museum, Craiova)

Curators: Dr. Raluca Maria Teodorescu and Dr. Raluca Maria Frîncu – Brukenthal Museum

The exhibition was part of Brukenthal Cultural Axis Project⁸ and comprised 85 pieces from the collections of the Museum of History and the Romanian Art Gallery inside Brukenthal Museum. There were on display paintings, garments, adornments and accessories dated 17th – 19th c., offering to the on-viewer the image of time ago elegance.

Sibiu's Arsenal and Chamber of Weapons in Medieval and Modern Period (Bethlen Castle, the "Valer Literat" Museum in Făgăraș, 17.05 – 31.11)

Curator: Dr. Anca Nițoi

The exhibition was part of "Brukenthal Cultural Axis" programme⁹ and aimed at presenting – in the medieval ambience of Făgăraș city – the most impressive pieces in the Brukenthal collections of armory and weaponry. The 130 exhibits ranged from cold weapons to military equipment and fire arms.

German-Saxon garments, adornments and their representation in painting (Satu Mare Museum, in Carei, the Karoly Castle, 30.07-19.09, partner: Museum of Satu Mare)

Curators: Dr. Raluca Maria Teodorescu and Dr. Raluca Maria Frîncu – Brukenthal Museum

The exhibition was part of Brukenthal Cultural Axis Project¹⁰ and comprised pieces from the collections of the Museum of History and the Romanian Art Gallery inside Brukenthal Museum. There were on display paintings, garments, adornments and accessories dated 17th – 19th c., offering to the on-viewer the image of time ago elegance.

⁴ The project was part of 2014 Cultural Agenda of the City of Sibiu and co-financed by Sibiu Town Hall through the Local Council.

⁵ Project "A History Not Well Known. The Locations of Commerce in the Historical Center of Sibiu", financing: Sibiu Local Council through Sibiu City Hall, duration: August – December 2014.

http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/proiecte/index_en.html

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ The short descriptions of exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

⁸ In 2012, Brukenthal National Museum has launched the *Brukenthal Cultural Axis* programme aiming at a closer cooperation with other museums in Romania and abroad through the means of a large variety of activities as: traveling exhibitions, exhibition exchange and shared exhibition programs, professional experience exchange, etc.

Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu Hermannstadt 2013 Annual Report, p.61, Ed. MNBRukenthal, Sibiu 2014, ISBN 978-606-93508-1-2.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

6. Published materials related to temporary exhibitions opened by the Museum in Romania

a. Catalogues:

_Raluca Maria Teodorescu, Raluca Maria Frîncu (coord.), *Veșminte, podoabe săsești și reprezentarea acestora în picture vremii*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Craiova 2014, 60 pages, full-colour, Romanian language, ISBN: 978-606-93508-5-0.

7. Participating in temporary exhibitions in Romania

_ *Lumen est omen. Arta, istoria și spiritualitatea iluminatului artificial*, CNM ASTRA (20.02-20.05)

_ *Lumen est omen. Arta, istoria și spiritualitatea iluminatului artificial*, Muzeul Național al Țăranului Român (3.07-25.09)

_ *Lumen est omen. Arta, istoria și spiritualitatea iluminatului artificial*, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale – Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie, Tulcea (26.09.2014 -31.01. 2015)

_ *Radu Popa (1933-1993)* – la Biblioteca ASTRA

_ *Asociația Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român 1861-1950*, Biblioteca ASTRA

_ *Glass. Memories and Art / Sticla. Memorie și artă*, Muzeul Olteniei (9.07-15.11)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
ACS	Asociația culturală Sarmizegetusa.
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
Angustia	Angustia, Sfântu Gheorghe
AnB(SN)	Analele Banatului, Serie nouă, Timișoara.
Annales UA	Annales Universitatis Apulensis
Apulum	Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
Archeologické Rozhledy	Archeologicke Rozhledy, Praga
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest.
Arheologia-	Arheologia, Sofia.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei, Sibiu
BAR	Brittish Archaeological Reports
BB	Bibliotheca Brukenthal, Sibiu.
BCSS	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie, Alba Iulia.
BMA	Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
Cercetări Istorice	Cercetări Istorice (Serie Nouă), Iași.
CetDacTrans	Cetăți dacice din Sudul Transilvaniei, București.
ComArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis, Hunedoara.
Crisia	Tara Crisurilor Museum, Oradea
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'archeologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle Série, Bucharest.
Dolgozatok	Dolgozatok, Szeged
EJA	European Journal of Archeology, Oxford.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest.
Gumowski	Marian Gumowski, <i>Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik</i> , Graz, 1960.
Huszár	Lajos Huszár, <i>Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute</i> , München, 1979.
Izvestia	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna
Martin	Ferenc Martin, <i>Kolonialprägungen aus Moesia Superior und Dacia</i> , Budapesta – Bonn, 1992.
Materiale	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
MBR	G. Buzdugan, O. Luchian, C. C. Oprescu, <i>Monede și bancnote românești</i> , București, 1977.
MCA	Archaeological materials and researches, Bucharest.
MemAntiq	Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München.
Rengjeo	Ivan Rengjeo, <i>Corpus der mittelalterlichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien</i> , Graz, 1959.
RepAlba	Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba, 1995.
RepArhSB	Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno-Karl Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu</i> , Sibiu, 2003.
RIC	Harold Mattingly, Edward A. Sydenham, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , III, London, 1930.
RMMMIA	Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă, București.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Comunicări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
StudArchHis-	Studia Archaeologica et Historica. Nicolao Gudea Dicata. Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IV/2001, Zalău.

Symposia Thracologica	Symposia Thracologica, București.
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Roman de Tracologie, București
WCoins a	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), <i>Standard Catalog of World Coins. Seventeenth Century. 1601 - 1700</i> , 4th ed., Iola, 2008.
WCoins b	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), <i>Standard Catalog of World Coins. Eighteenth Century. 1701 - 1800</i> , 3rd ed., Iola, 2002.
Zargidava	Zargidava. Revistă de istorie, Bacău
Ziridava	Ziridava, Arad.

MUZEUL BRUKENTHAL

PUBLICATIILE PERIODICE APARUTE DE-A LUNGUL TIMPULUI (INCLUSIV PRECURSORII)

CRONOLOGIE	ISTORIE, ARHEOLOGIE	ARTA PLASTICA	STIINTELE NATURII	ETNOGRAFIE	RESTAURARE CONSERVARE
ANTE 1950		Mitteilungen aus dem Baron von Brukenthalischen Museum 1931-1937 – Neue Folge I-VII 1941 – Neue Folge VIII 1944 – Neue Folge IX-X 1946 -1947 – Neue Folge XI-XII	Verhandlungen und Mitteilungen der siebenbürgischen Vereins für Naturwissenschaften zu Hermannstadt 1849-1945, 95 de numere		
1950-1989	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 1 1965, nr. 12 1967, nr. 13 volum omagial, Anuarul Muzeului Brukenthal, 1817-1967 1969, nr. 14 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1977, nr. 20 1981, nr. 21	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 4, 5 1956, nr. 7, Istoria culturii 1978, nr. 1 1979, nr. 2	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1958, nr. 10, 11 1970, nr. 15 1971, nr. 16 1972, nr. 17 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1976, nr. 20 1977, nr. 21 1978, nr. 22 1979, nr. 23 1980, nr. 24 + Supliment 1983, nr. 25 + Supliment 1984, nr. 26	Studii și comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 2, 3, 6 1958, nr. 8, 9 Cibinium, Studii și materiale privind Muzeul Tehnicii Populare din Dumbrava Sibiului, Sibiu 1966, vol. I. 1967/68, vol. II 1969/73, vol. III 1974/78, vol. IV 1979/83, vol. V	
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