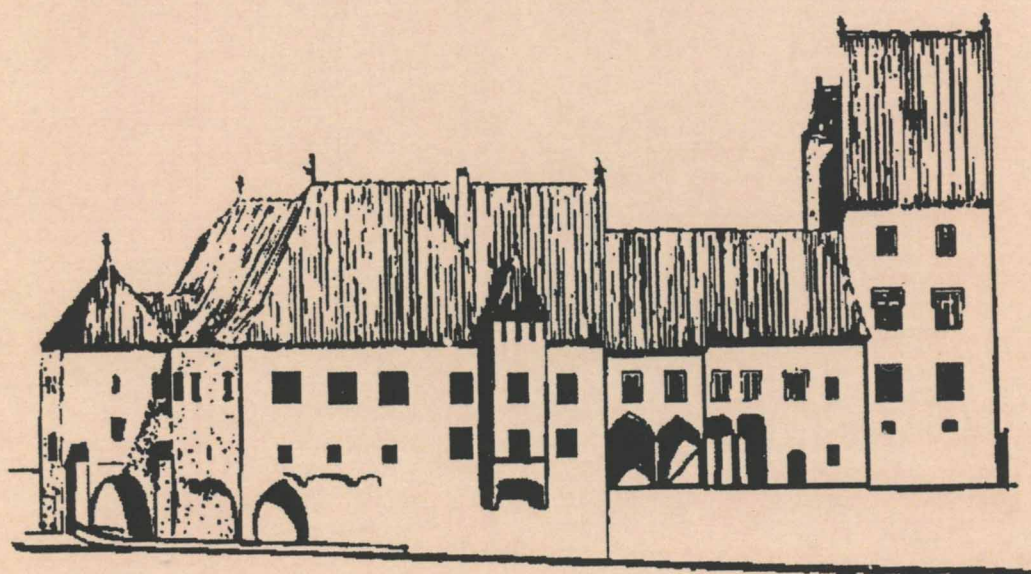


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**BUTTONS AND A BEAD OBTAINED FROM *SPONDYLUS GAEDEROPUS* L., 1758 SHELL
DISCOVERED AT TĂRTĂRIA – GURA LUNCII (ROMANIA)**

Sabin Adrian LUCA*
Ana-Maria PĂPUREANU**

Abstract: Two buttons and a bead, pieces made from *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 shell, were found at Tărtăria – Gura Luncii, during the preventive researches of 2014-2015. The objects are dated between Early Neolithic and Late Neolithic, in the Vinča culture.

Keywords: ornaments, *Spondylus gaederopus* L., 1758, Neolithic, Vinča A culture, Tărtăria – Gura Luncii (Romania).

Rezumat: În cercetările preventive ale anilor 2014-2015 s-au descoperit – în situl citat – doi nasturi și o mărgea, piese realizate din scoica *Spondylusgaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758. Ele sunt datate la cumpăna dintre neoliticul timpuriu și cel dezvoltat, în cultura Vinča.

Cuvinte cheie: podoabe, *Spondylusgaederopus* L., 1758, Neolitic, cultura Vinča A, Tărtăria – GuraLuncii(România).

The preventive excavations carried out between 2014 and 2015, with the aim of enlarging the railway limits near the archaeological site Tărtăria – Gura Luncii (Alba County, Romania) led to discoveries of great historical and archaeological value (Luca 2016).

The two buttons were found in the L.XIV/2014 dwelling (Luca 2016, 53, fig. 27/4-5) and the bead (Luca 2016, 76, fig. 47/4) in the L.IV/2014 habitation, bought from the same chronological and cultural horizon (Vinča A). As we affirmed in a recent study, archaeological objects made from *Spondylus* sp. clam are known from Tărtăria (Luca *et al.*, 2017).

The objects analyzed in this paper (Fig. 1-3) were handmade from the right valve of *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 (Order: Pectinida; Family: Spondylidae), commonly known as the *European thorny oyster*.

Spondylus sp. are filter feeders that live cemented by its right valve to hard substrates (at depths between 6 and 30 m) in the circum-Mediterranean area – especially its Eastern part, the coast of Portugal and Spain, as well as the Eastern part of the Atlantic Ocean, the Aegean Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the Sea of Marmara (Luca *et al.* 2017, 28 – 29).

The bead and buttons found at the Tărtăria - Gura Luncii archaeological site were manufactured from the inferior (right) valve of the bivalve after being gathered alive from its habitat. Laboratory microchemical tests and microscopic analysis of the objects in comparison with today's literature confirmed this aspect (Gardelková-Vrtelová, Golej 2013, 265-272). Also, the possibility of using fossil valves belonging to *Spondylus* sp. in the production process of jewellery and ornaments, of any kind or shape, has been invalidated by archeomalacological researches (Schackleton, Elderfield 1990, 312-315; Kaliczet *al.* 2012, 317-326; Bajnóczi *et al.* 2013, 881).

The right valve of the European thorny oyster maximum width is 5,5 cm (the left or superior valve utmost 2 cm) (Titschack *et al.* 2009, 332-346) facilitating the fabrication method of beads and buttons (John 2011, 39; Sztancs 2014, 619) similar as structure to the ones presented in this study.

A. Tsuneki (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21) illustrated thoroughly the manufacturing process of beads and buttons from *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 right valve having as comparison material the artefacts discovered at Dimini (Greece) (Milojčić *et al.* 1978, fig. 25/18).

According to literature, from the left valve of the species were fabricated especially rings, medallions, belt buckle, whereas from the right valve were made beads and buttons. Objects of

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this kind obtained from *S. gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 uncovered in many European archaeological sites were manufactured from the right valve of the species.

Experimental archaeology studies have shown that there was a preference for collecting specimens of *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 whole, and living because the fresh material is more suitable to be processed. The left valves reach the beach after the death of the animal and tends to break during the manufacturing process (Titschack *et al.* 2009, 332-346).

Fossil valve of *Spondylus sp.* were much harder to obtain than the living ones and these are too fragile to be incised and drilled to make beads and buttons. In the Carpathian Basin archaeological sites complete or partial remains from fossil *Spondylus sp.* valves have not been found (John 2011, 39; Tsuneki 1989, 1-21; Miller 2003, 369-382).

The bead and buttons described in this paper were subject to micro chemical tests and microscopic analysis. As a result, in the mineral layers that make up the bead and the first button were spotted invertebrates. Inside the bead there is a *leptomedusae* or *thecate hydroids*, similar identifications were reported inside artefacts in Europe (Taylor 1988, 167-174; Taylor 1990, 1-17) and a possible *amphipod* (Fig. 4/1-2), while the first *Spondylus sp.* button shelter a possible *Chironomidae* larvae (Fig. 5)¹.

These small organisms were emerged inside the valve of the *Spondylus sp.* by means of *bioimmuration*², namely *lamellar bioimmuration*. This phenomenon is extensively described in marine organisms such as oysters, bryozers, polyps and in sessile, tube-building annelid worms from the in the *Serpulidae* family (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21; Taylor, Todd 1990, 15). Small, soft-body marine invertebrates can be bioimmured inside a valve: ctenostomes, polythetes, hydrophores, brachipods, gastropods, and even marine algae or angiosperms (Taylor 1988, 167-174; Taylor 1990, 1-17). Some bioimmured organisms, in this biological process, may be distorted or flattened, making it difficult to

identify them at species level (Miller 2003, 369-382).

The presence of invertebrates inside the artefacts confirms that they were manufactured from the right valve of *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758, what the animal fastens to the substrate. The right valve remains fixed to the rock wall even after the death of the animal, while the left valve breaks out and is carried by the waves, and can then be hand-picked at the seaside.

A. Tsuneki (1989, 1-21) has encountered bioimmured polythetes inside archaeological artefacts concluding that the objects were made from the right valves of the *Spondylus sp.* collected alive and not from fossil valves.

Few studies in the field of zooarchaeology signal the presence of bioimmured organisms inside handmade *Spondylus sp.* artefacts. The results of our study are clear indications that a deep microscopic and chemical analysis of animal origin artefacts from Romanian archaeological sites is necessary for integrated research. The results are of great interest also for biologists and palaeontologists.

In Romania, the studies conducted on numerous prehistoric ornaments and/or artefacts with an animal origin, especially those of *Spondylus sp.* (Stzancs, Beldiman 2004, 11, 128; Stzancs 2014, 619) was achieved by means of microscopic surface analysis, with the intention of describing the methods applied for their manufacturing. Until now, microscopic depth analyzes have not been applied, which have an essential role in the correct identification and description of the hard animals materials industry (known as *industria materiilor dure animale* or IMDA in Romania).

The cylindrical partially flattened bead belongs to the IMDA typological group III D *Bead group*, type III D4, respectively *Beads obtained from the shell*. This type of ornamentation is certified in Romania within the Starčevo-Criș culture (Beldiman 2012, 137-138, 225-226), and at the European level belongs to the Eneolithic. The buttons presented in this paper belong to the IMDA, the typological group III I of *Buttons* but there is no defined type for buttons made from *Spondylus sp.* discovered in Romania in the classification proposed by C. Beldiman.

Romanian literature are depicted buttons made from large herbivores bones, especially cattle, belonging to type III I1 (Kopp *et al.* 2013, 1-6).

C. Beldiman and D.-M. Stzancs (2007, 33-74) point out the Cucuteni culture, the Cărbuna

¹The authors would like to thank Dr. Polixenia Corina Popescu (Brukenthal National Museum Laboratory) for the microscopic photographs of the objects.

²*Bioimmuration* is the process by which sessile organisms are entirely incorporated by the outer skeleton (valve) of another sessile body, or parts of their body (the softest) leaves an impression on the skeleton of the other. This process occurs in aquatic ecosystems, during substratum competition, between organisms that are part of the aquatic epifauna (Taylor 1990, 1-17; Todd 1993, 417-433).

archaeological site, in the Cainari district (Republic of Moldova), where was found a button made of *S. gaederopus* L., 1758 identical to the button shape described in this paper.

An attempt to synthesise the use of *Spondylus* sp. as raw material for ornaments was carried out in Romania by E. Comşa (1973), and for Serbia by V. Dimitrijević and B. Tripković (2006).

The manufacturing process for bought a bead or a button from the right valve of *S. gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 has been illustrated comprehensively by A. Tsuneki (Fig. 6) (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21).

From Romania, D.-M. Sztancs and C. Beldiman (2007, 33-74) explained the manufacturing of *Spondylus* sp. beads after analyzing this kind of artefacts found in Bordu-Mare Cave (Ohaba-Ponor village, Pui Commune, Hunedoara County).

To use *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 right valve, from living specimens, implies the immersion of the collector at depths of up to 30 m. The removal of the valve from the rocky substrate is difficult. In some cases, the right valve can be recovered whole or only pieces of it (it brakes at separation).

Once the valve is procured, the craftsman started cutting it (probably with a lithic blade) (Kopp *et al.* 2013, 1-6) or break and crack it (helped probably by a rock hammer) (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21) these steps represent the first phase in the process called *debitage* or *reduction*. The valve fragments obtained are called *cores* (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21). The cores are then shaped, to eliminate the valve's outer layer called *periostracum* and to give the core a desired shape (circular for buttons or cylindrical / "barrel" shape for beads).

The *debitage* is followed by the *drilling* process of the ornament. In the case of beads the perforation is bilateral and for buttons is oblique and unilateral. D.-M. Sztancs and C. Beldiman (2007, 33-74), Kopp *et al.* (2013, 1-6) consider that beads were perforated with a thin lithic needle, probably through a continuous rotation.

After examining the bead perforation features (Fig. 7/1-2) and the two buttons (Fig. 8/1-3) the authors subscribe to the process described previously.

The final stage of the manufacturing process is *polishing* or *gilding* – eliminating the abrasions left over from previous processes. D.-M. Sztancs and C. Beldiman (Sztancs, Beldiman 2004, 11, 128; Sztancs 2014, 619) described the

polishing process before the perforation activity, but considering the aspect of the artefacts studied in this paper, we believe that the last step is that of polishing. It was done with a piece of cloth or leather (Beldiman, Sztancs 2007, 33-74).

Bead morphology corresponds to the artefacts analyzed so far in the Neolithic. The total length of the bead is 25 mm. The biggest and complete bead of this type discovered in Romania has a total length of 35 mm (Beldiman, Sztancs 2007, 33-74).

The buttons are discoidal in biconvex and axial section, with the perforation placed in the middle and running all the length of the button. The total length is 30 mm (button 1) and 25 mm (button 2), button 1 is relatively large, compared to the bovine bone buttons dated Starčevo-Criş culture described by C. Beldiman (Beldiman 2012, 137-138, 225-226), measuring between 7 and 15 mm.

Buttons obtained from *Spondylus* sp., similar in appearance and size to those studied in this paper, were found in Dimini (Greece) (Tsuneki 1989, 1-21).

The bead and the buttonholes exhibit surface and axial cracks due to dehydration, wear and environmental conditions (Fig. 8/1-2), with specific surface alterations caused by taphonomic agents (Fig. 9/1-2).

The concave edges of the bead are blunted and rounded, probably because the ornament was worn on the neck or hand, either as a unique adornment or in a necklace or bracelet type.

Throughout the surface of the bead and the buttons we can see the poly-stratified texture of the *Spondylus* sp. valve, and in the case of the bead the growth lines are obvious (Fig. 10).

Remarkable is the general gray colour with white irregular lines of the bead (Fig. 1). In most cases, artefacts of this type made from *Spondylus* sp. are white. To explain this colour we will refer to the results of B. Kopp's team (Kopp *et al.* 2013, 1-6).

Researchers wanted to recreate the past colouring of beads from *Chama* sp. and *Spondylus* sp. through heat treatment. By heat, the colour of the periostracum becomes more intense, so for *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 the result was a dark red/purple.

This process has been documented in southern Solomon Island. In the experiment, the upper and lower *Spondylus* sp. valves were broken into fragments and covered with sand on the beach. Next, to the fragments, a thermometer was placed to record the temperature at different

intervals. Directly above the place where they were buried, the fire was ignited, which was left to go out by itself. After the fire ceased out, the fragments remained covered until the next day. The results of the experiment were not those expected by the team of researchers but explained the colour of the bead considered in this paper, namely the colour of *Spondylus sp.* valves subjected to thermal stress were gray. Also, the authors of the experiment point out that the valve structure had become fragile, which also explains the appearance of the analyzed bead especially at one end (Fig. 6/1-2). Contact with excessive heat has been long and the high temperature has caused the gray colour of the valve.

In conclusion, our bead was subjected, after manufacture, to high heat stress, for a long time.

D.-M. Sztancs and C. Beldiman (2007, 33-74) consider that this type of bead is a specialized product of a South Danube manufactory, arriving on the Romanian territory through exchanges or brought by the owner, but does not exclude its local production because beads are mentioned in the Starčevo-Cris Romanian culture.

Spondylus sp. ornaments and objects manufactured in the Carpathian Mountains Basin have been documented at Stârcu sites (a village in the Ceanu Mare commune in Cluj County) and Battonya (Békés County, Hungary) where secondary materials and debris from *Spondylus sp.* possible resulted from the manufacturing process were found (Gligor 2009, 103-108).

S. Siklósi and P. Csengeri (2011, 47-62) studied the difference between 5,704 objects obtained from *Spondylus sp.* (size and shape) found in 35 archaeological sites located in the Carpathian Mountains, dated to the Neolithic and Eneolithic, in order to determine whether there is a separation of their use and abundance between the two periods. There is a clear difference between the *Spondylus sp.* ornaments from the Neolithic (pendants and massive buckles, wide bracelets, large beads) and those from the Eneolithic (small beads, small bracelets, small circular beads) encountered in much larger numbers. The variations in shape, use and frequency of the ornaments of *Spondylus sp.* is also due to the social changes between the two historical periods, for instance, the Eneolithic superior social hierarchy.

Among two archaeological sites in the Republic of Moldova dated Cucuteni culture (Siklósi, Csengeri 2011, 47-62), have been

identified adornments made from *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758 belonging to:

- Type group *Spondylus sp. beads*, subtype *short Spondylus sp. bead* ("gasket") and subtype *long Spondylus sp. beads* ("barrel");
- Type group *Spondylus sp. plates*, subtype with 2, 3 and 4 orifices;
- Type group *Spondylus sp. pendants*, subtype triangular and oval pendants;
- Type group *Spondylus sp. bracelets*;
- Type group *Spondylus sp. buttons*.

Most of these artefacts were discovered at Cărbuna, Cainari district (160 beads, 3 pendants, 140 plated, 4 bracelets and 1 button), and at Horodnița 9 long beads ("barrel" subtype) were identified.

Spondylus sp. complete bracelets are very rare, beads of this type were worn singular or with other elements (teeth, lithic beads, metal beads, fruits or nuts of *Lithospermumpurpureocaeruleum* L., known as *purple gromwell*) are much more common.

C. Beldiman and D.-M. Sztancs (2007, 33-74) consider that men wore *Spondylus sp.* bracelets, and their rarity signifies the prestige and the high social level of the owner. The authors also establish the Mediterranean area as the origin of *S. gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758, and the ornaments are allogeneic, being made in specialized centres in the Danube-Balkan area.

Istria, located in the North of the Adriatic Sea, was one of the largest manufacturing centres of *S. Gaederopus* L., 1758 ornaments in Europe (Komšoet al. 2017, 1-20). The archaeological sites of Kargadur and Cape Pradišelski are considered the starting points for these luxury objects and their long journeys within the European continent (even 3,000 km). At these archaeological sites were found numerous *S. gaederopus* L., 1758 ornaments, manufacturing process remains and even whole valves (raw material). Together with *S. gaederopus* L., 1758 were handled valves of *Cerastodermaglaucum* (Bruguière, 1789) and *Cerastodermaedule* (Linnaeus, 1758). Experts say that shell manufacturing was one of the core activities of the area.

The shape of the buttons described in this paper can be compared to those found at Dimini (Milojčićet al. 1978, Fig. 25/18), Kremenýák Hill at Csóka (Čoka) (Banner 1960, T. XXX/9; LV/2, 9, 21-28, 23-46, 48-107) in Greece (Theodoropoulou 2011, Fig. 3g), while their use could be similar to that of the square buttons

found at *Lumea Nouă* (Alba County, Romania) (Gligor 2009, pl. XL/1).

At *Lumea Nouă* (Alba County) (Gligor 2009, 103-108) were identified bracelets (Gligor 2009, pl. XXXIX/1-2; XL/2, 4-8), pendants (Gligor 2009, pl. XL/3) and buttons (Gligor 2009, pl. XL/1). To the same conclusion came I. Suci (2009, 199-202).

The buttons in many contexts seem to have been worn more as beads, and possibly were sewed on to clothes as a shield. Only this circumstance can explain the 100 buttons

discovered at Čoka lined up on a string next to beads (Banner 1960, T. LV).

Also, long beads are more common than short ones, as for example the finds from Mezökövőd (Kalicz, Koós 2001, Abb. 11) and Kremenýák Hill at Csóka (Čoka) (Banner 1960, T. XXX/25, 28-29).

At Tărtăria – *Gura Luncii* were found *S. gaederopus* L., 1758 artefacts during old studies (Vlassa 1976, 40, fig. 6/4), from systematic (Luca *et al.* 2017; Luca *et al.* 2017a) or preventive researches (Luca 2016, fig. 26/4 – bead; fig. 53/4-5 – buttons 67/3 – pendant).

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Liniile de creștere ale valvei de *Spondylus gaederopus* Linnaeus, 1758.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

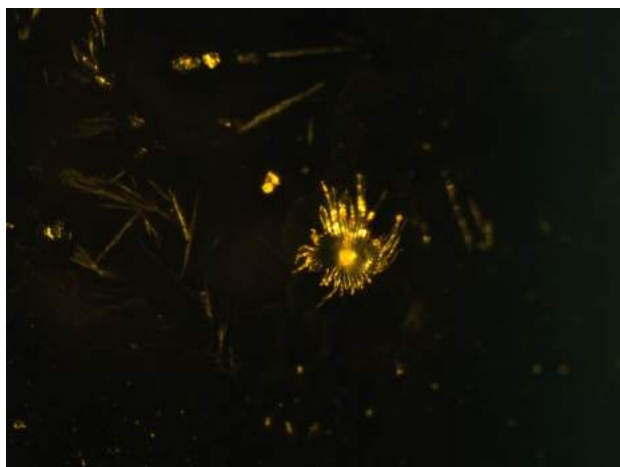


Fig. 4.1



Fig. 4.2.

Fig.4.

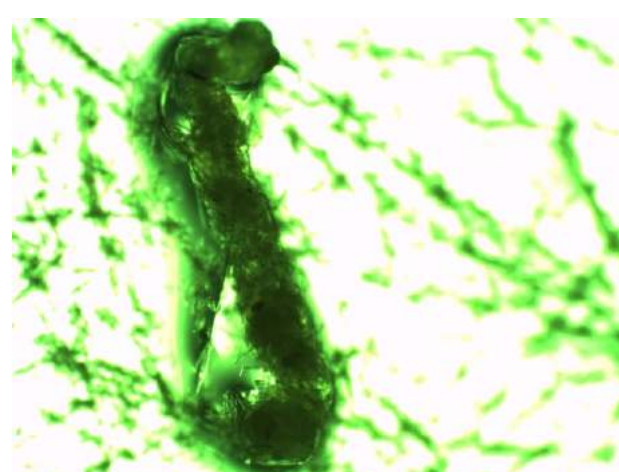


Fig. 5.

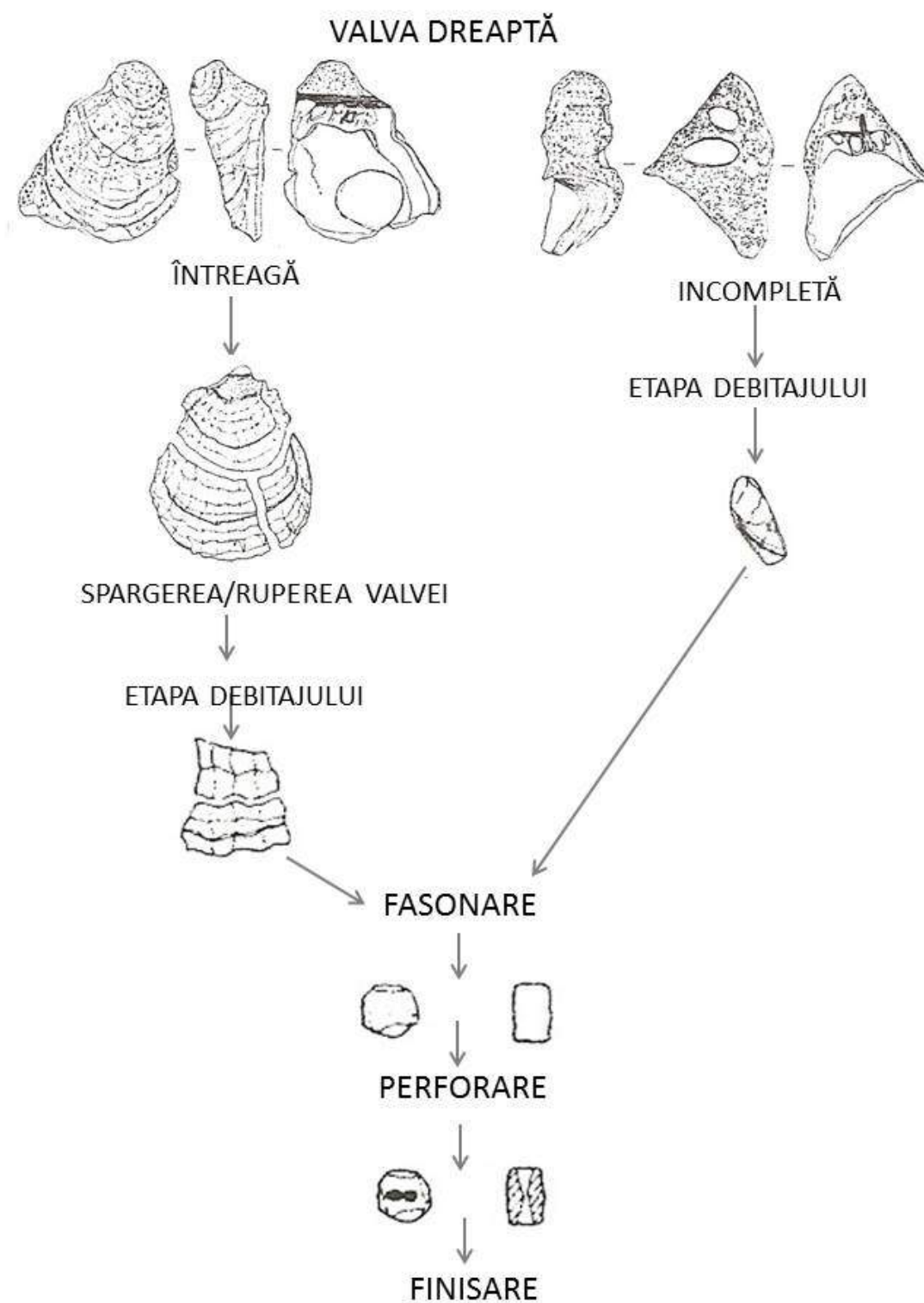


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.1.

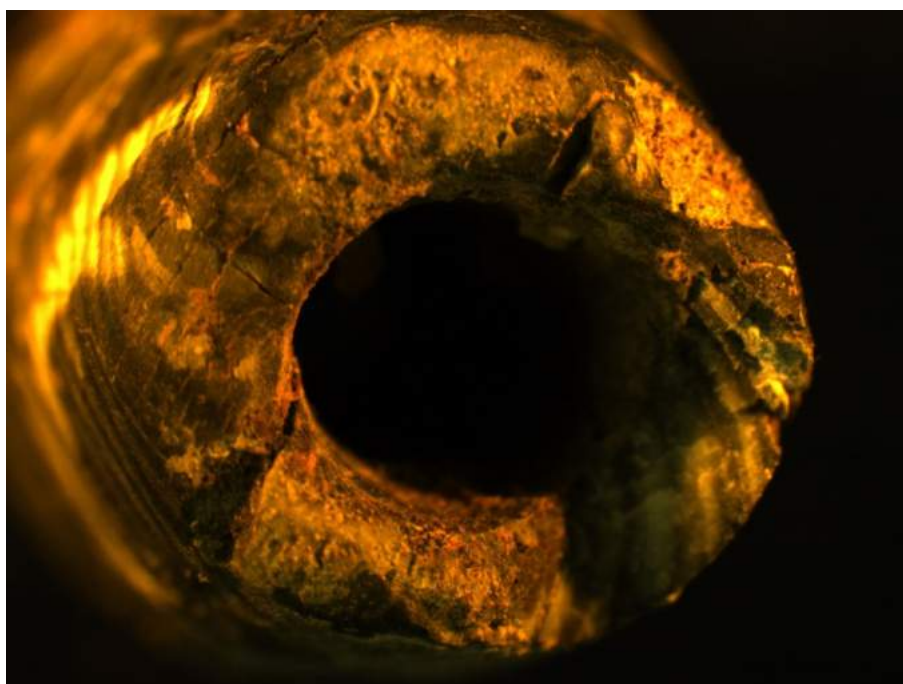


Fig. 7.2. (UV, 20x)

Fig. 7 (1-2).



Fig. 8.1.

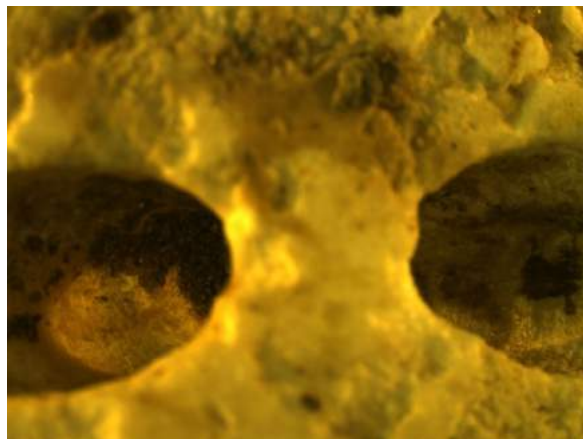


Fig. 8.2.



Fig. 8.3.

Fig. 8 (1-3).

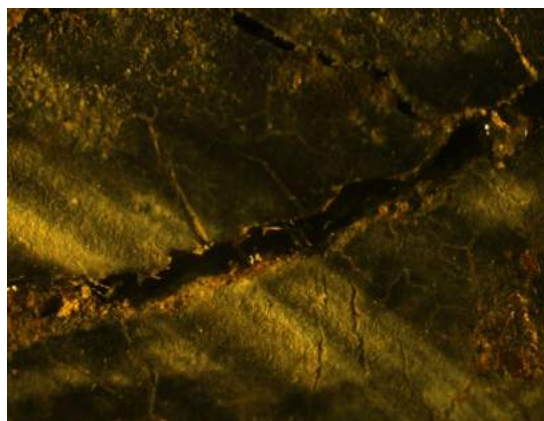


Fig. 9.1 (20x).



Fig. 9.2 (20x)

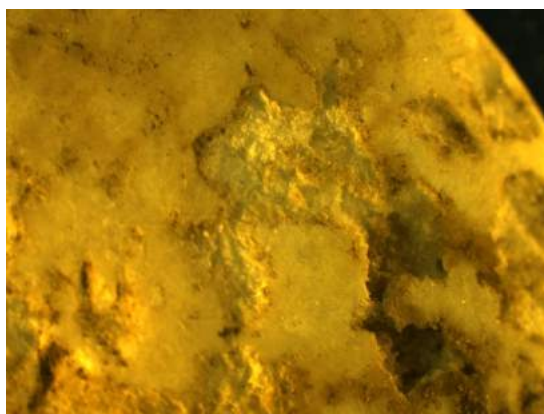


Fig. 9 (1-2)



Fig. 10.1

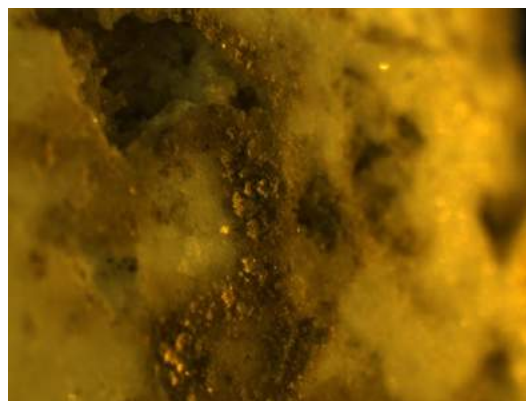


Fig. 10.2(60x)

Fig. 10 (1-2)



Fig. 11.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPERTOIRE OF SIBIU COUNTY

Florentin PERIANU*
Sergiu Mihail CHIDEȘA**

Abstract: *The current article comes as an addition to the archaeological repertoire of Șelimbăr Commune (which also includes Veștem, Mohu and Bungard villages) and, implicitly, to the one of Sibiu county. The study wants to make short references to a newly discovered archaeological site. Also we would like to introduce to the scientific world newly discovered Bronze Age archaeological material.*

Keywords: Șelimbăr, Prehistory, archaeology, pottery, Bronze Age.

Rezumat: *Prezentul articol vine în completarea repertoriului arheologic al comunei Șelimbăr (care mai cuprinde și satele Veștem, Mohu și Bungard) și implicit al județului Sibiu. Studiul dorește să facă scurte referiri la un nou punct arheologic descoperit. De asemenea, dorim să introducem în circuitul științific, materialul arheologic aferent, el făcând parte din epoca bronzului.*

Cuvinte cheie: Șelimbăr, preistorie, arheologie, ceramică, Epoca Bronzului.

A few months ago, some accidentally found archaeological materials (pottery fragments and adobe) got to our attention¹. The point of discovery is situated SW of DN7, on one of the terraces of Seviș River, to be more precise at approximately 1.2 km NW of Șopa Lake and 3 km NE of Seviș Farm. In present times, the area is subject partially to agricultural works (Map 1). After studying the area's archaeological repertoire (Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 214-215.), we came to the conclusion that we are talking about a new archaeological site.

Geographical context

From a geographical perspective, in Sibiu we can observe two major land-forms categories: mountains (21%) and plateaus (which again are divided into hills and depressions – 79%) (Măciu *et alii* 1982, p. 689). The site is situated in Sibiu Depression (the southern part of Transylvania Plateau), a depression that was formed by erosion, with an asymmetric layout, dominated in the South by a steeper region that is crossed by many narrow valleys. (Map 2)

In this depression, the average annual temperature is approximately 6° C, the average rainfall is situated between 600-700 mm (Badea *et*

alii 1971, p. 21-26). The vegetation is also spread accordingly by the land-forms that are present here, but, because of the human factor, it is less and less present.

Site history

As a result of what we mentioned before, referring to the geographical context, but also by studying the Josephine Survey Maps (1763-1787), we can conclude that in the area of Sibiu Depression, was and still is a propitious area for living (Map 3), mostly because of the land-forms, climate but also because of the hydrography. By this we automatically include the area that is occupied by Șelimbăr Commune.

Sadly, archaeological findings are scarce for Șelimbăr Commune area, most of them being random discoveries.

Sorted in a chronological order, the oldest discovery is represented by a flint tool, with a dark colour, dated in the Palaeolithic (Paul 1973, p. 21-25; Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 214), discovered on one of the terraces of Seviș River. Following are discoveries that date from the Bronze Age (Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 143; 245), Roman Period (Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 72; 215) and others attributed to the XIII century (Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 215). Recently, other archaeological discoveries were mentioned in Șelimbăr Commune (Munteanu 2014, p. 107; Munteanu 2016, p. 136).

Archaeological material description

Drawing 1.

1. Category: coarse, exterior colour: brown –

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¹ With this occasion we would like to give thanks to our colleague Dr. Claudiu Munteanu, for the information on archaeological material that we received.

brick-red; interior colour: light brown; paste: mica, large granulation sand; smoothing: weak; firing: good; decoration: application.

2. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: light brown with burn markings; interior colour: light brown; paste: sand, ochre and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good; decoration: incisions.

3. Category: fine, exterior colour: greyish-black; interior colour: light brown; paste: sand, mica; smoothing: good; firing: good; decoration: incisions.

4. Category: coarse, exterior colour: brick-red with burn markings; interior colour: brick-red; paste: large granulation sand, pebbles and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good; decoration: belt with alveoli.

5. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: light brown; interior colour: light brown; paste: sand and traces of mud; smoothing: good; firing: good; decoration: brush applied.

6. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brown; interior colour: light brown; paste: sand, pebbles and traces of mud; smoothing: good; firing: good; decoration: fingertip and fingernail incisions.

7. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: light brown; interior colour: light brown; paste: sand and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good.

8. Category: coarse, exterior colour: grey; interior colour: light brown; paste: large granulation sand, pebbles; smoothing: weak; firing: good.

Drawing 2.

1. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brick-red; interior colour: brick-red with a brown burn markings; paste: large granulation sand; smoothing: weak; firing: good.

2. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: dark brown; interior colour: dark brown; paste: sand and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good; decoration: belt with alveoli.

3. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: dark brown; interior colour: dark brown; paste: large granulation sand and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good decoration: belt,

4. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brown; interior colour: brown; paste: sand, mica; smoothing: weak; firing: good decoration: belt.

5. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brick-red; interior colour: grey; paste: sand, mica; smoothing: weak; firing: weak.

6. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: dark brown with burn markings; interior colour: dark brown; paste: sand, mica; smoothing: good; firing: good.

7. Category: coarse, exterior colour: brown –

brick-red; interior colour: grey; paste: large granulation sand; smoothing: weak; firing: good.

Drawing 3

1. Category: coarse, exterior colour: brown; interior colour: light-brown; paste: large granulation sand, pebbles, mica; smoothing: weak; firing: weak.

2. Category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brick-red; interior colour: dark brown; paste: sand and traces of mud; smoothing: good; firing: good.

3. Category: coarse, exterior colour: dark-brown; interior colour: light-brown; paste: large granulation sand and traces of mud; smoothing: weak; firing: good.

4. Adobe fragment of light brown colour, contains ochre pigment, chaff, mica and traces of mud.

Archaeological material analysis

The archaeological findings from in the area of the new site (Map 1) are composed from pottery fragments (Drawing 1,2,3/1-3) and one fragment of adobe (Drawing 3/4). No bone or stone material was identified.

a. The pottery fragments are mostly of the coarse type. The fine type of pottery is represented by a single fragment. Referring to the ornament types present on the archaeological material, we mention the following: simple applications (Drawing 1/1), incisions (Drawing 1/2, 3), brush applied decorations (Drawing 1.4, Drawing 2/2) and fingertip and fingernail impressions (Drawing 1/6).

Also, the smoothing of the archaeological material is mostly weak, with a porous texture. In the composition of the paste, used as a degreasing agent, we can find sand (of different granulation), mica, pebbles and more scarcely mud or ochre.

b. The adobe fragment (Drawing 3/4) can show us the presence of some nearby dwellings.

Conclusion

As a conclusion to what we already mentioned and based on the shape of the pottery presented in the Drawings (Drawing 1-3), we consider that we can make a preliminary dating of the materials in the Bronze Age, at current state of knowledge of the area.

Also, we mention the fact that, in the said area, the presence of other archaeological materials is possible, belonging to other historical ages (Munteanu 2016, p. 136), but we didn't identify such situations, at a present state. We hope that future archaeological research will reach this area, so we can find out more information

about this site. This new archaeological site comes in support of the theory that Sibiu Depression was a propitious for living, since the oldest periods of time.

We consider that the present article has

reached its purpose: the introduction to the scientific world of a new archaeological site, the introduction of new archaeological materials and last but not least the completion of Sibiu County archaeological repertoire.

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Map 1. Site placement, with nearby places of reference.

Harta 1. Localizarea sitului în raport cu punctele de reper.

Map 2. Site placement in Sibiu Depression (the southern part of Transylvania Plateau) (*apud* Badea *et alii* 1971).

Harta 2. Localizarea sitului în cadrul Depresiunii Sibiului (partea de S a Podișului Transilvaniei) (*apud* Badea *et alii* 1971).

Map 3. Site placement on the Josephine Survey (1763-1787)².

Harta 3. Amplasarea sitului în cadrul hărții Iozefine (1763-1787)

Drawing 1-3. Archaeological materials found in the area of the new site.

Desenele 1-3. Materiale arheologice descoperite în zona noului sit.

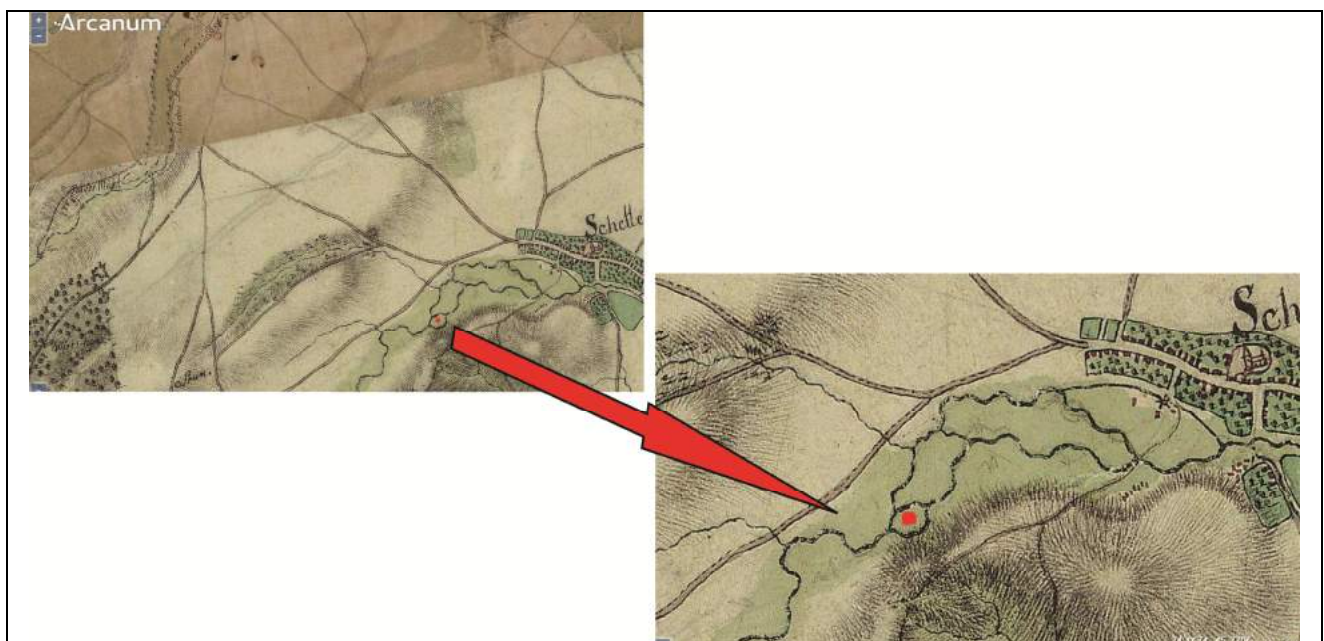
² <http://mapire.eu/en/map/firstsurvey/?layers=osm%2C1%2C73&bbox=140033.33730506012%2C5418450.724751291%2C3201182.0430965642%2C6851797.879154916>, site accessed on 20 May 2018, 21:10.



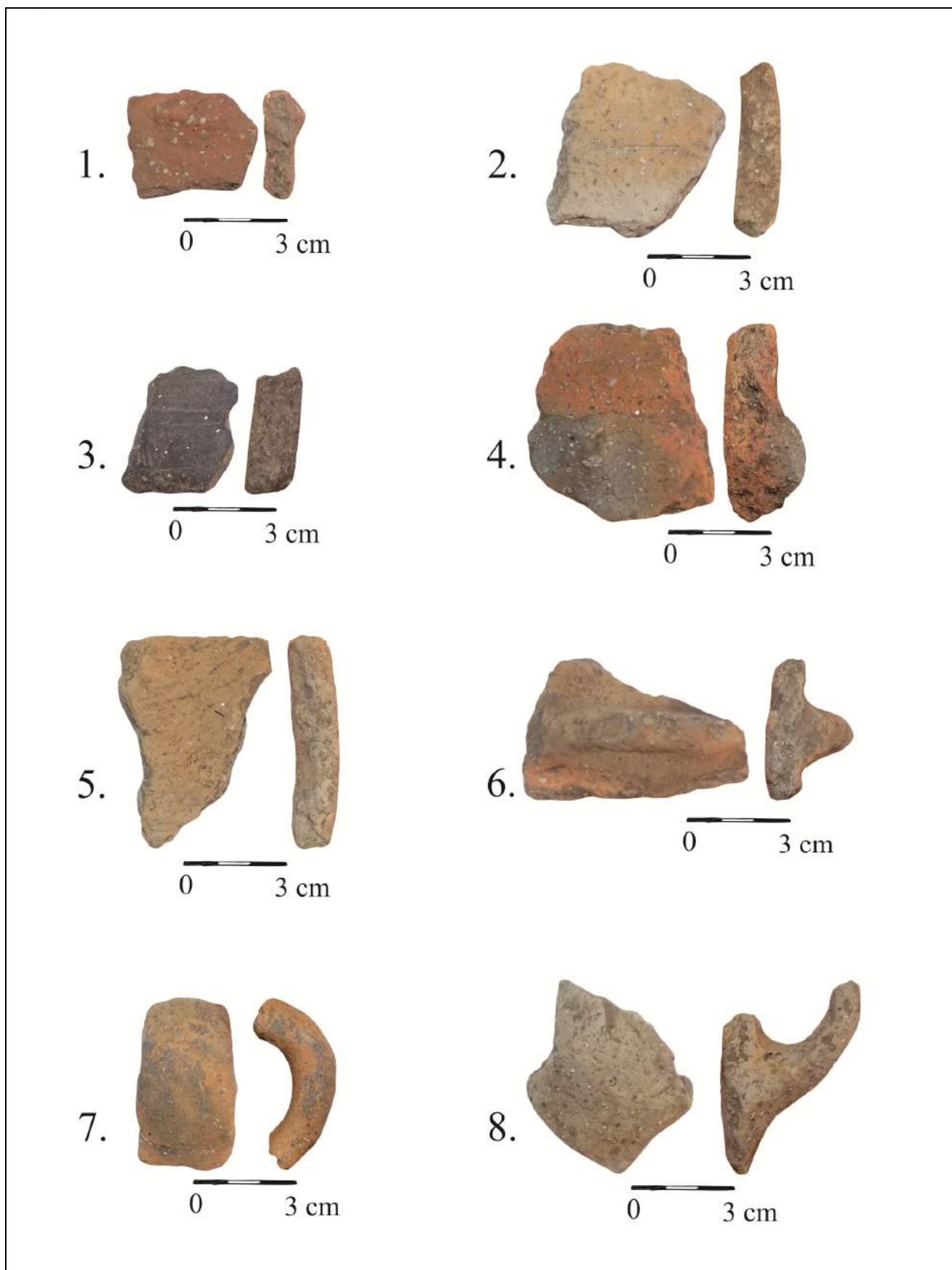
Map 1.



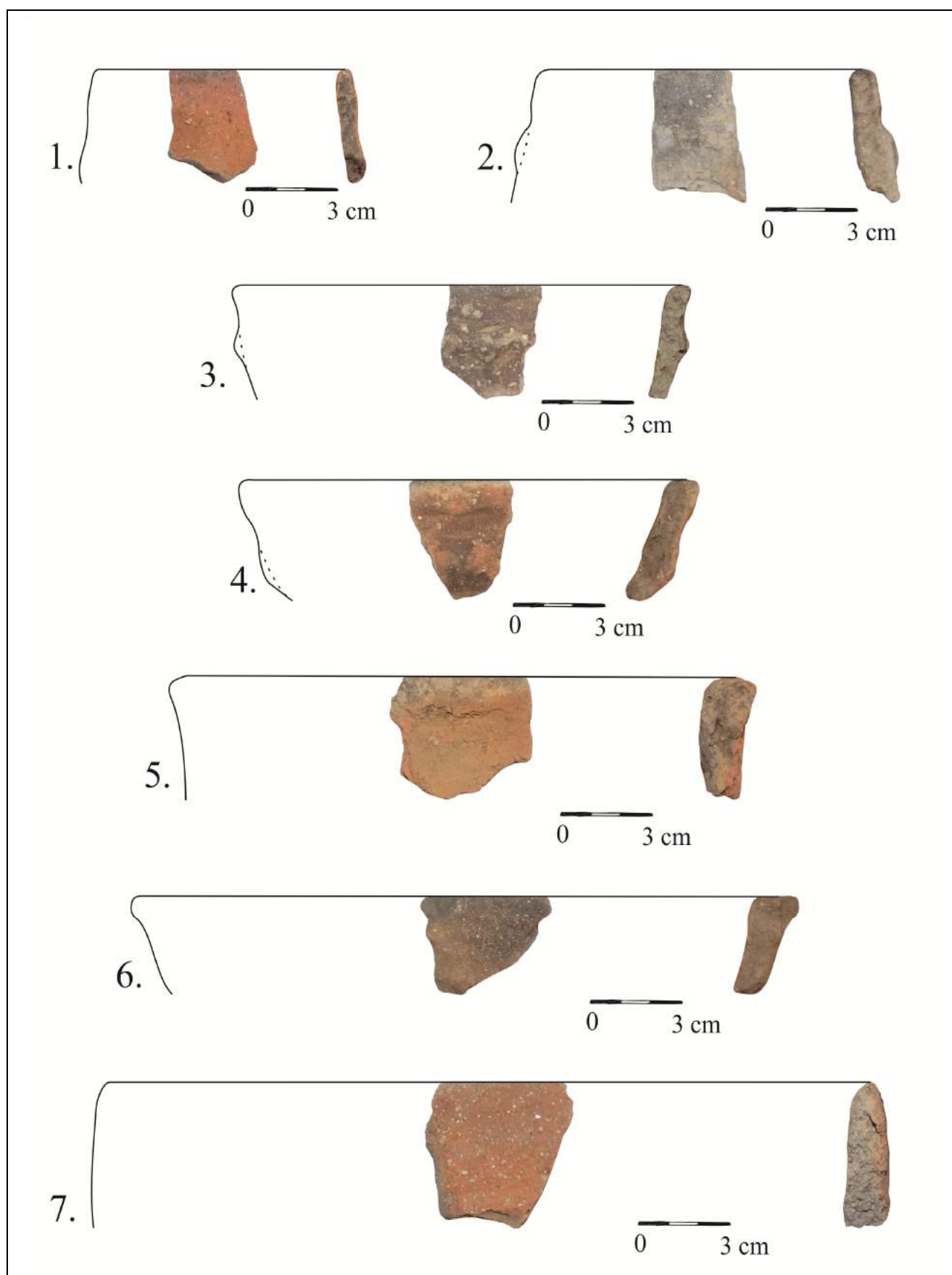
Map 2.



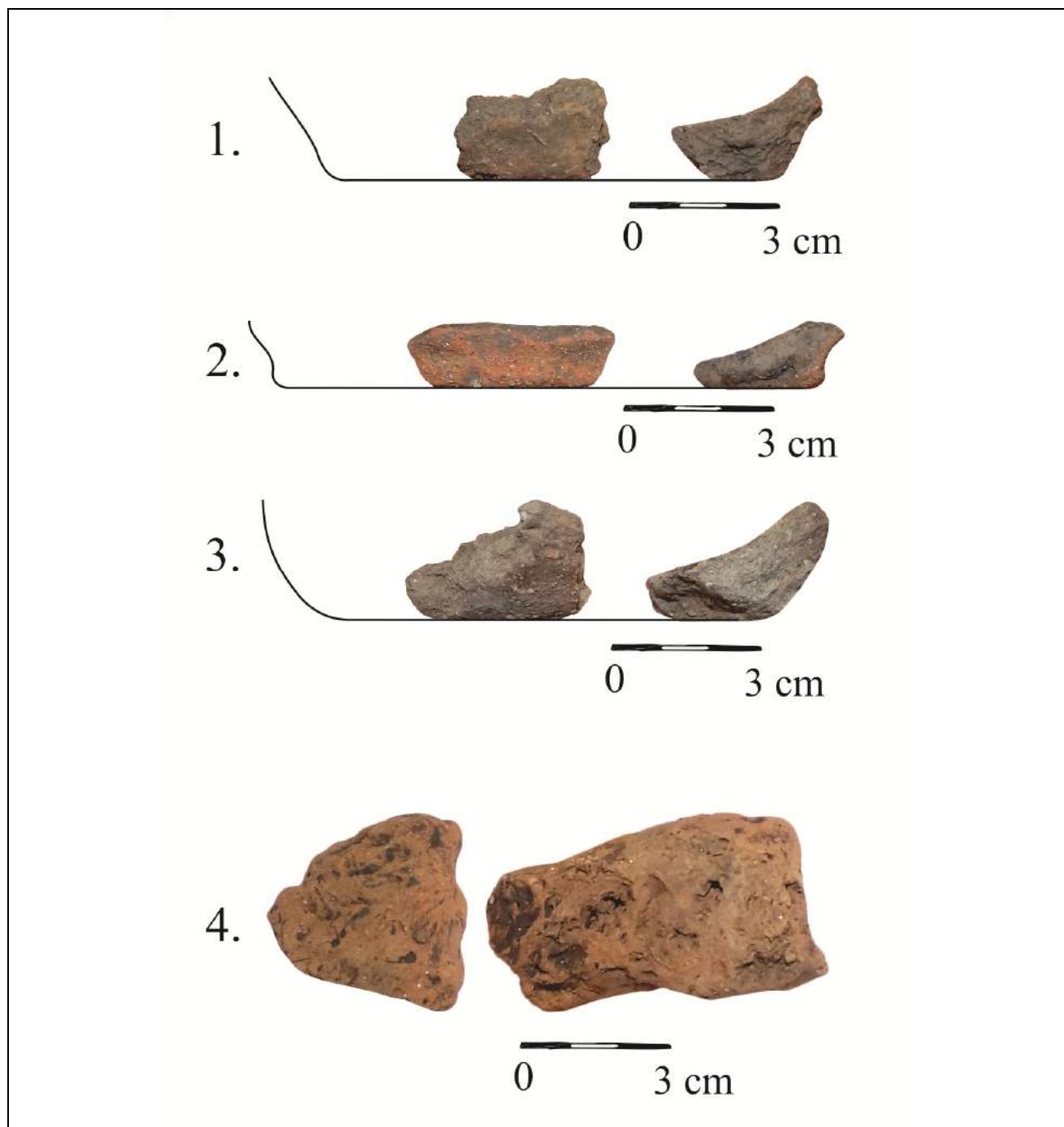
Map 3.



Drawing 1.



Drawing 2.



Drawing 3.

A RECENTLY RECOVERED LOT OF IRON TOOLS AND WEAPONS ORIGINATING IN THE AREA OF ORĂȘTIEI MOUNTAINS

Marius-Mihai CIUTĂ*

Cătălin BORANGIC**

Abstract: *In the last 20 years, the phenomenon of poaching archeological sites using metal detectors has grown in Romania, its objective being that of obtaining artifacts to later capitalize through illegal trade on the black market of antiques. Many decontextualized archeological items - some of them of inestimable value - have been the subject of judicial investigations with the purpose of recovering them and also the information and data of their discovery. The present study approaches the issue of a collection of Dacian iron weapons and tools, recovered in 2015 from a collector in Orăștie (Hunedoara County). The data obtained through the judicial investigations, corroborated with the typological-stylistic and functional analyses, concludes that the origin of said artifacts is one of the Dacian fortresses situated in the area of the Orăștie Mountains.*

Keywords: *Dacian era, tools, weapons, iron, recovery, Dacian fortress.*

Rezumat: *Fenomenul "braconării" siturilor arheologice, prin utilizarea detectoarelor de metale, a înregistrat o dezvoltare deosebită în România, obiectivul fiind acela al obținerii de artefacte arheologice, care au fost ulterior valorificate prin comerțul ilegal din cadrul "pieței negre a antichităților". Foarte multe piese arheologice decontextualizate – unele dintre ele având o valoare deosebită – au făcut obiectul unor investigații judiciare ce aveau ca scop recuperarea în sine a acestora dar și a informațiilor și datelor legate de descoperirea lor. Prezentul studiu abordează problematica unui lot de arme și unelte din fier, dacice, recuperat în anul 2015 de la un colector din Orăștie (jud. Hunedoara). Datele obținute pe parcursul investigației judiciare, coroborate cu analizele tipologico-stilistice și funcționale, conduc spre concluzia provenienței pieelor dintr-o cetate dacică, situată în arealul Munților Orăștiei.*

Cuvinte cheie: *epoca dacică, unelte, arme, fier, recuperare, cetate dacică.*

Archaeological literature of the field registered within the last years an increase in studies and articles concerning decontextualized lots of artefacts¹ (Borangic, Ciută 2014; Ciută, Ciută 2015; Plantos, Ciută 2016; Ciută, Borangic 2016; Sirbu *et al.* 2005; Ferencz, Rădeanu 2002; Borangic, Bădescu 2017, 114-116), recovered as a result of judicial investigations, from various holders, items that made the scope of instrumentation of various criminal files. The

story of the group of antique tools and weapons at hand is a special one due to it's unique recovery method, which has as starting point the omnipresent desire to gain financial benefits following the capitalization of illegally obtained items of cultural heritage, , but also due to the structure of the lot.

On December 13th, 2015, the general director of the National History Museum of Romania received a less than ordinary phone call. A citizen from Orăștie municipality (Hunedoara county), who declined his identity communicated that „he owns a series of antique, Dacian artefacts” most of them made from iron, that he „wishes to sell” to the Museum from Bucharest. Whereas upon being asked about the method of procurement of the artefacts, the respective citizen provided contradictory answers, difficult or almost impossible to accept – the interlocutor proving to be pretty skilled in hiding their true origin – the Director notified the judicial authorities, to whom he provided the data he had. A criminal investigation was opened, with the

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¹ This is also the case with the present study, which shows a depot of iron tools and weapons, namely the circumstances in which it was recovered. The case was the subject of a criminal (penal) file under the supervision of the Prosecutor's Office attached to the Court of Appeal Alba Iulia, no. 631 / P / 2015, which ended in 2016, by confiscating the artefacts and integrating them into museum collections. The legal regime of archaeological artefacts, stolen in various ways from archaeological sites protected on Romanian territory, is regulated by the normative acts in force, with already considerable jurisprudence in this field (see Lazăr 2008, 125-176).

objective to recover the *potential* group of artefacts and to clarify the circumstances of their provenance.

Whereas there was the risk of the individual having some fears or suspicions and losing the artefacts – especially since he started to display restlessness in the persistent phone discussions he continued to have with the director of the museum – the investigators proceeded to an exceptional type of organization of the judicial investigation, that of an *undercover investigator*². This type of action takes a short time to act upon the recovery, by direct contact, under a fake identity. Such an endeavour was necessary especially since the holder suggested *he has other channel* of capitalization of the items. The undercover investigator - introduced as an *archaeologist* from *Alba Iulia* and close collaborator of the National History Museum of Romania – contacted by phone the citizen A. A. from Orăștie, invoking the necessity of immediate evaluation of the artefacts, an action presented as being essential for *their trading / capitalization*. The meeting was set at the dwelling place of the holder in Orăștie, where the artefacts were identified, and the holder was persuaded that the items *have to be submitted without delay to the museum*, because of the imminent danger of them being irremediably affected of corrosion factors³. Being presented a potential perspective of obtaining some amount of money, the holder willingly surrendered the items, insisting upon the *payment of the counter value*, which in his opinion should have been done as soon as possible, due to the upcoming winter holidays. Concomitantly it was tried, claiming only archaeological interest to recover the data and

information related to the way he came to possess the items⁴.

Once the artefacts were recovered (**Pl. I**), the investigator rendered them to the Prosecutor's office attached to the Court of Appeal Alba Iulia, wherefrom, accompanied by an *Ordinance of curatorial expertise*, issued on 17. 12. 2015, they were submitted as *corpus delicti* items at the National History Museum of Romania from Bucharest⁵.

⁴ The owner presented a hard-to-believe version of finding these items: *in a raffia bag in the Orăștie park at the exit on the road to Deva, somewhere in 2010. The bag holding the items has apparently been abandoned by two other people next to a little bridge at the appearance of public guards in the area. The two individuals apparently came later to recover the bag with an Italian license plates lorry.* The idea was that the items were the subject of a previous transaction of some other individuals and the holder has found the objects by accident. Elements of this version, as well as the existence at his home of some objects linked with the forest area and the Orăștie Mountains (for example, a forest hand screwing tool - lost or left by a forest worker in an easy place to find) lead to the potential working hypothesis that the objects were found by the holder somewhere in the vicinity of the sites of the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains. The type of soil inside the sheaves of tools, as well as the vegetal remnants (roots) inside them, betray the provenance from a forest area, with sandy clay, rich in mica sparkles, specific to the high areas in the mountains of Orăștie. In the discussions with the holder, he repeatedly stated that he is familiar with the fortress of Luncani - *Piatra Roșie*.

⁵ On January 4th 2016 *The Report of expertise* drafted by dr. Alexandru Bădescu, expert within M.N.I.R., and submitted to the file, confirms the suspected facts, replying point by point, to the demands of the device of the *Ordinance: The items represent ancient iron tools, belonging to the Dacian civilization. All studied items are authentic and specific to the geto-dacians in the period of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. The presence of items dating from the 1st century AD and the beginning of the next century offers arguments for dating the deposit during this period. As far as the actual site of provenance, at least for the moment, that is difficult to determine with certainty. They are specific to the Geto-Dacians and are part of a hoard discovered in the area of Sarmizegetusa Regia – Grădiștea Muncelului. Similar chemical degradation compounds due to their storage in the ground are similar, that being an argument in favour of the items being in contact with each other until the time they were discovered. Artefacts are important for Geto-Dacian civilization. The items are identical or very similar to those found in the collection of the National History Museum of Romania, with provenance both from systematic archaeological research and from random discoveries. Together, the objects subjected to expertise, illegally excavated and stolen from an archaeological site, meet all the conditions for being part of the National Cultural Heritage. Each individual item can be considered part of the FUND legal category, but together the entire deposit is part of the legal category TREASURY. Most of the items have earth remains and chemical compounds of degradation on them, which testifies for the fact that they were removed from the ground and originally were in archaeological connection with other iron objects, most likely with the other objects of the group.* (Alexandru Bădescu, Expert Report on Criminal

² The Code of Criminal Procedure by Art. 148 (2) provides the use of the *undercover investigator* as a specific evidence. It is an exceptional procedure because it involves some risks, requiring professional knowledge and the ability of the *investigator* to adapt to unforeseen situations.

³ The items were at the citizen's home, some of them, more precisely two (the dolly and the pliers), being deposited in the closet of the room and others (12) in the attic of the block, in a plastic barrel filled with soil. All the items in the barrel were wrapped each in plastic foil, which insulated them from the soil and ensured a relative preservation. The entire recovery operation was under the sign of the *paranormal*, the holder of the items, a profoundly religious person, being convinced that they have a strong spiritual charge, thus motivating the procedure of keeping them in an...unusual location, protected by occult practices (sic!). It is not excluded however, that he attempted to hide them in a place where one would hardly have thought that they could be deposited for preservation.

The lot is made up of 17 items⁶, as follows:

1.

Type of the item: forged pliers, tip X (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 51) (PL II/1).

Sizes: $L_{total}=32.2$ cm; $Weight_{total}=720.57$ gr.

Description: wrought iron pliers. Has the opening shaped in wide wings, that overlap upon clamping. The connecting rivet is prominent, and the arms finish by two semi-spherical buttons, well-marked. Displays traces of chemical degrading compounds throughout the entire surface, and at the bending points, the metal has obvious fractures.

Observations: Although whole the item, was bent before it was deposited in the ground, the metal being very affected in the fracture point, this resulting in one of the arms being broken from the rest of the tool. On this observation one can assume that the hole where the item was hidden was of small size. There are no ornaments visible on the item, otherwise common for this type of pliers.

2.

Item type: mower, type II (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 74) (PL II/2).

Sizes: $L_{total}=37.4$ cm; $l_{max}=30$; $Weight=403.79$ gr.

Description: The tool has the blade slightly curved, with an accentuated loop towards the grasp. It has traces of degrading chemical compounds throughout the entire surface, and the blade is slightly affected by the passage of time.

3.

Item type: iron rake (PL II/3).

Sizes: $L=385$; $L_{maxrake\ teeth}=107$; $\varnothing_{grasp\ aperture}=3.5$ cm; $Thickness_{section\ aperture\ area\ for\ the\ grasp}=4.4$ cm; $Gr.=813.13$ gr.

Description: Robust tool, of wrought iron, initially with six teeth (today one is lost).

Observation: Although in principle, rakes are part of the agricultural inventory, the items originating from the Dacian era seem to be used, judging by their morphologic particularities (mass, disposition and size of the teeth etc.) and by those deriving from their discovery contexts

(almost invariably within the area of forging shops) for arranging and / or manoeuvring coals in the bed stone or furnace, or levelling oar during its reduction. Their use in agricultural activities, although possible, is difficult to prove (Boranic, Bădescu 2017, 82).

4.

Item type: sledge hammer, type II, var. II (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 45-46) (PL III/1).

Sizes: $L=166$; $l_{max}=65$; $l_{maxflat\ head}=56$; $\varnothing_{maxround\ head}=57$; $\varnothing_{tale\ aperture}=34$; $Gr.=1747.18$ gr.

Description: Robust item, from wrought iron. One of the extremities of the tool is circular and the other one approximately rectangular. The circular extremity has obvious wear and tear marks (*tag*). It has soil traces and chemical degrading compounds especially into the aperture at the tale.

Observations: This type of sledge hammer has good analogies at Grădiștea Muncelului, on the 8th terrace and from the „Căprăreța” point, its use within the forging shops within the proximity of the capital being obvious. Dating of such sledge hammers is lax, being used since the 2nd century BC and until the beginning of the 2nd century AD, sometimes even outside these chronologic limits.

5.

Item type: dolly, type I (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 44) (PL III/2).

Sizes: $H_{max}=14$ cm; $l_{inf}=4.2 \times 4.6$ cm; $l_{sup}=8 \times 8.2$ cm; $Gr.=3835.32$ gr.

Description: Massive iron item, shaped as a truncated pyramid. It is a type of simple dolly, well spread in the Dacian environment (Grădiștea Muncelului, Bâta Doamnei, Piatra Craivii, Moigrad, Pecica, Tilișca), with analogies allowing their dating towards the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century BC.

Observations: The artefact is very well preserved. Most of such dollies, some of big sizes, come from the iron processing area of the capital, attesting to the spread of the metallurgic activities around Sarmizegetusa (Boranic, Bădescu 2017, 66).

6.

Item type: chisel, type III, var. a (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 90) (PL III/3. a/b).

Sizes: $L_{total}=17$ cm; $\varnothing_{max\ toc}=24$; $Gr.=118$ gr.

Description: Iron item, with longitudinal case, deducted within the body of the chisel, with a rectangular section. Displays traces of chemical

Case 63/P/2015, Bucharest January 6th2016). We thank on this occasion to the colleague A. Bădescu for access to information and photographic documentation of the items.

⁶ The dimensions of the items are in millimetres when they are relatively small, including diameters, and in centimetres (cm) when the dimensions are larger.

degrading compounds throughout the entire surface, and from the upper part of the case is missing a small part.

Observations: The multitude of possible operations by the chisel, from cutting metals to making fine decorations, made it one of the most numerous tools discovered in the Pre-Roman Dacia. Naturally, there are multiple types of chisels, each destined to a certain operation or a certain material that required processing. This type of chisels, with a longitudinal case, destined to attach a wood extension, shows that the type of pressure exercised by the hammer hits was medium, so that the most common use seems to be wood processing (Borangic, Bădescu 2017, p. 102).

7.

Item type: perforator or spear tip (**Pl. III/4 a/b**).

Sizes: $L_{\text{total}} = 15$ cm; $\varnothing_{\text{max}} = 17$; Gr.=65 gr.

Description: Item with a longitudinal case and sharp tip.

Comments: The morphology of this item complicates its precise identification and implicitly the determination of its functionality. The physical characteristics (the heel, the rectangular section, the tip) suggest a type of tool designed for the penetration of soft materials (wood or leather). Such tools were needed in woodworking (carpentry, timberwork or even metallurgy), or more likely in leather, whether we are talking about the manufacture of harnesses, harnesses and belts, or footwear or fur garments. However, the lack of tip wear eliminates the possibility that it has been used as a puncher or dowel for hard materials. Without any real analogy, any possibility of accurate determination of functionality remains open. Another theory, just as possible, is that the artefact meets the conditions to have been a spearhead, despite the short heel and the lack of perforation for the fastening screw (which could have existed in the small portion damaged by the passage of time). The robust allure, the prolonged conical shape in the heel area, the full rectangular tip which gradually narrows, are all features identified in such weapons⁷.

⁷ A relative analogy comes from Grădiştea Muncelului, Hunedoara County, an item that is today in the patrimony of MCDR, Deva (<http://dacit.utcluj.ro/scandb/?page=scandb#/model/386/ro>; 20.12.2017) and dated between the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Sometimes such components have been interpreted as a *spear heel* (Chidioşan 1980, 57, fig. 3/3) or even arrowheads (Dacii... 2004, 96, nr. crt. 242).

8.

Item type: Item with an uncertain functionality (**Pl. IV/1 a/b/c**).

Sizes: $L = 29.5$ cm; $\text{Size}_{\text{active head}} = 77 \times 21$; $\varnothing_{\text{max}} = 35$; $\varnothing_{\text{hole}} = 11$; Gr= 1539.33 gr.

Description: The artefact is made of a massive bar, flattened and bent on one end. The upper part is widened and thinned, and in the middle has a circular perforation. The body of the rod is rectangular immediately under the flattened part and then becomes circular in the section. The active parts, respectively the side wings, are broken, since the old ages (**Pl. IV/1/b**).

Observations: Morphology of the item raises some issues. First, the supposedly active upper part is not complete, so the exact form is difficult to identify and implicitly the whole functionality becomes uncertain. Although it looks somewhat like a plough share, it was apparently a dolly; such items are documented for the Dacian era in connection with silverwork tools (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 99-100; Borangic, Bădescu 2017, 69.), but at a closer look things are not all that certain. Especially since the lower part, which in theory slid into a solid wood support, is flattened and has a circular orifice on the shaft (**Pl. IV/1/c**), which is not only atypical to this type of anvil, but also useless⁸. Dollies stick by this spur in the wooden holder. The presence of the hole in that place has no logic if the artefact was made as a dolly. Also, the hole has a regular circular shape and the walls of the hole are perfectly straight, which suggests its execution with a metal drill, a non-existent operation in the Danube Antiquity. On these grounds, and considering also the lack of context and the mixture of items by their discoverer, the chronological area of the object is difficult to specify. It could be a fragment of an object belonging to another epoch.

9.

Item type: axe, type IV (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 78) (**Pl. V/1. a/b**)

Sizes: $L_{\text{total}} = 15.5$ cm; $L =$; $l_{\text{max}} = 8.7$ cm; $\varnothing_{\text{tale aperture}} = 3.8$ cm; Gr= 1.428 gr.

Description: iron axe with a narrow body, lean, but robust in the same time. The edge is wide, quadrangle, and the blade almost straight.

⁸ Even in the case of the ancient coulters there is no analogy by which the attachment to the log of the machine is made by a pin that passes through that hole, but they present a terminal spin, deducted from the body of the piece.

The aperture for the grasp doesn't have the usual wings destined to additional stabilizing.

Observations: Although theoretically established as belonging to wood processing tools, axe are frequently discovered by archaeologists first because of a wide range of uses as they can be used as weapons and tools. This type of axe is sporadically present among archaeological findings.

10.

Item type: battle axe (Pl. V/2).

Sizes: $L_{total} = 21.6$ cm; $l_{max} = 9.6$ cm; $\emptyset_{tale aperture} = 3.8$ cm; Gr. = 506 gr.

Description: Wrought iron. Thinned body and a blade widened a lot towards the edge.

Observations: The item was recovered from the same source, but its morphology is typical for the Middle Age. The lack of archaeological context, a fundamental and specific issue of archaeological poaching and of the phenomenon of metal detection, deepens or more precisely doesn't allow the accurate recovery of the origin and cultural level of the objects extracted from the ground. In the absence of the archaeological matrix, all we can do is relate to the more methodically and scientifically analogies, although sometimes quite imprecise. The presence of the medieval axe among the Dacian items can be a result of its integration into the lot, willing or not, by the one who gathered the items, a lot which, in fact, represents a "collection" gathered in time from various points in the area of the mountains of Orăștie, most likely, according to witnesses and suspects, from the proximity of the fortress from Luncani - *Piatra Roșie*.

11.

Item type: axe, type I (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 78) (Pl. V/3).

Sizes: $L_{total} = 15.5$ cm; $l_{max} = 7.1$ cm; $\emptyset_{aperture\ of\ the\ grasp} = 2$ cm; Gr. = 526.38 gr.

Description: Wrought iron item, with a thick edge and rectangular back, strong profiled. The body is massive, thinned and widened towards the blade, with small rounded side wings. It displays traces of chemical degrading compounds throughout the entire surface, but the general preservation condition is good.

Observations: an exemplar of the most common category of axes, this type being frequent in discoveries within the Dacian environment.

12.

Item type: axe, type I (Pl. VI/1).

Sizes: $L_{total} = 18.3$ cm; $L =$; $l_{max} = 9$ cm; $\emptyset_{aperture\ of\ the\ grasp} = 40$; Gr. = 1048.52 gr.

Description: wrought iron, strong edge, rectangular, but short. The axe is very robust.

Observations: The aperture of the grasp is larger in diameter, thus we can assume stronger grasp and implicitly a higher impact resistance, which allowed higher strain and tension, specific to cutting trees or to rough wood material cutting. Good preservation condition.

13.

Item type: axe, type I (Pl. VI/1 a/b)

Sizes: $L_{total} = 18.3$ cm; $\emptyset_{aperture\ of\ the\ grasp} = 38$; $l_{max} = 9$ cm; Gr. = 811.63 gr.

Description: wrought iron. Similar to the previous one, except for the blade, which is somewhat wider in this case.

Observations: One of the walls of the aperture for the grasp is fractured, possibly a manufacturing defect worsened by the long storage in the ground.

14.

Item type: hinge, type I⁹ (Pl. IV/2).

Sizes: $L_{max} = 12.5$ cm; $l_{max} = 54$.

Description: Wrought iron. Rectangular shape, with two holes for the wood clamping screws.

Observations: of the original ensemble only one part survived, including one of the nails with which it was clamped into the wood. Good preservation condition. Such hinges were used for the lids of wooden boxes or for the mobility of doors or shutters. The hinges have a long use over time, with no special morphological changes. This aspect, plus the mixture of objects from different eras, made by the collector makes it difficult to assign the item to an era or another.

15.

Item type: hoe, type II, var. a (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 68) (Pl. VI/2. a/b).

Sizes: $L_{total} = 19.5$ cm; $\emptyset_{aperture\ of\ the\ grasp} = 35$; $l_{max} = 8.5$ cm; Gr. = 488.57.

Description: wrought iron hoe. The tool is robust, trapezoidal in shape, with the thickened body and widened around the aperture of the grasp. The blade is slightly curved towards the interior, and around the aperture of the grasp it thinned and thickened. The blade is affected by the passage of time.

⁹ For hinges of this type of the Dacian age, see typology and analogies in Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 115.

Observations: This type of hoe is the most common within the Dacian environment, being present in many archaeological sites. The original morphology leads to the hypothesis that it is a local innovation, a creation of the Dacian blacksmiths.

16.

Item type: hoe, type II, var. a (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 68) (PL VII/1. a/b).

Sizes: $L_{\text{total}} = 21.2$ cm; $l_{\text{max}} = 10$ cm; $\varnothing_{\text{aperture of the grasp}} = 35$; Gr.= 909.44 gr.

Description: wrought iron. Morphology similar to the previous one.

Observations: At the level of the blade it shows a somewhat more accentuated degradation condition.

17.

Item type: hoe, type II, var. c (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 69) (PL VII/2. a/b).

Sizes: $L_{\text{total}} = 24$ cm; $l_{\text{max}} = 13$ cm; $\varnothing_{\text{aperture of the grasp}} = 40$; Gr.=807.25 gr.

Description: Wrought iron. Massive hoe, triangular shape, with the blade area largely widened unlike the rest of the blade.

Observations: At the level of the aperture for the grasp, it displays a fracture of the metal and obvious traces of degradation. This type of hoe is also considered an innovation of the local blacksmiths, based on the lack of analogies within the neighbour cultural environments, as well as on the circumlocation of the discoveries in the vicinity of the capital Sarmizegetusa.

Conclusions

Tracing the conditions of the recovery of the aforementioned lot, respectively the description of the typological-stylistic features and of the cultural-chronological frame proves, from the beginning, the fact that we are dealing with an inhomogeneous lot, probably collected in time, from various points, as a result of illegal activities of archaeological poaching. Under such conditions, the identification of the location/s of origin of the items becomes all the more difficult, even impossible should we add to it the lack of interest from the collector to supply accurate data related to the origin of the items. Nevertheless, in this context we consider important the description made by one of the witnesses who constantly participated in the illegal detections within the area of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, between the years 1999-2005. In the context of executing in 2006 some judicial procedures to one of the holes and the point *Muchia Căprăreței* – wherefrom have

resulted in May 2000, 10 multi-spiralled gold bracelets, *Hole no. 7* in the terminology used during the criminal investigations – the witness described in detail, how in numerous cases, when the metal detector was signalling the presence of certain items, if they were found to be made of iron, bronze or copper, their inevitable faith was that of being abandoned near the hole they were extracted from.

The situation is also known by the members of the site's research team, who during multiple campaigns since the beginning of the 2000's had to recover such *abandonments* some impressive as number of items and weight. Less known is the situation wherein, according to the same witness, after 2-3 years from their discovery and for the same strictly financial reasons, the participants to the detections rented jeeps and returned to the locations of such discoveries, recovered the abandoned artefacts and then later sold them to the metal recycling centres in Orăștie. The testimony of the witness confirmed by other extrajudicial sources reveal a very unfortunate reality: tons of artefacts made of iron, copper, bronze originating in the area of the Dacian and Roman sites of the Orăștie Mountains were sold to scraped iron collection centres, being thus lost forever¹⁰.

This paper tries to recover the minimum information of historic interest revealed by the chronicled items, being a part of a series of articles and studies aiming to unveil a small part of what meant the phenomenon of "gold fever", which actively manifested in the Orăștie Mountains in the period after 1989. We must start such an endeavour from the assumption that at least in principle the reconstitution of the entire *puzzle* of the phenomenon is impossible, as detectorists with no archaeological background have neither the inclination nor the training to record / register the details of the poached context. Moreover, they have no reason to self-incriminate. Therefore the recovered information is only the tip of the *iceberg* of what illegal activities within archaeological sites mean. The lack of interest from the poachers when it comes to artefacts made of other metals than gold and silver, gave them an ingrate faith, of being decontextualized, abandoned, destroyed or sold as scrap, although if when it comes to interpretation of historical realities, such deposits have the same value and

¹⁰ Such a lot (batch, hoard) - made up of 44 pieces and recovered from a collector right from such a collection centre, later recovered by the judicial organs - is undergoing scientific capitalization.

significance as those of precious metals. The most tempting sites for detection were those from *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Grădiștea Muncelului) and the one from Luncani - *Piatra Roșie*.

No doubt, the completion of this study with metallographic analysis's results and also with physical-chemical analysis of the soil remains will bring additional information concerning the origin of the artefacts. We can also hope that when the crimes related to poaching of metals carrying contexts of these sites will prescribe, the interest in recording in any manner, new data and information that would contribute to a more correct historical interpretation would rise in the participants at this kind of activities.

We conclude this presentation of the lot by adding it to the number of items originating „from the proximity of the Dacian fortress from Luncani - *Piatra Roșie*”. Revising the archaeological materials discovered on the site, both in systematic research (Daicoviciu 1954), as well as poached and recovered (Florea, Ferencz 2007, 47-54; Sîrbu *et al.*, 2005; Ferencz, Rădeanu 2002; Borangic, Bădescu 2017, 114-116), we find a substantial number of artefacts originating within that perimeter. Corroborating the statements on file about other large quantities of lost items – because we are not talking about numbers anymore, but quantities– items, one can notice a consistent and diverse inventory. One can only presume the source of such volume of iron tools and weapons, a quantity comparable to that from the proximity of the capital. Either they were products of blacksmith shops dependent on the

fortress, shops that are undiscovered to the date, either they were brought from the workshops of Sarmizegetusa. Without further exploring such hypothesis, they both reveal the economic force of the elite that was governing the fortress and the surrounding territory.

During the first Dacian-Roman war, the Romans conquered a few Dacian fortresses, on their way to the capital. One of them was the home of king Decebal's sister, who was captured and deported in the empire. A member of the royal family, this sister was probably married to another nobleman – in the scene on the Column the character is holding a small child – a commander or owner of another fortress, otherwise one cannot explain the presence of the aristocrat in another location than the powerful Sarmizegetusa (Borangic 2017, 286). The episode is narrated by Dio Cassius (LXVIII, 9) and confirmed by scene XXX on the Traian's Column. The late historian R. Vulpe issued the hypothesis that the conquered fortress and the home of the king's sister might have been the one from Piatra Roșie (Vulpe 1966, 88). We will probably never know with certainty if this scenario was real, but the fortress itself, as well as the inventories discovered there, with their multitude of weapons, tools and art items made of iron - from which we remember only the already famous „shields” from wrought iron (Borangic, Bădescu 2017, 112-116), that changed the view on local art – suggest a powerful and prosperous residential centre. Either way we look the fortress from Luncani - *Piatra Roșie* is far from having told its entire story.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRAȚIILOR

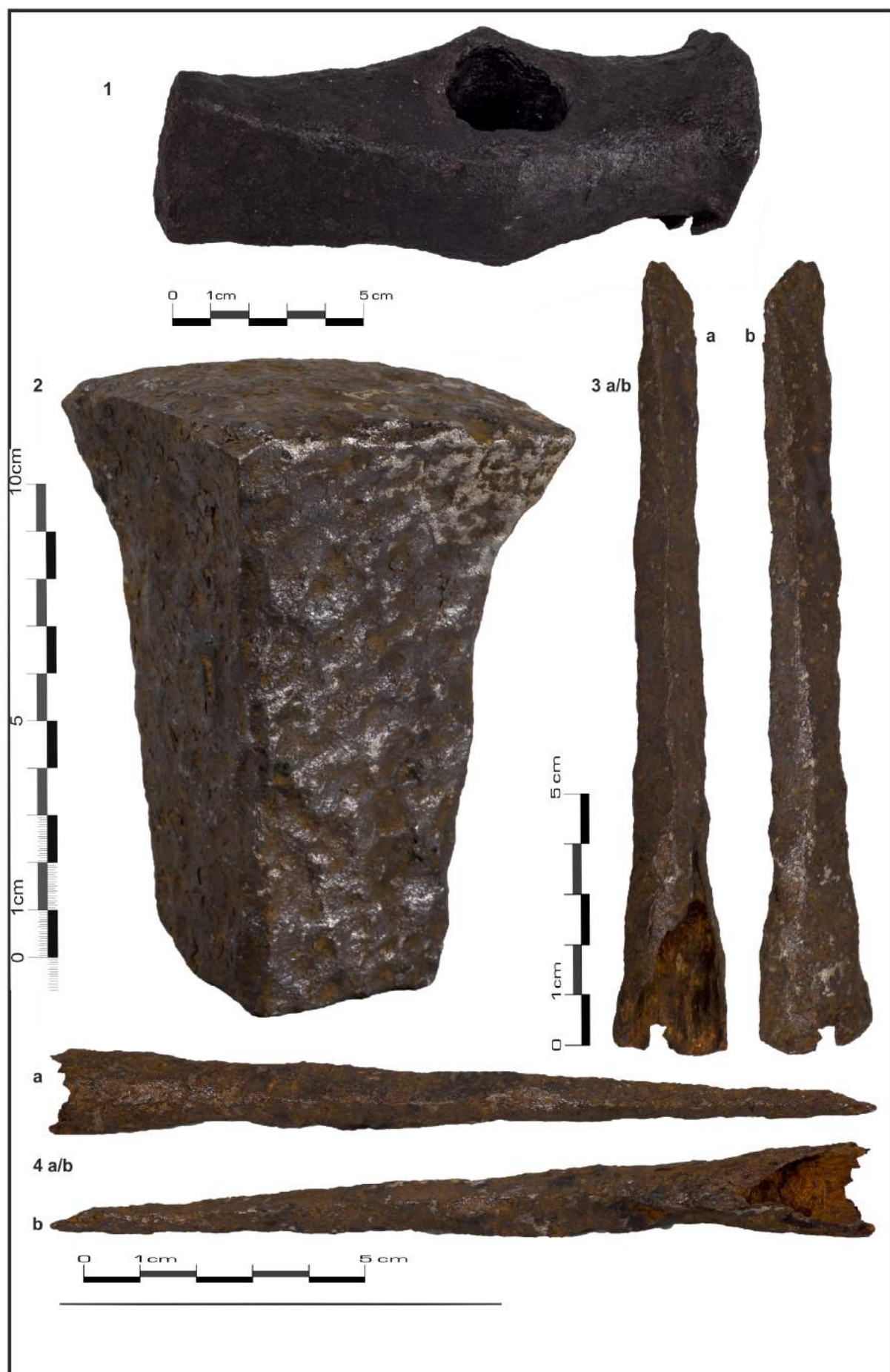
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Pl. 1



Pl. 2



Pl. 3



Pl. 4



Pl. 5



Pl. 6



Pl. 7

AN INCISED AMPHORA STOPPER FOUND AT RUȘI, SIBIU DISTRICT

Claudiu MUNTEANU*

Abstract: On a field located outside the entrance to the Drying Gas Station, situated in the village of Ruși, was discovered Neolithic, Eneolithic, Bronze Age, Dacian and Roman pottery. This settlement was previously unknown and is not to be confused with the one existing in the place called Sub Mesteacăn, located on both sides of the road from Slimnic, where pottery and a coin hoard were found. During field research was discovered an amphora stopper/lid (*operculum*), partially damaged and eroded. Fire exposure gave it the impression of a pottery vessel bottom.

Keywords: Roman, stopper, amphora, settlement, Apulum, Ruși.

Rezumat: Pe un câmp situat în afara intrării în Stația de Uscare Gaze Naturale, din satul Ruși, a fost descoperită ceramică neolitică, eneolitică, din epoca bronzului, dacică și romană. Acest sit este inedit și nu trebuie confundat cu acela din locul denumit Sub Mesteacăn, situat pe ambele părți ale drumului de la Slimnic, unde ceramică și un tezaur monetar au fost găsite. În timpul cercetărilor de teren a fost descoperit un capac de amforă (*operculum*), parțial erodat. Expunerea la foc i-a dat aspectul unui fund de vas din ceramică.

Cuvinte cheie: roman, capac, amforă, Apulum, Ruși.

At the entrance on a country road in the village of Ruși from the east lays a slope that descends to the east and south, towards the stream Valea Rușilor, at 130 meters north of it. In this place exists a Natural Gas Drying Station and on the agricultural field situated at the entrance of the station (fig. 1) were found Neolithic, Eneolithic (Petrești culture), Bronze Age, Dacian and Roman pottery fragments. This site was previously unknown, not being mentioned by I. Glodariu among the 5 ancient settlements in the Slimnic – Ruși area (Glodariu 1981, 80-81). The closest ancient site is the one situated at 300 meters from the southeastern end of the village, in the point called *Sub Mesteacăn*, before the entrance in the village from the road from Slimnic, where exists a settlement of the autochthonous population, whose traces consists of pottery that can be found on both sides of the road. In this settlement was found, by chance, in the years 1946-1947, a hoard formed of silver coins from the Septimius Severus – Filip Arabul interval (Mitrea 1953, 611-640; Popa 2002, 159; Luca *et al.* 2003, 185), after newer studies in the interval Vespasian – Filip Arabul (Munteanu 2012, 93).

On the occasion of field research in the newly identified site was found a round object, made of stone (slate), being slightly concave-shaped, having the dimensions 7.34 x 6.56 cm,

2.16 – 2.25 cm thick and weight 118.22 grams (fig. 2-3). In the superior part the face of the object is damaged, as well as the left side of the inferior part. To this deteriorations can be added traces of erosion, especially on the left side, a sign that the item was exposed to the weather for a long time. Probably more recently, on the occasion of cleaning the terrain of vegetable debris, the incised face and the edge were exposed to fire, therefor getting a reddish colour which gives the impression of a wrought bottom of a ceramic pot.

Due to the shape, the dimensions and the representation on one of the faces, the item is easy to identify – is the stopper (*operculum*) of an Roman amphora. The item cannot be identified with other types of objects, such as weights, because its weight does not correspond to any known unit.

Due to the erosion is impossible to know if in the upper part of the field existed images and/or letters. But in the lower part of the field appear several incisions (fig. 2-3). A vertical line crosses the field towards the inferior edge of the item. Centrally, on both sides of the line appear an incised letter - X. While the letter in the right was preserved better, the left one is hard to see because of the erosion. In this regard, the letters, in fact the number XX represents the capacity of the container, respectively the quantity of wine. It's 20 sextarii, therefor 10,92 litres.

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Under the letter X, was incised, with clumsiness, a *tabula ansata*. An incomplete margin is seen in the right side. Although the outline is not continuous, the general form identifies it. A horizontal line, part of a straight angle, visible under the letter X in the left, indicates also in this side was incised an outline, probably rectangular, whose lines were no longer preserved thanks to the erosion.

Later we used a program for altering images, in order to see if data can be recovered from the *tabula ansata*. The detail, of millimeters wide, led to the identification of several letters:

M(arcus) I(ulius) O(?)

At first sight, the letters would nominate the producer/the owner of the estate with the vineyard. However, it seems that the person mentioned on the stopper is the merchant involved in distribution - *negotiator vinarius* (Hesnard, Gianfrotta 1989, 393-441). He would have made the stoppers before the business trips, these items being relevant to the distribution of the amphoras and not for their production or content (Broekaert 2013, 437). In this regard, in the illegible outline from the left side was probably indicated the production centre, other data regarding the product or the year of production being marked with red or chestnut paint on the neck of the container.

Another clue regarding the content of wine would be represented by the redness through fire exposure. If this was not the result of burning vegetable debris on the field while the item layed on the ground, then probably it was a desire to imitate the colour of pottery, of which it was normally made, but also the situation they were painted in red, in order to highlight the text of the inscription.

Most frequent sealing of amphoras was made with discs or pottery stoppers with a central bottom or not and made through different processes. Wooden stoppers are also known, frequent in these ages, as well as cork stoppers. In the literature is less clear the usage of stoppers made of clay, lime or pozzolana (Mayer i Olivé 2008, 225).

We were not able to find exact analogies for this item, the reason being the few stone stoppers published. In the catalogue of several amphora stoppers found in Dacia, stone stoppers does not exist (Ardeț 2006, 152-154). Several stone stoppers were recently found in Dobroudja

at *Halmyris* and Niculițel¹. In the european part of the Empire is known one item from the Fréjus area, one from *Narona* (Vid - Croatia) and another from Forlimpopoli (Mayer i Olivé 2008, 232, 237, n. 80). One stone item comes from Alto Adige (Tecchiati *et al.* 2012-2013, 187). These stoppers, made from limestone or marble, are easily confused with *tesserae*, with playing pieces or with elements of *opus sectile*, and therefor are not always easy to identify, being similar to the round objects wrought from the bottom of ceramic vessels or tiles (Mayer i Olivé 2008, 232). Thanks to the material of which it was made, the stone stoppers would not be included to the older (Beltrán 1970; Vegas 1973; Kuzmanov 1985; Chinelli 1991) or newer classifications (Buora *et al.* 2012-2013, 9) of pottery stoppers.

Regarding the container sealed with this item, among the types of wine amphoras are known the ones having the capacity of 11 litres, coming from Rhodos and called „*half-size amphoras*” (Parker 1992, 48). About these is known to have been containers for special, high-quality wines - *vina salsa* (Tchernia 1986, 105). The Rhodian amphoras are known to have been discovered in *Colonia Apulensis* (Ardeț 2006, 122) and it has been said that they disappear in Dacia during the reign of emperor Hadrian (Ardeț 2006, 122). But we don't believe that in the settlement of Ruși would have been brought an amphora from the east during those decades, sealed with a stopper from a special material, uncharacteristic to the area of the provenance of the product.

Instead, several inscriptions bearing the *tabula ansata* on different civilian or military materials were found at *Apulum*, dated in the second half of the second century (IDR III/6, *passim*) and this can be the place where a merchant was shipping *vinum* in small amphoras realised locally, inspired after the form and capacity of Rhodian amphoras, previously distributed in the centre on the Mureș river. Not without reason has been said this is the classic type of an amphora destined to the transport of wine (Peacock, Williams 1986, 103). This product, local wine of superior quality, was distributed in the second half of the second century in small amphoras, sealed with a stopper made of a material that can be easily found in this area of Transylvania. The business must have been extensive – the wine came from a rural property, was brought to the town and poured in special designed amphoras, sealed with stone-

¹ Information by dr. Dorel Paraschiv.

made stoppers and marked with identification data.

The way this product was transported can be intuited. The first stage of the road was from *Apulum* to the Roman settlements in the area of Apoldu de Sus/Apoldu de Jos, and after that, on the Topârcea - Ocna Sibiului road. From Ocna Sibiului, through Slimnic, it reached the ancient settlement of Ruși. Another road would have been on the rivers Mureș and Târnava Mare, and after that, from Micăsasa, through the rural settlements of Țapu and Șoroștin (Luca *et al.* 2003, 219, 220, 233), to Ruși.

The price of wine varied according to age and vineyard. The consumption of local and imported wines is certificated by the text of a wax tablet (CIL III, Tab.Cer.XV), with the mention of some expenses for the banquet of a collegium from *Alburnus Maior*. The two types of wine mentioned are *merum* and *vinum*. *Merum* was a sweet, expensive, imported wine, and *vinum* a local product. *Merum* had the cost of almost two denars for a litre, and *vinum* 0,54 denars the litre (CIL III, Tab.Cer.XV). Unfortunately, we cannot say how much it costed the consumer from the ancient settlement of Ruși the product from *Apulum* because we don't know neither the type

of the wine transported in the small amphora, nor the way it got there. What we know is that, as any preindustrial society, in the Roman Empire the transport of goods was cheaper on water (Duncan-Jones 1974, 366-368).

Another proof for the marketing of wine in smaller containers is the discovery of a small amphora in the settlement of Slimnic – *Șarba-Ștempen* (Popa 2002, 179). The amphora material from this side of the province is, nevertheless, poorly represented, being found only several amphoras and fragments of amphoras in the pottery centre of Micăsasa (Mitrofan, Pop 1996, 21-22), in the *villae rusticae* from Apoldu de Sus - *Levejoare* (38 fragments of amphoras) (Branga 1994, 64) and Miercurea Sibiului – *La Coșcan* (amphoras) (Gudea 2008, 120, nr. 9), as well as in the rural settlement of Gușterița – amphoras (Gudea 2008, 91, nr. 51).

This item is more important as the amphora material from the rural settlements represents only 7.86% of the discoveries from Dacia (Ardeț 2006, 249) and because it was found in the area of ancient settlements situated on the road between *Cedonia* and the *vicus* from Mediaș - *Gura Câmpului*.

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Fig. 1 - Satellite imagery of the village of the village of Ruși with the findspot.

Imagine din satelit a localității Ruși cu locul marcat al descoperirii.

Fig. 2 - Image of the amphora stopper.

Imagine a capacului de amforă.

Fig. 3 - Drawing of the amphora stopper.

Desen al capacului de amforă.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

SEVERAL COIN FINDS FROM TRANSYLVANIA (II)

Claudiu MUNTEANU*

Abstract: *In the Treasury of the Brukenthal Museum's archive and in the Brukenthal Library's archive are preserved several informations regarding the find of several ancient and medieval coins in different villages from Transylvania in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The Treasury's archive preserves several pages from a coin registry for the 1835-1897 period, and in the Library's archive are preserved several notes, written by curators in the 19th century. Another note comes from the Astra Museum's archive.*

Keywords: *Dacian, Roman, Medieval, coin, archive.*

Rezumat: *În arhiva Tezaurului Muzeului Brukenthal și în arhiva Bibliotecii Brukenthal se păstrează mai multe însemnări cu privire la descoperirea unor monede antice și medievale în diferite localități din Transilvania în secolul XIX și începutul secolului XX. Arhiva Tezaurului păstrează câteva pagini dintr-un registru de intrări pentru perioada 1835-1897, iar în arhiva Bibliotecii se păstrează câteva însemnări pe bilete, scrise de curatori în secolul XIX. O altă notă provine din arhiva Muzeului Astra.*

Cuvinte cheie: *dacic, roman, medieval, monedă, arhivă.*

Recently, on the occasion of searching the archives of the Brukenthal Library and Treasury, were found informations regarding old discoveries of coins from Transylvania. There are two categories of sources.

The first category is formed by several pages called *Numismatische Erwerbungen nach Aufzeichnungen im Geschäftsprotokoll* (Numismatic acquisitions after records from the business protocol – Fig. 1). Henceforth, we shall quote it as NEAG. This list includes entries from the 1835-1897 period.

The second category is composed of items brought to the museum during the 19th century, being evaluated by the curators, but not bought for its collection, probably because of the lack of financial means. At that time, the curators wrote on small pieces of paper the informations about the discoveries, to avoid being lost.

These items are unpublished, not being mentioned in the counties' archaeological repertoires (RepArhAB, *passim*; RepArhHD, *passim*; RepArhBV, *passim*; RepArhSJ, *passim*).

Alba Iulia, Alba district

Two notes from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention the discovery of several Dacian coins in 1874 (fig. 2). These coins cannot be identified with the ones already known in the literature (Pavel 1990-1993, 163-171).

Apoș, Sibiu district

According to NEAG, in 1886 entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection one denarius, probably Roman.

Bruiu, Sibiu district

In 1930 was found a Medieval coin hoard in Sophia Breckner's vineyard. From this hoard, 14 coins are preserved in the Agnita Museum's collection and are dated in the 1590-1609 period.

Corna, Alba district

In 1904 entered the ASTRA Museum's collection a Roman Provincia Dacia type coin, issued by Philippus the Arab (fig. 3).

Cornățel, Sibiu district

According to NEAG, one Dacian coin, found here, entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection in 1884. This coin must not be confused with the one discovered in the same year, which entered also in the collection of the Museum (Munteanu 2014, 104). There is a chance the two items originally belonged to a coin hoard.

Costești, Hunedoara district

According to NEAG, a information dated 1878 shows how several Roman coins, found here, entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection.

Dacia, Brașov district

From the ancient coin hoard mentioned by us recently as being found in this village before 1885

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(Munteanu 2012, 107), 4 Roman republican denarii (including one item Aemilia gens, one item C. Naevius Balbus) and two Dyrrhachium drachmas (Meniskos și Filon) entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection (fig. 4).

Densuș - Cârnești, Hunedoara district

According to NEAG, in 1885 entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection an unknown number of denarii and pieces of 3 grossi, part of a medieval hoard unearthed somewhere between these two villages.

Grădiștea de Munte, Hunedoara district

According to NEAG, in 1880 entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection an unknown number of coins, part of a hoard found here. Most probably is the 783 Roman republican denarii hoard found here in 1879 (RepArhHD, 83).

Hațeg, Hunedoara district

A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention several Dacian coins being found here in 1868, probably part of a hoard (fig. 5).

Hălchiu, Brașov district

A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention 3 Dacian coins being found here before 1880, probably part of a hoard (fig. 6).

Jibert, Brașov district

According to NEAG, on a field situated near the village was found a Roman bronze coin, which entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection in 1894.

Miercurea Sibiului, Sibiu district

According to NEAG, one denarius issued by Heliogabalus in Rome entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection in 1885.

Netuș, Sibiu district

Preserved in the Agnita Museum's collection, a bronze coin issued by Hadrianus was found on a field situated towards Iacobenii.

Ocna Sibiului, Sibiu district

According to NEAG, a Roman coin entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection in 1879.

Orăștie, Hunedoara district

Two notes from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention two Dacian coins being brought to the MNB in 1874 and another two in 1881, probably part of a hoard (fig. 7-8).

Romos, Hunedoara district

According to an ancient inventory registry of the Treasury collection, one ducat issued by Ludovic I of Anjou was found in 1843 in this village (Inventory number T 962 in the Brukenthal Museum's collection).

Rucăr - Bran, pass ~

A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention a Dacian coin being found here before 1880 (fig. 9).

Sarmisegetuza, Hunedoara district

According to NEAG, a bronze coin, probably Roman, entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection in 1879. Another coin, of silver, entered the Museum's collection, in 1880.

Săcele, Brașov district

A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention a Dacian coin being found here before 1880 (fig. 10).

Slimnic, Sibiu district

According to NEAG, in 1893 entered the Brukenthal Museum's collection a coin issued by Sigismund Bathory in 1595.

Teaca, Bistrița-Năsăud district

While reading NEAG, was observed an interesting annotation. It reads „*Barbaren Münzen v. Tekendorf gekauft*”, meaning at least two „barbarian” coins entered the museum's collection in 1872 (inventory number 1872.40), being found at Tekendorf (Teaca, Bistrița-Năsăud county) (fig. 11). Beside the NEAG list, in the Brukenthal library is preserved a note which confirms the discovery of Tekendorf, but mentions another 3 coins, again named „*barbarm(ünzen)*”. Those entered the museum's collection in 1880 (inventory number 1880.135.75, 1880.135.76 and 1880.135.77 - fig. 12). The note also informs us that, through the mediation of Adolf Resch, the 3 coins were brought to the museum in 1878. We must note that all of these coins disappeared, not being found during the process of inventory of the collection.

The suspicion that these coins belong to an unknown coin hoard is set by another information from Constantin Preda in his 1973 book (Preda 1973). On this occasion, we found out that in the Museum of Cluj is preserved a Dacian coin of the Hunedoara type, the series with small module, which was found also at Teaca (Preda 1973, 303, no. 13).

At last, a fourth information confirms our hunches. In 2010, Corneliu Gaiu wrote in an article regarding the formation of the Bistrița Evangelical Gymnasium's collection that: „*The priest Michael Herzog of Teaca (Tekendorf) donates a silver Dacian coin recovered from a larger find, a hoard*” (Gaiu 2010, 92).

In conclusion, it appears that, before 1872, was discovered at Teaca a Dacian coin hoard of the Rădulești-Hunedoara type, of which some items were donated or sold to museums or private collections, according to the custom of the time.

Tihău, Sălaj district

In 1904 entered the ASTRA Museum's collection a Roman Provincia Dacia type coin, issued by Philippus the Arab. Its provenance is probably the Roman castrum situated near-by (fig. 3).

Valea Hațegului, Hunedoara district

A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive mention a Dacian coin being found here in 1868 (fig. 13).

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The *Numismatische Erwerbungen nach Aufzeichnungen im Geschäftsprotokoll* list.
- Fig. 2 – O notă din arhiva Bibliotecii Brukenthal privind descoperirea de la Alba Iulia.
A note from the Brukenthal Library's archive regarding the Alba Iulia find.
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A note from the Astra Museum's archive regarding the Tihău and Corna finds.
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Gesellschaftsgeschichte

Numismatische Erwerbungen nach Aufzeichnungen im

Nr.	Gegenstand	Periode	Fundort und Fundzeit	Geber resp. Erwerbung	Aufnahme in die Sammlung	Aufstellung	Anmerkung
	Honigberger				1835. 12.	1. 2.	10. Nov.
	Balint Drah.				1836. 15.		10/ Juni
	Bartholomäus Adam				1836. 30		15. Dez.
	Aug. Senare v. Bruckenthal				1837. 3		22 Mai
	"				" 7		7. Juli.
	Aug. Senare v. Bruckenthal				1839. 2		8. Januar
	Kupfermünze v. Salpinga				" 30a		22. Juni.
	Münzentausch				1842. 6		20. März
	"				" 9		5. April
	"				" 18		19. Vii
	2000. Kupfermünze (Geschk. v. Senare)				1843. 15		(Geschk. Sen. 1839. 22/6)
	Münzenkauf v. Rittmeister Hammerstein				1843. 15		14/iii
	Münzentausch Conrad Wien.				" 52		30/ix
	"				" 54		19/x
	"				" 66		20/xii
	"				1844. 21		15/iii
	Denkmünzen gekauft.				1845. 16		4/3
	Münzen-Manipulation in Erwerbungen				1845. 26		29/8
	Türkische Münzen, gekauft				1847. 8		27/4
	Kupfermünzen				" 9		20/4
	Münzensammlung geerbt von Conrad				1850. 3		5/6
	Denkmünzen auf Radefski, Kerschul, Rom.				1851. 20		4/4
	" Erzherz. Jos.				1851. 41-42		20/8 ~ 22/9.
	Silbermünzen v. Gowernameat	13 St. gekauft.			1852. 56		4/ii
	Silberm. Heum. Brukenthal				1867. 39		27/4
	Denkmünze Parma				1869. 10		1/2
	" Herz-Fürstakademie				1871. 41		1/10
	Barbaren Münzen v. Fickendorf gekauft.				1872. 42		29/8
	Normalen von Bismarck gekauft.				1872. 43		29/8
	Münzentausch Bielz				1872. 49		17/10
	"				1872. 63		16/12
	Unterbleibener Münzenkauf v. Dr. F. Kraus				1872. 19		10/5
	Münzen, Spende v. Trappach, Sol.				1874. 20		6/6
	Münzenverkauf a. d. Habsburgern.				1874. 24		11/6

Fig. 1

1870. 115. Marlsburg
16; 17; 67;
Laboratorium (Zur 13)
1874.

Fig. 2

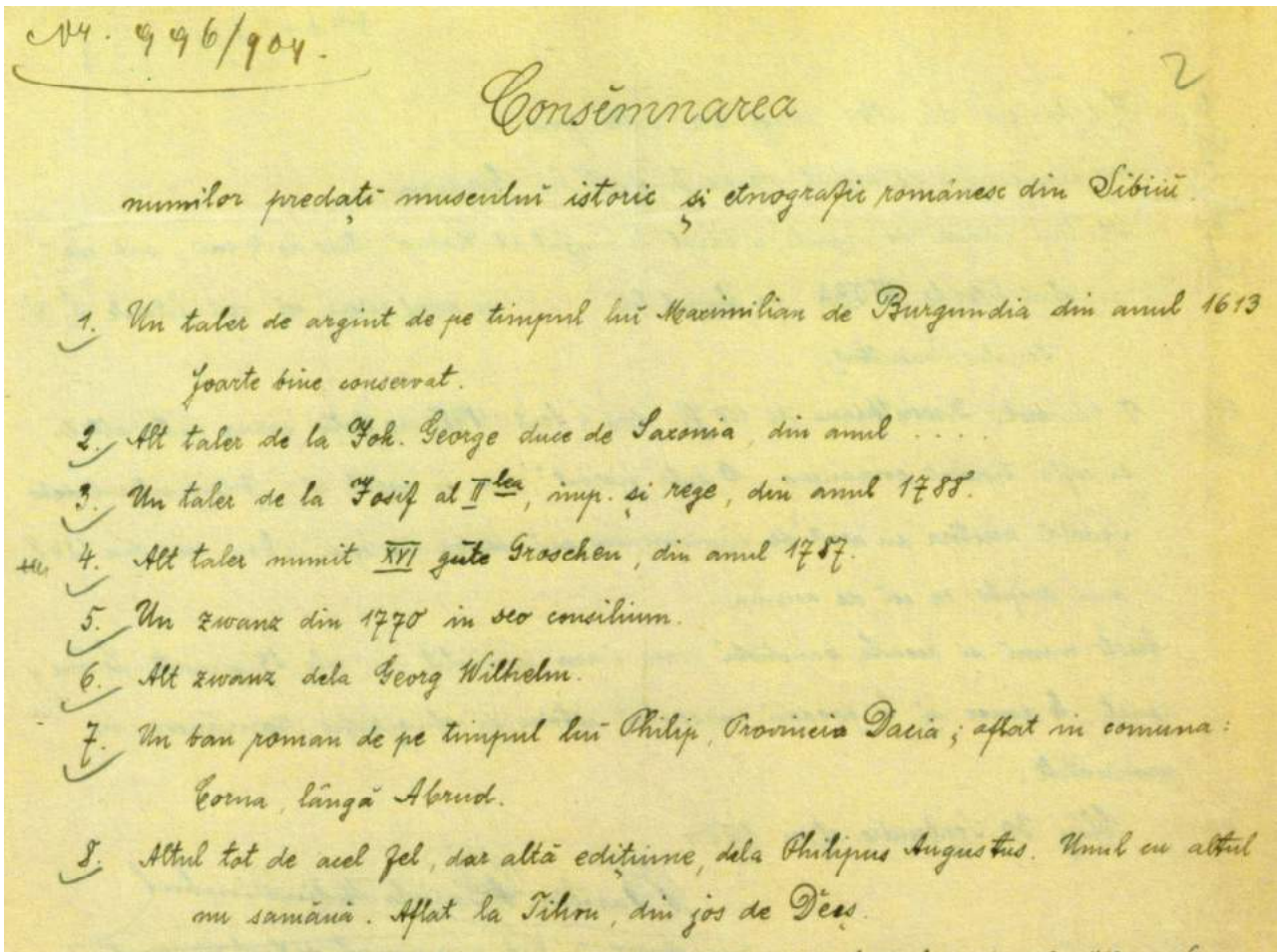


Fig. 3

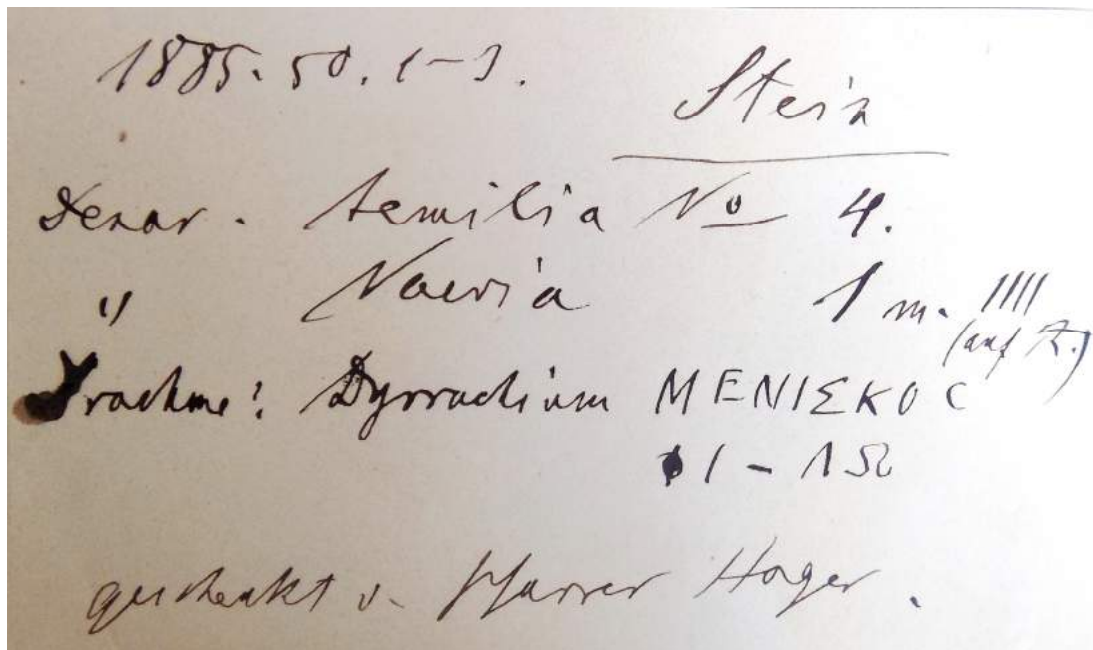


Fig. 4

Katz
18 80. 135. 19. 20. 4. 68. 69.
Labarmünzen 1868. (Reich)

Fig. 5

1888. 135. 6-8. Heldsdorf
Labarmünzen (Reich)

Fig. 6

1884. 88. Loos
2 silb. Labarmünzen

1884. b. dem avar. Holmagas.

Fig. 7

1880. 135. 66; 79. Barro
Barro - v. (Roth)
1874.

Fig. 8

Törzburger Pass
1880. 135. 26. 27.
Barro - v. (Roth)

Fig. 9

Siebenbürgen Horzofal
1880. 135. 42.
Barro - v. (Roth)

Fig. 10

Denkmünze Porma	1869	10
" Berg-Forstakademie	1871	41
Barbaren Münzen v. Tschendorf gekauft.	1872	42
Normalien von Osterlamm gekauft.	1872	43
	1872	44

Fig. 11

1880. 115. 75; 76; Tschendorf
77;
Larborn - (Reich)

1878.

Fig. 12

Hätzerthal
1880. 115. 18.
Barbarinüsse (Reich) 1868.

Fig. 13

HEALERS, MEDICINES AND CURES IN EARLY MODERN CLUJ

Ana-Maria GRUIA*

Abstract: *Apothecary shops started functioning in Cluj-Napoca (Hu: Kolozsvár, Germ: Klausenburg, Lat: Claudiopolis) in the second half of the sixteenth century, but there are also contemporary mentions of exotic cures, barber-surgeons, and colonials used as medicine. The history of such medicines and cures, of who administered them, of how they were acquired and used, is an integral part of the early modern history of pharmacy as distinctions were still blurry between the different types of healthcare providers (barbers, pharmacists, doctors, surgeons, popular healers), between medicines and foodstuffs (spices and exotic fruits), even between medicine and poison. The present paper overviews existing data on healers, drugs, and cures in Cluj between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century and integrates it to the early history of pharmacy in Transylvania.*

Keywords: *medicines, cures, drugs, spices, history of pharmacy, Early Modern Period.*

Rezumat: *Prima farmacie din Cluj-Napoca (Hu: Kolozsvár, Germ: Klausenburg, Lat: Claudiopolis) și-a început activitatea în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea, dar există și mențiuni contemporane despre leacuri exotice, chirurghi-bărbieri și produse coloniale utilizate ca medicamente. Istoria acestor tratamente și leacuri, a celor care le administrau și a modului în care erau achiziționate și folosite, face parte integrantă din istoria premodernă a farmaciei, cu atât mai mult cu cât distincțiile erau încă neclare între diferitele tipuri de practicieni din domeniul medical (bărbieri, farmaciști, doctori, chirurghi, vindecători populari), dintre medicamente și condimente (produse exotice), chiar dintre leacuri și otrăvuri. Lucrarea de față își propune să analizeze informațiile existente despre medicamentele și tratamentele din Cluj din secolul al XVI-lea până în secolul al XVIII-lea și despre cei care le produceau și le administrau, integrându-le în istoria timpurie a farmaciei din Transilvania.*

Cuvinte cheie: *medicamente, leacuri, tratamente, condimente, istoria farmaciei, Perioada Premodernă.*

Introduction

The early modern history of pharmacy in Cluj-Napoca and Transylvania in general is incomplete and at times contradictory. Apothecary shops started functioning in the city in the second half of the sixteenth century, a bit later than those from the Saxon cities. In Cluj the first public pharmacy was probably active after the middle of the sixteenth century and certainly became private in the first part of the eighteenth century, the second public pharmacy opened in the seventeenth century, and a Jesuit apothecary shop functioned during the eighteenth century (Gruia, 2017), but there are contemporary mentions of exotic cures, barber-surgeons and colonials used as medicine. The history of such medicines and cures, of how they were acquired and used, and of those who administered them is an integral part of the early modern history of pharmacy as distinctions were still blurry between the different types of healthcare providers (barbers, pharmacists, doctors, surgeons, popular healers),

between medicine and foodstuffs (spices and exotic fruits), even between medicine and poison. The present paper overviews existing data on healers, drugs and cures in Cluj between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century and integrates it to the early history of pharmacy in Transylvania.

Data on the history of healers, medicines, and cures in the province is scattered between various types of sources, mostly written ones such as ledgers of imports and commerce, official city documents and regulations, and apothecary manuscripts and printed works (*taxa* – lists of products and prices, pharmacopoeias – encyclopedias of knowledge for pharmacists, and dispensatories – indications of how to prepare drugs), various memoirs, letters and reports, but one can also turn to the signatures on apothecary items (jars, furniture), few as they have been preserved from Cluj and Transylvania. The richest mentions have been recovered from published articles on the imports of Cluj and the valuable manuscripts of Tobias Maucksch, the privileged pharmacist of the city in the second half of the

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eighteenth century and owner of the best known private pharmacy in town. The two most important manuscripts compiled by him are *Taxa pharmaceutica*, a list of prices for apothecary products, dated 1750 (Crişan 1996, 46-57) (Fig. 1, preserved at the History of Pharmacy Collection in Cluj-Napoca, Inv. No. 2241), and the so-called *Instructio*, a book of advice to his son who was to continue the family business, dated 1793 (Tuka 2012). These sources are discussed in more details in another study (Gruia, 2017). Some of the written sources of the Early Modern Period contain data on barber-surgeons and their guild organization, attributions, and tools of the trade, portable pharmacies, imported and exported spices and medicines, but also hints of disbelief in such medicine and tales of cures gone wrong. I shall mention here such instances related to Cluj and few of those from Transylvania in order to complete the picture.

Barber-surgeons

In Cluj, the guild of barbers (*barbitonsores*) was established in 1568 and their statutes, renewed repeatedly until the eighteenth century, proof of the trade's prosperity, listed their attributions: "shaving, hair cutting, washing, and oiling, tending wounds, producing unguents for the eyes and the teeth, teeth-pulling" (Pascu 1974, 142). The city's registry records several barbers among its citizens (identified through their name Borbely or the direct indication of their trade, *barbitonsor*), some newly arrived from other Transylvanian cities such as Şcheii Braşovului, Huedin, Dej, Târnava, Timişoara etc. (Goldenberg 1962, 95). The guild in Cluj thus seems to have attracted barbers from other towns in Transylvania that lacked such forms of organization. More detailed descriptions of the organization and attributions of barbers are available in the statutes of their guilds from the Saxon cities. The 1550 statute issued by queen Isabella and subsequently reconfirmed by prince Sigismund Báthori in 1583 envisaged the organization of the guilds in Sibiu, Braşov, Sighişoara, and Mediaş (Ştefan 2011-2012, 74). These and other regulations (issued by individual cities or by the Saxon University) state that apprentices had to know how to sharpen the tools of their trade, to perform bloodletting, to pull teeth, to dress wounds, and to immobilize fractures (Ştefan, 2011-2012, 76). Their masterpiece included a series of operations – sharpening a pair of scissors for hair cutting and a new razor, making a new wound dressing and a decoct for wounds, making a simple dry dressing and a cream, performing hemostasis (stopping a

bleeding), preparing a treatment with powder, a dressing for burnt wounds, and immobilizing a leg fracture (Ştefan, 2011-2012, 77). Some of these activities were thus clearly overlapping those of pharmacists and doctors, not to mention the fact that similar services were also performed (though their activity is less often attested in the preserved sources) by traveling healthcare providers, midwives, and folk healers. In his seventeenth-century memoirs for example, nobleman Nicholas Bethlen mentions cures administered in Transylvania by doctors (Bethlen, 129, 154), apothecaries (Bethlen, 92), and barbers (Bethlen, 69, 174, a barber suspected of making poisons and teaching others how to make - 292), but also several dietetic and folk prophylactic measures that were "just as good as an entire pharmacy" (Bethlen, 65). John Kemény's memoirs of the same century also record treatments and medical-related procedures performed by barbers (consulting patients, including princes – Kemény 110, 284; performing autopsies – Kemény 62, 111), doctors (Kemény 105, 253 – the latter mention is that of an army doctor serving the Transylvanian troops in Hungary), and apothecaries (Kemény 105), but also folk cures such as the claws of a lynx shot while mating (not clear if such were actually used or simply acted as health-protecting charms – Kemény 92).

Returning to the case of Cluj, an unspecified "barber's apparatus" that was imported from the Ottoman Empire in the first part of the seventeenth century might have been related to medical practice (Pap 1982, 96). Some of the healthcare-related utensils and tools of the barbers are detailed in the 1589 inventory of goods compiled at the death of magister Egidius from Cluj, a barber-surgeon. Besides specialized books, utensils with uncertain function, and specific barber's tools, Egidius owned a urinal, several tooth-pulling tongs, phlebotomy tools (for bloodletting), sieves and glasses for drug mixing, a chair with backrest, various attachments, and chains (for surgeries?), cupping glasses made of different materials, a pump (syringe?), containers with Latin inscriptions, and numerous drugs (several dozens). The latter included both local and exotic products, among which I shall mention here the more exotic and interesting: two types of theriac (*Theriaca vera veneta* and *Theriaca Alexandrina*), mummy powder, *Sanguis draconis* (the red resin of certain palm trees), *Asa foetida* (the bad-smelling latex of *Ferula* plant roots), *Sarcocolla* (the resin of a group of related plants native of Persia), Gum Arabic (the hardened sap of various species of the acacia tree), bay laurel

fruits, long pepper, and saffron (Goldenberg 1962, 99-104). The surgeon was thus able to prepare remedies himself for his surgical practice (Budahazi 2007, 39), but also to administer a wide array of medicine of vegetal, mineral, animal, and even human origin. He was also well stocked with an impressive array of substances, such as oils, powders, resins, confections, electuaries, plasters, unguents, tinctures, aromatic waters, and extracts. Judging by the other goods listed in this inventory, especially money, precious stones, and gold items, but also books, one can also state that Egidius was rich and that his trade was very profitable (Goldenberg 1962, 96), possibly considerably so due to the healthcare providing and drug-making side of it.

Apothecary chests

Though the medicines mentioned in the inventory discussed above were found in a table on the ground floor of his house, barber-surgeon Egidius of Cluj probably carried at least some of the drugs in a portable chest on certain occasions. It is not entirely clear where the barbers in Transylvania plied their trade, though some of their statutes mention workshops and the right to “hang the shaving foam pan in front of the door” (Ștefan 2011-2012, 76). Yet other sources mention apothecary chests owned by the nobility and many could have been in use or at least periodically refilled in Cluj, though no direct evidence of this exists. One such chest, from the eighteenth century, is preserved at the History of Pharmacy Collection in Cluj-Napoca (Fig. 2, Inv. no. IF 1903). The chest was owned by noblewoman Thereza Kemény and includes a document, *Specificatio*, i.e. a list of ingredients renewed by a pharmacist (Anthonius Perrflich (?) *pharmacopeus*). According to the inscriptions on the drawers, the signatures on the lids or on the labels of the tiny jars (some including alchemical symbols) and the list under discussion, these are some of the medicines in the chest: mustard, Jalap resin (from the root of a plant from Mexico), three types of bezoars (discussed below; *Bezoard* - presumably an entire stone, kept in one of the drawers, *Pulvis Bezoardie*, *Pulvis Bezoardicus Sennerti*), crabs’ eyes (natural calcium deposits produced by river crabs), camphor (a waxy vegetal substance with strong aroma), rose honey, and several decocti, balsams, and unguents. Another apothecary chest is mentioned in the memoirs of nobleman Nicholas Bethlen, writing in the seventeenth century. He recounts: “I also had a small chest with medicines, of which I, and other nobles, found to be most useful red currant,

lemon and rose syrups, distilled vitriol, nitrates, and coral pearl powder etc.” (Bethlen 2004, 170). Such chests, containing again both local, simple vegetal ingredients and exotic and stranger ones, were used as a kind of first-aid kits by those who could afford them and who traveled a lot (aristocrats, possibly barbers).

Spices

In the last decade of the sixteenth century the merchants of Cluj imported from Krakow “apothecary stuffs” and spices (ginger, cloves, pepper, oranges, lemons, sugar, cinnamon), of which some might have had medicinal uses as well (Dan 1974, 167). As previously indicated for example, the *materia medica* in the possession of barber-surgeon Egidius from Cluj included long pepper and saffron, with certain curative properties but listed as colonials in the era’s commercial records.

Ginger, *Zingiber officinale* root, *Zingiberis* as an apothecary ingredient, was used against afflictions of the teeth, lack of appetite, and nausea. The plant was already imported into Europe from Asia by the ancient Romans and the ingredient features in several of the early modern apothecary written sources in Transylvania (Crișan, 1996, 127).

Cloves, *Caryophyllorum* for pharmacists, were mainly used in the treatment of stomatological problems, as an antiseptic of the mouth, astringent in stomatitis and gums inflammations, mentioned in several apothecary inventories and texts in Transylvania (Crișan, 1996, 84-85), but they were also the main ingredient of a popular drink in the region in the first half of the seventeenth century, meant to stimulate appetite. Cloves were boiled in wine and “men drank for breakfast this new drink, with a good sweet-pungent taste, and though it was healthy...” (Apor, 32).

Pepper was probably used mainly as a food spice in Transylvania, in the cooking of the meat dishes so popular among the nobles and the inhabitants of the cities (Pap 1983, 534). A special type is mostly attested for its medicinal use, namely long pepper – *Piper longum*, but commercial sources do not differentiate among the imported species of pepper. The long kind, known as a medicine to the ancient Greeks and Romans, was considered a tonic, stimulant, carminative, and febrifuge. Long pepper is listed in almost all of the province’s apothecary sources, that sometimes also make reference to white, black, and Hispanic pepper (Crișan 1996, 113).

Lemons were even recommended in Transylvania against the plague (besides garlic, honey, tobacco, snaps, wine, and fir tree buds) (Dörner, 1983, 542), but pharmacists also offered them as New Year gifts to doctors in town, in exchange for patients being referred to their shops. In 1793 Tobias Maucksch, owner of the private pharmacy in Cluj taught his son, a pharmacist to be, how to offer gifts to the good doctors in town for the New Year: to doctors who enjoyed a certain reputation and wrote numerous prescriptions, he should offer six lemons, while doctors with less experience and activity should be content with receiving just three (Tuka 2012, 175). Peel and seeds from lemons (*Citri* as an apothecary ingredient) are mentioned in several of the apothecary written sources, the seeds being used in the cure of poisoning and melancholy and in the healing of wounds (Crişan 1996, 88).

Oranges, the golden fruits (bitter orange in fact, *Citrus aurantium*), were highly appreciated by the apothecaries, in the form of peel extract or powder or as oil, syrup, and tinctures made from the plant's flowers and peel. Such medicine was recommended for their tonic and antispasmodic effects and for various stomach troubles, but they were also used for their pleasant taste in mixed drugs (Crişan 1996, 77-78).

Cane sugar, sold in loaves, was an important ingredient for medicines, either in itself or as a means to preserve vegetal ingredients, in conserves, electuaries, aromatic powders, and syrups for example. Sugar was believed to act as a tonic, antiseptic, blood purifier, and pharmaceutical ingredient against cataract. "A jar of fine sugar" was also deemed a nice gift for doctors (Tuka 2012, 15). Several types are mentioned in the apothecary sources, among which *Saccharum Canarinum* (cane sugar from the Canary Islands), Thomae (from the Island of St. Thome), white and red sugar, and there are other sweet mineral products that were not in fact sugar (Crişan 1996, 118, Gruia, 2016b, 83).

Cinnamon was used as an antiseptic, anti-inflammatory, anti-fungal, and analgesic. In the midwifery manuals of the early modern period in Europe it is the most popular remedy for female problems and in birth giving, as it stimulates uterine contractions and stops uterine hemorrhage (Gruia, 2016b, 66-68). It also features in the Transylvanian apothecary written sources, as a carminative (relieving flatulence) and a cure for troubles of the stomach (Crişan 1996, 88).

The city of Cluj was thus provisioned with all kinds of colonials, used both as food and drink spices (and even gifts) and as medicine. It is

nevertheless known that Cluj was a transit point for commerce and not all of these apothecary-related imported goods were locally consumed. Medicines and colonials were also exported through Bistriţa towards Moldavia in the end of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Pap 1974, 177). At the same time, Krakow was not the starting point of such goods either, just as Vienna wasn't during the subsequent century. Colonials and medicines in particular were brought into Krakow by the Venetians who acquired them in Alexandria and Damascus (Dan 1975, 210). The import of medicines, spices, and cures seems to have been a common practice in the cities of Transylvania (Cluj, Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu) in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century (Goldenberg 1980, 202).

Mummy powder, bezoar, and theriac

Some of the famous, imported, universal cures were also mentioned, used, or missed in Cluj. Three of the most famous ones are mummy powder, bezoars, and theriac. Mummy powder was listed among the drugs owned by barber Egidius of Cluj and features in most of the pharmacy inventories of Transylvania and in all of the sixteenth-eighteenth-century pharmacopoeias employed in the region (Crişan 1996, 109). Though its pharmaceutical use was based on a medieval confusion, mummy powder was deemed the most effective and the most expensive panacea, worth even its weight in gold (Gruia 2016b, 22-26). Bezoars were famed universal antidotes obtained from intestinal stones produced by ruminants and other animals (Gruia 2016b, 29-33; Gruia 2016a), while theriac was an equally popular composite cure-all drug of ancient tradition the main ingredient of which was opium, making it an effective pain killer (Gruia 2016b, 94-96). All three were mentioned before here, three types of bezoars part of the apothecary chest of Thereza Kemény and mummy powder plus two types of theriac in the inventory of barber Egidius.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Jesuit missionaries in Eastern Europe often wrote back to Rome to give reports of their work and to ask for certain commodities, including bezoars and theriac. In 1617 Brother Szini István wrote from Cluj asking for books, "belzuarro" and theriac (Balázs *et al.* 1990, 280). A couple of years earlier, in 1601, 1602, and 1604, Brother György Claudio Acquaviva, writing from present-day Slovakia, asked for a bezoar and explained that he did so because such items were lacking there (Balázs *et al.* 1995, 39, 145, 353). The parallel is relevant as the request of the

missionaries could have also been prompted by the lower price of such items if obtained through the Order's connections and not necessarily by the lack of bezoars on the local markets. More than a century and a half later, in 1768, things had definitely changed, as Abbot Francois-Xavier de Feller wrote that "In Cluj I saw a beautiful bezoar brought from America, weighing one libra and two ounces. Here are some [bezoars] that weigh up to eight libras..." (Hoban 1997, 571). It remains unclear if such cures/valuable possessions were available in pharmacies or on display in private collections.

A famous case of bezoar administered as a last resort medicine is also attested in Transylvania in 1629. In his memoirs, burgher Nagy Szabó Ferencz recounts that during that year Gabriel Bethlen, the prince of the principality, fell gravely ill and "doctors gave him bezoar to drink and he lived for 24 more hours and then faded from this world of shadows through a beautiful and tranquil death [...]" (Nagy, 192).

Apothecary-sold medicines

Tobias Maucksch's manuscripts mentioned above, the *Taxa pharmaceutica* and the *Instructio*, show that in the second half of the eighteenth century his pharmacy was already well plied with both local and exotic ingredients. The *Taxa* includes all of the ingredients or drugs discussed above - mummy powder, bezoar, *Theriaca veneta*, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, long pepper, lemon seeds, orange flowers and peel, and different types of sugar - but it remains unclear if all of the products were actually sold in Tobias Maucksch's private pharmacy in Cluj or he was just aware of their uses and listed their prices for the reference of specialists (Crişan 1996, 109, 81, 180, 88, 127, 84, 113, 88, 77-78, 116). Official Austrian regulations in the second half of the century recommended the limitation of exotic, especially strange apothecary ingredients and products - based on official interest in the limitation of imports and the health of the population, i.e. the province's work force, but the Transylvanian sources suggest that even these kept their popularity in the province well into the nineteenth century. Early modern Transylvanian *materia medica* was up-to-date in its inclusion of internationally used ingredients, although it seems they (especially bezoars) became popular slightly later (during the seventeenth century rather than the sixteenth), and the strange ingredients of medieval tradition maintained their prestige and practical use a little longer, until the first part of the nineteenth century. The European trend of

accent shifting from Galenic to chemical or Paracelsian medicine seems to have taken hold in Transylvania later, towards the end of the eighteenth century (Wallis 2010).

Running or ever better owning a pharmacy in eighteenth-century Transylvania was a significant source of wealth, just like the barber-surgeon's trade seems to have been. The *Taxa pharmaceutica* manuscript of Tobias Maucksch lists apothecary ingredients and their prices, which were the current ones in his pharmacy and very high by comparison to other everyday expenses and the earnings of the population (Crişan 1996, 53). Urban councils in towns with pharmacies advised caution and honesty in setting the prices of remedies, as before the introduction of the Viennese *taxa* there were no lists of official maximal prices for medicines and even afterwards it remains unclear to what degree these regulations were actually followed (Crişan 1996, 46, 206-207). Furthermore, pharmacies brought significant profit during the Early Modern Period from the right to sell foodstuffs and other products, such as sugar, spices, foreign wine, wax, ink, and candles (Crişan 1996, 23).

I have argued elsewhere that the sale of exotic goods and novelties in the apothecary shops was but one of the early marketing strategies born of the competition between religious and private pharmacies (Gruia, 2017). Tobias Maucksch's *Instructio* states the two main sources of sales: direct sales - to medical practitioners and their patients according to prescriptions - and retail sales. In order to attract the first, Tobias recommends sending New Year's Gifts to "gentlemen physicians" (consisting of fine sugar, coffee, *Pulvis Fumalis* (aromatic ingredients for fumigations), *Trochisci Benedicti* (medicated tablets to be held in the mouth until dissolved), or lemons) (Tuka 2012, 175). As previously indicated, retail sales were also important. Such products could be exotic and famous or attractive to the general public for covering an entire array of needs: cosmetic and hygiene products such as tooth powders and perfumes, lighting devices such as candles, aphrodisiac drinks, tonics, panacea, mineral water, and even poisons. There could also be downsides to such strategies, as bizarre ingredients of human and animal origin were running out of fashion in the second half of the eighteenth century and some people doubted their efficacy during the entire Early Modern Period (there are numerous such comments in Nicholas Bethlen's memoirs: Bethlen, 13, 21, 65, 69, 92, 127-128), while poisons (for rodents or dogs for example) could

also be used for illicit purposes (Bethlen 204, 288, 292).

Some of the ingredients employed in pharmacies were acquired locally. In his *Instructio*, Tobias Maucksch included an entire section on the gathering of herbs and roots, discussing how pharmacists (presuming himself as well in Cluj) employed locals, taught them and paid them to gather vegetal materials (such as violets and poppies), while garden plants (rosemary, sage, mint etc.) should be bought from large bourgeois estates or gardens. There is also an interesting mention of how old herbs from the pharmacy must be stored in separate cabinets and could be used by women in making cushions or coffins or for baths or in veterinary medicine (Tuka 2012, 170-171). Other locally-acquired goods consisted of honey, wax, wine, brandy, some minerals, and pig lard - essential for creams and ointments (Tuka 2012, 180-181). The local acquisition of apothecary ingredients makes sense both logistically and economically, while the repurposing of old medicinal herbs by surprising connected activities (cushion and coffin making, bath preparation, veterinary medicine) is taking profit-making another step further. The same text mentions how other ingredients (such as *Liquiritia*, sweet root) were bought from Romanian peasants (Tuka 2012, 181) and Turkish goods were sometimes bought from Greek merchants (Tuka 2012, 182). Maucksch naturally discussed the imported ingredients discussed before, that in the end of the eighteenth century he acquired for the pharmacy in Cluj from Vienna (with the packs usually controlled and paid for at the Drug Office in Gherla), some of which were then transported to his other pharmacy in Târgu Mureş (Tuka 2012, 179), confirming the role of Cluj as medicine import and redistribution centre.

Conclusions

The early modern history of pharmacy in Cluj is completed by data on medicines, drugs, cures, and barber-surgeons active in town. Medicines and spices were among the expensive targets of commercial activity in Cluj like in other cities of Transylvania, attesting their high demand on both the local market and others such as those of Moldavia. Such goods made their way to Cluj from the East (Alexandria and Damascus, through the mediation of Krakow and then Vienna or through Greek merchants), even from the Americas (such as the Occidental bezoar and

several medicinal plants from the new continent). Other apothecary ingredients, obtained from common plants, insects, and animals, were bought and prepared locally. Attested healthcare “specialists” included barbers (organized in a guild since 1568, just a bit later than those from the Saxon towns), doctors, surgeons, and pharmacists, sometimes with overlapping attributions, but citizens certainly bought and consumed prophylactically some of the era’s tonics (such as clove wine) and plague repellants (such as lemons). They also, no doubt, turned to less educated professionals such as midwives, old women, and folk and traveling healers, but less is known/has been published about them and their activity. Overall, in Cluj, like elsewhere, the line between health providers and between medicine and foodstuffs was still blurry during the sixteenth-eighteenth century. The medical professions only separated and became or started to emerge as such in the end of the eighteenth century, with the Habsburg reforms in the field of healthcare and sanitation (Sechel 2008).

The *materia medica* of Renaissance and early modern Cluj and Transylvania was up to date with the European trends in the field, employing both medieval / universal remedies of little or doubtful efficacy such as mummy powder or bezoars, and more recently popular drugs such as new exotic plants or more modern preparations, i.e. aromatic waters, tinctures, extracts, and them chemical medicines. Still, the removal of human and animal ingredients and the transition from Galenic to chemical or Paracelsian medicine seems to have taken hold in Transylvania slightly later, towards the end of the eighteenth century and he beginning of the nineteenth century.

The period between the middle of the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth century is thus a special stage in the development of pharmacy and medical-related goods and practices in Cluj, when richer sources than the medieval ones attest several, often overlapping levels of healthcare and medicine preparation in town. The emergence of medical professionalization, including the state regulation of healthcare and sanitation, and the abandonment of the bizarre medicines of animal and even human origin was only a phenomenon that started in the end of the analyzed period and continued, like in the entire province, during the Modern Era.

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Fig. 1. *Taxa pharmaceutica* by Tobias Maucksch, 1750.

Taxa pharmaceutica de Tobias Maucksch, 1750.

Fig. 2. Thereza Kemény's 18th-century apothecary chest.

Cufăr farmaceutic din secolul al XVIII-lea al Therezei Kemény.

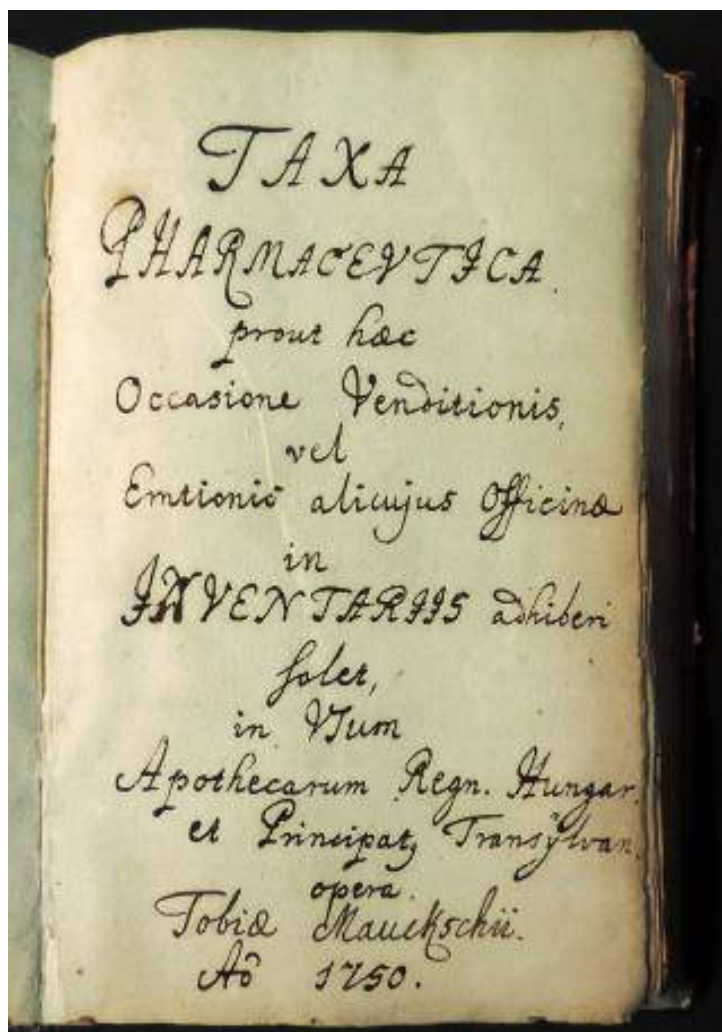


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

RARE ITEMS OF HAIR ART
IN THE COLLECTION OF ALTEMBERGER HOUSE MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Dana Roxana HRIB, Raluca Maria FRÎNCU*

Abstract: *The study presents three items of hair art in the collections of Museum of History and the context of their making.*

Keywords: *hair art, Victorian period, Sibiu.*

Rezumat: *Articolul prezintă trei piese realizate din păr uman, din colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie, și contextul realizării acestora.*

Cuvinte cheie: *lucrări din păr, perioada victoriană, Sibiu.*

A lock of hair

Along history, presenting a person with a lock of one's hair has been considered a gesture of love and devotion, often done in cases of separation; it is also a popular depiction to be found in the fiction productions of the romance genre.

From the late 16th century to the 17th century, the lovelock was popular among the European men who kept a lock of braided hair in the proximity of the heart, as a sign of their devotion to a loved one (Hall 2008, 278).

During Victorian times, locks of hair were kept as comforting mementos after the death of family members and were usually worn in lockets.

Queen Victoria publicly grieved her husband, Prince Albert, establishing a trend (in mourning behavior and in the dressing style) that became influential in Europe and United States from 1861, when she became a widow, until her own death, 40 years later. Victoria wore constantly a heart-shaped locket containing her husband's hair, the only jewelry besides her wedding ring to be rendered in her portrait of 1862¹ (Gere 2012, 8 and 14).

The Victorian witnessed how the lock of hair in the necklace went far beyond though, emerging in elaborate decorative forms: hair jewelry as bracelets, rings, brooches and other of sort, allowing a part of the loved ones to be carry with (Campbell 1867, catalog 5, 25, 37, 45) or mourning shadow-box arrangements containing wreaths made of the hair from one or more

members of a family (Halford&Young 1864, 11-21).

In 1848, in the United States, *The Literary World* published an anonymous article entitled "The Hair as Remembrancer", showing that the tradition of keeping the deceased persons' hair "has arisen from its convenience, and its being the part which under certain circumstances will last the longest of any in the body" (Anonymous 1848, 461).

The art of hair work

The desire to preserve the bodies of the dying was acted out on an aesthetic level (Harmeyer 2018, 34-35) using the hair in a similar way to the taking of death masks, hand casts or the post-mortem photography.

As the interest in hair mementos grew into a comforting hobby for the people dealing with the loss of a loved one, it also evolved into a successful business.

In the preface of the detailed work *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work* (published in 1867), Mark Campbell states: "The necessity for a comprehensive work, giving a full and detailed explanation of the Art of manufacturing Hair Work in all its various branches, has been so frequently urged upon the attention of the author that, in compliance with an almost universal demand, he has concluded to publish a book which will clearly illustrate the Art of Hair Dressing, and making Hair Jewelry and Hair. [...] while the great consumption and rapidly increasing demand for every description of Hair Goods, will make this work he now presents to the public, one of particular interest to all classes. Heretofore the art of making these goods has been zealously guarded by a few dealers, who have accumulated fortunes, and would still retain it a

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¹ Anonymous, Queen Victoria in mourning, 1862 Colour lithograph, 34.8 x 27.8cm, London, British Museum, PD 1902, 1011.9194

profound secret but for the publication of this book” (Campbell 1867, 9).

There were two main categories of artifacts that the mourning hair art was comprised of: the hair jewelry and the hair wreaths, while the makers of such objects included both professional and amateur practitioners (Harmeyer 2018, 41).

The hairwork jewelry (of which the most popular items were the bracelets, necklaces, earrings or even the pocket-watch chains) consisted of elaborate braided hair in gold or silver mountings (Campbell 1867, 268) and meant to be worn closed to the body, being endowed with a special individual relation value.

The hair wreath, on the other hand, had its significance related with the entire family, meant to be displayed within the home; in a way it was similar to the family tree.

Not all hair wreaths were mourning art. The U-shaped wreaths were a memento of one or more deceased people (due to the different colours and texture of the hair), the open top symbolizing the deceased's ascent to heaven. Hair twisted or sewed around wire forms shaped into flowers and leaves (bouquet type) could be similar to albums showing a relation shared, like in the case of church or school groups.

Three shadow-boxes containing hair-work in the collections of the Museum of History

The *Altemberger House* Museum of History inside Brukenthal National Museum has in its collections three shadow-boxes containing hair-work, items considered today a rare find worldwide, as stated by the only hair museum in the world – Leila's Hair Museum in Independence, Missouri.

All three items are dated in mid 19th century and, out of them, only one was in the appropriate state of conservation to be restored and displayed inside the „Cabinet of Curiosities”, a permanent exhibition room at the second floor of the Brukenthal Palace.

Having the inventory number M1665/144744 (Fig. 1), this shadow-box was donated in 1939 by Angela Porr, née von Baußnern. The bouquet is made of metal wire on which human hair of different colours is twisted around shapes of flowers and leaves also having pearls and glass coloured beads (white, blue, red and yellow) as decorative features. The shadow-box is made of cardboard with golden frame.

The inventory number M1664/8753 (Fig. 2) was donated by Peter Drotleff from Sibiu. It has a

similar bouquet like composition to which a vase also made of human hair is added.

Inventory number M1008/9313 (Fig. 3) was donated by Martina Schuster from Sibiu. It has a less figurative composition; the flowers are geometrically arranged as in a textile print, in accordance with the embossed decorations on the card board frame of the box.

Considering the compositional approach of the items described above, it is more likely that they are family or friendship mementos rather than mourning hair-art, although the second hypothesis cannot be totally excluded.

It is rather difficult to establish the cultural way on which the fashion of the hair art has arrived in Transylvania. There was a highly mobile culture in the 19th century and the hair art pieces were similar in Switzerland, England, France, Prussia, America and Australia; for example, the prisoners in the Napoleonic War, residing in Tunbridge Wells in the early 1800s brought with them the knowledge of the hair work in France as shown by Sarah Nehama (Nehama 2014).

Nevertheless it is safe to accept that a hair art fashion did exist in the Sibiu area, based on the fact that three shadowboxes survived until the 20th century when donated to the Museum. Also, the fact that two of the donors were women, could be an indication that this fashion developed more inside the feminine society, as a hobby; since the three shadowboxes are the only items of hair work known, it is also possible that practice of hair art never developed into a local industry.

Further considerations

For various reasons, the tradition of the hair work declined after the Victorian era: the ubiquitous presence of death during World Wars made this kind of practices superfluous; the establishment of funeral homes took the attendance of the dead body out of the household and, not in the least, a new approach in regard to hygiene emerged in European society, making hair art unsanitary and uncomfortable to have around.

All the same, the practice continues even today through different experiments of contemporary art, indicating adherence to a set of beliefs or loyalty to a group, making statements in support of feminism or environment protection as in the case of Bill Fink's "Time and Matter" photography created with the hair of his subjects, WendaGu's conceptual art and Nagi Noda's animalistic hair-hats (Temple 2011).

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- Fig. 1. Ornament de perete cu păr uman; număr inventar M 1665 / 144744, înainte de restaurare (sus) și după restaurare (jos) așa cum este expusă în expoziția permanentă de la etajul al II-lea al Palatului Brukenthal.
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- Fig. 2. Ornament de perete cu păr uman; număr inventar M1664/8753
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- Fig. 3. Ornament de perete cu păr uman; număr inventar M1008/9313



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

THE ARMED UPRISING IN THE SOCHI DISTRICT
OF THE BLACK SEA GOVERNORATE IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (1905–1906)
AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN THE EXHIBITION OF THE REGIONAL MUSEUM

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Rashad KURBANOV**

Abstract: *The academic paper reviews the armed uprising in the Sochi district, Black Sea governorate, Russian Empire, in the period of the First Russian Revolution, and analyzes the interpretation of these events in the exhibition displayed in the Museum of the History of the Resort City of Sochi.*

Sources used include documents from local, regional and central archival repositories of the Russian Federation. Key value can also be attached to the documents stored in the Museum of the History of the Resort City of Sochi. The methodology of the research was based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and systematic analysis. Additionally, we utilized a chronological method that enabled us to look at the events of the First Russian Revolution in their chronological order.

In conclusion, the authors suggested that social and political movements in the Sochi district of the Black Sea governorate acted in line with the social scenarios that determined their behaviors in the time of revolutionary events. The local authorities struggled to defend their positions, while the revolutionaries exerted pressure on them by making use of the population which they engaged in this process through various mechanisms. Any calls for protection of the tsarist rule, voiced by the Russian intelligentsia, were nipped in the bud by revolutionaries through physical destruction. The exhibition housed by the Museum of the History of the Resort City of Sochi depicts the revolutionaries as freedom fighters, rather than shows what they actually were – terrorists and expropriators. The museum exhibition also fails to reflect the killings of civilians, carried out by the revolutionaries, as well as has no materials on the seizure of property, robbery, separatism, nationalism and many other aspects. This is why the exhibition is specifically designed in the style so that the events of 1905-1906 in Sochi can be perceived in harmony with the official textbook on the history of the Communist Party of the USSR.

Keywords: *armed uprising, Sochi, Russian Empire, 1905-1906, Museum of History of the Resort City of Sochi, exhibition.*

Rezumat: *Lucrarea face o trecere în revistă a revoltei armate din districtul Sochi, guvernoratul Mării Negre, Imperiul Rus, în perioada Primei Revoluții Ruse și analizează interpretarea acestor evenimente în expoziția aflată în Muzeul de Istorie al Stațiunii Sochi.*

Sursele folosite includ documente din depozitele de arhive locale, regionale și centrale ale Federației Ruse. O importanță cheie o au și documentele păstrate în Muzeul de Istorie al Stațiunii Sochi. Metodologia cercetării s-a bazat pe principiile historicismului, obiectivității și analizei sistematice. În plus am folosit o metodă cronologică care ne-a permis să privim evenimentele Primei Revoluții Ruse în ordinea lor cronologică.

În concluzie autorii sugerează că mișcările sociale și politice din districtul Sochi al guvernoratului Mării Negre au acționat în linie cu scenariile sociale care le-au determinat în timpul evenimentelor revoluționare. Autoritățile locale s-au luptat să își apere pozițiile, în timp ce revoluționarii au exercitat presiune asupra lor folosind populația, pe care au cooptat-o în acest proces prin diferite mecanisme. Orice solicitări de protecție din partea regimului țarist emise de intelectualitatea rusă, au fost sufocate în fașă de revoluționari prin distrugere fizică. Expoziția găzduită de Muzeul de Istorie al Stațiunii Sochi prezintă revoluționarii ca luptători pentru libertate mai degrabă decât să arate ce erau de fapt – teroriști și expropriatori. Expoziția muzeului nu reușește să reflecte de asemenea uciderea civililor de către revoluționari și nici nu are materiale despre confiscarea proprietății, jaf, separatism, naționalism și multe alte aspecte. Aceasta deoarece

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expoziția este special concepută în modul ca evenimentele din 1905-1906 de la Sochi să fie percepute în armonie cu varianta oficială asupra istoriei Partidului Comunist USSR.

Cuvinte cheie: *revoltă armată, Sochi, Imperiul Rus, 1905-1906, Muzeul de Istorie al Stațiunii Sochi, expoziție.*

1. Introduction

The period of the First Russian and February Revolutions brought about transformation of the social structure of Russian society (Kalinina, 2017: 38-45). While the first event could not see the ultimate transformation as the revolutionary movement was suppressed, the February Revolution changed the structure of Russian society. In this paper, we will use the example of the Sochi district of the Black Sea province to provide an analysis of the transformation process that affected one of the frontier regions of the Russian Empire, as it turned from a tranquil provincial town into a revolutionary explosion.

2. Materials and methods

The materials used include documents from the Archive Department of the Sochi City Administration, abbreviated here as AOAGS, (Sochi, Russian Federation), Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of the Krasnodar Krai, abbreviated here as TsDNIKK, (Krasnodar, Russian Federation), Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, abbreviated here as RGASPI (Moscow, Russian Federation), State Archive of the Russian Federation, abbreviated here as GARF, (Moscow, Russian Federation), as well as documents kept by the Museum of the History of the Resort City of Sochi.

The methodology of the research was based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and systematic analysis. Additionally, we utilized a chronological method that enabled us to look at the events of the First Russian Revolution in their chronological order.

3. Results

The armed uprising in the Sochi district of the Black Sea governorate broke out in December 1905, and in early January 1906 the uprising was put down. The events of this period were characterized by the politically active socialist parties, namely the Socialists-Revolutionaries and Social Democrats who mounted armed actions against the tsarist administration.

On the eve of the armed Sochi uprising, the Social Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionaries were locked in the struggle over

influence and stronger backing among the local population. This development was driven by the overall split in the camp of the Social Democrats and members outflow from this organization to the group of the Socialists-Revolutionaries, whose leaders took measures to further promote the program of their party. The trend for a stronger position of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Sochi could be seen across entire Russia as the network of SR organizations, especially in 1905-1907, expanded at a higher speed than that of their opponents from the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), and their role in rural areas was significant. It was a party of peasants and workers, which took part in the All-Russian October political strike and Moscow armed uprising of 1905 (Urilov, 2005: 61).

In the first fortnight of December 1905, leaders of the Socialists - Revolutionaries, Semyonov and Poyarko, came to the owner of a printing house, Anisimov, and requested to print 1,000 copies of the Financial Manifesto, where they proposed the population not to invest money in savings banks, but, on the contrary, withdraw the savings to cut the government off the financial support. Semyonov had a printed original of this manifesto, signed by the central committees of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social Democrats as well as Polish and peasant unions, but Anisimov refused to accept this order (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 124).

On December 15, the home of I. Odintsov became a venue for a meeting by the Charity Society and commissioners of the city administration (*gorodskaya uprava*) with the commissioners being represented only by Odintsov and Godzi. The meeting was also attended by Semyonov, Khutsishvili and delegates of workers. The leader of the Social Democrats, Khutsishvili, expressed criticism against the existing city self-government that it was elected by an insignificant number of citizens and did not actually meet its purpose and did not care about the needs of the working people. With these attacks on the city administration, Godzi and I. Odintsov announced that they would resign as commissioners (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 13).

Additionally, the meeting discussed the issue of providing aid to the unemployed and

starving groups, and when given the floor, revolutionary Khutsishvili said that those suffering from famine should not be taken care of because “*they are subhumans*” (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 51).

As the organization of the Socialists-Revolutionaries continued to build up influence in the social and political life of the *posad* (a commercial and industrial center) and the district and their position among the local population strengthened, Social Democrat leaders initiated the foundation of the Sochi City Revolutionary Administration (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 75).

To this end, December 16, 1905, members of the Social Democratic Party communicated a printed proclamation “To male and female citizens of Sochi” (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 62. L. 68). This proclamation informed the *posad* people of the following: a meeting of citizens, which was held in Odintsov’s house December 15, found out that the existing Sochi city administration was unable to function, and the meeting decided to replace it with a new one based on the principles of universal, equal, direct and ballot vote. For this reason, the *posad* population was invited to attend a meeting at 2 pm December 16 to elect a commission that would manage the elections to the new city revolutionary administration by all citizens, without discrimination on gender, ethnic or religious grounds (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 13).

The Sochi *posad* witnessed five days of rallies at which the leaders of the Social Democratic organization imposed on the population the idea of changing the city administration by election and creating a city revolutionary self-government. However, as the Sochi Socialists-Revolutionaries, the liberal intelligentsia and members of the Armenian diaspora did not support these elections, the campaign launched by the Social Democrats was limited to the census of the *posad* population (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 14-16; MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 52).

At the rallies, Gvatua said that the Russian rule was powerless in Georgia in the midst of the revolution, and Vorontsov-Dashkov, the tsar’s governor general (*namestnik*) in the Caucasus, resigned and surrendered power to representatives of the Social Democrats (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 57).

The idea to restore the Georgian statehood and include the territory of the Sochi district into

Georgia resonated with many Slavic representatives of the Social Democratic organization because their role in the overthrow of the tsarist rule outlawed them, and the government would inevitably take repressive measures against them. At the same time members of the Khosta Social-Democratic organization, which consisted predominantly of Slavs, did not like this presentation of the cause. A member of the Khosta RSDLP organization, engineer Petr Shelekhov turned to Dr. Gordon with a proposal to join forces to “*suppress the Georgian Batumi organization*” (Taran et al., 2016: 521).

Additionally, rallies carried out by the Social Democratic organization were no longer attended by members of the Armenian community, who refused to listen to the speeches of the leaders of the Social Democrats. Importantly, some Georgian revolutionaries, for example, Ormotsadze, delivered speeches in Georgian, and this did not please not only the Armenian population, but also members of other ethnic groups (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 14; MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/3. L. 46).

Following these events, with the Social Democrats holding rallies for their supporters in the marketplace, the Socialists-Revolutionaries installed another rostrum in Sochi and addressed to the members of the Armenian diaspora, asking to provide armed security guards (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 52).

We should assume that the members of the Armenian diaspora had intelligence that ethnic conflicts occurred in Tiflis in late November 1905, in which Armenians suffered. Particularly serious riots erupted in the Borchaly *uezd* (an administrative and territorial unit that was part of a governorate), Tiflis governorate, which caused the losses of up to 2 million rubles to the Armenian population. Entire Armenian villages were completely ruined (Abramov, 1940: 208).

The difficult inter-ethnic relations in Georgia are referred to in a statement by I.V. Stalin: “... *There is no any serious anti-Russian nationalism in Georgia, and it is, first of all, because there are no Russian landowners or major bourgeoisie which could nourish such nationalism in the masses. There is anti-Armenian nationalism in Georgia, but this is because there is also a major Armenian bourgeoisie which, by beating the petty emergent Georgian bourgeoisie, is pushing the latter towards anti-Armenian nationalism*” (Stalin, 1937: 12).

Conclusions offered by I. Stalin are confirmed by researcher D. Amanzholova who

speaks of the Armenian-Georgian conflict related to the dominance of the Armenian commercial, usurious and manufacturing capital in Georgia. Additionally, Tiflis, the Akhalkalaksy, Akhaltsikhsky and Borchaly *uezds* and other southern areas of the Tiflis governorate had the community of the former Turkish Armenians accounting for about 47% of the total population, and this was the reason why their ethnic representation in local authorities and land ownership constituted the root cause of the ethnic conflict (Amanzholova, 1999: 7).

The Georgia developments affected the relations between Armenians and Georgians, which lived in the Sochi district. The leader of Armenian tenants who lived in the estate of Grand Duke Michael in the Loo and Vardane villages, teacher A.R. Rostomyan informed M. Martirosyan, a resident of the Sochi *posad*, that Armenians “*shall not help the committee of Mingrelians and Imereti*” (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/16. L. 11).

Gvatua and his supporters among the Social Democrats insisted that Armenians stopped paying rent. Armenians pretended that they did not pay the rent, but they actually did the opposite. This fact is known from the words of B.F. Alek, the manager of the Vardane estate, owned by Grand Duke Michael: “*Armenians paid their fees regularly, but asked me not to speak of it as natives forbade them to do so*” (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/16. L. 13).

Minosyan’s statement can be regarded as accurate since the program of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party contains a point that proposes the introduction of federal relations for “*independent peoples*” (RGASPI. F. 274. Op. 1. D. 33. L. 29). Moreover, the idea of the Socialists-Revolutionaries to alienate landed estates in favor of the peasantry was also close to the Armenian population in the Black Sea governorate.

Additionally, the agrarian program offered by the Socialist-Revolutionaries was distributed among peasants of rural communities in the Black Sea governorate. The propaganda campaign initiated by the Socialists-Revolutionaries facilitated the close-down of rural governments and the election of new village chiefs (*starosta*) and heads (*starshina*) in the Volkovskoye and Aibginskoye rural communities. In the first community, this was brought about by the propaganda activities by agronomist L. Aleksandrov and three Zhilinsky brothers, and in the second community through the efforts by teacher Ye. Slavgorodskiy (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 174).

To enhance their backing, representatives of the Socialists-Revolutionaries stepped up agitation activities December 20, 1905. On this day, Semyonov, Salnikov, Poyarko, V. Fronstein and Williams placed an order for 500 copies of the party program with the Anisimov printing house. Anisimov delivered the order, but since the printer continued to resist it, Semyonov threatened to kill him (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 124).

Considering the fact that no revolutionary city government was established, and the activity rolled out by the Socialists-Revolutionaries won increasing support among the population of the Sochi district, Gvatua, to earn workers’ trust, made populist statements that they would not be left unemployed, and promised to set up a mint to make money. Meanwhile, the authorities had intelligence about a settler from the Plastunka village, Khriste Uchadze, who was engaged in making counterfeit coins (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 17).

Before Grechkin arrived in Sochi with an armed detachment of his supporters from Novorossiysk, Gvatua went to Gagra to urge supporters of the Social Democratic organization to come to Sochi and purchase weapons. Gvatua planned to secure armed support after the failed attempt to create a city revolutionary government and the resulting political disagreements between the leaders of Sochi social organizations (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 91).

Horse police officers informed the district chief that Prince of Gagra A.K. Inal-Ipa, purchased 1.6 thousand rifles from an unknown sailing vessel, and Gvatua went to him to negotiate the purchase of the weapons. Additionally, influenced by Gvatua’s propaganda, Gagra supporters of the Social Democrats organized a fighting squad December 23, 1905 (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 190).

The chairman of the Gagra Social Democrats, Prince Inal-Ipa, following a fleeting clash between the Socialists-Federalists and Social Democrats, agreed to provide Gvatua with volunteers from the fighting squad and weapons in the quantity of 65 rifles (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 182).

Importantly, foreign vessels illegally delivered weapons to Georgia to members of the parties of Social Democrats, Socialists-Federalists and Socialists-Revolutionaries. It was one of these batches of Swiss-type weapons that came into the hands of Prince of Gagra Inal-Ipa. These weapons were to go to the representatives of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Revolutionary Party, who after they formed their organization in 1904,

advocated the Georgian autonomy under the slogans: “Freedom! Equality! Unity!” (GARF. F. 102. Op. 233. D. 5. Ch. 19. L. 2).

Additionally, Gvatua and his supporters enlisted sympathies of 138 members of the Georgian community in the Plastunka village, who bought 48 rifles from the Autonomous Transcaucasian Committee for 200 rubles. As a result, almost three hundred armed Georgians came to the Sochi *posad* December 26–27, 1905 (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 182).

The agitation efforts by the Socialists-Revolutionaries succeeded in securing help of the Armenian diaspora that in its majority was unwilling to take part in the armed clash with the authorities, but eventually sent 300 people on its part. This decision was made by the local committee of the Dashnaksutyun party (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 59, 182).

Consequently, when the armed revolutionary forces clashed with representatives of the Russian administration, many of the Armenians took up the call of the Socialists-Revolutionaries to provide them support, and Armenian tenants came to Sochi carrying weapons on them. Besides them, armed Shilovsky Armenians, led by a priest, came to Adler together with members of other parties and seized weapons from the Adler population (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/10. L. 55).

After December 27, 1905, Grechkin and a group of his supporters came to Sochi, the Socialists-Revolutionaries had at their disposal an armed force consisting of two detachments – one was deployed in the Khludovsky Park and the other in the Uta Bakhia eating house. Despite the fact that Grechkin announced the victory of the revolutionary forces in Novorossiysk, most of people who lived in the Sochi *posad* had information that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies was liquidated in Novorossiysk, because the postal and telegraph office operated for some time December 27, 1905 (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 59; MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/11. L. 36).

Additionally, the Sochi *posad* knew that armed uprisings in Moscow and Rostov-on-Don were quelled December 21, 1905, as was the case in other Russian cities before that. To maintain order in the Sochi district, Chief Rozalion-Soshalsky had only insignificant troops, especially after the lower ranks of the company of the Kherson regiment were demobilized in November 1905 (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 10).

To make things worse, peasant republics continued to function in the territory of Guria, and

this aggravated the already destabilized situation in Transcaucasia (Pervaya revolyutsiya, 2005: 376–379). For this reason, members of Sochi social and political associations intensely armed themselves, but, on the other hand, no one masterminded an armed clash with the authorities.

On the morning of December 28, the district chief received a message that a group of armed people marched out of Adler for Sochi. An attempt to stop the invasion of this group in the *posad's* territory failed, and this resulted in a skirmish that took place between the group and the guards near the Mamontovsky Slope and a new market (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 20).

Favorable positions were secured by the supporters of revolutionaries, who used fire to force the law enforcement troops led by the district chief and officer of the guard, Cornet Popov, to retreat (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 21).

In the clash, the guards suffered casualties, one was killed and seven guards were wounded (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 118. L. 19). Their opponents also suffered casualties – two people were killed and one wounded. Of the people who turned up in the scene of the skirmish by accident, two people were killed and as many wounded (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 22).

The killing of random people followed after Spiridon Kubladze, a Social Democrat and Georgian by nationality, shouted the words “*all Russo should be shot down!*” And fired his weapon “... *on the crowd where there were many Russians*” (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 21, 24).

After the skirmish, the guards retreated to the city administration building and the apartment of the district chief, where they were joined by the local police officer Zalevsky with a team of policemen. It was decided to retreat to the disposition of the company of the Kherson regiment to mount defense together with soldiers. The district chief declared a martial law in the Sochi *posad* and offered treasurer N.K. Usachev to hand over the Treasury's cash in the total amount of 140,231 rubles 66 kopecks for safe keeping by himself and the company commander of the Kherson regiment, Captain V.I. Gerasimov, which was done (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 62. L. 107; AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 22).

In the barracks, command over the combined garrison was taken by company

commander of the Kherson regiment, Captain Gerasimov. The size of the garrison was about 100 people. At night, the garrison started to arrange defenses of the barracks and dig trenches. The barracks had a sufficient stock of weapons, ammunition and food. In parallel with the garrison, the revolutionaries also began to construct trenches around the besieged barracks and barricaded a number of nearby streets. Guard posts were set up at the Sochi lighthouse, the church bell tower, in the house of the Appanage Office and other buildings (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 23).

Taking advantage of the riots in the city, nationalists set fire to the homes of Turks who lived in the Turetsky Ovrag quarter. The severe fire forced Turkish and Persian women with children to flee and cross the Sochi River to the Khludovsky quarter on the evening of December 28. They settled outside the building of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (ROPiT), asking the agent of this society for help (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/10. L. 40).

The next day on December 29, 1905, wives and children of policemen and guards came to the besieged barracks. The rebels did not interfere with them as they expected to exert pressure on their opponents. They planned that this step would accelerate the early surrender of the garrison (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 24).

The Social Democrats led by Gvatua, Khutsishvili, Konyaev and A. Khorava gathered in M. Khorava's eating house that was located at the corner of Sadovaya and Bulvarnaya Streets. Here rioters were provided with food, drinks, as well as weapons and ammunition (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 118. L. 19).

Another point of obtaining free food and rest by the supporters of the Socialists-Revolutionaries and Social Democrats was Uta Bahia's hotel, located on Prirechenskaya Street. Additionally, Socialist-Revolutionary supporters were stationed in the People's House, where meals and food products were distributed by N. Poyarko. Poyarko also brought his family to the People's House December 29.

These points also accepted cattle stolen from Khludov's country house and taken away from the local house owner, Gersevanov, as well as pigs that were owned by the guard officer, Cornet Popov, and poultry of police officer Zalevsky. A considerable amount of flour was taken away from the warehouse of merchant Khristofi. The property of guards, which they left behind when surrendered the barracks, was also

plundered. The building of the Appanage Office and the state-owned wine shop were also looted, and the stolen drinks were sent to the above eating house, hotel and People's House. Some products and materials were taken away by revolutionaries on the basis of notes issued and signed by one or several members of the revolutionary organization. Such notes were submitted to the ROPiT agent to provide flour and to merchant Chernomordik to provide barbed wire that was required to construct barricades and other fencing (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 25).

On the morning of December 29, armed guardsmen went door to door and took away from Sochi residents live ammunition, gunpowder, bladed weapons and firearms. As for the latter, the local administration permitted in 1904 that people living in the district and *posad* could have firearms for a small fee – 2 rubles, so that they could protect themselves from wild animals (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 118. L. 19).

Under the pretext of seizing weapons, guardsmen also took away money, jewelry and essential supplies from the local population. Later, part of the plundered items was found by the Russian administration at the participants of the uprising, but most of the loot would be taken out on chaises by Gagra hunters and supporters of revolutionaries, who did not want to be arrested by the Russian administration (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/10. L. 88).

After the uprising broke out, head of the experimental station Lyakhovetsky urged people of the Razdolnoye village to help the besieged garrison. When Gvatua and Khutsishvili learned about this, they sent a group of three armed Georgians led by R. Kutsiya to the experimental station on December 29, who shot Lyakhovetsky dead (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 28). Kutsiya was chosen deliberately, as he had a personal conflict with Lyakhovetsky in the past. There is also information that Gvatua paid Kutsiya 15 rubles for killing Lyakhovetsky (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 61).

December 29, 1905, the Social Democrats distributed a leaflet among the population of the Sochi district, informing people of the start of an armed uprising and urging them to take up arms and join the revolutionaries (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 62. L. 34). In addition to this proclamation, the Social Democrats sent out instructions to the localities in the district, in which they with threats required to dispatch people to the fighting squad and provide the rebels with weapons and gunpowder (Taran, 2015: 126).

Threats and pressure from the Social Democrats made the Volkovskoye community to organize a detachment of armed settlers, which was led by village chief I.F. Krylov. The detachment arrived in Sochi on the night of December 29 to 30 and took part in the seizure of weapons and gunpowder from the people in Navaginki (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/2. L. 3, 22; TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 1454. L. 5).

December 30, 1905, the Estonka village was visited by Social Democrat Yanovich, shopkeeper Kudinov, as well as an unknown Caucasian. They came to the village from Adler. They offered Estonians to give people for the fighting squad to mount resistance to the authorities. In case of refusal, they threatened: *“Others will come after us and will shoot down the whole village”*. The Estonians collected 91 rubles from their fellow villagers, gave them to 16 volunteers and sent them to Sochi (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 62. L. 75-76).

Despite potential repressions that could follow from the Social Democrats, peasants of the Razdolnaya village, Sikorsky and Ryabenko went to the barracks to the district chief to offer their assistance. This happened after, on the morning of December 29, Social Democrats Burdzhiniani, Torchinava, Grigolia, Chkhetiani and Sichinao took away weapons from peasants in Razdolnaya and threatened them with violence (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/6. L. 81-82; MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/12. L. 67).

When the Social Democrats seized weapons from the population in the district and *posad*, they aimed not only to replenish their arsenals, but they also feared that the people would decide to use their weapons against the supporters of the Social Democrats, who flooded the Sochi *posad*. In the Pilenkovo and Baranovka villages, peasants did not give weapons to the Social Democrats who came from Adler. Moreover, in Baranovka, local people fired from their rifles at the revolutionaries (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/12. L. 40-41).

There was a situation when an 18-year-old villager, I.V. Yudin from the Vtoraya Rota village, refused to shoot at the representatives of the authorities besieged in the barracks, and Georgians, from among the supporters of the Social Democrats, locked him in an isolated room for a day (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/14. L. 78).

After the firefight with the besieged garrison began, the rebels decided to restore an ancient cannon that was manufactured in 1795 in England at the factory of D. Gascoigne (MIGKS.

OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 215) and was installed as a relic on the church square near the lighthouse. The idea to restore the cannon belonged to Socialist Revolutionary Grechkin who ordered to send the cannon to the locksmiths' workshop where it was repaired and successfully tested. How to use the cannon was explained by retired officer Lavrov who was previously sent to Sochi to exile by the Russian administration (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 17, 33).

During the days of December 31, 1905 and January 1, 1906, shots were fired from the cannon at the barracks every half hour. The revolutionaries fired about 40 shots, making 18 holes in the front wall of the barracks and knocking out the outer door. The besieged soldiers when they understood that the shells were not explosive they got used to cannon shots and took them easy. Moreover, the retaliatory fire from the barracks wounded the cannon crew – injuries were received by L. Cherednichenko and L. Petrosyan (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 34, 36).

The above developments made the revolutionaries also realize that it was pointless to continue the firefight. The question of the possibility to storm the barracks was also closed. The lever that affected the district chief was his pregnant wife arrested by the revolutionaries at the apartment of engineer Gofman December 29.

At around noon on January 1, 1906, the leaders of the uprising raised a white flag at the cannon and proposed the district chief to start negotiations. Socialists-Revolutionaries Grechkin, Aleksandrov, Rozen, Social Democrat Gvatua and city doctor Gordon as a private party participated in the negotiations with the district chief. It was the city doctor who informed Rozalion-Soshalsky that his pregnant wife was held captive by the revolutionaries (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/1. L. 187). This news shifted the balance, and the district chief took a decision to surrender the garrison.

According to the terms of the garrison's surrender, life was guaranteed to all the besieged. Soldiers with weapons were supposed to stay in the barracks, and amounts from the treasury were to be returned as appropriate. The guards and policemen were to be disarmed and had to leave Sochi. They were to hand over their weapons to the district chief who would send them to the Black Sea governor.

We should note that the Sochi population stayed indoors, suffering hunger and enduring other hardships, once the initial firefight broke out

between the guards and revolutionaries and up to the surrender of the besieged garrison. People ran grave risk struggling to procure food, because the revolutionaries controlled the issue of bread and meat, which were given to civilians in specific rations based on the size of each family (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 30).

The revolutionary forces did not have much time to celebrate their triumph in Sochi. At about 9.00 p.m. January 1, 1906, 3 or 4 hours after the garrison's surrender, the Sochi harbor saw the destroyer "Zavidny" and the transport ship "Nikolay" arriving from Batumi with a detachment of hunters (volunteer soldiers) (AOAGS. F. R-282. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 40). This triggered the outflow of the revolutionary forces from Sochi.

The arrival of government troops in Sochi resulted from the fact that December 29, 1905, a telegram was sent from Gagra to Batumi to the chief of artillery, Lieutenant-General Reshetilov, which forwarded the news from Adler that in Sochi "crowds of revolutionaries beat the Russian population". Reshetilov ordered immediately to dispatch to Sochi a small group of hunters, manned by the personnel of the mine company of the Labinsk Cossack regiment and Kherson infantry regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Trzhepetsky (TsDNIKK. F. 1774-r. Op. 2. D. 231. L. 3).

The unexpected appearance of the destroyer "Zavidny" and the ROPiT's steamer "Nikolay" stunned the revolutionaries and compelled the masterminds of the uprising, the Social Democrats and their supporters, to leave Sochi for one day (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 62. L. 101).

Since the prisoners were in the hands of the revolutionaries, Staff-Captain Stark was tasked to conduct difficult negotiations on behalf of the command of the detachment that came to the Sochi harbor. The process was described in detail by a participant in the events, V. Fronstein, in his recollections: "Stark came ashore, he was calm, congratulated on the victory over the oppressors, visited key positions taken by the rebels, admired the refurbished cannon, advised on digging trenches. Further, Stark said that rumors had reached Batum saying of civilians massacred and outrages committed in Sochi. But since all was quiet, we should go back, and asked to give officers and soldiers, "and you can hang police bastards at night, when I leave." He went around Sochi not with representatives of the revolutionary forces, but with intellectuals. At Stark's request, the captured officers and soldiers

were washed in a bathhouse, fed and handed in to him with weapons, and also returned the treasury amounts. In the evening, Stark said goodbye to us. Before that, he proposed that the city be put in order and plant mines along the coast, because the transport ship carrying Cossacks would be sent in three days, and left for his vessel. Stark's behavior can be called almost revolutionary, everyone listened to him open-mouthed" (TsDNIKK. F. 2830. Op. 1. D. 1454. L. 6).

Encouraged by this attitude, on the afternoon of January 3, 1906, armed representatives of all political movements, singing revolutionary songs and chanting: "Long live freedom and people's governance!" – carried out a large-scale demonstration in the streets of the Sochi *posad*, which was attended by approximately 300–400 people. After the demonstration, the supporters of the Social Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionaries left Sochi for Georgia, as the armed forces of the authorities came to the city.

Semyonov explained his role in the armed uprising by the fact that he and his supporters "took part in the armed uprising, and he joined it, like other Socialists-Revolutionaries, to prevent Gvatua and the company from gaining the upper hand in the situation". Semyonov and Poyarko feared for their lives and did not trust the leader of the Social Democrats, pointing out "... that the ultimate goal of Gvatua and his adherents was to enforce sentences against many Russian revolutionaries" (MIGKS. OPI. OF – 10426/8. L. 61-62). It meant physical elimination of their political opponents.

But these concerns did not become an obstacle to the temporary consolidation of the Socialists-Revolutionaries with local nationalist rebels who had no interest in socialist ideas and had nothing in common with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, except for hatred towards the Russian administration. This can be evidenced by the Sochi armed uprising. The trend towards a united front of revolutionary forces developed on the outskirts of the Empire, in particular, in the Caucasus where militant nationalists quickly put aside ideological differences for the sake of immediate action (Geifman, 2013).

Meanwhile, the military authorities build up an armed group in Sochi. January 2, 1906, the steamer "Borzhom" additionally came to Sochi and brought a supply of food, two mountain guns with crews and ten foot scouts (*plastuns*). It was followed by the mine carrier "Dunay" with an assault party led by Colonel Krylov who commanded an infantry detachment of 300 people

and 4 guns (TsDNIKK. F. 1774-r. Op. 2. D. 231. L. 6).

There is no sense in overplaying the role of the Social Democrats in the Sochi armed uprising. The leader of the Social Democrats, A. Gvatua, and his opponent, Socialist-Revolutionary V. Semyonov were confronted with an accomplished fact, since no one planned the armed clash between revolutionaries and horse police officers, which occurred December 28.

The Moscow armed uprising was more ambitious and meaningful, but these events also demonstrated that it was not political leaders who orchestrated the action, but a combination of circumstances dictated them where to move (Leonov, 1997: 206). However, different conclusions are also suggested that the Moscow uprising was a risky undertaking schemed by the Council of Workers' Deputies and put into operation under the profound influence of the Socialists-Revolutionaries and Bolsheviks (Volobuev, 2002: 64).

We should proceed with a brief description of the museum exhibition devoted to the events of the armed uprising in the city. The Museum of the History of the Resort City of Sochi displays the cannon and two stands for the public, covering the events of the First Russian Revolution and accordingly the armed uprising in Sochi in December 1905 and January 1906. An important fact is that this exhibition was designed by the museum in the Soviet period, and for this reason the historical events were distorted by ideology and censorship of the government. Since the time, no changes have been made to the exhibition. This why the stand features the Iskra newspaper and the work "What is to be done?" by V.I. Lenin, which are irrelevant to the Sochi events.

The same link explains the presence of a police sabre and prison shackles, which were intended to demonstrate the arbitrary behaviors of the tsarist rule and its purely repressive policy towards the population. The museum exhibition even today represents the revolutionaries as freedom fighters, rather than terrorists and expropriators or criminal elements, which they actually were. The museum exhibition also fails to reflect that a number of civilians who objected to the revolutionaries were killed by them. Nor has the exhibition materials on the seizure of property, robbery, separatism, nationalism and many other aspects of the events. This is the true reason why the exhibition is specifically designed so that the events of 1905–1906 in Sochi can be perceived in

harmony with the official textbook on the history of the Communist Party of the USSR.

4. Conclusion

Thus, social and political movements in the Sochi district of the Black Sea governorate acted in line with the social scenarios that determined their behaviors in the time of revolutionary events. The local authorities tried to defend their position, while the revolutionaries put pressure on them, using the support of the population that the revolutionaries involved in the process by various means. On the other hand, the liberal democrats continued to oppose the authorities and blamed the government for delay in implementing reforms, but they clearly did not express sympathies to the extremist methods of struggle. The Russian government was strong enough to keep the situation under control, while the revolutionary parties did not yet have real power.

Separatist sentiments among the Georgian population of the Sochi district, inspired by the leaders of the Social Democrats, gained no support from other social, political and national associations in the district. The Socialists-Revolutionaries, as well as the leaders of the All-Armenian "Dashnaktsutyun" party and the *posad's* liberal intelligentsia, rejected the idea imposed by the Social Democrats to remove the local administration and replace it with a revolutionary city government. They perceived here separatist sentiments maintained by the leaders of the Social Democrats, who planned to take the lead in the political life of the Sochi district.

Members of the national "Dashnaktsutyun" party joined the uprising responding to the call of the Socialists-Revolutionaries, but the leaders of the Armenian diaspora made no bold statements, as they had to take into account several factors. First, in case the Sochi district became a part of Georgia, the leaders of the Social Democrats pledged not to oppress those who participated in the uprising, while those who sidestepped were supposed to be relocated from the inhabited lands. Second, in case the revolutionary forces suffered defeat, the retaliation of the Russian authorities to Armenians who were Turkish subjects would be harsh. In turn, the Socialists-Federalists from among the Georgians, who lived in Gagra, refused to be involved in the armed uprising, because their action plan aimed to seek autonomy for Georgia within the Russian Empire.

Calls for the protection of the existing regime were brutally crushed, and this was the consequence of the murder of Lyakhovetsky, the head of the experimental station. The revolutionaries took the district chief's wife hostage, while the woman was at the final stage of pregnancy, and this was the primary reason why the district chief surrendered the besieged garrison. At the same time, numerous supporters of the revolutionaries – their number exceeded the

forces loyal to the government – refused to mount resistance to the reinforcements in the form of a destroyer and military transport ship that came to rescue the local administration. The population in the Sochi *posad* and district took the side of the revolutionaries whose supporters actually spread terror among the local population and plundered it on the pretext of seizing weapons for revolutionary purposes.

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- Fig. 1.** The exhibition material dedicated to the armed uprising in Sochi
Materialele expoziției dedicate revoltei armate din Sochi
- Fig. 2.** The exhibition stand describing the events of the First Russian Revolution in Sochi
Vitrină din expoziție descriind evenimentele Primei Revoluții Ruse în Sochi
- Fig. 3.** The exhibition stand. The Iskra newspaper.
Vitrină din cadrul expoziției. Ziarul Iskra



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

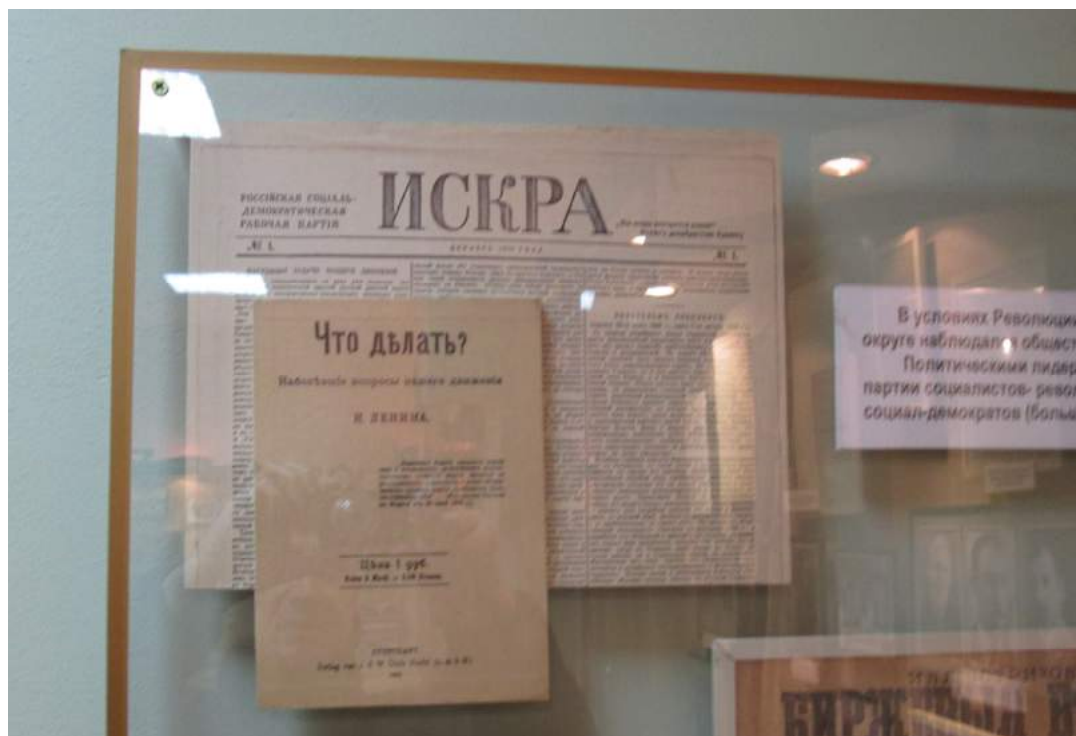


Fig. 3

**BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM IN 2017:
A CHRONICLE OF HISTORY EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS**

Dana Roxana HRIB*

Abstract: *The present study is a synthetic presentation of Brukenthal National Museum's cultural offer in the field of history during 2017.*

Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, history, 2017.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față constituie o prezentare sintetică a ofertei culturale a Muzeului Național Brukenthal în domeniul istoriei, pe parcursul anului 2017.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, istorie, 2017.*

1. Permanent exhibitions: new permanent exhibitions on the 2nd Floor in Brukenthal Palace¹

Project inside the 2017 Brukenthal Bicentennial program, the works at the 2nd Floor in Brukenthal Palace continued the concept developed during previous years, focusing on the interior atmosphere in the late 18th c. and the early 19th c. and thematic rooms.

During 2017, were completed the works for the *Library* sector, presenting books from von Brukenthal's original collection (personalized by the von Brukenthal family coat of arms on the cover) as well as books from the collections that entry to the library in the late 19th c.

The project involved the participation of the specialists² from *Altemberger House* Museum of History in respect to collection items supporting the exhibition concept: writing sets (ink stand, sand shaker, nib-pen, letter rack, letter opener, paper weight etc.) made of silver, metal or porcelain (19th – 20th c.), eyeglasses, magnifier glass (19th c.), the pipe bowl of Prince Karl von Schwarzenberg (Governor of Transylvania between 1851-1858), a woodcut block (18th – 19th c.), silver candlesticks (19th c.), cold weapons (19th c.) and walking sticks (18th – 19th c.).

2. Temporary exhibitions³

Out of the total of 37 temporary exhibitions opened in 2017 at the Museum's locations, 5 displayed selections of works in various historical fields. Also to be noted in the exhibition agenda of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History is the program of traveling exhibitions, all Brukenthal Museum exclusive, organized inside Brukenthal Cultural Axis⁴.

a. Exhibitions at the Museum's locations

Old wheels for a new world (*Altemberger House* Museum of History, Multimedia Room, 25-26.03): on the occasion of the Earth Hour event, Brukenthal National Museum celebrated a double bicentennial. 1817 it is both the year of the public opening of the first museum in Romania by testamentary dispositions of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803) and the official year for the invention of the bicycle by Baron Karl Drais (1785-1851). Promoting non-polluting means of transportation, the public was invited at the Museum of History to meet with the ancestors of today's bikes – a velocipede and a bicycle dated in the 19th c.

3 objects, 3 centuries of local history (Brukenthal Palace, 2nd Floor, 16.06 - 17.12): in partnership with National Museum of the History of Romania in Bucharest, on the occasion of Brukenthal National Museum's Bicentennial, the exhibition presented 3 cultural goods of great value for the history of Sibiu, that have been placed in the patrimony of the National History Museum of Romania since 1974. They were the

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

² Dr. Raluca Frâncu collections research.

³ The short descriptions of temporary exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

⁴ Launched in 2012, the *Brukenthal Cultural Axis* program is aiming at a closer cooperation with other museums in Romania through the means of a large variety of activities as: traveling exhibition, exhibition exchange and shared exhibition programs, professional expertise exchange, symposiums, round tables and meetings.

sealing ring of baron Samuel von Brukenthal (gold with enamel and niello, jasper gem, dating back to the second half of the 18th c.), the hat ornament found in Albert Huet's grave (gold with emails, garnets and pearls, dated 1577-1607), remounted in the late 19th c. on a velvet belt, and the *Altemberger Codex*.

Altemberger Codex, the main attraction of the exhibition, is a collection of legal texts (municipal and mining law), drafted in German space in the 14th-15th c. (even late 13th c., according to some opinions), whose last two pages (including the mayor's oath) were painted and written in Sibiu in 1481, by the Mayor Thomas Altemberger's office for the use of the city magistrate. The volume, written in Gothic letters on parchment, is richly ornamented with miniatures: frames with phytomorphic decorative elements and religious scenes (some occupying the entire page), initial letters and frames with genre scenes made with gold leaf and natural colors.

A history of the ball comprised in the dance cards (Brukenthal Palace, Engravings Cabinet, 22.06 – 17.09): the *Altemberger House* Museum of History inside Brukenthal National Museum has in its possession 234 dancing cards (dated in the 19th and the early 20th c.). Several cards have been presented to the public and published so far, however this was the first exhibition dedicated to the collection. The 48 items on display illustrated especially the period when the cards became very elaborate accessories, not only due to their precious printing but also for incorporating velvet, silk, metal and sometimes jewels, the novelty of the design intending to advertise the hosts of the ball and to underline the importance of their guests. The exhibition also comprised information about how balls were organized in Sibiu and the black tie dress code, original and reproductions after items in the engravings collections, clothing parts and accessories from the collections of the Museum of History.

Wood and Iron Processing in Transylvania – yesterday, today and tomorrow (*Altemberger House* Museum of History, inner courtyard, 26.06 – 8.07): organized by Brukenthal National Museum and Journeymen House Association Sibiu, the exhibition celebrated the ten years anniversary of journeymen activity in Sibiu by organizing an event dedicated to the guilds of ironsmiths and carpenters, representing two of the crafts mentioned in the 1376 statute. The information contained in the photo-documentation panels was illustrated by workshops in which these crafts were handed over to young people willing to practice them.

Generation of the Great Union - Alexandru and Ioan Lapedatu (Temporary Exhibition Hall, Brukenthal Palace, 17.11 - 31.12): in preparation of the anniversary of the National Day of Romania and the launch of the Great Union Centennial program, Brukenthal National Museum hosted a large exhibition project presenting the destinies of two distinguished members of the political, historical, cultural and financial life of our country, the brothers Alexandru Lapedatu (1876-1950) and Ioan Lapedatu (1876-1951), reflected in the light of documents, photographs, testimonies and books.

On the occasion of the exhibition opening, the album "Gemenii Alexandru și Ion Lapedatu istorie și finanțe" by Oscar Print Publishing House (2016) was presented by Lapedatu Foundation. Part of the Sibiu events dedicated to Lapedatu twins, on November 17, a memorial plaque was unveiled.

b. Travelling exhibitions presenting Brukenthal National Museum's collections⁵

Cities of God at the edge of the world (Mediaș Gallery, 1-28.02): photo-documentary exhibition

Aspects regarding the Bronze and Iron civilizations inside the Carpathians Mountains (Valer Literat" Făgăraș Museum, 20. 04 – 30. 06): Wietenberg and Noua, two representative cultures in the Bronze Age inside the Carpathian Mountains, were presented in this exhibition through archaeological materials like pots with specific forms and ornaments; tools, jewels and accessories made of bronze and Noua funeral findings. A special attention was granted to the Bronze metallurgy as the mentioned area was a genuine European center for metallic object, this being proven by the objects discovered isolated or in large storages.

The exhibition also presents discoveries from Gáva, Basarabi and La Tène cultures, alongside with the Celts' funeral sites and the ceramic and metallic objects discovered in the counties of Sibiu and Alba. Archaeological materials found at Miercurea Sibiului and Tilișca (Sibiu County) are suggestive for the Dacian culture.

Medieval fortifications from Transylvania in the Emil Fisher collection II (Făgăraș Museum, April – May): the exhibition presented photography after the original photographic glass plates dated during 1918 – 1950, having as subjects four fortified cities (Alba Iulia, Mediaș, Sibiu and

⁵ The short descriptions of the temporary traveling exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

Sighișoara) and two castles (Bran and Hunedoara).

The Holy Land (Tâlmăciu Library, 4-17.12): photo-documentary exhibition

Cities of God at the edge of the world (Tâlmăciu Library, 18 - 30.12): photo-documentary exhibition

3. Participating in temporary exhibitions

a. Temporary exhibitions in Romania

Academy of Land Forces - 170 years in the service of Romanian military education (Sibiu Town Hall, 9 – 29.05)

Archdiocese of Tulcea's Treasury (Banat Museum, 12.05-30.07)

Transylvanian Guilds, History and Symbol (Făgăraș Museum, 30.06-30.09)

Archdiocese of Tulcea's Treasury (Bistrița Năsăud Museum, 28.09-15.11)

Interethnic relations in Transylvania, German-Saxon prints in the country beyond the forest (Astra Museum, 22.10-12.11)

The Romanian Armed Forces campaigns since 1917: Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz (Astra County Library, 25.10- 20.11)

Credo una messe ecclesiam. Reformation medals in the collections of Brukenthal National Museum (Friedrich "Deutsch" Dialogue and Culture Center, 14.12.2017-27.02.2018)

b. Temporary exhibitions abroad

Ige – idők. A reformáció 500 éve / Grammar and Grace: 500 Years of Reformation (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, 27.04-5.11)

4. Events hosted by the Altemberger House Museum of History or having historical subject

Book Launch: Thursday, the 26th of January, 12:00 am, in the Ferdinand Assembly Hall of the History Institute inside the Babeș Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca (Napoca Street, No. 11) took place the launching of the following volumes authored by Prof. Sabin Adrian Luca: „Viața trăită sub zei / Living under the Gods” (Ed. Academiei Române, Suceava, 2015) – presented by Prof. Magda Lazarovici; „Tărtăria REDIVIVA” (Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Alba Iulia, 2016) – presented by Prof. Gheorghe Lazarovici; „Arheologii timpului lor” (Ed. Armanis, Sibiu, 2016) – presented by Prof. Ioan Bolovan.

Book Launch: Thursday, the 24th of February, 2:00 pm, in the Avram Iancu Assembly Hall of the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu (Victoriei Boulevard, No. 7-9) took place the launching of the following volumes authored by Prof. Sabin

Adrian Luca: „Art and religious beliefs in the Neolithic and Aeneolithic from Romania (Ed. MNBrukenthal, Sibiu 2014) – presented by Dr. Anamaria Tudorie; „Viața trăită sub zei / Living under the Gods” (Ed. Academiei Române, Suceava, 2015) – presented by Prof. Magda Lazarovici; „Tărtăria REDIVIVA” (Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Alba Iulia, 2016) – presented by Prof. Gheorghe Lazarovici; „Arheologii timpului lor” (Ed. Armanis, Sibiu, 2016) – presented by Prof. Ioan Marian Țiplic

Book Launch (13.06.2017)

Partners: Doctoral School of History, Interdisciplinary Studies Centre, Oradea University, City Museum Oradea and Brukenthal National Museum

The launching of the following volumes authored by Prof. Sabin Adrian Luca: „Viața trăită sub zei / Living under the Gods” (Ed. Academiei Române, Suceava, 2015; „Tărtăria REDIVIVA” (Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Alba Iulia, 2016); „Arheologii timpului lor” (Ed. Armanis, Sibiu, 2016).

„Ten years since the opening of the first journeymen workshops in Sibiu” (Project: Wood and Iron Processing in Transylvania – yesterday, today and tomorrow, 26.06 – 8.07): organized by the Journeymen House Association Sibiu and Brukenthal National Museum in partnership with Allianz Kulturstiftung and Primitiv Entertainment, the project aims at completing the limited offer in educational projects through which young people have the opportunity to acquire practical knowledge; at the same time, it responds to the increasing interest in alternative educational models such as museum pedagogy. The main beneficiaries were children and young people from disadvantaged families, but the activities address to all children and young people who were eager to learn more about the journeymen activity. The project's program included: daily courses taught by journeymen and children's workshops organized by Primitiv Entertainment (woodworking activities, large soap bubbles, Archery and face-painting). For two weeks, the inner courtyard of the Museum of History was ready to host holiday activities for young people and children who wanted to discover the history of crafts through courses and practical applications.

Program launch: Great Union Centennial (27.11): the Great Union Centennial national program has been launched in Brukenthal Museum by informative and popularizing materials at all museum locations and online, personalized as RO-BRUKENTHAL frame-

project (Fig. 1). The image used for the informative materials of the Brukenthal National Museum represents a flag from the collections of the Museum of History *Altemberger House*, made by Berta Dengjel, having the central representation of Romania's coat of arms in 1921 (Fig. 2).

5. Published materials of historical subject

a. Books:

_Dan Ivănuș, Delia Voina, *Port popular de la nord și sud de Carpați. Colecțiile Fischer* (Sibiu, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Editura ASTRA) 150 pagini, ISBN 978-606-733-151-6; ISBN 978-606-8815-10-71.

_Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș (cu contribuții de Adrian Luca și Florentin Perianu), *Cristian III realități cronologice și culturale preistorice dovedite prin cercetările preventive*, monografie arheologică (Suceava, Editura Karl A. Romstofer, 2017) 374 pagini, ISBN 978-606-8698-15-1.

b. Exhibition catalogues:

_Constantin Băjenaru, Ginel Lazăr, Melinda Mitu, Raluca Maria Frîncu, Marius Câmpăanu, Marius Gabriel Rus, Nicolae Teșculă, *Bresle transilvănene. Istorie și simbol*, (Editura ALTIP, 2017) ISBN 978-973-117-631-4.

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, Raluca Frîncu, Corneliu Gaiu, *Tezaur Episcopia Tulcii* (Sibiu, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2017) 70 pagini, 978-606-8815-13-8.

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, Marius Matei, *Patrimoniu bănățean* (Sibiu, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2017) 80 pagini, ISBN 978-606-8815-16-9.

_Raluca Maria Frîncu, Dana Roxana Hrib (cu contribuții de Alexandru Sonoc), *O istorie a balului cuprinsă în ordinele de dans / A history of*

the ball comprised in the dance cards, (Sibiu, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2017) 82 pagini, ISBN 978-606-8815-18-3.

6. Scientific symposiums

_International Symposium *The Image of Divinity in the Neolithic and Eneolithic. Ways of Communication* (26-28.10) organized by Brukenthal National Museum in partnership with "Lucian Blaga" University in Sibiu, ASTRA National Museum Complex and Bucovina Museum: reuniting reputed specialists from Romania, but also from abroad (among the represented countries at the symposium were: Germany, Ukraine, Great Britain, Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria and United States of America), the papers presented were comprised in three areas of discussion: I. Sign, symbol, communication; II. Modelling and communication. Sanctuaries and special cultic places; III. Ethno-archaeology. Ethno-religion. The opening ceremony of the symposium will introduce the documentary "When the Earth Speaks", directed by Viorel Costea.

_Scientific Symposium *200 years in promoting the Transylvanian cultural heritage* (23-24.11): the Symposium organized by the Museum of History *Altemberger House* on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the public opening of Brukenthal Museum was dedicated to the issue of promoting the Transylvanian historical cultural heritage and organized in the following sections: History, Conservation and Restoration and Museum Collections. During the symposium also took place the unveiling event for the portrait of the Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna, painted by Sava Henția and restored in the Restoration Laboratories of the Brukenthal National Museum, an event to be held in the Aula of Faculty of Theology in Sibiu.

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_Raportul de Activitate al Muzeului Național Brukenthal 2014-2017 http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/despre_noi/rapoarte.html
_Dana Roxana Hrib (coord.), *Muzeul Național Brukenthal din Sibiu / Hermannstadt: raport de activitate 2017* http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/despre_noi/rapoarte.html

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1. RO-BRUKENTHAL informative material inside the Great Union Centennial program.
1. Material informativ RO-BRUKENTHAL, în cadrul programului Centenarului Marii Uniri
2. Great Union Centennial campaign implemented at the Museum of History.
2. Campania Centenarul Marii Uniri implementată la Muzeul de Istorie.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Acta Adriatica.</i>
ActaAH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
ACS	Asociația culturală Sarmizegetusa.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaSic	<i>Acta Siculica</i> , Sfântu-Gheorghe
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> , Sfântu Gheorghe.
AnB(SN)	<i>Analele Banatului</i> , Serie nouă, Timișoara.
Annales UA	<i>Annales Universitatis Apulensis.</i>
AP	<i>Andean Past.</i>
Apulum	<i>Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Alba Iulia.
Archaeo-Mal	<i>The Archaeo-Malacology Grup Newsletter</i> , Wallingford, U.K.
Archeologické Rozhledy	<i>Archeologické Rozhledy</i> , Praga.
ArchErt	<i>Archaeologiai Értesítő</i> , Budapest.
Arheologia	<i>Arheologia</i> , Sofia.
AȘU	<i>Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza”</i> , Iași.
ATS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
BAM	<i>Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei</i> , Sibiu.
BAR	<i>Brittish Archaeological Reports. International Series</i> , Oxford.
BB	<i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Sibiu.
BCSS	<i>Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie</i> , Alba Iulia.
BMA	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis</i> , Alba Iulia.
BMN	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
CCA	<i>Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice</i> , București.
Cercetări Istorice	<i>Cercetări Istorice (Serie Nouă)</i> , Iași.
CetDacTrans	<i>Cetăți dacice din Sudul Transilvaniei</i> , București.
ComArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae.</i>
Corviniana	<i>Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis</i> , Hunedoara.
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> , Tara Crisurilor Museum, Oradea.
Dacia	<i>Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> , Nouvelle Série, Bucharest.
DocPrae	<i>Documenta Praeistorica</i> , Ljubljana.
Dolgozatok	<i>Dolgozatok</i> , Szeged.
EJA	<i>European Journal of Archeology</i> , Oxford.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica</i> , Budapest.
Gumowski	Marian Gumowski, <i>Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik</i> , Graz, 1960.
HERA	<i>Human and Ecological Risk Assessment.</i>
Huszár	Lajos Huszár, <i>Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute</i> , München, 1979.
Izvestia	<i>Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna.</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Archeological Sciences</i> , , Amsterdam.
JSR	<i>Journal of Sedimentary Research</i> , Tulsa, U.S.A.
Martin	Ferenc Martin, <i>Kolonialprägungen aus Moesia Superior und Dacia</i> , Budapesta – Bonn, 1992.
MCA	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> , București.
MBR	G. Buzdugan, O. Luchian, C. C. Opreșcu, <i>Monede și bancnote românești</i> , București, 1977.
MemAntiq	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
MonArch	<i>Monumenta Archaeologica</i> , Los Angeles, U.S.A.
PA	<i>Preistoria Alpina</i> , Trento.
PaläontZ	<i>Paläontologische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.
PBF	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunde</i> , München.
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> , Constanța.

RA	<i>Revista de Arheologie</i> , București.
RB	<i>Revista Bistriței</i> , Bistrița.
Rengjeo	Ivan Rengjeo, <i>Corpus der mittelalterlichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien</i> , Graz, 1959.
RepAlba	<i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba</i> , 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	<i>Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă</i> , București.
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii și Comunicări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie</i> , București.
ScriptaGeo	<i>ScriptaGeologica</i> , Leiden.
SlovArch	<i>Slovenská Archeológia</i> , Nitra.
StudArchHis	<i>Studia Archaeologica et Historica. Nicolao Gudea Dicata</i> . Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IV/2001, Zalău.
Symposia	Thracologica Symposia Thracologica, București.
TCIC	<i>Techniques & Culture, Itinéraires de coquillages</i> .
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul Roman de Tracologie, București.
TJS	<i>Turkish Journal of Zoology</i> .
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.
WMSDB	<i>Worldwide Mollusc Species Data Base</i> .
Zargidava	<i>Zargidava</i> . Revistă de istorie, Bacău.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> , Arad.

MUZEUL NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL

PUBLICAȚIILE PERIODICE APĂRUTE DE-A LUNGUL TIMPULUI (INCLUSIV PRECURSORII)

CRONOLOGIE	ISTORIE, ARHEOLOGIE	ARTA PLASTICĂ	ȘTIINȚELE NATURII	RESTAURARE	ETNOGRAFIE
Ante 1950		Mitteilungen aus dem Baron von Brukentalischen Museum 1931- 1937 - Neue Folge I- VII 1941 - Neue Folge I- 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		
1959-1989	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 1998, nr. 27 2003, nr. 28 2004, nr 29 + Supliment		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
După 1989	2006, I, 1 2007, II, 1 2008, III, 1 2009, IV, 1 2010, V, 1 2011, VI, 1 2012, VII, 1 2013, VIII, 1 2014, IX, 1 2015, X, 1 2016, XI, 1 2017, XII, 1	2006, I, 2 2007, II, 2 2008, III, 2 2009, IV, 2 2010, V, 2 2011, VI, 2 2012, VII, 2 2013, VIII, 2 2014, IX, 2 2015, X, 2 2016, XI, 2 2017, XII, 2	2006, I, 3 2007, II, 3 2008, III, 3 2009, IV, 3 2010, V, 3 2011, VI, 3 2012, VII, 3 2013, VIII, 3 2014, IX, 3 2015, X, 3 2016, XI, 3 2017, XII, 3	2010, V, 4 2011, VI, 4 2012, VII, 4 2013, VIII, 4 2014, IX, 4 2015, X, 4 2016, XI, 4 2017, XII, 4	