

# The Bronze Age mace-heads from Southern Romania – tools, weapons and/or social distinction signs?

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *sudul României, epoca bronzului, capete de măciucă, funcționalitate.*

**Rezumat:** *Sunt supuse analizei capetele de măciucă lucrate din piatră descoperite în siturile culturilor epocii bronzului din sudul României (Glina, Tei, Verbicioara, Gârla Mare, Coslogeni, Radovanu). Pe lângă tipurile lor (după formă), dimensiuni (diametru, înălțimea, forma și diametrul găurii de prindere), materia primă din care au fost lucrate (acolo unde s-a putut stabili aceasta), este discutat, în lumina unor descoperiri similare din alte regiuni euro-asiatice și din nordul Africii, și rolul/funcționalitatea acestui tip de artefact.*

**Keywords:** *Southern Romania, Bronze Age, mace-heads, functionality.*

**Abstract:** *There are analyzed the mace-heads made of stone and discovered in the sites belonging to the Bronze Age cultures of Southern Romania (Glina, Tei, Verbicioara, Gârla Mare, Coslogeni, Radovanu). Besides their tipology (by shape), dimensions (diameter, height, shape and diameter of the hafting hole), the raw materials that they were made of (where this could be established), there is also discussed in the light of similar finds from other Eurasian regions and North African ones, the role/functionality of this type of artifact.*

## Introduction

Stone mace-heads with different shapes and hafting holes had been used in the Near East even since Mesolithic and Aceramic Neolithic. At Hallan Çemi Tepesi they are already documented for the 10<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> millennia B.C., while at Çatal Höyük, Hacilar and Höyücek for the 6th millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup>. In Egypt they

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are rendered in the shape of a disk even 6000 years ago<sup>2</sup>. Just in the pre-dynastic Naqada II-III period (3600-3100 B.C.) had started to be made spherical and pear-shaped mace-heads (pl. XIII/2-3)<sup>3</sup>. This latter type of artefacts had been proven to be abundant in Mesopotamia (pl. XIII/5-6), in the perimeter of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt where, in time, they became an „*insignia of the royalty*”<sup>4</sup>. It is known the fact that the mace-heads could become „*skēptron*”, so that, „*The kings of Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, Israel, and Asia Minor likewise bore a god given sceptre, often mentioned as the symbol of their rule*”<sup>5</sup>.

Also in Europe, Western or Central, Northern, Southern or Eastern, such stone items had been present even beginning with the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic, but also subsequently<sup>6</sup>. On the territory of Romania, the perforated stone mace-heads, of eared-type, had been discovered in the Neo-Eneolithic milieus from Transylvania, Moldova and Muntenia<sup>7</sup>.

### **Bronze Age mace-heads from Muntenia and Oltenia**

Our own archaeological investigations carried out in different sites of the Bronze Age on the territory of Bucharest, as well as in the Ilfov and Giurgiu counties<sup>8</sup>, together with the valorification of material lots coming from older

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<sup>1</sup> Hamblin 2006, p. 24; Muhle 2008, p. 315, with lit.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert 2004, with lit.

<sup>3</sup> Ciałowicz 2011, p. 173; Breivik 2013, p. 81f., fig. 54-55.

<sup>4</sup> Issar, Zohar 2007, p. 88. Breivik 2013, p. 81f.: „*The pear-shaped mace-heads are a good example of a weapon that ceases to be used as a weapon and instead they became a symbol of power being associated with chieftains in Upper Egypt as seen from the Naqada Cemetery T. This might also have been the case in Lower Nubia since the maces have been found in connection with rich burials*”.

<sup>5</sup> West 1997, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> We randomly mention, among others, Evans, Amyot 1872, p. 241; Gregg 1970, p. 17f.: Cnossos; Georgiev 1971, p. 32; Popham, Sackett 1980, p. 252, pl. 93; Horváth 1987, fig. 34; Snodgrass 1988, p. 16f.; Beková-Berounská 1989, with lit.; Horváth 1990, p. 49, fig. 50; Papathanassopoulos 1996, p. 226, 240, fig. 40, 65/a-b; Perlès 2001, p. 222; Siklósi 2004; Govedarica 2004, with lit.; Timofeev *et alii*. 2004, p. 96f., fig. 4; Drenth, Nickus 2008; Runnels *et alii*. 2009, p. 181f., fig. 10/1-3; Sesklo, Dimini, Alepotrype Cave; Biermann 2011, with lit.; Boyadzhiev 2011, p. 271; Tell Galabnik (the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.), Usoe, Samovodene, Topolnitsa; Tait 2012, p. 193; Botić 2013, with lit.

<sup>7</sup> See, among others, Horedt 1940; Dumitrescu *et alii*. 1954, p. 257f.; Matasă 1964, p. 20; Cucoş 1999, p. 67; Iercoşan 2002, p. 147, 191 (*Appendix 5*); Pătraşcu 2007; Gogâltan 2011, p. 105-110; Gogâltan, Ignat 2011, with lit; Garvăn, Munteanu 2012, with lit.; Lazarovici 2014.

<sup>8</sup> We mention, among others, Schuster 2000; Schuster, Negru 2006; Schuster, Popa 2008; Schuster, Popa 2010; Schuster, Popa 2012; Schuster *et alii*. 2012.

excavations carried out in Southern Romania (Muntenia and Oltenia), had enabled us the obtaining of more consistent information and data regarding the lithic industry of this period. In the present contribution we insist upon a category of polished objects, which are known in the literature as mace-heads.

Many specialists had concerns regarding the Glina culture. They had tackled with more or less interest the lithic industry<sup>9</sup>. In this context, the items made of polished stone had not been neglected<sup>10</sup>. Unfortunately, about the mace-heads just few things could be established<sup>11</sup> and some of them were erroneous ones in some cases (we will insist upon this fact when we will discuss about such objects in the Tei cultural milieu from the Middle and Late Bronze Age).

Part of the mace-heads, which will be presented in our contribution, resulted from older investigations (surface surveys and soundings), which were hosted by the collections of some museums from Muntenia and Oltenia, but which, up to now, had not been valorified by publications<sup>12</sup>. The number of these artefacts compared with the polished stone objects is not an impressive one. But, if we relate the quantity of the mace-heads to the number of Glina sites, then the image becomes even more lamentable.

In Muntenia, the excavations from Orbeasca de Sus<sup>13</sup>, in *Trench II, square 57*, at the depth of 0,4 m, had resulted in the discovery of a fragmentary mace-head. It was coarsely made of limestone, fractured at the level of the hafting whole (pl. VI/1)<sup>14</sup>. It was unpolished, being strongly affected by the splinters detached due to its use.

Another mace-head, made of undetermined raw material, but this time preserved in one piece, had been recovered from the same locality, but from the spot called „Dealul Comorilor”. This was very well polished, with the hafting hole shaped as a cone, and practiced from the dorsal towards the ventral face of the piece (pl. VI/2)<sup>15</sup>.

Also to the Glina culture belongs half of the spherical mace-head, made of a metamorphic rock with sedimentary protolyte (possibly limestone),

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<sup>9</sup> Păunescu 1970, p. 69-71; Schuster 1997, p. 49-54 with lit.; Schuster 1998, p. 11-24; Schuster, Fântâneau 2007, p. 9-14; Tuțulescu 2013, p. 261f.

<sup>10</sup> Schuster 1997, p. 51-53; Schuster, Fântâneau 2007, p. 11-13; Tuțulescu 2013, p. 261f.

<sup>11</sup> Tuțulescu 2013, p. 262.

<sup>12</sup> Their analysis had been done by Laurențiu Mecu, between 2008-2013.

<sup>13</sup> Moscalu, Beda 1979, p. 368f.; Schuster 1997, p. 201; Schuster, Fântâneau 2005, p. 34, Map 12.

<sup>14</sup> It has *Inv. no.* 8822, being hosted by the *County Museum Teleorman* (Alexandria). Weight = 198 grams.

<sup>15</sup> *County Museum Teleorman* (Alexandria). *Inv. no.* 11727. *Dimensions*: mace diameter = 6,8 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,6 cm, weight = 508 grams.

discovered at Trivale Moșteni<sup>16</sup>. Well polished, it had small detached parts on the outer surface. At one of its ends the hafting hole had a prominent threshold (pl. VI/3)<sup>17</sup>.

Another half of a spherical mace-head, made of amphibolites, affected by some detached areas resulted from its use; it was discovered after a surface survey at Satu Vechi. It probably came from a Glina site. The object was well polished, and one of its ends has a prominent ring. The hafting hole has the shape of a truncated cone (pl. VII/1a-b)<sup>18</sup>.

The mace-heads were also present in sites of the Glina culture from Oltenia. Thus, in the settlement from Râmnicu Vâlcea-Copăcelu-Valea Răii<sup>19</sup>, in 1960 it was discovered a complete spherical mace-head, whose raw material had not been established, having the dorsal face slightly flattened and the ventral one bulging. The hafting hole had the shape of a truncated cone and it was perforated from the dorsal face towards the ventral one, being placed approximately in the central part of the piece. On its entire surface there were traces of wearing (pl. VIII/1)<sup>20</sup>.

On the territory of the Drăgășani town, on the spot „Dealul Viilor”, as a result of some surface surveys, two fragments of mace-heads had been discovered, which could be probably assigned to the Glina culture<sup>21</sup>. The first one, possibly made out of diorite (?), had a spherical shape and its body was strongly flattened at its ends (pl. IX/1)<sup>22</sup>. The hafting hole, made on just one end, had a conical shape, with a small threshold on its upper part.

The second fragment of a mace-head, made of a porous rock of grey colour with white insertions, had the same shape like the previously mentioned

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<sup>16</sup> It is not sure that the mace-head, which is a *passim*, had been discovered in the Glina site from here Moscalu, Beda 1979, p. 362; Schuster 1997, p. 209; Schuster, Fântâneau 2005, p. 37, Map 12.

<sup>17</sup> It has *Inv. no. 12906*, being hosted by the *County Museum Teleorman* (Alexandria). Dimensions: mace diameter = 7,2 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,5 cm, weight = 205 grams.

<sup>18</sup> It is hosted by the *Teleorman County Museum* (Alexandria). Dimensions: mace diameter = 7,3 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,3 cm, weight = 227 g.

<sup>19</sup> About the site, see Schuster, Fântâneau 2005, p. 44, Map 13; Tuțulescu 2013, p. 139f., with lit.

<sup>20</sup> It is hosted by the collection of the „Aurel Sacerdoțeanu” Vâlcea County Museum (Râmnicu Vâlcea), under *Inv. No. A 74*. Dimensions: diameter of the objects = 7,2 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,1-2,2 cm; weight = 296 grams.

<sup>21</sup> Schuster, Fântâneau 2005, p. 41, Map 13; Tuțulescu 2013, p. 141f., with lit. We have to mention here that in the respective area it was also found Verbicioara ceramic, see Berciu 1972, p. 14; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 43; Ridiche 2000, p. 52; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 138, Map 27.

<sup>22</sup> It is stored by the *Museum of the Vine and Wine* from Drăgășani, *Inv. No. 23*. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 7,1 cm, conical hafting hole (at its base, the diameter is of 2,6 cm, while at its upper part it reaches 1,9 cm).

item, but it missed the little threshold (pl. IX/2)<sup>23</sup>. The hafting hole is also conical, the perforation being done on both sides.

In his first synthesis regarding the Tei culture, Valeriu Leahu had noted the following about the stone mace-heads, „based upon the characteristic details of the cross-section or of the profile – the following main types could be distinguished: a) mace-head with spherical body and flattened head; b) mace-head with spherical body strongly flattened on both ends, so that the diameter of the weapon had visibly surpassed its height; c) mace-head whose spherical body has a small edge on the line of the maximal diameter; d) the one with the spherical body and the base circumcised by a ring; e) the mace with spherical body and vertical channels; f) mace-head with a rounded bitruncated body, with its upper part wider but shorter – the lower part being shorter but higher, the base of the weapon being circumcised by a relieved ring; g) spherical mace-head with four protuberances on its body, the base of the weapon being also circumcised by a relieved and notched ring”<sup>24</sup>. The mace-heads had been included by Leahu, as it could be observed, in the category of the weapons. For the type e he had given as an example the object from București-Tei<sup>25</sup>, for the type f the one from București-Cățelu Nou<sup>26</sup>, while for the type g the one from București-Băneasa<sup>27</sup>.

Reanalyzing the lot of lithical objects from București-Tei<sup>28</sup>, the type a mace-head mentioned by Leahu could be also studied again. It was made of diorite and had vertical notches on its surface (pl. I/1-2)<sup>29</sup>. The truncated hafting hole has slight notches inside, resulted from the perforation process.

In this site, besides the mentioned artefact, other two objects had been discovered. We refer here to a fragment of a spherical mace-head made of basalt (pl. I/3-4)<sup>30</sup>, whose truncated hafting hole had slight notches inside, resulted

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<sup>23</sup> It is hosted by the *Museum Drăgășani*, Inv. No. 28. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 6,9 cm, conical hafting hole (on its base it measures 2,2 cm, while on its upper part it reaches 1,6 cm).

<sup>24</sup> Leahu 1966, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Leahu 1966, fig. 11/3; Leahu 2003, pl. XVII/3; Schuster 2005, pl. 38/3.

<sup>26</sup> Leahu 1963, pl. 7/1; Leahu 1966, fig. 11/2; Leahu 2003, pl. XVII/2; Schuster 2007, pl. 38/2.

<sup>27</sup> Leahu 1966, fig. 11/1=pl. I/3; Leahu 2003, pl. XVII/1; Schuster 2007, pl. 38/1. Leahu considers that the respective artefact had the following dimensions: initial diameter = 6,9 cm, height 5,6 cm, preserved weight = 178,6 grams.

<sup>28</sup> Approach carried out by Laurențiu Mecu, together with Elena Gavrilă between 2012-2013.

<sup>29</sup> *Collection of the Museum of Bucharest Municipium Inv. no: 16998*. Preserved weight = 119 g. According to Leahu, the initial diameter should have been of 7 cm, with its height of 5,1 cm.

<sup>30</sup> *Collection of the Museum of Bucharest Municipium, Inv. no. 16997*. Dimensions: diameter = 6,7 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 1,9 cm; preserved weight = 195,3 grams.

from the perforation process. This one was also studied by Sebastian Morintz and Dinu V. Rosetti, who had published it in 1959<sup>31</sup>.

The third object, an inedited one, was also a fragmentary one, whose raw materials could not be exactly established, because of the carbonate layer existing upon it (pl. I/5)<sup>32</sup>. Its hafting hole, without notches inside, had a truncated shape. The piece was strongly deteriorated from ancient times.

It is not excluded that, in the site from București-Tei might have functioned a „workshop” or a „craftsman/stone carver”, who might have worked the objects made of polished stone. An argument in this sense could be the conical „cork” made of stone (pl. I/6) resulted after processing such artefacts, maybe even from a mace-head<sup>33</sup>.

As we already established above, Valeriu Leahu had also published an Arafat from București-Cățelu Nou<sup>34</sup>. In the book of the Museum of Bucharest, it was registered as coming from București-Fundeni<sup>35</sup>. This is an obvious registration mistake. The respective mace-head, made out of lamprophyre or andesite, had the shape of a reversed pear (pl. II/1-2)<sup>36</sup>. The hafting hole had a truncated shape and it was done from the ventral towards the dorsal face of the item. From the area of maximal amplitude, the object becomes narrow downwards. On its distal end the object had a prominent ring.

The mace-head from București-Băneasa<sup>37</sup>, as already mentioned, had a spherical shape, with a relieved and notched ring on its base. It was decorated with four semi-spherical protuberances, was preserved in a fragmentary condition (pl. II/3) and it was made of a hard rock (basalt?), being broken since ancient times. Upon it, there were traces of wear (splintering).

An artefact which is less considered, indeed, published a longer time ago, is a mace-head discovered in the settlement from București-Dealul Piscului<sup>38</sup>. It can be observed that this had an unfinished perforation (pl. III/1)<sup>39</sup>. The material used for making the mace-head, had used a raw material of a lower quality, possibly grit stone, which was inappropriate for a lithic item of this category.

Resuming the discussion since 2003, Valeriu Leahu had shown that stone mace-heads „with the spheroid body pierced by a circular channel used for fixing the handle had appeared in a fragmentary condition, in phases of the

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<sup>31</sup> Morintz, Rosetti 1959, p. 176, 190, 206, pl. XX/9.

<sup>32</sup> *Collection of the Museum of Bucharest Municipium, Inv. no. 1423*. Preserved weight = 113,5 grams.

<sup>33</sup> Morintz, Rosetti 1959, pl. XX/5.

<sup>34</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 26; Schuster 2005, p. 87, Map 16.

<sup>35</sup> *Inv.no. 93323*.

<sup>36</sup> Dimensions: Diameter in the area of maximal amplitude = 6,2 cm; diameter in the median area = 4,9 cm; diameter of the ring = 3,8 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 2 cm; weight = 143 grams.

<sup>37</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 26; Schuster 2005, p. 87, Map 16.

<sup>38</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 26; Schuster 2005, p. 88, Map 16.

<sup>39</sup> Morintz, Rosetti 1959, p. 176, 190, 206, pl. XX/4.

culture and in a great number,..., being considered that they represented a perfect weapon”<sup>40</sup>. There are rendered the same categories of mace-heads, while for the type **b** it was given as an example the object from Daia (pl. III/2)<sup>41</sup>.

Also on this occasion, Leahu had published another fragmentary mace-head of **type f** (pl. III/3)<sup>42</sup>, resembling the one from București-Cățelu Nou, and coming from the settlement from Izvoarele-Valea Coșcovei II<sup>43</sup>.

In the same publication, it was mentioned a fragmentary spheroid mace-head, ornamented with vertical incisions (pl. IV/1a)<sup>44</sup>, but also with a conical hafting hole. This came from the site of București-Băneasa. The author of the find made a mistake, as the object (pl. IV/1b)<sup>45</sup>, of **type e**, resembling another one from București-Tei, had been discovered in the site from Frătești-Dealul Lagărului<sup>46</sup>. This settlement belonged to the phase IV of the culture and was subjected to the archaeological excavations carried out in 1978, under the coordination of Valeriu Leahu<sup>47</sup>.

The mentioned artefact, made of a hard rock (basalt?), had been stored by the collection of the *Village Museum of Frătești*. It was the same like another mace-head, which was also in a fragmentary condition, being discovered during some surface surveys on the spot „Dealul Lagărului”. This second object, made of basalt, had belonged to the type **f** (pl. III/4)<sup>48</sup>, being similar to the one from Izvoarele-Valea Coșcovei II. The hafting hole of the handle had a cylindrical shape.

Dinu V. Rosetti had discovered in the settlement from Butimanu (in one of the sites, from Bărbuceanu, or Butimanu Mic)<sup>49</sup>, a half of a spherical mace-head with a relieved ring and notches at the base of the hafting hole, which was decorated with semi-spherical knobs (pl. IV/1a-d)<sup>50</sup>. The object was made of basalt. The recent observations<sup>51</sup>, made by using a microscope, had shown that

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<sup>40</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 87.

<sup>41</sup> Leahu 1981, pl. 1/6; Leahu 2003, pl. XVI/3. It is hosted by the Collection of the National Museum of History of Romania. Dimensions: maximal preserved diameter = 6,9 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,9 cm, weight = 114 grams.

<sup>42</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 87, pl. XVI/1.

<sup>43</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 22; Schuster 2005, p. 96, Map 19; Schuster *et alii*. 2012, p. 39-40.

<sup>44</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 87, pl. XVI/2. Dimensions: maximal preserved diameter = 7,6 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,1 cm, weight = 128,5 grams.

<sup>45</sup> Isăcescu, Bulacu 1978, p. 46, fig. 1/8. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 7,8 cm, maximal diameter of the hafting hole = 2,1 cm, weight = 132 grams.

<sup>46</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 21 with lit.; Schuster 2005, p. 94, Map 19.

<sup>47</sup> Leahu 1979.

<sup>48</sup> Dimensions: maximal diameter = 8,2 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,2 cm, preserved weight 126 grams.

<sup>49</sup> Leahu 1975; Leahu 2003, p. 19, fig. 1; Olteanu 2002, p. 67; Schuster 2005, p. 90, Map 18.

<sup>50</sup> Boroneanț, Boroneanț 1992, p. 99, pl. IV/A-E; Boroneanț, Miu 1998, fig. 5.

<sup>51</sup> The object, can be found in the *Collection of the Museum of History of Bucharest Municipium*, Inv. no. 15451. Dimensions of the mace-head are: diameter of the object=

on the inner side of the hafting hole there were slight notches resulted from the perforating process. At one of its ends, the hafting hole had a prominent ring, marked with six parallel incisions. On the mace-head, two protuberances with a spherical shape that was similar to the knobs could be observed. It is certain that the other half had also two protuberances symmetrically arranged against the previously mentioned ones. The hafting hole had a truncated shape.

We should remind here that the mentioned item had been published in 1959 by Sebastian Morintz and Dinu V. Rosetti, as belonging to the Early Bronze Age, namely to the Glina culture<sup>52</sup>. With some reluctance, this assignment had been also maintained by other specialists<sup>53</sup>. This confusion had been generated by the fact that the possible sites from where the mace-heads could originate, had contained both Glina and Tei materials. Constanța and Vasile Boroneanț were the first to include this item amongst the lithical objects of the latter manifestation. Valeriu Leahu would subsequently back up this assignment. Judging the mace-head from Butimanu in analogy with others, it was obvious that it could not be situated among the Early Bronze Age materials, being the result of a „stone carver” from subsequent periods.

The investigations carried out on the Mostiștea Valley, had stirred Valeriu Leahu and George Trohani to undertake a sounding in the site from Surlari. Up there, some Tei I<sup>54</sup>, Coslogeni and Getic materials had been discovered. According to the authors of the excavations, fragments of two mace-heads of type a had belonged to the lot of the Tei lot. The first object, made of a hard green rock, has a spheroid body, flattened at the upper end, being endowed with a circular hafting whole (pl. V/1)<sup>55</sup>. The second mace-head, with the same shape<sup>56</sup>, most probably done by „the same hand”, had small dimensions (pl. V/2). Both artefacts had been carefully finished.

In the more recent archaeological excavations carried out in the site from București-Militari-Câmpul Boja, a first mace-head, made of grit stone, belonging to the Tei IV layer, had been found in Zone C<sup>57</sup>. This object was broken since ancient times, had a spheroid shape, slightly flattened at both ends,

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4,9 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 1,5 cm; diameter of the buttons = 2,8; diameter of the „collar” = 3 cm; preserved weight = 113 grams.

<sup>52</sup> Morintz, Rosetti 1959, p. 176, 190, 206, pl. XVI/3.

<sup>53</sup> Schuster 1997, p. 53; Schuster 1998, p. 14; Schuster, Fântâneau 2007, p. 13.

<sup>54</sup> Leahu, Trohani 1975, p. 75, 77; Leahu 2003, p. 25; Schuster 2005, p. 102, Map 20.

<sup>55</sup> Leahu, Trohani 1975, p. 75, fig. 1/3. Hosted by the *National Museum of Romanian History*. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 8,8 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,2 cm.

<sup>56</sup> Leahu, Trohani 1975, p. 75, fig. 1/3. Hosted by the *National Museum of History of Romania*. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 7,1 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,9 cm.

<sup>57</sup> Schuster 2000, p. 37, pl. 41:7; Schuster 2007, p. 42. Hosted by the collection of the *Museum of Bucharest Municipium*. Dimensions: = 6,1 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 2 cm; preserved hole = 98,5 grams.



being strongly affected by the strikes resulted due to its use. It was pierced by a circular channel.

A second fragmentary item of this kind, also made of grit stone, had been discovered in *S. 111*, □5, at -0, 50 m, in the same Tei IV layer of the *Zone C*<sup>58</sup>. The mace-head, broken since ancient times, had a spherical body, with a base circumscribed by a ring. It is not excluded that this mace-head could have been broken even during its processing. Compared to the previously mentioned piece, this one had no traces of strikes.

A half of a spherical mace-head with four symmetrically disposed protuberances<sup>59</sup> had been discovered at Novaci, a Late Tei archaeological site, situated on the Lower Argeş River<sup>60</sup>.

During the Late Bronze Age, besides the Tei culture, in Central and Eastern Muntenia, the Coslogeni and Radovanu<sup>61</sup> cultures had also manifested themselves. The research carried out in a tumulus raised in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC from Ciulnița, had pointed out that this was made right above a cinderer of the Late Bronze Age, belonging to the Coslogeni culture<sup>62</sup>. Among other materials, pottery, bronze, bone, antler and clay items, it was also discovered „*a half of a mace-sceptre, made of white marble, with a spherical shape, a central perforation and a vertically placed facette-channeling*”, which could be assigned to the mentioned cultural manifestation<sup>63</sup>.

Within the eponymous fortified settlement of the Radovanu culture, the investigations had resulted in 1973 in the discovery of a mace-head<sup>64</sup>. It was preserved in one piece, was made of grit stone and had a spherical shape (pl. XI/2a-b)<sup>65</sup>.

Without knowing exactly to which culture of the Late Bronze Age it had belonged (Tei?), we should also mention the fragmentary mace-head (pl. XI/1)<sup>66</sup> from Mălăiești de Jos-Monel, discovered during a surface survey<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> Schuster, Negru 2006, p. 50, pl. 30:5. Hosted by the Collection of the *Center of Thracology of the „Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology*, Inv. no. 3846. Dimensions: diameter in the maximally preserved amplitude = 7,3 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 2,2 cm; preserved weight = 162,6 grams.

<sup>59</sup> Vulpe, Veselevschi-Bușilă 1967, pl. 14/7; Schuster 2007, p. 42; Schuster, Popa 2010, pl. LIX/4.

<sup>60</sup> About the excavations in this site see Vulpe, Veselevschi-Bușilă 1967; Leahu 2003, p. 23; Schuster 2005, p. 98, Map 19.

<sup>61</sup> About these manifestations see, among others, Morintz 1978, p. 121-147; Morintz, Șerbănescu 1985; Schuster, Șerbănescu 2007, with lit.; Schuster, Ștefan, Mirea 2014.

<sup>62</sup> Marinescu *et alii*. 2000; Rența 2008, p. 27f.

<sup>63</sup> Rența 2008, p. 28.

<sup>64</sup> Morintz, Șerbănescu 1985, p. 14.

<sup>65</sup> It has Inv. No. 10277, being hosted by the Collection of the *Gumelnița Civilisation Museum* from Oltenița. Dimensions: diameter = 5,48 cm, height = 5,49 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,9 cm.

<sup>66</sup> Hosted by the Collection of the *History Museum Prahova – Ploiești*; dimensions: diameter = ca. 6,5 cm, height = ca. 4,5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,7 cm.

West of the Tei culture range, during the Middle and Late Bronze Age had evolved the Verbicioara culture<sup>68</sup>. The lithical production didn't specially draw the attention of the specialists<sup>69</sup>. The surface surveys, as well as the archaeological excavations, had resulted in the discovery of some mace-heads. Thus, even in the eponymous site, several such objects had been unearthed, as suggested by Dumitru Berciu<sup>70</sup>, being of the kind with four protuberances (pl. X/2)<sup>71</sup>.

The archaeological investigations undertaken in the Verbicioara I-II and V settlement from Rogova<sup>72</sup> had produced three items of the category under discussion here. A first half of a spherical mace, made of diorite, with a hornblendic structure, had been recovered from the *Section XV* (pl. VII/2)<sup>73</sup>. Its hafting hole had been pierced from both ends and had a truncated shape. Its inner surface was flat.

A second half of a spherical mace, also made of diorite and with a hornblendic structure, had been found in the *Section XVI*, □ 6, at the depth of -0,75 m (pl. VII/4)<sup>74</sup>. The hafting hole had been performed from both ends and has also a truncated shape and a flat inner surface.

The last half of a spherical mace-head discovered, made of the same raw materials, had been unearthed in 2005, in the *Section XXVI*, □ 3, at the depth of -0,70 m (pl. VII/3)<sup>75</sup>. The hafting hole had been perforated from both ends, and on its inner surface slight notches could be noticed, resulted after the piercing process.

In the Mehedinți County, such mace-heads had been also found in other sites, like the one from Vlădia<sup>76</sup>. The first one (pl. XII/1)<sup>77</sup>, preserved in a

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<sup>67</sup> In the area in which the mace-heads had been recovered, it was found a Neolithic (Andreescu *et alii.* 2006; Paveleț 2010; Frînculeasa 2010; Frînculeasa 2012; Frînculeasa *et alii.* 2012;). The site of the Late Bronze Age was situated west of this one. The type of object, with a spherical body and flattened on both end, but also bearing a ring on its lower side, made us believe that the mace-head had rather belonged to the Bronze Age. The item, as well as the information regarding this find had been kindly offered to us by dr. Alin Frînculeasa, to whom we express our gratitude on this occasion.

<sup>68</sup> About this manifestation see, among others, Berciu 1961a; Berciu 1961b; Crăciunescu 2004, with lit.; Crăciunescu 2005; Crăciunescu 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Crăciunescu 2004, p. 77-81; Crăciunescu 2007, p. 75-79.

<sup>70</sup> Berciu 1961a, p. 129f., fig. 2/2; Berciu 1961b, p. 231.

<sup>71</sup> See also Crăciunescu 2004, p. 80, pl. XLIII/1; Crăciunescu 2007, p. 77.

<sup>72</sup> Crăciunescu 2004, p. 48f., with lit.; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 150, Map 26, pl. 22.

<sup>73</sup> The objects from Rogova are hosted by the Collection of the *Museum of the Iron Gates Region* (Drobeta-Turnu Severin). The access to the mace-heads had been facilitated to Laurențiu Mecu by Gabriel Crăciunescu, to whom we take this opportunity to express our gratitude. Dimensions of the mace-head: diameter = 6,5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,8 cm.

<sup>74</sup> Dimensions of the object: diameter = 5,6 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,7 cm.

<sup>75</sup> Dimensions of the object: diameter = 5,2 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,6 cm.

<sup>76</sup> Crăciunescu 2004, p. 54; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 153, Map 26.

fragmentary condition, whose raw material could not be determined, had a spherical shape, with a cylindrical hafting hole, but lightly bigger on its both ends<sup>78</sup>.

In the same site it was also identified a fragment of a spherical mace-head (pl. X/1)<sup>79</sup>, made of diorite, endowed with four protuberances and being carefully polished<sup>80</sup>.

At the *Olteniei Museum* from Craiova, other two Verbicioara mace-heads had been hosted<sup>81</sup>. The first of them, discovered at Vâlcele<sup>82</sup>, is a spherical mace, with slightly flattened dorsal and ventral facets<sup>83</sup>. The hafting hole had been perforated from both sides, in the central part of the objects having a smaller diameter.

Another spherical mace-head had been discovered at Brebeni<sup>84</sup>. It had channels on its entire surface<sup>85</sup>. The hafting hole had been performed from both dorsal and ventral sides, while in their joining point, a ring could be noticed.

Other mace-heads had been also documented in the Eastern part of the Verbicioara Culture range. We discuss here about objects discovered in sites of the Vâlcea County and which are presently hosted in the repository of the „*Aurel Sacerdoțeanu*” County Museum from Râmnicu Vâlcea.

On the occasion of the research undertaken at Govora Sat<sup>86</sup> it was also recovered a spherical mace with its flattened dorsal face, while its ventral one was slightly bulging (pl. G/5)<sup>87</sup>. Its hafting hole had a truncated shape and it was performed starting from the dorsal towards the ventral face.

Another mace-head, decorated with four protuberances, had been published as originating from the same archaeological site (pl. X/3)<sup>88</sup>. The item, made of a hard rock, had been preserved just as a half<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>77</sup> Crăciunescu 2004, p. 80, pl. XCII/1; Crăciunescu 2007, p. 77.

<sup>78</sup> Dimensions of the object: diameter = 6,46 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,7 cm.

<sup>79</sup> Crăciunescu 2004, p. 80, pl. XCII/2; Crăciunescu 2007, p. 77.

<sup>80</sup> Dimensions of the object: diameter = 6,77 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,85 cm.

<sup>81</sup> We are grateful to Florin Ridiche for his gentleness of permitting the study of these artifacts to Laurențiu Mecu.

<sup>82</sup> Butoi 1999, p. 32; Ridiche 2001, p. 49; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 153, Map 27.

<sup>83</sup> It has *Inv. No. 4307*. Dimensions: diameter = 6,5 cm; diameter of the hafting hole = 3,1 cm, inner diameter = 1,1; weight = 208 grams.

<sup>84</sup> Butoi 1999, p. 8; Ridiche 2000, p. 44; Crăciunescu 2004, p. 18; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 134, Map 27.

<sup>85</sup> *Inv. no. 2746*. Dimensions: diameter = 6,5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,2 cm, weight = 254 grams.

<sup>86</sup> Petre-Govora 1995, p. 51: Verbicioara V site.

<sup>87</sup> It has the *Inv. no. 248*. Dimensions: diameter of the piece = 7,3 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,8 cm, weight = 333 grams.

<sup>88</sup> Petre-Govora 1995, fig. 2/12. The place where it comes from is somehow uncertain. Yet, considering the type of object, its assignment to the phase V of the Verbicioara culture is a correct one, even if the respective place can be considered to be the one mentioned by Gheorghe Petre-Govora.

A fragmentary spherical mace with a small ring on its inner part had been discovered at Căzănești-Săveasca<sup>90</sup>, in a Verbicioara IV-V settlement (pl. XII/2)<sup>91</sup>. Its hafting hole had a deviation from its normal axis and on its surface some slight notches could be observed, resulted for the perforating process. Around the ring there were also notches.

From the multicultural site from Orlești-Sâlea<sup>92</sup>, Gheorghe Petre-Govora had recovered a fragmentary mace-head made of grit stone (pl. VIII/2)<sup>93</sup>. This had also traces of wear. Even if its cultural assignment remains unclear, we believe that it, most probably, had belonged to the Verbicioara V phase<sup>94</sup>.

Most probably, we should also assign the complete mace-head made of diorite (?), from Ocnița<sup>95</sup> to the Verbicioara culture. The object had not been completely finished on its outer side and its hafting hole didn't pierce the entire object (pl. VIII/3)<sup>96</sup>.

The Late Bronze Age is represented in Oltenia by the Gârla Mare<sup>97</sup> and Bistreț-Ișalnița cultures<sup>98</sup>. To the first one it belonged a spherical, fragmentary mace-head, flattened on its both ends (pl. XII/3)<sup>99</sup>, discovered at Cârna-Rampă<sup>100</sup>.

In 1932, Dumitru Berciu had carried out archaeological excavations in the necropolis from Balta Verde<sup>101</sup>. The grave goods of the cremation *Burial no. 2*, belonging to the Bistreț-Ișalnița culture had also comprised a spherical mace-

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<sup>89</sup> Dimensions: diameter = 8,2 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,2 cm.

<sup>90</sup> Ridiche 2000, p. 46-47, with lit.

<sup>91</sup> *Inv. No. 249. Dimensions*: maximal diameter = 6 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2 cm, weight = 95 grams.

<sup>92</sup> In the specialized literature there are discussed the finds of the Sălcuța IV, of the Gornea-Orlești and Verbicioara type. See Petre 1969, p. 158; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 14, 39f., 51; Ridiche 2001, p. 40; Crăciunescu 2004, p. 41f.; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 146, Map 28.

<sup>93</sup> Dimensions: maximal diameter = 5,5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 1,7 cm.

<sup>94</sup> An argument in this sense, could be the fact that, in his discussion about his own finds of Gornea-Orlești type from that site, Gheorghe Petre-Govora didn't mention the lithical pieces of this kind amongst the identified objects; see Petre-Govora 2005, p. 39.

<sup>95</sup> It is not precisely known from what spot it comes. On the territory of the locality both Glina and late Verbicioara materials had been found; see Berciu 1976, p. 176; Berciu 1981, p. 13f.; Morintz 1978, p. 68; Ridiche 2001, p. 39; Crăciunescu 2004, p. 40; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 145, Map 28; Tuțulescu 2013, p. 151, with lit..

<sup>96</sup> Dimensions: maximal diameter = 7,7 cm, depth of the hafting hole = 1,1 cm.

<sup>97</sup> About this cultural manifestation, see Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, with lit.

<sup>98</sup> Chicideanu 1986; Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 632-642; Lazăr 2011, p. 37-41.

<sup>99</sup> Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, p. 156, pl. 133/13. Dimensions: diameter = 6,9 cm, height = 5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2 cm.

<sup>100</sup> Regarding the investigations carried out here, see Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, p. 224.

<sup>101</sup> Berciu, Comșa 1956, p. 262-405.

head „made of a hard rock, of a brown-reddish colour” (pl. XII/4)<sup>102</sup>. On its lower side it had a ring, while its cylindrical hafting hole had circular traces inside of it.

### Some discussions

What we had pointed out, even at the beginning of our contribution, when we discussed about the Glina culture, the mace-heads are rather rare in the Bronze Age sites from Southern Romania. The macroscopic analyses made upon part of such objects in the collections of the museums from Oltenia and Muntenia had shown that, the raw materials used for their carving were the limestone, the diorite, the amphibolites, the basalt, the lamprophyre, or the andesite. All these types of raw materials are hard rocks and can be found in the aflourishments from the mountainous and hilly regions. Still, we consider that the members of the prehistoric communities had gathered the raw materials as pebbles from the riverbeds of the running waters, on whose banks their settlements were most frequently located.

Regarding the perforation of the lithic objects, therefore also the one of the discussed items, we can say that the use of this technique had been initiated in some regions, like Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Levant and Egypt even since the Mesolithic an Aceramic Neolithic periods. On the Romanian territory, the first perforated objects had belonged to the Starčevo- Criş culture<sup>103</sup>.

The fixing of the handle on the exterior part of the object had somehow become obsolete and thus had gradually appeared the necessity of using the handle hafted in the centre of the mace<sup>104</sup>. The perforation technique, as well as the hafting of the handle in the centre of the objects resulted in a more efficient use of the mace<sup>105</sup>, especially if we take into account that the mentioned technique had been produced in connection with the process of the axe carving.

In the case of the spherical mace-heads, the performed analyses had shown that the perforation of the items had been usually done starting from their dorsal towards their ventral part (the mace-heads with the *Inv. Nos. A 74* and *248* from the Collection of the „Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu” County Museum Vâlcea – pl. VII/5, VIII/1, or the one with *Inv. no. 11727* from the Colletion of the Teleorman County Museum– pl. VI/2), sometimes in a reversed position (as the case of the item with *Inv. no. 93323* from the Collection of the *Museum of Bucharest Municipium* – pl. II/1-2), while in other several cases it could be noticed a perforation initiated from both ends, as we could find on the objects with *Inv. no. 4307* and *2746* from the Collection of the Olt County Museum.

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<sup>102</sup> Berciu, Comşa 1956, p. 311, fig. 42/2. Dimensions: maximal diameter = 6,5 cm, diameter of the hafting hole = 2,4 cm.

<sup>103</sup> Istina 1998, p. 22.

<sup>104</sup> Istina 1998, p. 25

<sup>105</sup> Istina 1998, p. 26.

In the case of the perforation initiated from both ends, in their joining point it was created a ring and, in any of the above described situations, on the inner surface of the hafting hole some notches resulted from the perforation process could be observed.

A series of questions had also raised the issue of the handle/rod that was fixed into the central orifice of the object. Certainly, the prehistoric stone carvers had used especially the wood, a fact which would also explain why the lithical perforated utensils, like axes, spherical maces etc. had been discovered without a handle. If this would have been made of bone or antler, the research would have surely unearthed an axe with its handle, being known that the raw materials of bone or antler types are less perishable compared to the wood.

The analyses carried out upon fragments of recovered maces, belonging to the Bronze Age from Muntenia and Oltenia had emphasized a large majority of fragmentary artefacts, a fact that cast doubts about the functionality of those objects, being known the opinion that they represented prestige goods and, therefore, it would have been no reason for their breaking in such a large amount (fig. 1).

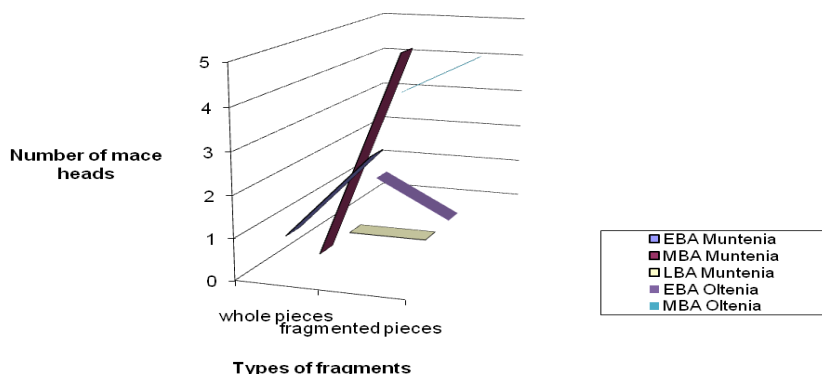


Fig. 1.

Both in Oltenia and Muntenia, the statistics had shown that the average dimensions had been preferred for the spherical maces, a fact which can be connected with the item manoeuvrability but also with its comfortable wear (fig. 2).

For a comfortable fixing of the handle/rod, the hafting holes had average diameters, a fact which is valid for the entire Bronze Age within the studied range (fig. 3).

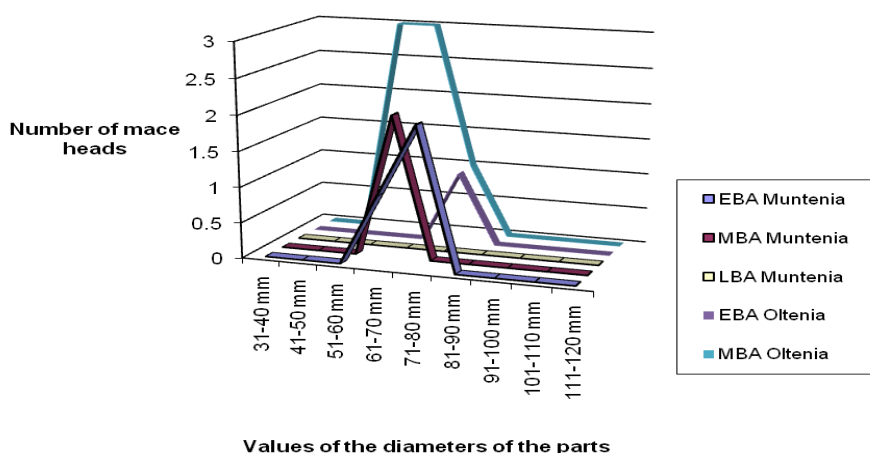


Fig. 2.

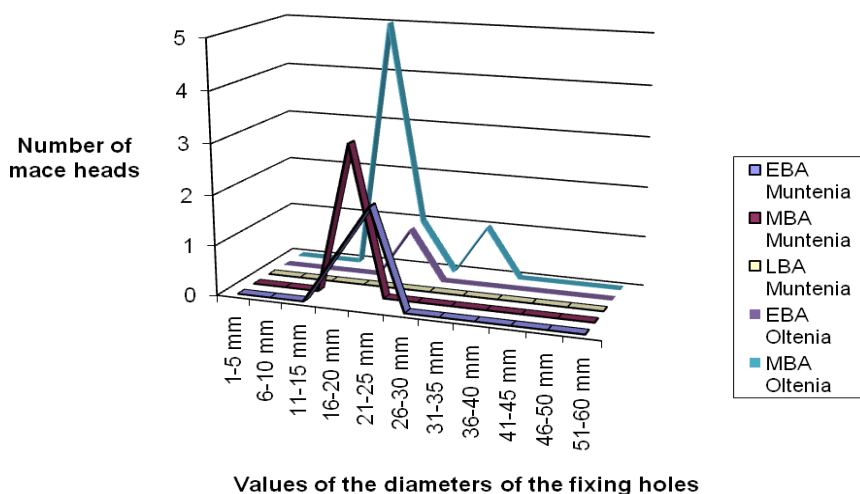


Fig. 3.

The repertory of the Bronze Age mace-heads from Muntenia and Oltenia, which had been used by the communities of the Glina, Tei, Verbicioara, Gârla Mare and Bistreț-Ișalnița cultures, had shown that, regarding their shape, we can discuss about three main types, with several sub variants. The first type – that we had noted with A – is a spherical mace-head or roughly spherical, with a hafting hole, sometimes conical, sometimes cylindrical,

perforated through its centre<sup>106</sup>. Objects of this kind are present in the mentioned geographical space between the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Its sub variants would be: **A1** – with its equal halves (**A1a** – undecorated; **A1b** – decorated with channels or vertical incisions); **A2** – with a flattened head and sometimes a pear-shaped mace-head; **A3** – with a strongly flattened body, with a diameter larger than its height<sup>107</sup>.

Analogies for the type **A1a** had been found in the Catacombnaia<sup>108</sup>, Monteoru<sup>109</sup>, Wietenberg<sup>110</sup>, Noua<sup>111</sup>, Delacău-Babino<sup>112</sup> and Belozerkka milieu<sup>113</sup>. Some had been found for instance in Hungary<sup>114</sup>, others at Sintashta (pl. XIV/3)<sup>115</sup> and Tokanai (pl. XIV/5)<sup>116</sup>, but also in the sites of the Kura-Arax culture (Transcaucasia)<sup>117</sup>, of the Cyprus Bronze<sup>118</sup>, as well as on the stranded ship from Uluburun<sup>119</sup>. Some mace-heads like, for instance, those in the *tell* from Beit Mirsim (Palestina)<sup>120</sup> or from Can Hasan (Turkey) (pl. XIII/4)<sup>121</sup> had been made of copper or bronze. Such artefacts had not been apart from the period preceding the Bronze Age. They were documented on the territory of Romania, among others, in the sites with the mixture horizon of Tisa-Petrești-

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<sup>106</sup> In fact, this type corresponds to the types **a-c** and **e** from Valeriu Leahu (2003, p. 87) and also to the type **I** la Vasile Diaconu (2009, p. 65, fig. 3).

<sup>107</sup> Comșa 1972, p. 260, fig. 15, the first type of the mace-heads according to the author.

<sup>108</sup> Tošcević 1991, fig. 5/6-7; Dumitroaia 2000, p. 124, fig. 83/1: Ghigoiești, made out of granodiorite, raw material that doesn't exist in the region, with a truncated hafting hole; Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, with lit.

<sup>109</sup> Boroffka 1994, p. 216 with lit., pl. 23/18: Cetea, Derșida, Sighișoara-Dealul Turcului.

<sup>110</sup> Kacsó 2004, pl. XLII/1: Oarța de Sus, from the sanctuary; a complete one, another one preserved as an unfinished half.

<sup>111</sup> Zaharia *et alii.* 1970, p. 221, fig. 113/19, 190/12: Tăutești; Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, fig. 6/9-11: Ghindești, Semenovko (unfinished), Zlatopol, Slobozia-Șireuți.

<sup>112</sup> Pâslaru 2006, p. 64, pl. 57/5: Trehizbenka, from the inventory of the main burial in the tumulus and pl. 11/4: Șirokoe II, *Burial no. 6, Tumulus no. 1*. According to Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu (2011, p. 547), „the denomination of the Delacău-Babino culture...it slightly satisfying”.

<sup>113</sup> Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, with lit.

<sup>114</sup> Bóna 1975, p. 220, pl. 222/6: Királyszentistván, *Burial no. 10*; Kovacs 1984, p. 223, pl. LXIV/7: Vátya culture.

<sup>115</sup> Lichardus, Vladár 1996, pl. 9/14: *Burial no. 9*; Anthony 2007, p. 395, 400.

<sup>116</sup> Kalieva, Longvin 2014, fig. 6/28.

<sup>117</sup> Kohl 2009, p. 256, with lit.

<sup>118</sup> Hermay, Mertens 2014, p. 404, Cat. 583-585: „spherical or roughly spherical with hole, often hour-glass shaped or tapering, through the centre”; made out of gabbro.

<sup>119</sup> Pulak 1987, p. 101, ill. 54: KW 486, made out of diabass. KW 2, made out of limestone, has also a spherical shape, with its halves equal but strongly elongated, see Pulak 1987, p. 101, ill. 52.

<sup>120</sup> Bromiley 1986, p. 341.

<sup>121</sup> Yalçın 1999; Yalçın 2000, p. 21, fig. 7; Özbal 2011; Klimscha 2014, p. 134.



Ariușd<sup>122</sup>, Foltești-Usatovo<sup>123</sup>, Cernavodă I<sup>124</sup>, Coțofeni<sup>125</sup>, and Early Bronze Age from Dobrogea (Yamnaya culture). Some of the oldest such objects had been discovered in Turkey, Israel, Palestine<sup>126</sup>, Mesopotamia (pl. XIII/5-6) and Egypt<sup>127</sup>, but, they were present, for instance, in the final part of the Neolithic from Hungary<sup>128</sup>, Bulgaria<sup>129</sup>, Greece<sup>130</sup> and Crete<sup>131</sup>.

Artefacts of the category **A1b** had been identified, for instance, in the Únětice milieu<sup>132</sup>. Such objects are present also in the Romanian Eneolithic<sup>133</sup>, but also in the Greek one<sup>134</sup>.

Type **A2** has some correspondences in the manifestation Catacombnaia<sup>135</sup>, Delacău-Babino<sup>136</sup>, Belogradovik<sup>137</sup>, but also in more remote regions (Cyprus<sup>138</sup>). This mace-head type was present on the territory of Romania even in the Neo-Eneolithic period (in the Tiszapolgár<sup>139</sup> culture for

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<sup>122</sup> Moldovan 2006, p. 27f., with lit., pl. II/3.

<sup>123</sup> Mace-head from Brăilița, *Burial no. 274*: Harțuche, Anastasiu 1976, p. 153, no. 308; Harțuche 2002, p. 106f., fig. 83/3; Vernescu 2005, p. 211f., fig. 2/1=4/4; Vernescu 2013, p. 178, pl. 14/3;.

<sup>124</sup> Hașotti 1997, fig. 130/5, 7: Hârșova, considered as the author as being weights. By its size (including the dimensions of the hafting hole) and shape, we rather consider them to be mace-heads.

<sup>125</sup> Tuțulescu 2013, p. 221f., with lit.

<sup>126</sup> Shea 2013, p. 191: „in the later phases of Levantine prehistory”. The author emphasized that objects of this type, could be interpreted as loom weights.

<sup>127</sup> Muhle 2008, p. 315 ff.; Brewer 2014, fig. 6.99; Naville *et alii.* 2014, p. 18, pl. XXVII.

<sup>128</sup> Horváth 1987, fig. 34: Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsza, Proto-Tiszapolgár phase.

<sup>129</sup> Boyadzhiev 2011, fig. 2/1.

<sup>130</sup> Perlès 2001, p. 222: Sesklo, Frachthi; Runnels *et alii.* 2009, fig.10/1, 3: Seklo, Alepotrype Cave.

<sup>131</sup> Myres 1930, p. 223.

<sup>132</sup> Czebreszuk 2013, p. 770.

<sup>133</sup> Kacsó 2004, pl. XIII/4. See also the Gumelnița objects from Brăilița-Valea Catagăței, as well as the unfinished (not-perforated), decorated with vertical notches, discovered in the settlement from Râmnicelu-Popină, Vernescu 2005, p. 212, fig. 3/1=4/5; Vernescu 2014, p. 15, pl. 7/2.

<sup>134</sup> Runnels *et alii.* 2009, fig.10/2: Dimini.

<sup>135</sup> Dumitroaia 2000, p. 118, 124, fig. 83/2: Holboca, *Burial no. 9, Tumulus no. 1*. This assignment had been also advanced by Eugen Comșa (1985) and Florentin Burtănescu (1996, Table II/3, with lit.). Eugen Sava (1992, p. 189, fig. 21/no. 136) had considered the burial to have belonged to the Mnogovalikovaja culture, the same as Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu (2011, p. 549), while Ion Pâslaru (2006, p. 236, pl. 57/9) assigned it to the Delacău-Babino culture.

<sup>136</sup> Pâslaru 2006, pl. 57/6: Hreășevaka, *Burial no. 2, Tumulus no. 2*.

<sup>137</sup> Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, fig. 11/12: nefinalizată.

<sup>138</sup> Hermery, Mertens 2014, p. 404, Cat. 586-589: „oblong-oval with a usually tapering hole through the transverse axis”; made of gabbro.

<sup>139</sup> Iercoșan 2002, p. 147, fig. 17/11: Satu Mare County.

instance), but also in Bulgaria (pl. XIV/1)<sup>140</sup>. In Egypt it appeared in the Naqada<sup>141</sup> period, most probably, being the result of the influence coming from Mesopotamia and Susa. The adoption of this kind of objects had been determined by the fact that it was a „*more effective weapon*”, compared to the disk-shaped mace-heads.

A mace-head of the **Type A2**, with a stone core (glauconitic chalk) covered with copper, assigned to the Chalcolithic of Israel (late 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.), had been discovered in the Negev desert, at Shimquim (pl. V/3a-b)<sup>142</sup>. The analysis had shown that „*the metal casting on the stone core was probably made in the ,lost-wax ‘technique’*”<sup>143</sup>. It is interesting that the core of another mace-head covered with metal, also discovered in Israel, namely the object from the Nahal Mishmar hoard, had been done from ceramics<sup>144</sup>.

The **Type A3** had been discovered in the sites of the Catacombnaia, Noua<sup>145</sup> and Delacău-Babino cultures<sup>146</sup>, but also in the Bronze Age of Crete. Objects of this type had been documented in the Cucuteni<sup>147</sup> and Gumelnița<sup>148</sup>, as well as in the Neolithic of the Great Britain<sup>149</sup>.

To the second type – noted as **Type B** – are the objects with their basis circumscribed by a more or less emphasized ring<sup>150</sup>. Also in the category of this type there are two sub variants: **B1** – with a spherical body; **B2** – with the body having its upper part more emphasized and less flattened, while the lower one was higher and narrower. The **Type B1** had been documented in the Catacombnaia<sup>151</sup>, Delacău-Babino<sup>152</sup>, Noua<sup>153</sup> milieus. It is also present in the Gumelnița culture<sup>154</sup>, but also in other parts of the world, like Egypt (pl. XIII/2), or Mesopotamia.

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<sup>140</sup> Boyadzhiev 2011, fig. 2/5: a stone mace with an adze-blade.

<sup>141</sup> Isler 2001, p. 41, fig. 2/3v.

<sup>142</sup> Shalev *et alii.* 1992, fig. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Shalev *et alii.* 1992, p. 69.

<sup>144</sup> Potaszkin, Bar-Avi 1980.

<sup>145</sup> Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, fig. 6/10: Slobozia-Șireuți, Pivdenoe.

<sup>146</sup> Pâslaru 2006, p. 64, pl. 53/1: Borodino; Pâslaru 2006, p. 64, pl. 57/2: Prișib, *Burial no. 39 of the Tumulus no. 2*; near the mace-head „*a bone fragment had been found, that was probably the termination of the bludgeon*”.

<sup>147</sup> Boghian 1996, fig. XXIV/12: Hăbășești, unfinished.

<sup>148</sup> Harțuche 1987, fig. 18/8: Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului.

<sup>149</sup> Evans, Amyot 1872, p. 205, fig. 157.

<sup>150</sup> At Valeriu Leahu (2003, p. 87) it represents the types **d** and **f**, while at Vasile Diaconu (2009, p. 65, fig. 3) type **II**.

<sup>151</sup> Dergacev 1994a, p. 33, fig. 11; Dergacev 1994b, fig. 6/6; Manzura, Sava 1994, fig. 13/12.

<sup>152</sup> Borodino, see Morintz 1978, fig. 54/1; Pâslaru 2006, p. 232, pl. 53/1: deposit/burial?

<sup>153</sup> Marinescu-Bîlcu 1981, p. 151, fig. 1/13: Târpești.

<sup>154</sup> Unfinished object discovered at Galbenu, see Vernescu 2005, p. 212, fig. 3/3=4/1.

The **Type B2** had been documented in the Wietenberg<sup>155</sup>, Delacău-Babino<sup>156</sup> and Noua<sup>157</sup> milieus. Mace-heads of this type had been recovered from the site of Sintašta<sup>158</sup> but also from the stranded ship from Uluburun (pl. XIII/1)<sup>159</sup>, being also present in Egypt (pl. XIII/3) or Great Britain (pl. V/4).

The last type of mace-head – noted with **C** – is the spherical one, with four protuberances on its body<sup>160</sup>. Its two sub variants are: simple – **C1**, respectively circumcised on its base (or on its both ends) with a relieved, or notched ring – **C2**, this type of object is, within the space of Oltenia and Muntenia, exclusively found in the Late Bronze Age.

Mace-heads of **Type C1** had been documented in the Delacău-Babino<sup>161</sup> milieu, as well as in the Bronze Age from Transylvania (Ocna Sibiului). This type of mace-head had been also used East of the Dniestr even since Neolithic<sup>162</sup>.

The **C2 Type** mace-heads had been discovered in sites of the Wietenberg<sup>163</sup>, Delacău-Babino<sup>164</sup>, Kura-Arax<sup>165</sup> cultures, but also in a site similar to Sintashta, at Tokanai (pl. XIV/4)<sup>166</sup>.

Regarding the object from București-Băneasa, namely the „spherical mace-head with four protuberances on its body”, Valeriu Leahu had pointed out that, this type, „more individualized, present also in other cultures of the Bronze Age from Romania (Glina-Schneckenberg, Verbicioara, Wietenberg) could have had an Eastern origin, bearing in mind that, in the steppe North of the Caucasus and up to the Ukraine, the mace-heads with protuberances upon their body and with a ring-shaped base are to be found along this entire epoch. The diffusion of the prototype in the Carpatho-Danubian space might have been

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<sup>155</sup> Boroffka 1994, p. 216, with lit.: Sighișoara-Dealul Turcului.

<sup>156</sup> Pâslaru 2006, pl. 15/6 = 57/8: Jelanoie, *Burial no. 11*, *Tumulus no. 1*.

<sup>157</sup> Sîrbu 2013, p. 172, fig. 6/8: Slobozia-Șireuți, decorated.

<sup>158</sup> Lichardus, Vladár 1996, pl. 14/20: *Burial no. 7*.

<sup>159</sup> Pulak 1987, p. 101, ill. 53: KW 278, made of limestone; Demand 2011, p. 175.

<sup>160</sup> This type, as seen before, was noted by Leahu (2003, p. 87) with the letter **g**. Diaconu (2009, p. 65, fig. 3) considers it to be of type **III**.

<sup>161</sup> Morintz 1978, fig 54/2; Kaiser 1997, p. 116, pl. 2, 8; Pâslaru 2006, p. 64, pl. 57/1: Kamâșevaha, *Burial no. 3* from the *Tumulus no. 8*, pl. 15/4=57/7: Semenovka, *Burial no. 1*, *Tumulus no. 1*, p. 232, pl. 53/1: Borodino, deposit/burial?; Zimmermann 2006, p. 131, note 30.

<sup>162</sup> For instance, from the phase II of the Dnepr-Donetz culture, see Wechsler 1998, p. 79, with lit, fig. 10.

<sup>163</sup> Boroffka 1994, p. 216, with lit.: Sighișoara-Dealul Turcului.

<sup>164</sup> Pâslaru 2006, p. 64, pl. 57/3: Kamâșevaha, *Burial no. 1* from the *Tumulus no. 5*, pl. 57/5: Ustiman, *Burial no. 2*, *Tumulus no. 3*.

<sup>165</sup> Kohl, Gadzihev, Magomedov 2002, p. 123, fig. 7.8-9; Cultrato 2014, p. 126, fig. 5/241, 284.

<sup>166</sup> Kalieva, Longvin 2014, fig. 6/30.

done by the mediation of the pastoral North-Pontic tries or, subsequently, by the bearers of the Catacomb culture”<sup>167</sup>.

As we already clarified above, in the Glina milieu, therefore in the Early Bronze Age, such mace-heads with four protuberances are missing. In turn, during the Middle and at the end of the Bronze Age, they appeared in Oltenia and Western Muntenia. As a matter of fact, a large number of specialists had stated that they were specific to the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the space situated North-West from the Black Sea and in the Carpatho-Danubian one, reaching up to Anatolia<sup>168</sup>. Others had considered a reversed route, starting from Anatolia, going further up to the Caucasus and up to the Eastern Europe<sup>169</sup>. An argument in the favour of the latter assumption could be the unfinished mace-head made of diorite with five protuberances<sup>170</sup>, discovered within the layers of the Final Early Bronze Age from Troy (pl. V/4a-b). This item could be considered as a „forerunner” of the mace-heads with protuberances made of stone or metal, from Eastern Europe.

The mace-heads discovered in Oltenia and Western Muntenia had been found exclusively in settlements, excepting the object of Bistreț-Ișalnița type from Balta Verde, which was discovered in a burial. This kind of items had been recovered from the archaeological layer, during the excavations.

Mirela Vernescu<sup>171</sup> believes that, „*The maces could be also used as a hunting weapon, as a fighting weapon, but also as a sceptre*”. Most of the specialists had discussed about the use of the mace-heads as weapons in close combat<sup>172</sup>. Kamen Boyadzhiev had remarked that, these „*items can be referred to specialized combat weapons since due to the small radius of action the battle axes and maces are not suitable for hunting (except when used, e.g., for finishing of a wounded animal). At the same time, it is their use in close combat, i.e. in immediate flights, that allowed the warriors to express their personalities. As a result they acquired a representative role as symbols of strength and power*”<sup>173</sup>. In his opinion, compared to the stone weapons (axes), „*the round shape of the maces allows their entire surface to be used for dealing blows*”<sup>174</sup>. A possible proof that the mace-heads, the same as the axes had been used as weapons, were the miniature figurines made of clay from the Vinča culture,

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<sup>167</sup> Leahu 2003, p. 87f.

<sup>168</sup> Pâslaru 2006, p. 113, with lit.

<sup>169</sup> Motzenbacher 1996, p. 69; Zimmermann 2006, p. 132f.

<sup>170</sup> Schliemann 1881, p. 380, No. 224.225.

<sup>171</sup> Vernescu 2013, p. 180.

<sup>172</sup> See, among others: Keeley 1996, p. 50; Chapman 1999, p. 111; Crăciunescu 2004, p. 80; Crăciunescu 2007, p. 77; Hamblin 2006, p. 20; Schuster 2007, p. 43; Schuster, Popa 2010, p. 76.

<sup>173</sup> Boyadzhiev 2011, p. 271. See also Boyadzhiev 2009, p. 242.

<sup>174</sup> Boyadzhiev 2011, p. 266.

discovered at Stubline (pl. XIV/1), which carried such objects on their right shoulder<sup>175</sup>.

Very interesting are those noted by R. Brain Ferguson<sup>176</sup>, „*Mace-heads are often the earliest weapon-tools in archaeological recovery. Yet, mace-heads are often so small or lightly constructed that they appear to be symbolic. Symbolic of what? Of military prowess, or of legitimate authority-as used today by royalty, legislature, and courts. Maces can be weapons of war, yet my university has a mace. Yes, there is an implication of power backed by force, but that can apply to mandatory decisions. Authority to settle conflicts is, as Hobbes illuminated, the very antithesis of war. In the Near East, there is a profusion of maces, but deaths possibly attributable to a mace-blow are exceedingly rare. Without other evidence, a mace-head, particularly lightly made, cannot be taken as diagnostic of war. What is needed is for scholars to indicate the robustness of a mace-head, how big and heavy is it. And particularly, would the shaft large enough to withstand a blow. If the pattern in the artefact assembly is that all ceremonial and there are no combat mace-heads. The obvious inference is that symbols of authority*”.

In other cultural milieus, some of the artefacts as it could be already noticed were part of the grave goods. In the case of the Delacău-Babino culture, in the rather small number of burials, in which grave goods could be found, this one „*is not rich, but it's diverse*”<sup>177</sup>. In the opinion of Ion Păslaru, the social status of the deceased could be determined just „*between certain limits by using the grave goods*”; in turn, „*as regards the speciality of the deceased, this one can only be determined by using the grave goods*”<sup>178</sup>.

The mace-heads from the burials, according to Vasile Diaconu<sup>179</sup>, could represent „*symbols of the social status of the deceased*”. In fact, in his opinion, „*these artefacts had a symbolic value accomplishing the function of social sceptres-symbols*”. Also, István Bóna, while referring to the item from *Burial no. 10* discovered at Királyszentistván, would mention that, „*der Reichtum des Grabes deutet darauf, daß es sich hierbei um ein Rangabzeichen handelte*”<sup>180</sup>.

Ion Păslaru had considered that the mace-head with four protuberances „*is a difficult thing to do and requires special efforts. These „mace-heads were true weapons for close combat....being used against the soldiers dressed in metal mail-coats and wearing helmets*”<sup>181</sup>. Also, David W. Anthony considered that the, „*polished stone mace-head were status weapons that glorified the cracking of head*”<sup>182</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Borić 2014, fig. 6/c.

<sup>176</sup> Brain Ferguson 2013, p. 193f.

<sup>177</sup> Păslaru 2006, p. 86.

<sup>178</sup> Păslaru 2006, p. 86.

<sup>179</sup> Diaconu 2008, p. 26; Diaconu 2009, p. 65f.

<sup>180</sup> Bóna 1975, p. 220.

<sup>181</sup> Păslaru 2006, p. 113.

<sup>182</sup> Anthony 2007, p. 259.

Mace-heads with protuberances had been also used in the Near East, but also in the Far East, both in the Bronze Age and in subsequent periods. It is true that many had been made of metal. We mention here examples of several protuberances from Siba de la Huoshaogou (China)<sup>183</sup>, but also the artefact from Marlik (Iran), with human faces on its protuberances<sup>184</sup>, but also the mace-head from the Apollo's temple in Dydim, dated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>185</sup>. Also, regarding the functionality of these objects made of bronze, the same as in the case of the stone mace-heads, divergent opinions had been expressed. Anja Slawisch had considered that these items were a weapon or a tool<sup>186</sup>. Other specialists had interpreted them as „Würde- bzw. Statuszeichen“<sup>187</sup>. Thomas Zimmermann<sup>188</sup> had considered that, it is possible, „dass wenn nicht der Gegenstand selbst, so doch die „Idee“ oder Symbolik dieses Zeremonialgerätes von Vorderasien in kaukasisches Gebiet“, but also in the Eastern Europe and we could add here, „tradiert wurde“.

Discussing about the aspects concerning the mace-heads in the metal ages, including those made of stone or metal, with a sphaerical shape or with protuberances, more exactly those from the Scythian world, Elena Fialko would note that, „Such objects are used both as weapons against enemies and tribesman, and as poles of the warlords or the regalia's of the power“<sup>189</sup>.

A third category of archaeologists had considered that they had been used at ceremonies, but they were derived from weapons<sup>190</sup>. Starting with the finds from Hasanlu, where, besides the mace-heads, had been also found several skeletons with cranial injuries which could cause their death, it was advanced the hypothesis that these objects had been used for inflicting this kind of wound<sup>191</sup>. We remind here, among others, an Egyptian image, rendering the pharaoh who used a mace for hitting an enemy (pl. XV/1). On the territory of Romania it was also identified such an evidence, proofing that the maces had been used as weapons. We refer to the Yamnaya skeleton from *Burial no. 22* (pl. XV/2) in the *Tumulus* from Valea Lupului, Iași County, which had, on the region between the occipital and the right parietal bones, the traces of a blow made with a blunt object, possible a hammer with a rounded basis<sup>192</sup> or, in our opinion, rather being a mace. The anthropological analysis had pointed out that the mentioned individual was a male, aged about 35 years, with a height of 174 cm and belonging to the evolved nordoid type. Yet, it is interesting that, as

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<sup>183</sup> Yang 1998, p. 6; Liu, Chen 2012, p. 335, fig. 9.16.

<sup>184</sup> Khorsani 2006, fig. 2.

<sup>185</sup> Slawisch 2009.

<sup>186</sup> Slawisch 2009, p. 197f.

<sup>187</sup> Braun-Holzinger 2005, p. 43, 49, 55.

<sup>188</sup> Zimmermann 2006, p. 133.

<sup>189</sup> Fialko 2010, p. 82.

<sup>190</sup> Moorey 1971, p. 92.

<sup>191</sup> Muscarella 1989, p. 26, 33.

<sup>192</sup> Dinu 1959, p. 205, fig. 3.

mentioned by Alexandra Comşa, „*In the anthropological analysis it is not mentioned the blow on the skull of the mentioned individual*”<sup>193</sup>.

Therefore, the problem of the mace-heads functionality still remains unsolved. Most probably, this kind of artefacts, the same like the axes, had been used both as tools, weapons, or rank insignia. We should approach everything in the temporal, geographic a cultural context existing at that time. It seems that the mace-heads had used the „path” from the weapon towards rank insignia, but also it’s reverse. No matter how interesting are some of the linguistic studies regarding the axes and mace-heads and the activities they were involved in<sup>194</sup>, they bring no further clearing ups about their functionality. In turn, it is as clear as possible that, the denomination of some axes and mace-heads were more ancient than the presence of the Indo-Europeans in the South-Eastern Europe.

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<sup>193</sup> Comşa A. 2013, p. 111, with lit.

<sup>194</sup> Poruciuc 1995, p. 65-76; Poruciuc 2009; Muhle 2008, p. 20-24.

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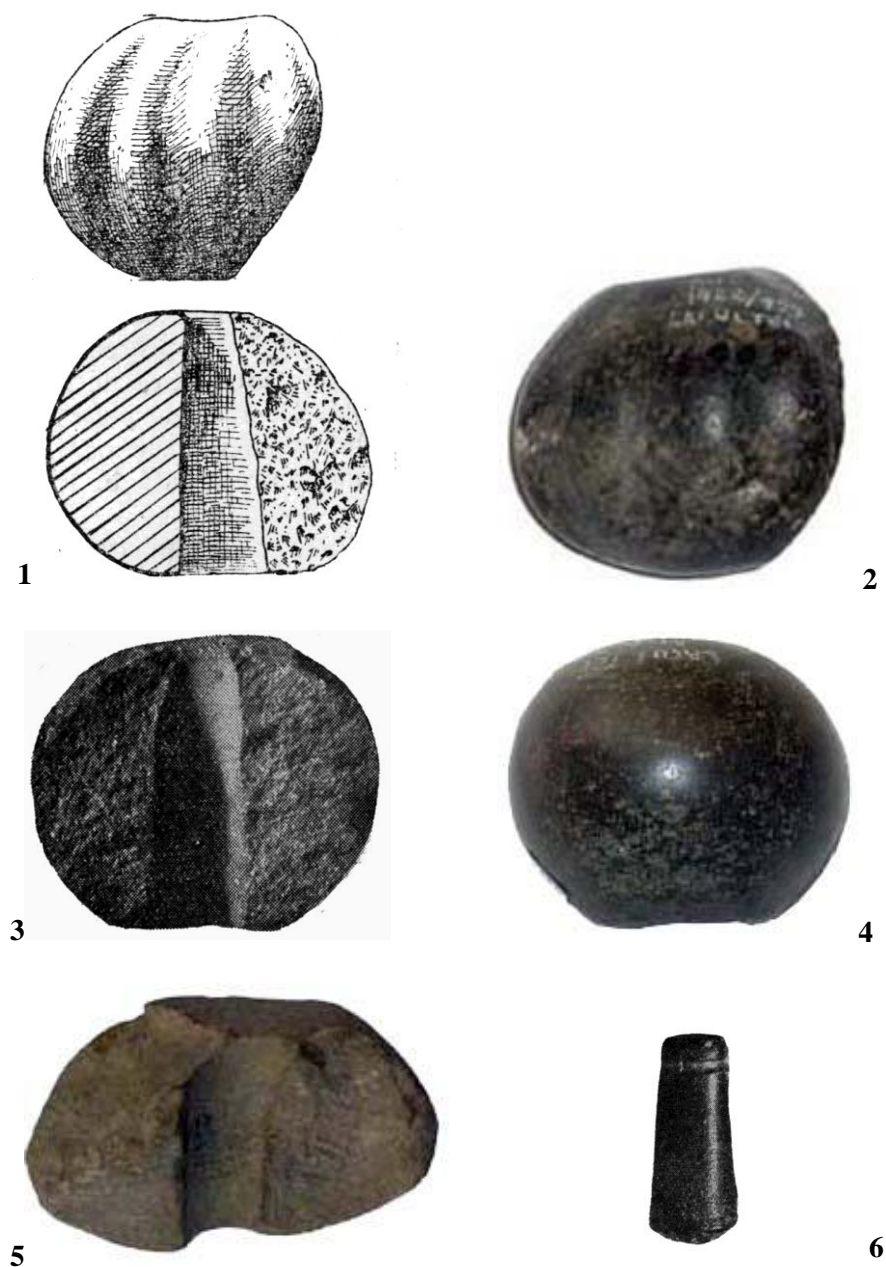
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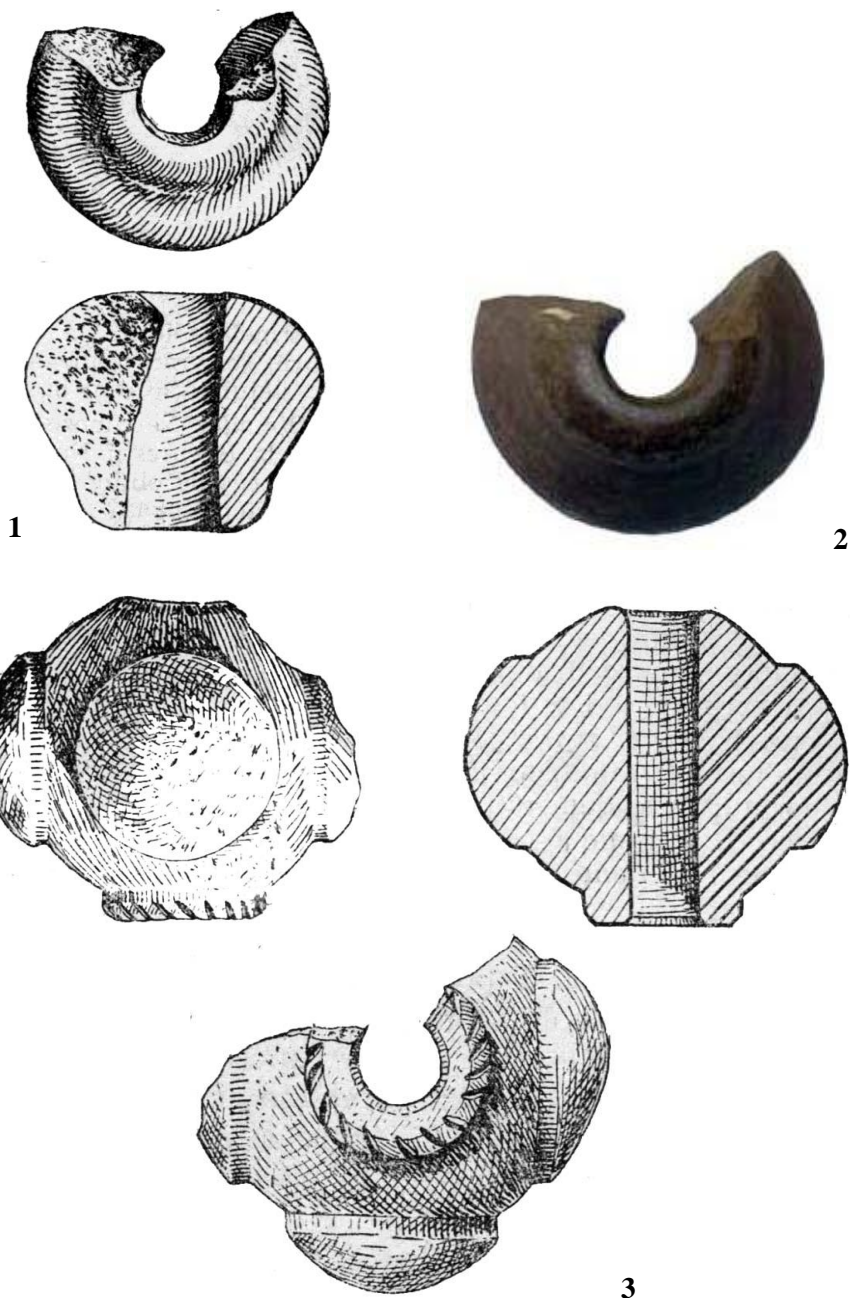
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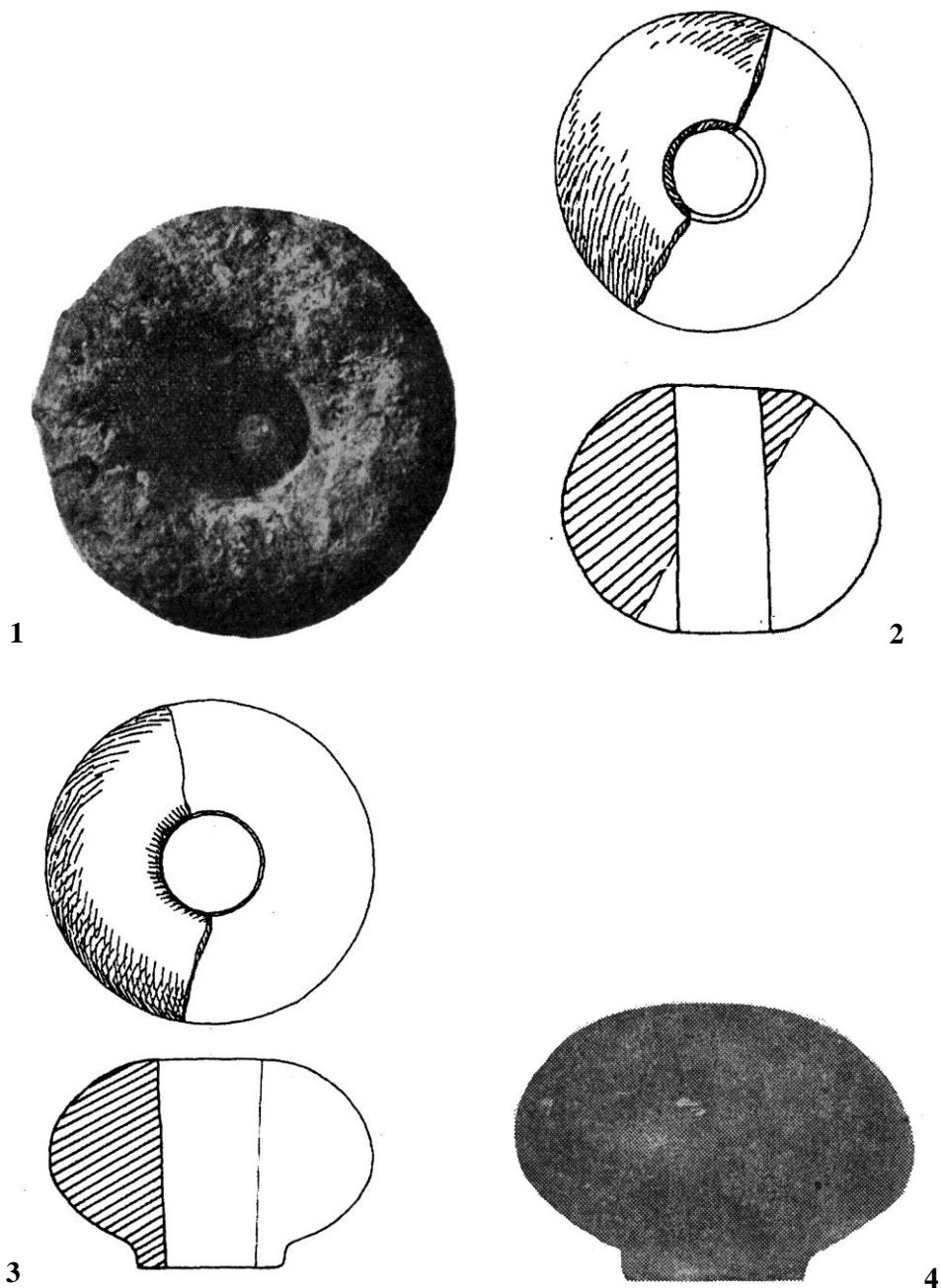
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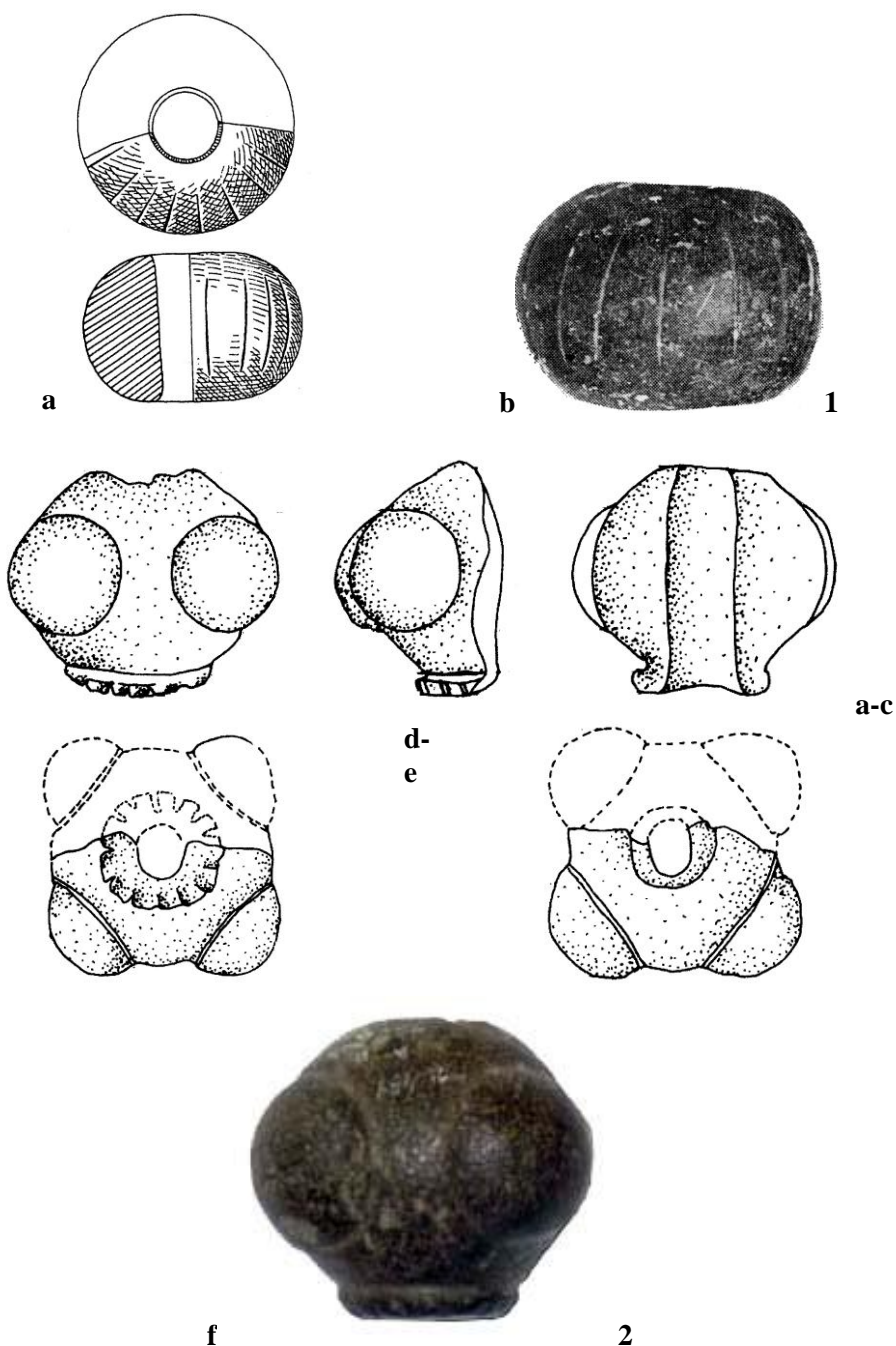
**Pl. I.** Mace-heads from București-Tei: **1** = after Morintz, Rosetti 1959, **2, 4-5** = after Mecu 2013, **3** = after Leahu 1966; **6** = drill core from an possible mace-head (after Morintz, Rosetti 1959). Different scales.



**Pl. II.** Tei mace-heads from: **1-2** = București-Cățelu Nou and **3** = București-Băneasa. **1, 3** after Leahu 1966, **2** after Mecu 2013. Different scales.

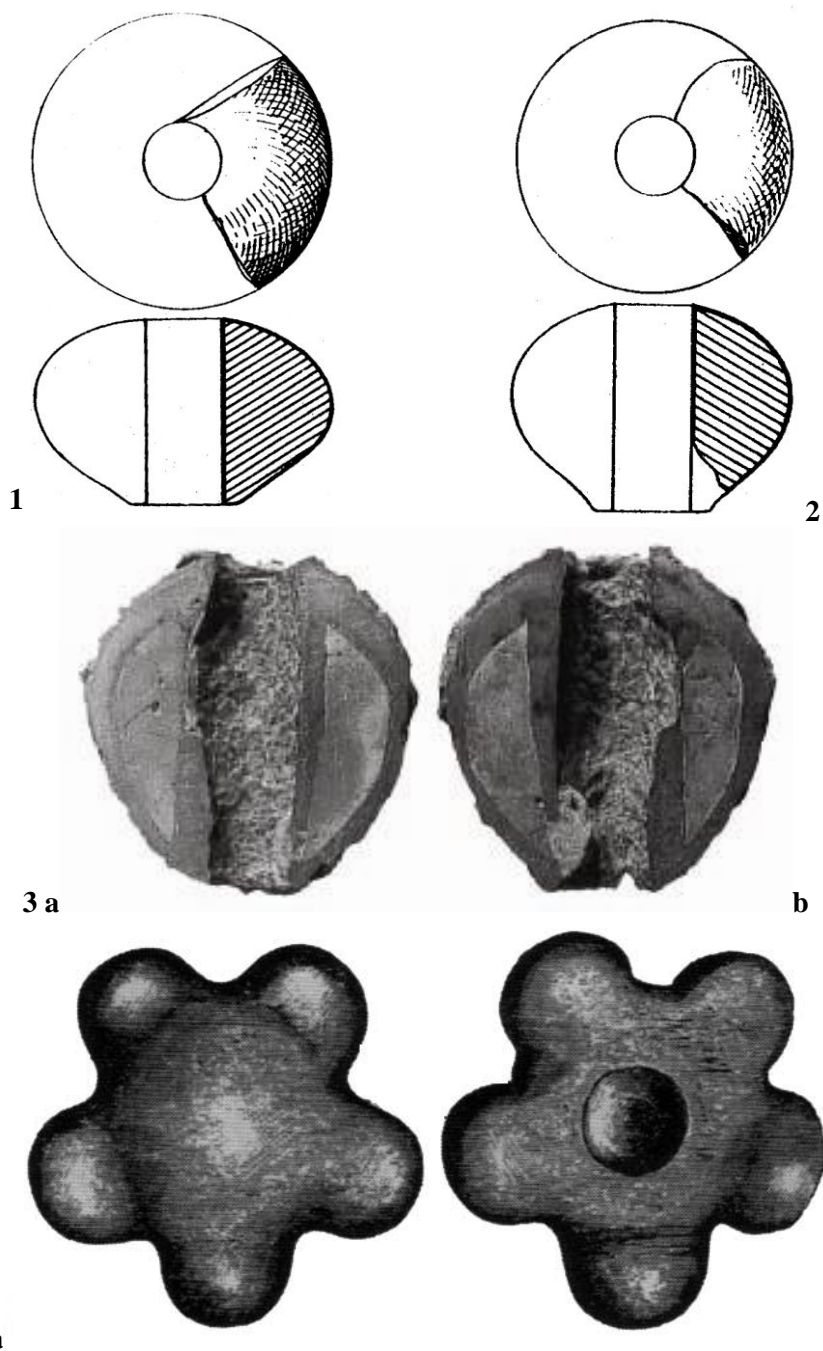


**Pl. III.** Mace-heads from: **1** = București-Dealul Piscului (after Morintz, Rosetti 1959), **2** = Daia and **3** = Izvoarele-Valea Coșcovei II (both after Leahu 2003), **4** = Frătești-Dealul Lagărului (after Isăcescu, Burlacu 1978). Different scales.



**Pl. IV.** Mace-heads from: **1** = Frătești (**a** after Leahu 2003 and **b** after Isăcescu, Burlacu 1978) and **2** = Butimanu (**a-e** after Boroneanț, Miu 1998 and **f** after Mecu 2013). Different scales.





**Pl. V.** Mace-heads from: **1-2** = Surlari (after Leahu, Trohani 1975), **3** = Shimquim (after Shalev *et alii.* 1992), **4** = Troy (after Schliemann 1881). Different scales.

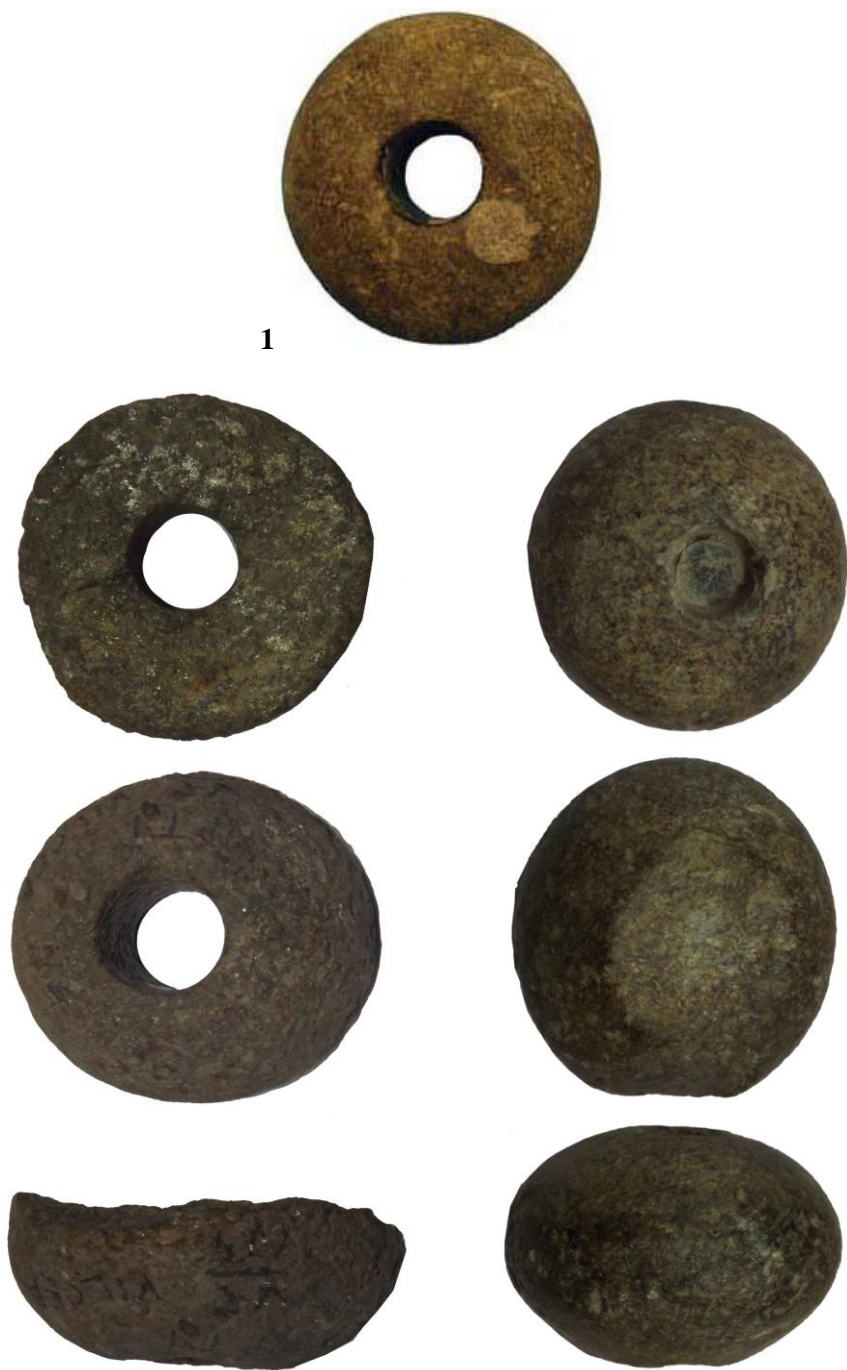


**Pl. VI.** Glina mace-heads from: **1-2** = Orbeasca de Sus (**1** after Mecu 2013, **2** foto Pavel Mirea 2015), **3** = Trivalea Moșteni (photo Pavel Mirea 2015). Different scales.





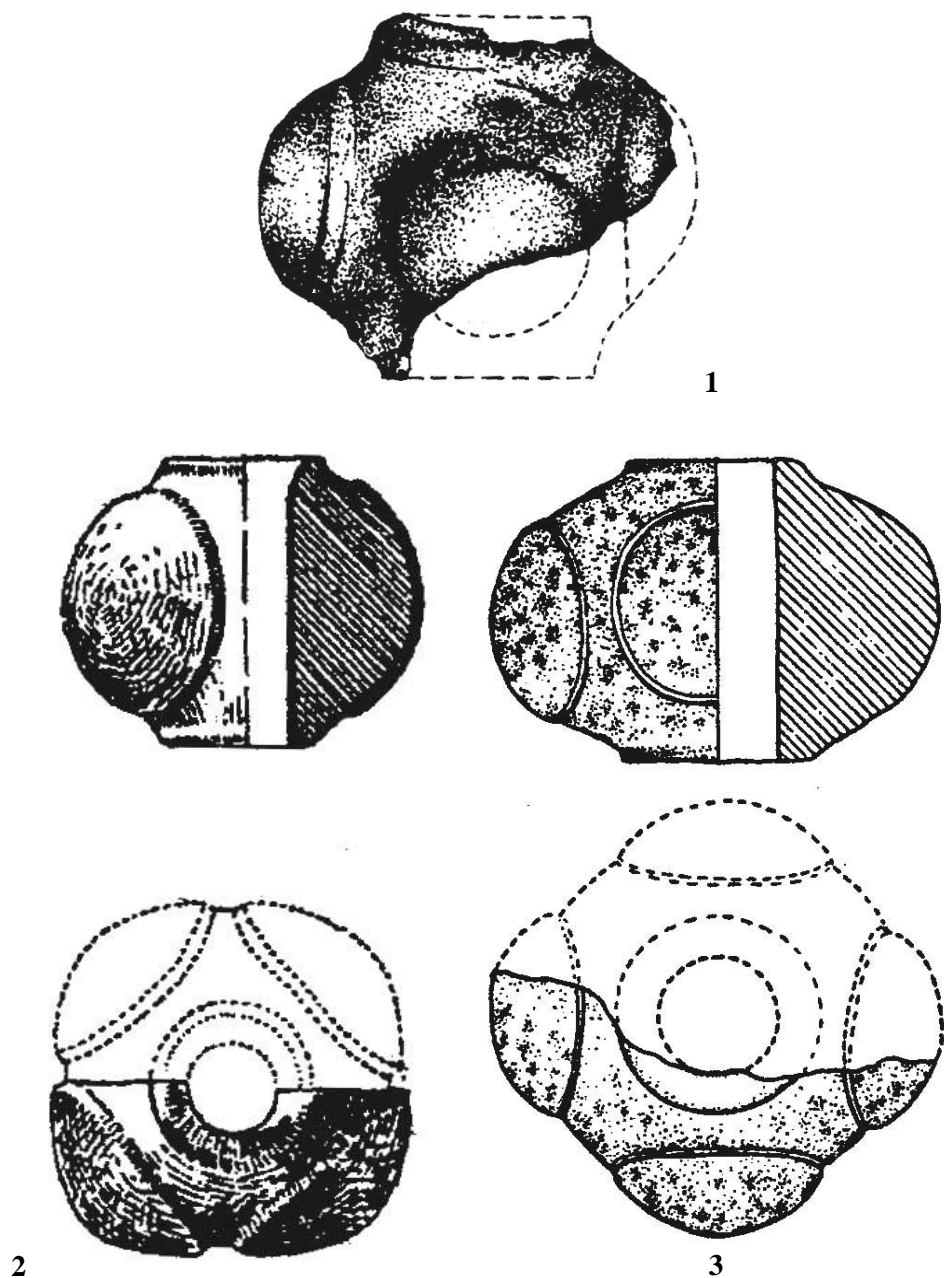
**Pl. VII.** Mace-heads from: **1a-b** Satu Vechi (photo Pavel Mirea 2015), **2-4** Rogova, **5** Govora (all after Mecu 2013). Different scales.



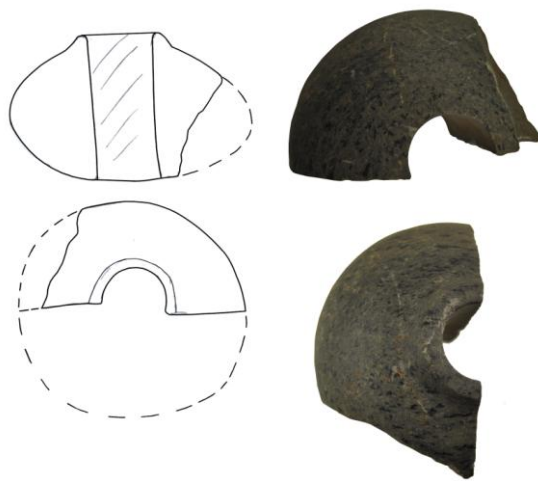
**Pl. VIII.** Mace-heads from: **1** = Copăcelu-*Valea Răii* (after Mecu 2013), **2** = Orlești-*Sâlea* and **3** = Ocnîța (photos Ion Tuțulescu 2015). Different scales.



**Pl. IX.** Mace-heads from: **1-2** = Drăgășani-Dealul Viilor (photos Ion Tuțulescu 2015). Different scales.



**Pl. X.** Mace-heads from: **1** = Vlădila (after Crăciunescu 2004), **2** = Verbicioara (after Berciu 1961a), **3** = Govora (after Petre-Govora 1995). Different scales.



1



a

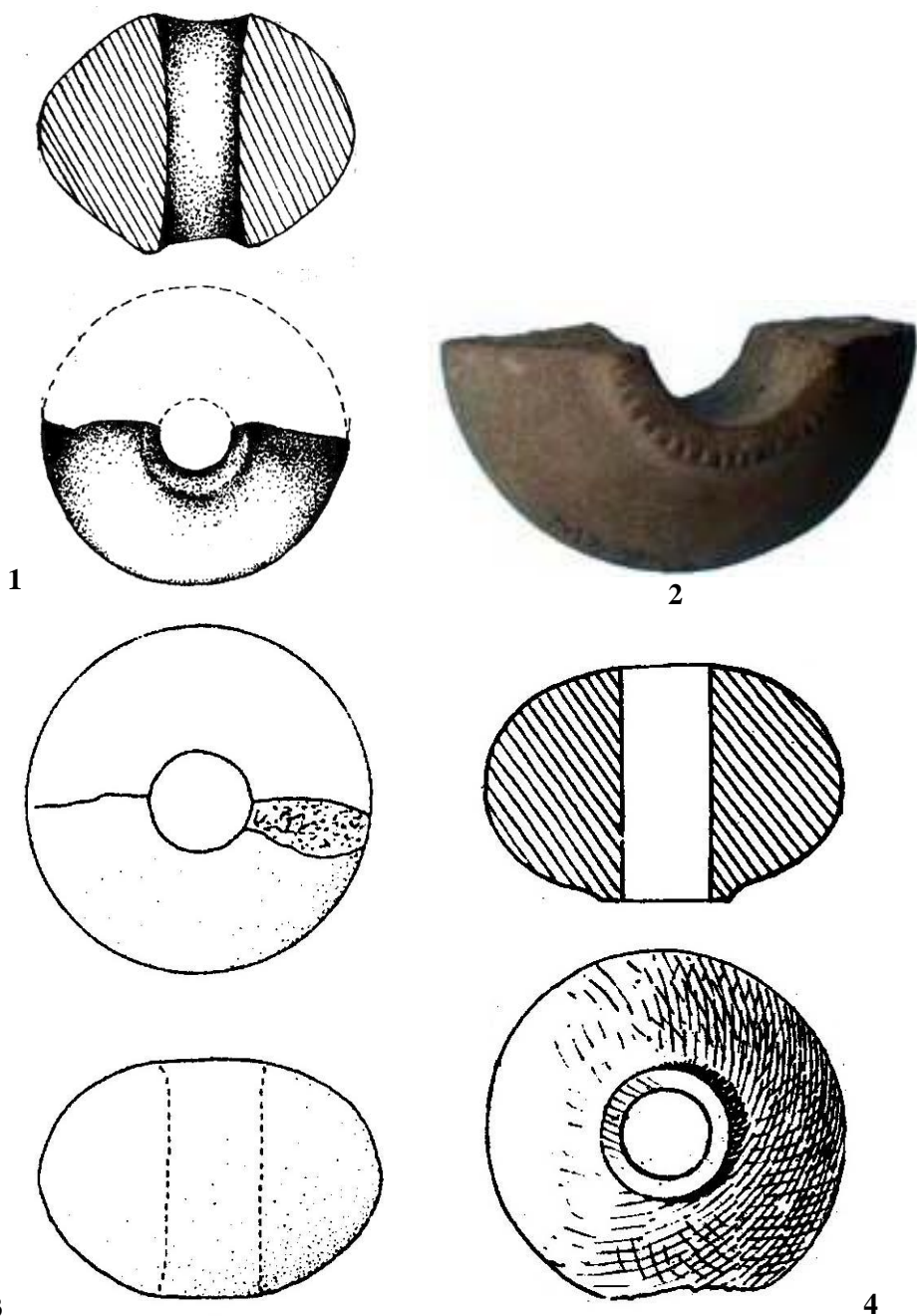


b

2

**Pl. XI.** Mace-heads from: **1** = Mălăieștii de Jos-Monel (design and photo Alin Frînculeasa), **2a-b** = Radovanu-Gorgana a Doua (photo Bogdan Athanasov and Cristian Schuster 2002). Different scales.





**Pl. XII.** Mace-heads from: **1** = Vlădia (after Crăciunescu 2004), **2** = Căzănești-Săveasca (photo Ion Tuțulescu 2015), **3** = Cârna-Rampă (after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003); Gârla Mare culture: **4** = Balta Verde (after Berciu, Comșa 1956). Different scales.



1



2



3



4

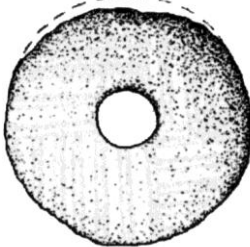
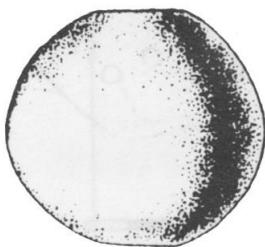
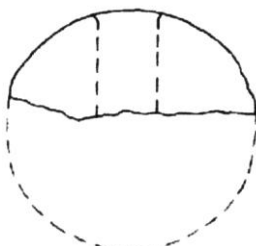
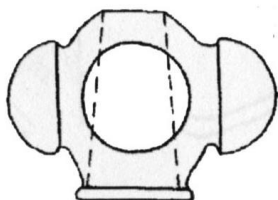
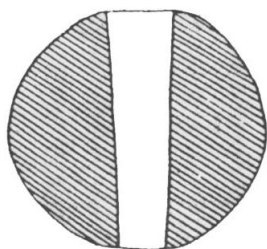
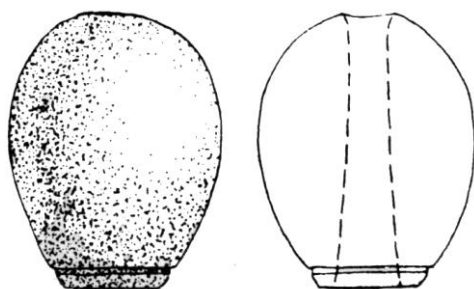


5



6

**Pl. XIII.** Mace heads from: **1** = Uluburun (after Pulak 1987), **2-3** = Egypt (after Breivik 2013), **4** = Can Hasan (after Özbal 2011), **5-6** = Mesopotamia (after Issar, Zohar 2007). Different scales.

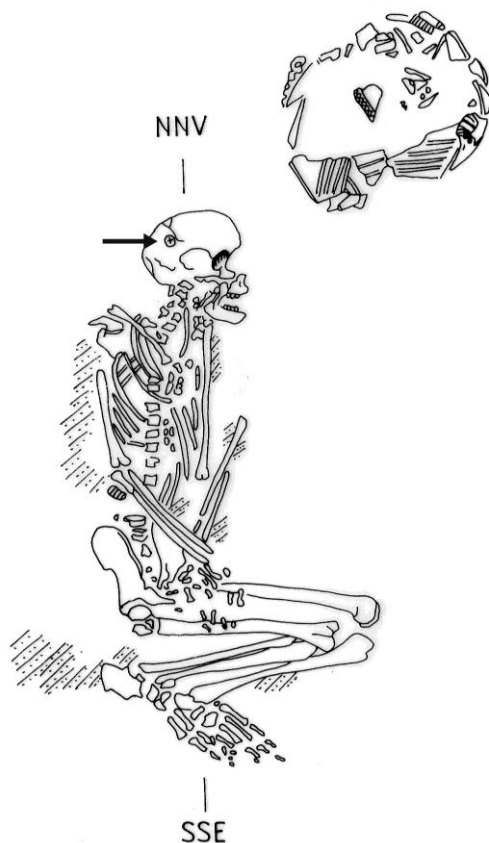


**Pl. XIV.** Mace heads from: **1** = Stubline, Vinča culture, figurines with a mace-heads and axes placed on their right shoulders (after Borić 2014), **2-3** = Sintašta (after Lichardus, Vladár 1996), **4-5** = Tokanai (after Kalieva, Longvin 2014). Different scales.





1



2

**Pl. XV.** 1 = The pharaoh blowing an enemy with a mace-head, 2 = Skeleton, with a cranial injury caused by a mace-head from *Burial no. 22* from Valea Lupului (after Dinu 1959).