

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE CUCUTENI-TRIPOLIE CULTURAL COMPLEX AND THE NEIGHBOURING ENEOLITHIC CULTURES IN THE LIGHT OF THE UTILIZATION OF GOLDEN PENDANTS

If we ask ourselves the question which on the general historical plane was naturally asked for other regions as well, which of the two metals originally used by man was the first on Rumanian territory — gold or copper? — we are certainly not in a position to give a precise answer. However, something can be taken for granted, namely the concomitant appearance at a given moment of these two metals on Rumanian territory also, in the middle Neolithic period, but especially in the late Neolithic period, as well as their processing on the basis of the same technique. Indeed, as it is well known and as it was but natural in fact, copper and gold in the native state were first processed by applying the only technical method known at the time, that is by cold hammering. Metallurgy proper begins to be in use only later on and neither everywhere nor at the same time, being preceded, as it seems, by the still primitive procedure of reducing ore by heating.

On the other hand, gold, in spite of being relatively scarce, was in demand not only for its qualities of noble metal (glitter and inalterability), but chiefly for its specific attributes, such as malleability and ductility, which made it very suitable for processing through hammering, in so much as very thin foils and wires could easily be obtained from it.

The utilization of the discovered metals mainly for ornaments, is a general tendency with ancient populations, from which copper and gold could not be excepted.

Certain gold ornaments (pendants) are known also on Rumania's territory, during the Gumelnița culture, in the late Neolithic.¹ In the area of the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture, which particularly interests us in the present case, we do not know of any gold ornaments found up to 1958. That is why the discovery of a gold pendant in the Cucuteni A-B settlement at Traian (Bacău region) acquires a certain significance. We must, however, mention that within the Ariușd

¹ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Fouilles de Gumelnița*, in « Dacia », II, 1925, p. 99, fig. 75. This pendant, in the shape of « consecration horns » with an ornament of

dots in *repoussé*, is one of the first gold pieces discovered at Gumelnița, without being the oldest too.

culture, in which the red copper « saltaleoni » ornaments are known, similar small gold objects seem to have been discovered².

The gold pendant at Traian, which we are going to study here, was discovered during the 1958 diggings, namely in dwelling number I/4, partly cleared as early as 1957. The dwelling was found in section I, that is in the eastern group of the central habitation zone of the Cucuteni A-B settlement. The circumstances in which it was found are assured, as the pendant was discovered at a depth of

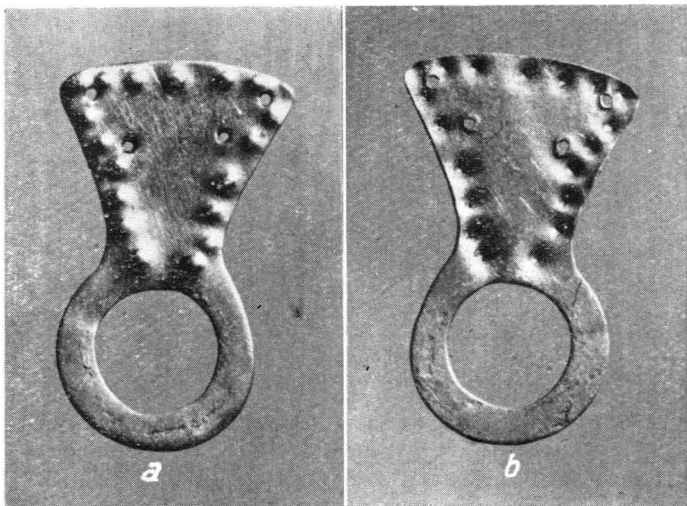


Fig. 1 a and b. -- Gold pendant found at Traian, front and back view twice enlarged.

0.60 m, after the removal of the heaps of burned clods left from the ruined wattle and daub walls of the dwelling, while the ruins *in situ* were being cleared for the second time. The pendant lay in the eastern corner of the dwelling, on the ground, among the wattle and daub clods and covered by other such clods, not very far from a copper pin. The miniature object is made of a thin, flat, gold sheet. Its upper part is a high trapezoid, while the lower part consists of a narrow ring (Fig. 1 a and b). Its height is 0.0265 m, of which the trapezoidal plate is 0.0155 m. The largest breadth in the upper

part is 0.0125 m, while in the lower part it is 0.008 m. As concerns the ring, its external diameter is 0.013 m, the interior diameter 0.008 m and the breadth of the surrounding rim is 0.0025 m. The thickness of the gold sheet out of which the pendant was made is 0.0005 m (half a millimeter), its weight being 1.1630 g. The trapezoidal plate is decorated on the edge, along the three larger sides, by a string of small dots in relief, in the *repoussé* technique. The lower part of this plate, along the line where it joins the ring, also evinces two dots in relief, made by the same procedure, but slightly larger. In the upper part of the plate there are four smaller holes, pierced from without. It must be mentioned that, by the accuracy of the contour lines, as well as by the fineness of the dots in *repoussé*, the pendant discovered at Traian denotes a careful technique. The colour of the gold is yellow without any reddish shade. As the chemical analysis of the metal could not be made so far, we do not know the number of carats of the gold used. It is known however that, in order to process such objects, gold of at least 18 carats is needed.

² Fr. László, *Stations de l'époque prémycénienne...*, in Dolg Cluj, II, 1910–11, fig. 92/3, 6 and 7. According to the information transmitted by N. Vlăsa—Cluj, at Ariuşd, apart from small gold pearls, gold

saltaleoni also seem to have been found. Moreover, in the Boian culture layer at Glina a gold wire was found in a child's grave (Middle Neolithic).

The fine and even brittle aspect of the pendant is an indication that what was preserved until now is in fact only the lasting and precious part of the pendant, since it is likely that, as it has already been assumed for other metal objects, the thin gold sheet must have been applied either on a wooden plate of the same shape or on some leather lining, if not even on some tissue. The small holes mentioned before, probably served for fastening the object to the perishable material and, at the same time, offered the possibility to hang it on a thread. In this case, the small holes of the golden lamella had to correspond to a similar perforation, made in the hard material on which the gold foil was fastened.

The object with its two composing parts has a characteristic form, which in our report will be designated by the already known name of ringed pendant (Fig. 2).

Although the finding circumstances of this gold pendant in a dwelling belonging to the Cucuteni A-B phase at the Traian settlement, are beyond doubt and conclusive to its chronological location, yet, concerning the use of the object we can so far only say that it belongs to the large category of ornamental objects and that it must have been worn by an inhabitant of that settlement of the Cucuteni culture. Judging by already known data, this kind of ornaments seem to be relatively widespread both on Rumania's territory and in certain neighbouring countries.

The objects which present the closest stylistic and typological analogies with the pendant found at Traian are to be met with in Transylvania. Unfortunately, the Transylvania pendants originated in various collections or old hoards, partly preserved at the Budapest National Museum. The circumstances of their finding are rather uncertain and the very spot of their discovery is not always known.

In the much discussed hoard of golden objects, called «the Moigrad hoard»³, the most prominent is undoubtedly the well-known pendant, of important size (0.31 m long), which weighs over 750 g and could also be considered the most representative example of this type of ornament (Fig. 5). The circumstances in which the pendant was found, as well as its exceptional size, contrasting with the specific style of the Neolithic period, prevent us from assigning it a leading part, despite its rather suggestive shape. That is why, for the time being, till its authenticity be proved on the basis of chemical and spectral analyses, we shall leave it aside, the more so as it differs from that at Traian also, in point of shape. We shall therefore deal with the second golden object of this type, equally from the Moigrad hoard, which very much resembles the ringed pendant discovered in the Traian settlement, both in size and in shape. Here too, we note the trapezoidal plate pierced by small threadholes. As concerns the dots in *repoussé*,

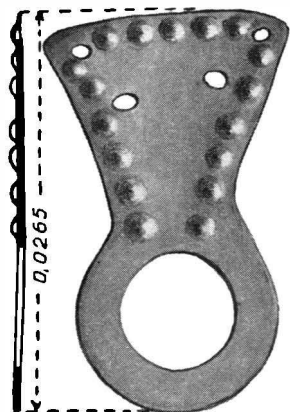


Fig. 2. — The gold pendant found at Traian, front view (drawing).

³ N. Fettich, *La trouvaille de tombe princière unique à Szeged-Nagyszéksős*, in *ArchHung*, XXXII, 1953, pp. 161–170, pl. III; Idem, *A népi és kulturális kontinuitás a Kárpát-medenceben a régészeti adatok alapján*, Budapest, 1943; cf. also Patay

Pál, *Néhány őskori tárgykörmeghatározása*, in *AÉ*, ser. III, vol. V–VI, 1945–1946, pp. 24–25 and 26–27. The authors do not seem to doubt particularly the authenticity of this large object found at Moigrad.

here only those at the base of the trapezoidal plate are to be seen (Fig. 3/1). Two other pendants, in a pair, originating, as it is well-known, in Oradea, evince the same constitutive elements, as well as the peculiarity of a somewhat larger ring than that of the Traian pendant (Fig. 3/2). The gold pendants of Oradea were

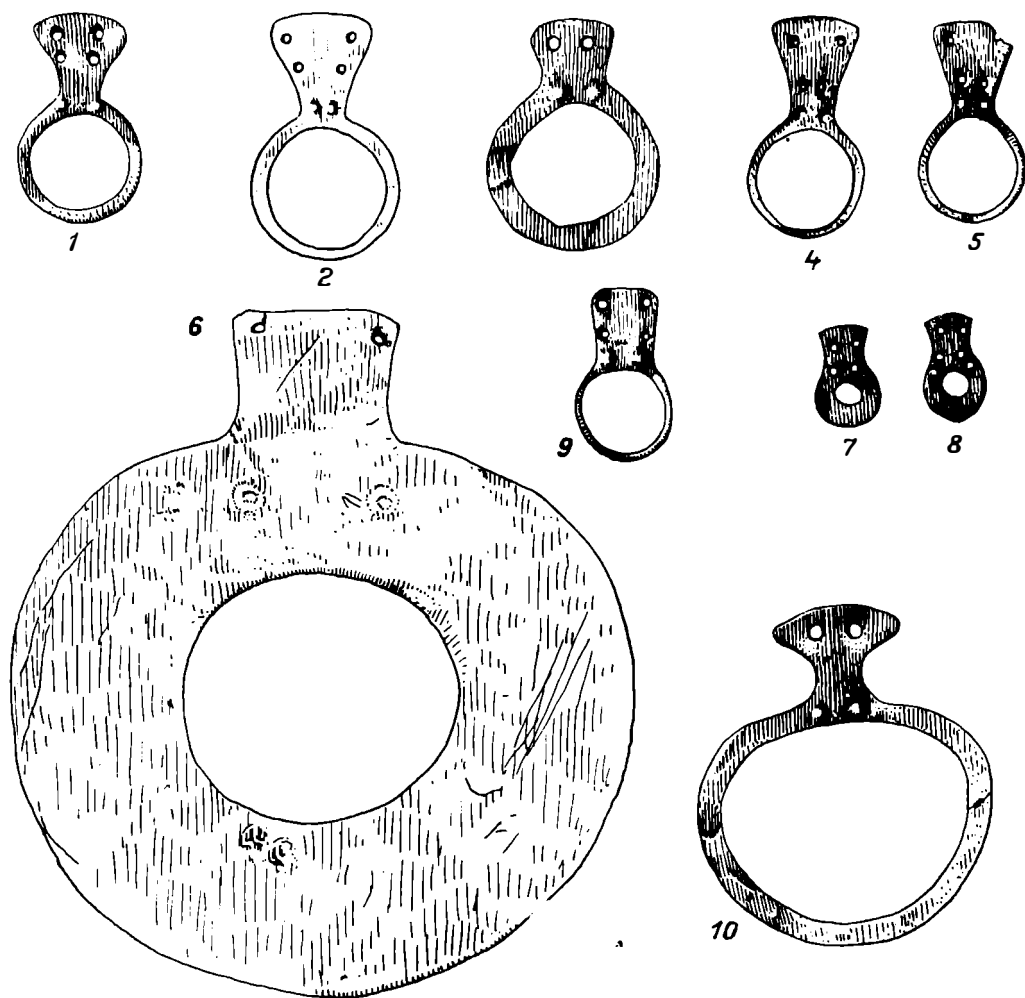


Fig. 3. — Ringed gold pendants: 1, found in the Moigrad hoard (1/1); 2, from Oradea (1/1); 3, found in a hoard of unknown origin (4/5); 4 and 5, found in the Jászladány cemetery (1/1); 6, found in the Tirgu Mureş hoard (4/5); 7 and 8, from Magyartes (1/2); 9, found in a grave at Pusztaitvánháza (4/5); 10, from the hoard of unknown origin (4/5).

acquired by the Hungarian Budapest National Museum as early as the end of the last century, together with another four gold ornaments. The Hungarian Budapest National Museum also keeps a hoard of six gold ornaments, unfortunately the place where they were found is not indicated⁴. For us, the interesting

⁴ In the Budapest National Museum: inv. no. 30/1878; see also Patay Pál, *Kupferzeitliche Gräberfelder*

aus der Gegend von Szentes (Kistőke), in *AE*, IV, 1943, pp. 26—36, and the abstract, pp. 37—40.

point is that three of these objects are ringed pendants. Two of them form a pair and show close similitudes with the Traian pendant. However, the trapezoidal plate is lower and that is why the threadholes were reduced to one pair

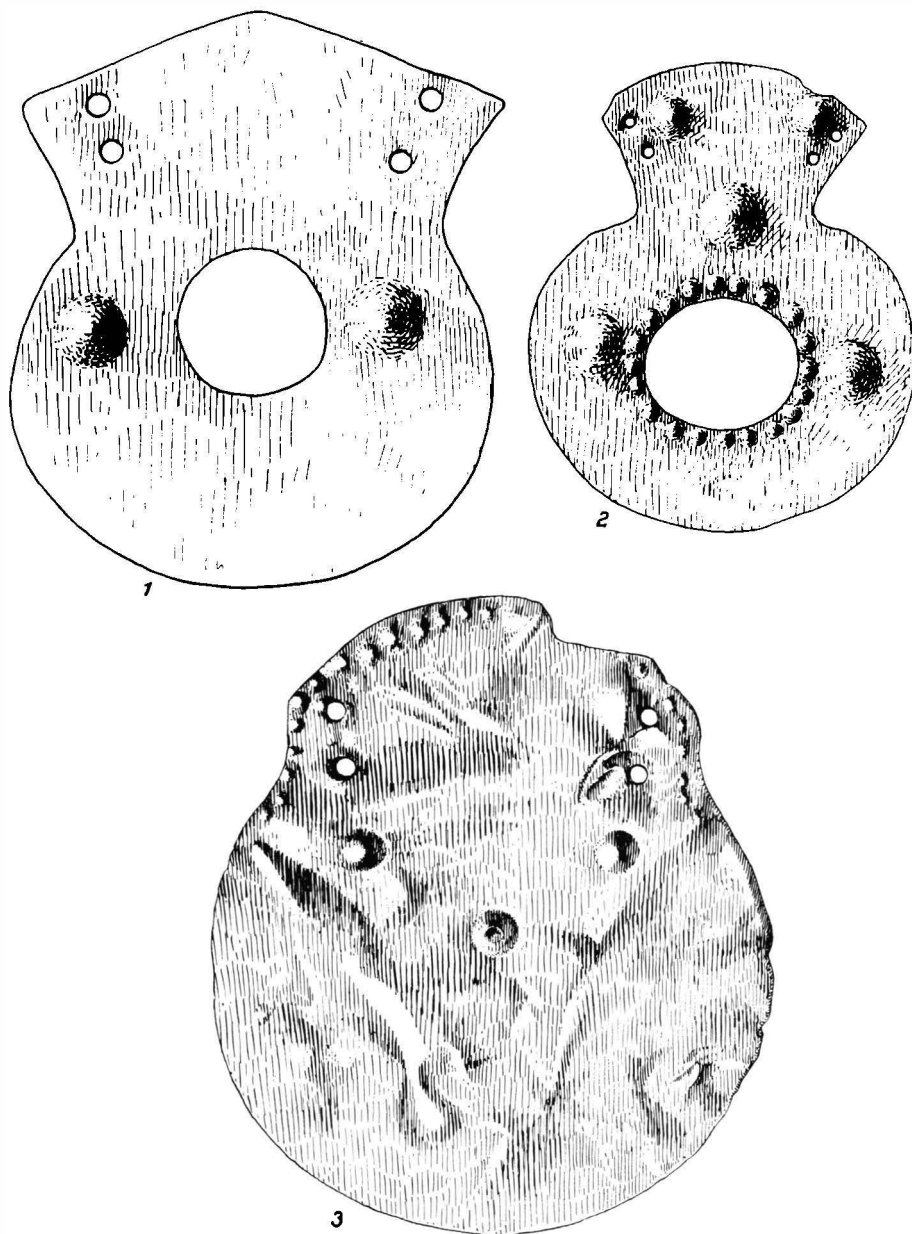


Fig. 4. — Gold pendants with perforated disk: 1, from Tisza-Szöllös (1/2); 2, from Progar, Zemun, Syrmium (1/2); 3, Hatvan-Újtelep (1/1).

alone, while the rim of the ring is somewhat broader here (Fig. 3/3). At the same time, the diameter of the ring is greater than that of our item.

Another gold pendant, somewhat different, is the Tîrgu Mureş pendant, acquired by the Hungarian Budapest National Museum in 1877. It claims attention

first of all through its larger dimensions: 11.25 length and 82.42 g weight. Nevertheless, by its general shape, the pendant found at Țirgu Mureș belongs to the type which we are dealing with and is similar to the pair of pendants mentioned above, although the latter are smaller (as indicated before, their origin is not known for certain). The not very high plate is pierced in the upper part by two holes, while the two bulbous prominences are indicated, in the present case, by dots placed in a circle, lower than on the smaller objects discussed so far. The characteristic feature of this pendant is the greater breadth of the ring frame, so that here we seem to have to do rather with a pierced disk, whose central hole is larger, than with a ring proper (Fig. 3/6).

It can be seen from the above that in Transylvania gold pendants occur of both the miniature type, like that of Traian, and of larger sizes, which would culminate in the Țirgu Mureș pendant. But they belong to the same group and show important peculiarities, without variants. We should also note that, although they are relatively numerous, only uncertain and hypothetic information can be gathered as to the way in which they were worn. It is true that some indication in this respect is offered by the fact that in the Vidra settlement, next to an anthropomorphous vase belonging to the Gumelnița B layer, a gold pendant was also found which, in the discoverer's opinion ⁵, adorned this vessel (a womanly figurine). This seems fairly likely. We do not know whether these pendants were worn by women alone, by men alone or by both sexes. Nor do we know whether there was any special significance in wearing pendants, as their utilization merely as personal ornaments seems not likely, if we take into account both their shape and the conceptions prevalent at the said epoch. Looking for an answer to these questions we are obliged to refer to a vaster cultural area, namely to those cultures which developed outside Rumania's frontiers, but where the gold objects of this type were found in more precise conditions. In this respect we are helped by the cemeteries on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, which revealed numerous golden ornaments belonging to the Bodroghkeresztúr culture, dated by the Hungarian archaeologists to the so-called Hungarian copper age. Thus for instance, in G. 16 in the Jászladány cemetery, at Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok ⁶, besides two long pins placed on either side of a woman's skull, on the left of the latter, a ring-pendant (Fig. 3/4) was found, made of a gold sheet and very similar in size, shape, technique and decoration to that found at Traian. For us, it is interesting chiefly because the pendant was discovered in a woman's grave, that it was worn on the head and placed with the ring downwards, which shows us the correct position in which the pendant must be held. Although, at first, this position of the pendant would seem less normal, it was suggested to us from the very beginning by the existence of those four small holes pierced into the plate, as they are seen on the Traian pendant. The Budapest Museum moreover has another pendant, almost identical (Fig. 35), equally acquired from Jászladány, shortly after the discovery of the above said grave. According to Patay Pál ⁷, this second pendant originates in the same grave, the pendants being

⁵ D. V. Rosetti, *Săpăturile de la Vidra*, in PMMB, 1934, p. 26, pl. III/1 and 3. The author maintains that from the stratigraphic point of view this statuette is situated in the Gumelnița B culture = Vidra II C.

⁶ Patay Pál, *Rézkori temető leletei Jászladányból*, in AÉ, ser. III, vol. V–VI, 1944–1945, pp. 1–21. The diggings were made by Alexander Gallus in 1935.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pl. V/18 and pl. VIII/15.

in fact worn at the head by twos. This assumption is confirmed by a discovery in G. 4 of the Magyartés cemetery⁸, belonging to the same epoch and culture (Fig. 3/7 and 8). In this grave, also a woman's grave, two small ring-pendants — a pair — were found on either side of the head, by the temples, both being placed with the ring downwards, which provides a most certain proof of the way in which they were worn. However, we cannot overlook the fact that in G. 4 at Pusztavánháza⁹, discovered during the 1925-1927 diggings and preserved at the Hungarian Budapest National Museum, such a pendant (Fig. 3/10) was found on the breast of a woman's skeleton, namely on the left¹⁰. We must mention that the pendant was brought out while the grave was being replaced in the museum, after World War II.

In connection with the golden ring-pendants, discovered in the cemeteries of the Hungarian People's Republic, it is worth noticing that all the small-sized items mentioned, apart from their typical ringed shape, are similar also as to other characteristic features, namely: the small holes for sewing or hanging the object — from two to four holes — as well as the two knobly projections in *repoussé* placed at the joint of the trapezoidal plate with the ring. The objects presenting the closest analogies with the Traian pendant, in the order of their greater similitude are: the small pendant found at Moigrad, the pair of small-sized pendants from the Oradea hoard, the pair found in G. 16 at Jászladány, as well as the item found in the grave at Pusztavánháza. This proves that the pendants found in the cemeteries in the east of the Hungarian People's Republic are in no way different from those

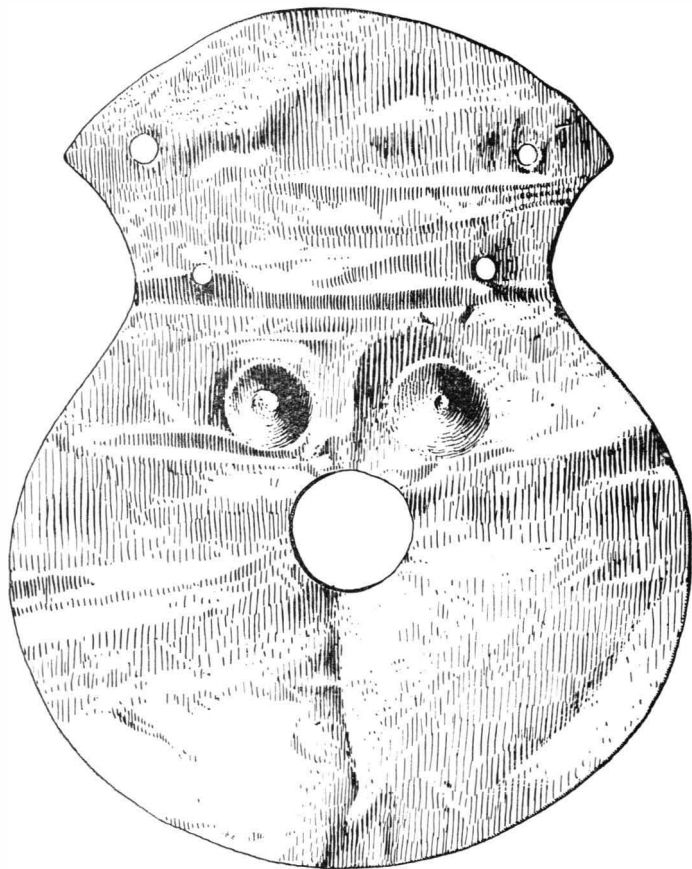


Fig. 5. — The large gold pendants found in the Moigrad hoard (1/2).

⁸ Patay Pál, *Kupferzeitliche Gräberfelder*, p. 40, pl. V/10, and 11. Idem, *Néhány őskori tárgy kormeghatározása*, with an abstract; *Zeitbestimmung einiger Gegenstände aus der Urzeit*, in *AÉ*, série III, vol. V—VI, 1944—1945, pl. IX/7 and 8. The diggings in the Magyartés cemetery were carried out by G. Csallány. Patay Pál deals with the gold pendants

in Hungary, but does not distinguish two variants.

⁹ Hillebrand Jenő, *Das kupferzeitliche Gräberfeld von Pusztavánháza*, in *ArchHung*, III (diggings made in 1925—1927); Patay Pál, *Rézkori aranyleletek (Kupferzeitliche Goldfunde)*, in *AÉ*, 85, I, 1958, pp. 45—46, pl. XVII/1.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

discovered in Transylvania, as they all belong to the same group spread over a rather vast area.

Beside the group of the ringed pendants, in a hoard of ten gold objects discovered at Tisza-Szöllős (Heves)¹¹, on Hungarian territory, in 1840, there was also a pendant which, although smaller in size, by its shape very much resembles the dubious item found at Moigrad. It is 0.11 m long, 0.095 m broad and weighs 115.22 g (Fig. 4/1). On comparing this object with the above discussed ringed pendant we found the same component parts. The difference lies in the fact that here the upper part is shorter, while its outlines are more incurved, and that instead of the ring, the lower part consists of a disk pierced by a round hole. We must therefore note a possible division of the pendants so far described into two groups, according to their shape and especially according to that of their lower part: on the one hand, the ringed group, in which the miniature items are prevalent and, on the other hand, the group of a larger size with disk pierced by a circular hole. The Tîrgu Mureş pendant has an intermediate position, representing a transition form, as in point of general aspect it belongs to the ringed type, while both by its dimensions and by the broad rim of the ring, it resembles the pierced disk variant.

An item, similar in point of general shape to the Tisza-Szöllős pendant, is the gold disk of Hatvan-Újtelep¹² (Fig. 4/3). Its length is 12.6 cm and its weight 70.52 g. Here too the same two component parts are seen. Its upper part is less precise in outline and, at first sight, it seems included in the circle of the disk; although slightly damaged, it recalls well enough the shape of the upper part of the Tisza-Szöllős pendant, as well as that of the great pendant found at Moigrad. The threadholes are visible too, while the margins are outlined by a row of in *repoussé* dots, as those exhibited by the Traian pendant only and, as known, from the convex pairs of copper disks in the Hăbăşeşti hoard¹³, and the pendant shaped like consecration horns, found at Gumelniţa¹⁴. The surface of the disk discovered at Hatvan-Újtelep exhibits three knobly projections in *repoussé*, the third one replacing the round hole characteristic of the Tisza-Szöllős-Moigrad variant, and which in the miniature items takes even, as stated before, the shape of a ring. This third prominence differs from the other two by its slightly concave centre¹⁵. As against the Tisza-Szöllős-Moigrad type, the pendant found at Hatvan-Újtelep is conforming in aspect with the original prototype, although slightly degenerated, and displaying a tendency towards reducing the whole pendant to a circle. The shape of solid disk may represent a local tendency, probably based on even older types existing in that area. Comparing now the

¹¹ Vladimir Milojević, *Ein Goldfund der Kupferzeit aus Ungarn*, in « Germania », 31, 1953, p. 8, pl. 1/1.

¹² Patay Pál, *Rézkori aranyleletek*, pl. XV, 11.

¹³ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbăşeşti, Monografie arheologică*, 1954, p. 436, fig. 4/1.

¹⁴ Cf. note 1. One of the proofs that the trapezoidal part of the Traian pendant represents the bust and the head, is also this string of dots in *repoussé* which reproduces the little holes at the head of the bone figurines in the Vidra settlement:

D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 26, fig. 36; cf. also G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, *Разкопки на селищата Мотра до Ръце*, in « Izvestiia-Institut », XXI, 1957, p. 100, fig. 60; I. Andrieşescu, *Les fouilles de Sultana*, in « Dacia », I, 1924, p. 105, pl. XXVI/2, XLVII/2 a.

¹⁵ This method possibly reflects the manner of rendering the navel (« Kteis ») which we find with certain lead statuettes of Troy and as shown by the respective moulds; R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 364, fig. 269 and fig. 270.

pendants found at Tisza-Szöllös and at Hatvan-Újtelep with all other small-sized pendants we see that, as is but natural in the case of larger-sized ones, the distribution of the characteristic elements is clearer here and helps us understand the meaning of the miniature pendants too. For instance, those two in *repoussé* knobly projections are larger in the Hatvan-Újtelep pendant and placed lower, at a certain distance from each other, suggesting the shape of two breasts, while

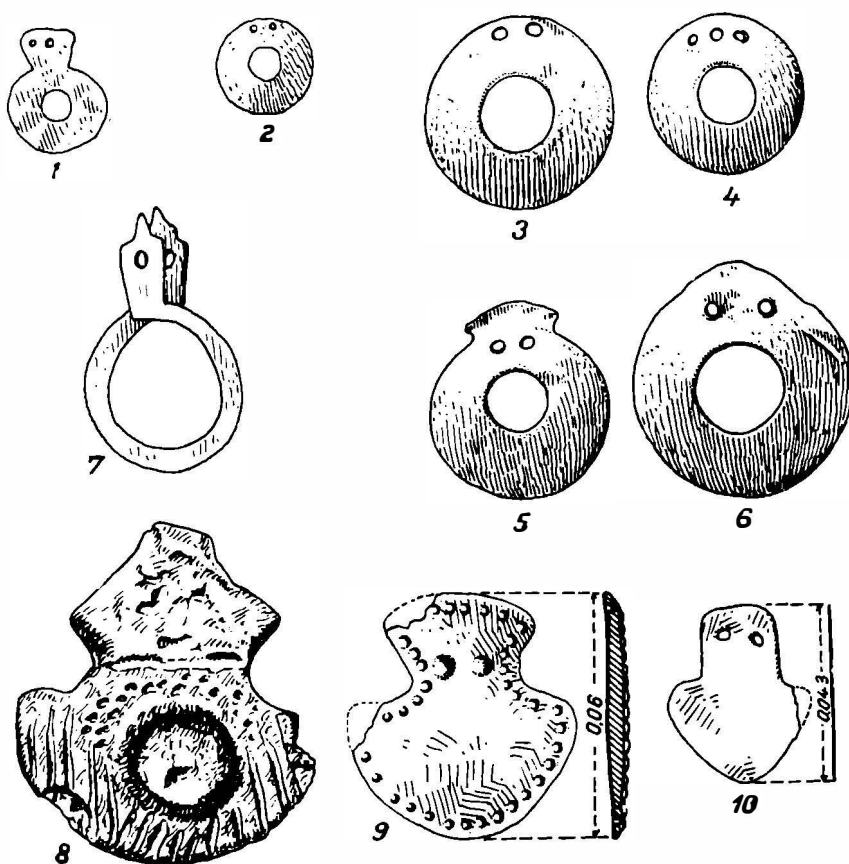


Fig. 6. — 1, Gold pendant found in the Vidra settlement, Bucharest (1/2); disk-shaped convex gold pendant, found at Vidra (1/2); 3—6, gold pendants from the hoard found at Hotnița, Bulgaria (1/1); 7, gold pendant found at Sesclo, Dimini layer (1/1); 8, clay idol found at Büyük-Güllücek, Anatolia (1/1); 9, clay idol found at Trușești, Suceava region (1/1); 10, copper idol found at Trușești.

the whole item has indeed a more eloquent aspect than the other, smaller and more schematic items, thus recalling the appearance of a female idol, whose head would be represented by the rounded upper part. In our opinion, these pendants are the transposition in gold of the type of Cycladic and Trojan *en violon* idol. In the specimens of miniatural proportions, this very reduction of dimensions necessarily brought about ever more conventional shapes which acquire a symbolic character. It is obvious that both variants have common and local features, that they represent the same type and derive from a common prototype. The group of small pendants seems to represent an older tradition

in Transylvania and in Hungary, a tradition coming from the South, where gold was relatively scarcer, those of larger sizes owing their specific aspect -- in all probability -- to the wealth in gold of Transylvanian mountains and waters. The marked conventionalizing of the small-sized variant does not necessarily imply in this area a difference in time too.

These two variants (the one represented by the Tisza-Szöllős pendant and the miniature one, of the ringed type) co-existed on this territory and influenced each other. We actually must note that some pendants of a miniature aspect, e.g. those discovered in the Magyartés cemetery tend to reproduce in their reduced dimensions, the general form of the Tisza-Szöllős pendant. Much in the same way, among the three items of the ringed type whose place of discovery is not assured, the third one differs by the form of the upper plate, which has very concave sides, while the upper part is curved, like that of the Tisza-Szöllős pendant. The inner diameter of the ring is great: 4 cm, but the rim of the ring is rather narrow (Fig. 3/10). This pendant of a mixed form was obtained by providing the small upper part, of the Tisza-Szöllős type, with a large ring.

This proves once more that the two variants met and co-existed in Transylvania and on Hungarian territory and that their mutual influence was possible precisely because they lacked the rigidity of objects developed along different lines. The question which arises is whether these two variants which influence each other (a proof they were contemporaneous eventually), although originating in a common prototype of Aegeic and East Mediterranean source (the type of idol *en violon*) did not reach this area by different ways. It should be mentioned that both variants of the type might find their origin in the Gumelnița culture.

However, before examining these different possibilities, we shall complete the series of gold pendants by those known outside the area which concerned us so far. In Eastern Slovakia, within the Tisza-Polgár culture, in the second phase, which would correspond to an initial stage of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, namely in the inhumed interments with red ochre and ashes at the bottom, from the Tibava cemetery¹⁶, six golden pendants were found, of which five are in the shape of a full disk, with two or four threadholes each; this is a third variant of this type of pendant. The sixth pendant reminds of the Tisza-Szöllős variant, owing both to its shape and to the fact that it has a perforated disk. But both this piece and the other five are of a rudimentary make. They look like «peripheral» elements, which also agree with their geographic position in the area of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

On the other hand, if we overstep the area investigated so far, towards the south-west in the Syrmium region, between the Danube, the Tisza and the

¹⁶ K. Andel, *Pohrebisko z doby medenej v Tibave na východnom Slovensku*, in «Slovenska Archeológia», VI, 1, 1958, pp. 38–46, fig. 5. Tibava is in fact 12 km north of Uzhorodu. The pendants are made of gold balls, picked up from the riverside sand, flattened and joined to each other by hammering. Some of the graves with red ochre and much ash also are rich in vessels (between 15–20). Because of

the nature of the soil, the skeletons were destroyed, being occasionally turned into white dust. Two such pendants were found in G. 14 together with the teeth of the skeleton (which proves again that they were worn in pairs, at the head), then in the G. 15 and G. 17, together with some remains of a copper bracelet. In other graves copper axes with edges forming a cross were found.

Sava in Yugoslavia, we must note another pendant, a flat gold idol discovered at Progar (Zemun district) and preserved at the Zagreb Museum (Fig. 4/2). Its length is 9 cm, its breadth 7.3 cm, and its weight 34.8 g. It is made of a thin leaf of gold, of nearly 24 carats. The Progar specimen is indisputably linked to the Tisza-Szöllös type. Its setting is richer¹⁷ however than that of this piece and of the Hatvan-Újtelep one. On the upper plate we find, alongside the four holes, two knobby projections which could represent the eyes, while the central hole is surrounded by small dots in *repoussé*. It is interesting to note that the disk too presents three larger prominences, like the gold disk of Hatvan-Újtelep. Yet here they are placed one above, and the other two on both sides of the central hole. The Progar gold pendant was discovered on the territory of the Vucedol culture, which does not mean that it belongs by all means to that culture; anyhow, it is outside the area on which the most typical form of this kind of pendants is known, that is, outside the area of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

At the same time we must remark that the Progar pendant is worked in a freer and even more fanciful manner, which denotes certain influences. In fact, the three prominences of this pendant recall both the gold pendant with full disk found at Hatvan-Újtelep and especially a peculiar well-known group of copper and gold disks, decorated with three bulbous projections each, placed one above and the other two below, that is inversely to what we consider their normal arrangement. Such a copper disk was found in the Polish People's Republic, in G. 34 of Brzesc-Kujawski¹⁸, and another series of pairs of gold disks, bordered with strings of dots in *repoussé* and exhibiting four threadholes originate in Central Europe and were studied by Pulszky¹⁹.

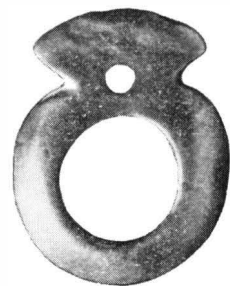


Fig. 7. — Gold pendant from the Gumelnița settlement.

¹⁷ K. Vinski-Gasparini, *Zlatni nalaz iz Progar u Strijemu*, in « Vjesnik-Split », LVI–LIX, pp. 6–10, p. 17, fig. 1 a.

¹⁸ K. Jaszczewski, *Cmentarzyska Kultury ceramiki watekowej i zwiazne z nimi slady osadnictwa w Brzesciu Kujawskim*, in *WiadArch*, 1938, XV, p. 1 and following, and p. 92, pl. XXV/3. In order to illustrate how widely this type of pendant had spread towards the last, we should also mention the copper disk with boss ornament found in the ochre-grave at Bezchastnaia near Dniepropetrovsk (see A. M. Tallgren, *La Pontide Préscythique*, in *ESA*, II, 1926, p. 49, fig. 36 B/4). As to the ring-disks made of bone, considered as typical pieces for the furniture of the ochre-graves of the Pontic steppes (from Dnieper to the Don), we think they should be included in the category of objects we dealt with in this paper. Their presence in this region too, would concretely raise the very interesting problem of the cultural relations and the penetration of the Pontic steppes populations in the Central European regions towards the end of the IIIrd millenium before our era. We believe however that their source within the ochre-

graves may also be explained by the relations with the Anatolian regions, although no such discoveries were made in the Cuban as yet (see: *ibidem*, p. 102, and fig. 62). An argument in favour of the Anatolian origin of this ring-disk made of bone (from the ochre-graves of the Pontic steppes) is provided by the particularity that the disk is thicker towards its centre aperture (*ibidem*, p. 95, fig. 63/1), which is exactly the same as with the clay idol from Büyük-Güllücek, Anatolia, (see in this paper fig. 6/8, and our conclusions). Ring-disks were also found in Podolia, but they are made of amber (*ibidem*, p. 41, fig. 35/8).

¹⁹ F. Pulszky, *Kupferzeit in Ungarn*, Budapest, 1884; F. Tompa, *25 Jahre Urgeschichtsforschung in Ungarn*, in *24/25 BerRGK*, 1934–1935, p. 53, no. 109, does not admit the chronological placing of the Stollhof type disks, considering that the latter (with three prominences) belonged to the Late Bronze Age. Patay Pál, *Réz kori aranyleletek*, p. 46, is justified in maintaining Pulszky's placing as valid. Recently, gold disks of this type were also discovered: Cf. J. Korek, *Die Goldscheiben von Csáford*, in *FoliaArch*, XII, 1960, pp. 27–33, pl. VI–VII/1–2.

In Pulszky's opinion, they belong to the «Hungarian copper age» since they were found together with tools specific to that period. Nevertheless we notice that this type of pendant disks with a rather vast area of spreading, has a number of elements in common with the Tisza-Szöllős pendants²⁰.

From the typological, as well as from the territorial point of view, the gold pendant with unpierced disk found at Hatvan-Újtelep is an intermediate shape between the Tisza-Szöllős type and the group of simple disks with three knobs inversely set. To revert to the Progar pendant, we must note that this object combines elements characteristic both of the Tisza-Szöllős variant (the central hole) and of the group of round disks with three prominences (their specific disposition). The synthetic characters and the composite aspect of the Progar pendant prove that the Tisza-Szöllős variant (and its derivative with three prominences normally arranged, represented by the Hatvan-Újtelep pendant as well as the type of round disk with three prominences arranged conversely), circulated simultaneously in this Central European space, and developed in parallel²¹.

Following southwards the analogies of the Transylvanian and Hungarian variantse it is worth mentioning that during the Gumelnița culture on the Lower Danube, namely in the old phase A, we also find – beside pendants corresponding to the first variants – three pendants resembling the third variant found in eastern Slovakia and belonging to the early phase of the Bodrogheresztúr culture. The objects discovered in the Gumelnița culture settlements, are equally small-sized.

Thus, in the Gumelnița culture settlement Vidra (near Bucharest)²² in the Vidra II B stratum = Gumelnița A₂, a small gold pendant of the ringed type was found (Fig. 6/1). In the higher stratum Vidra II C = Gumelnița B, another gold pendant was discovered in the form of a small disk pierced in the middle and having also two suspension holes (Fig. 6/2), which corresponds to the third variant from Slovakia and for which analogies may be found, as we shall see, in the Bulgarian Gumelnița culture.

On the other hand, in the 1960 diggings a gold pendant was found (Fig. 7) at the eponymous settlement of Gumelnița²³, at a depth of 3 m, that is towards

²⁰ If at the basis of processing these disks the same conception stood for representing female idols, then these round disks, whose characteristic note is the illogical disposition of the three prominences, are a proof of the fact that in the remoter regions, the original prototype was forgotten and purely decorative derivative forms were made.

²¹ We must not forget that the full disk variant will prove particularly persistent up to the time of the Middle Bronze Age and even later on, cf.: Dorin Popescu, *Die frühe und mittlere Bronzezeit in Siebenbürgen*, Bucharest, 1944, fig. 24/3, small convex gold disk with two holes found at Periam and fig. 29/6 and 7; two oval gold disks with dots ornament, found at Beba Veche; Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Funde aus der zweiten Periode der Bronzezeit im Bezirk Arad*, in «Dacia», VII–VIII, 1941, p. 130, fig. 4/C²

and C; Dorin and Valeria Popescu, *Asupra tezaurului de aur de la Ostrovul Mare*, in SCIV, VI, 3–4, 1955, Fig. 1, 2/1–6, pl. I–IV; Zdenko Vinski, *O prehistorijskim Zlatin nelazima u Jugoslaviji*, in «Acta et dissert. arch.» I, Zagreb, 1959, pp. 207–236, pl. V/42–57, VI/66, 67 (Vatina); J. Zurowski, *Skarb bronzowy z Zydowa (Stopnico)*, in WiadArch, VII, 1922, pp. 78–91, pl. II (round disks with decoration of dots in *repoussé*).

²² D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 26, fig. 37 and pl. III/3.

²³ In 1960 control diggings were made in the Gumelnița settlement by Vladimir Dumitrescu. A pendant of this shape, but made of a well polished bone, had been found earlier also at Gumelnița: Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Fouilles de Gumelnița*, p. 88, fig. 66/9.

the foundation of the culture stratum. Although of a small size, through its general aspect and especially through the shape of its upper part, the Gumelnița pendant represents in fact an early form of the Tisza-Szöllös variant of Hungary. Forms similar to this pendant can be found on the territory of Bulgaria. Among the discoveries recently made, there are also four small gold pendants with perforated disks found together with forty other gold objects (bracelets and rings) in a tell north of Hotnița village (near Resen village, Tyrnovo region). The hoard was found at a depth of 0.30 m, among the ruins of a dwelling, in the centre of the settlement and – according to the discoverers' report – in a sort of red painted shrine. These circumstances connected with its finding seem moreover to indicate the sacred character of the hoard ²⁴.

The chemical analysis of the gold proved that all objects in the hoard were made of the same kind of gold and that the four pendants which concern us more directly here were cut out of the same thin gold leaf. All these four pendants are of a very small size, being in fact miniatures. They resemble each other by their general form and especially by the convexity of the gold leaf out of which they are made, precisely that being their common and characteristic feature (Fig. 6/3–6). Nevertheless, they are not identical, each having its peculiar note. The most representative of these four pendants found at Hotnița is not the larger one (its length is 3.05 cm, its breadth 2.8 cm, its thickness 0.5 cm; it weighs 4 g). This pendant has the closest analogy with the item discovered in 1960 in stratum A of Gumelnița, as stated above (Fig. 7). The second pendant of the Hotnița series has the peculiarity of a visibly reduced upper part, the disk slightly rising there in the shape of a fang ²⁵ under which two small threadholes are seen (Fig. 6/6). In the other two pieces, the upper part was entirely reduced, the pendants having the shape of a simple convex disk, pierced in the middle by a round hole. The upper part of the disk is perforated by the two usual holes disposed horizontally. The above-mentioned Vidra pendant found in stratum II C (Fig. 6/2) is identical to the third item of the Hotnița series, which proves the persistence of this variant up to the Gumelnița B stratum, just like the bone pendants found in the latter settlement ²⁶. The last of the four variants found at Hotnița is perforated by three small holes placed horizontally on the upper border of the disk. We must note that a new element appeared with the Hotnița pieces: two small holes placed horizontally, instead of the two small prominences which are characteristic of the ringed variant found in Transylvania and Hungary, but are not to be found in the Gumelnița culture. The tendency towards simplification is sometimes pushed even further in this cultural area. For instance, in the settlement belonging to the Gumelnița culture found near Russe ²⁷ in Bulgaria, not long

²⁴ N. Angelov, *Златното скровище от Хотница*, in «Arheologia», I, 1–2, 1959, pp. 38–46.

²⁵ A very slight tapering in the upper part is also noticed with the first five gold pendants discovered at Tibava in Slovakia (cf. note 16) and even with the pendant found at Tisza-Szöllös.

²⁶ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Découvertes de Gumelnița*, in «Dacia», I, 1924, p. 340, fig. 10/1 and I. Andrieșescu, *op. cit.*, p. 69, pl. VII/22, 25, 27,

pl. IX/21–30, pl. XII/4 and 5; Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Les fouilles de Gumelnița*, fig. 66/14, 16, 17; R. Vulpe, *Izvoare*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 259, fig. 267/1, as well as p. 264, fig. 274/1–2 (belonging to the layer Izvoare II = Cucuteni A).

²⁷ G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 58. The authors do not say whether the object was accidentally broken along this line from ancient times.

ago a small gold pendant was found with a diameter of 1.8 cm, in which there is no central hole of the disk at all. Only two small threadholes are seen on the disk's border. As a reminiscence of the upper plate, as still preserved in the first pendant found at Hotnița, we can see here a slight flattening of the surface of the disk, above the two small threadholes. Here again we must remark the propensity towards a marked conventionalizing with the miniature pendants of Bulgaria, as we had noticed it with the ringed pendants of Transylvania and of Hungary, as well as with the full-disk pendants found in the northerly area, in Slovakia²⁸. Both variants — the ringed one and the full-disk one — are contemporaneous, as proved by the Hotnița hoard, and connected by their origin. The question arises whether the schematization we notice with the pendants of Bulgaria did not actually occur under the influence of the clay disks, of the same convex type, equally provided in their upper part with two small threadholes. Such clay disks, larger or smaller, decorated with a string of shallow dots and more rarely with relief dots are very widespread at that time, for we find them associated with the female anthropomorphous idols, to begin with Central Anatolia²⁹ down to the painted pottery settlements of Moldavia,³⁰ in the Dimini culture of Thessaly³¹, as well as in the Gumelnița culture of Bulgaria³² and Wallachia³³. The fact must be stressed that the copper disks of the Hăbășești settlement³⁴, although larger, belong to this convex type, having also the two threadholes like the clay disk and the gold one found at Russe.

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As shown before regarding the appearance of the type of gold pendants with two main variants in Transylvania and in Hungary, the question was whether they were specific forms, created as part of the Bodrogkeresztúr-Decea Mureșului

²⁸ We note as two parallel manifestations, both the tendency to preserve the full disk and that of making it hollow like a ring.

²⁹ Hamit Kosay and Mahmut Akok, *Büyük-Güllücek araştırmaları üzerine ilk rapor (Preliminary report on test excavations at Büyük-Güllücek)*, in «Belleten TTK», 1948, XII, 46, pp. 479–484, pl. LXXXIX, fig. 15/5 and 7.

³⁰ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbășești*, p. 461, fig. 45/1–2 and 3–13; Hortensia Dumitrescu, *La station préhistorique de Ruginoasa*, in «Dacia», III–IV, p. 67, fig. 12/3. A small disk of convex clay with an ornament of hollow dots on the border and two holes for suspension, like another, a greater one, in fragments, with a string of hollow dots, laid concentrically, were found in the Cucuteni settlement of Tirpești, Tg. Neamț district, at the point Budăi (investigation made by Silvia Marinescu in 1960); S. N. Bibicov, *Раннеэнеолитическое поселение Лука-Врублевская на Днестре*, in MIA, 38, p. 363, pl. 71/B, very convex disk with two holes.

³¹ H. Tsoúntas, *Αἱ προϊστορικὰ ἀκροπόλεῖς Δημινίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, pl. 43/23 and 43/3. In the same Dimini layer of Sesclo two pendants were also found in the shape of convex disks, one of stone

with three threadholes (cf. Hotnița) and another, analogous one, made in clay, but smaller, with two threadholes.

³² G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 57; see also «Izvestiia-Institut», XVIII, fig. 174, for the series of 11 clay objects, unidentified so far, which, in our opinion, can only be such amulet-disks in clay.

³³ D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, pl. III/4.

³⁴ Undoubtedly also in the case of these convex gold copper or even clay disks, we have to do — as we see by analysing their creation — with abstract derivations of the type of more complete anthropomorphous figures; and although they are conventionalized down to a symbolic shape, their significance cannot differ from that of the others, their peculiar typological aspect does not preclude their concomitance, as already mentioned in this paper for similar cases. This is also proved by the four pendants of various aspects found at Hotnița, among which the first is the ringed type. Therefore, we believe that the pairs of copper disks found at Hăbășești date back to the end of the Cucuteni A phase, as established by Vladimir Dumitrescu, and co-workers, *Hăbășești*, pp. 453–455.

culture, or had been borrowed from neighbouring and older cultures. The answer to this question is also made more difficult by the fact that so far the periods of the Bodrogkeresztur-Decea Mureşului culture have not been established for certain, as well as by the fact that the most important objects were found in hoards. The pendant discovered in the Cucuteni A–B settlement of Traian, by its ascertained conditions of location, is a more precise indication for the attempts at synchronizing the cultures discussed. This pendant, as well as those similar to the ringed type of Transylvania and Hungary are closely related to the objects of a simpler make, in the Gumelniţa culture of the Lower Danube in Rumania and in Bulgaria.

These pendants are all the more interesting as they were found in culture strata and help us to date also, be it even approximately, those found in hoards. For instance, the variant with ring and trapezoidal plate discovered in the Vidra settlement, stratum II B = Gumelniţa A₂ (Fig. 6/1), is connected especially with those two pendants discovered in a hoard and whose origin is unknown, preserved in the Hungarian National Museum of Budapest. A proof of the connection with the Lower Danube area is also given by the Tîrgu Mureş pendant, which – though larger in size – still reproduces the shape of the Vidra pendant. An equally significant recent discovery is that of the above-mentioned pendant in the Gumelniţa settlement – connected with the Tisza-Szöllős variant. The Hotniţa pendants are, in their turn, related to the gold pendants of eastern Slovakia (Tibava).

Comparing the objects discovered in the area of the Gumelniţa culture with those of Transylvania, Moldavia (Traian) and Hungary, we must note however that they differ by a number of details: the two small projections in *repoussé* are absent, they generally have a single threadhole and the dimensions of their upper part are smaller.

All these features of a greater simplicity are local peculiarities and it is obvious that the gold pendants of the northern region were more evolved and borrowed these elements, missing in the Gumelniţa culture, from the Tisza-Szöllős variant.

By the simplicity of their make, as well as by their older age, the pendants of the Gumelniţa culture are precursors of the objects found in Transylvania and in Hungary. At the present stage of the researches we cannot say for certain what the point of contact could have been between these two cultural zones; if this were known, one could largely explain also the evolution of the ringed pendant found in Transylvania and in Hungary.

But the prototype of the ringed pendant seems to be a gold pendant of the Sesclo settlement in Thessaly³⁵.

In the Dimini stratum of that settlement, together with the β 3a pottery (black painting with meander and chess-board patterns) the discovery was also made of a gold pendant of small size (height 0.033 m); the trapezoidal plate is narrower in this case, but more suggestive, as it ends in its upper part in a small round projection which increases its resemblance to a flat bust of an anthropomorphic figurine. In this way, the trapezoidal shape of the upper part of the gold pendants studied so far acquires a clearer sense.

³⁵ Hr. Tsoúntas, *op. cit.*, p. 351, fig. 291.

The original feature of the Thessalian pendant is the ring open at both ends, each finishing by a trapezoidal plate, pierced at the top (Fig. 6/7), suggesting the image, of course extremely schematical, of two figurines facing each other and united by the ring. The same bicephalous type³⁶ is also represented by the flat alabaster idols *en violon*, found in Cappadocia³⁷ and belonging to the proto-Hittite epoch at the end of the IIIrd and the beginning of the IInd millenium.

Like in the Gumelnița culture, side by side with the gold pendant of Sesclo, there is also a bone pendant, of a more simplified shape however³⁸. An analogous pendant, equally of bone, was found in the Turdaș Neolithic settlement, in Transylvania³⁹. By these pendants of the Dimini stratum at Sesclo, the connection is made with the pendants of symbolic senses in the area of the Aegeic and of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Thus, the conclusion becomes obvious, that the gold pendant in which we are interested, with all its variants known in the area of the Bodrogkeresztúr-Decea Mureșului culture is in close genetic relations with the pendants discovered in the area of the Gumelnița culture, which however are older in age. This seems quite natural, considering that this cultural area lies more to the south and considering also its well-known Anatolian kindred. However, certain facts compell us to believe that the Tisza-Szöllős variant with pierced disk, which brought along with it certain elements characteristic of the ringed type, might have come from the same Anatolian centre (but, it seems, independently of the Gumelnița area), along a parallel road, perhaps nearer the west of the Balkan peninsula and going towards the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic⁴⁰.

Although in the chalcolithic cultures of Anatolia we do not know of corresponding metal pendants, we are acquainted with clay *en violon* idols in the strata belonging to the chalcolithic settlements of Alaca-Hüyük⁴¹ and of Alishar⁴². The rounded shape of the head, which is the peculiar note of the second variant of the gold pendants found in Hungary and in Rumania is to be found again only with certain clay figurines of Alaca-Hüyük and Ahlattlibel⁴³, dating between the second half of the IIIrd millenium and the beginning of the IInd millenium before our era. Among these, there is also the interesting clay idol found in the tell of Büyük-Güllücek⁴⁴, situated 15 km north of the typical settlement of Alaca-Hüyük and also belonging to the chalcolithic period. For our subject — the relations with the Near East — the idol of Büyük-Güllücek is of outstanding import-

³⁶ To a certain extent, this pendant recalls the type of the bicephalous figurine, known in the Aegeic and Anatolian worlds. For our regions, cf. Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Semnificația și originea unui tip de figurină feminină descoperită la Rast (r. Băilești, reg. Craiova)*, in SCIV, VIII, 1-2, 1956, pp. 95-118, fig. 1 and fig. 2/1-3 (bicephalous figurine found at Vinča).

³⁷ G. Contenau, *La civilisation des Hittites et des Mitanniens*, Paris, 1934, p. 72, fig. 4.

³⁸ Hr. Tsoúntas, *op. cit.*, pl. 43/8.

³⁹ M. Roska, *Stațiunea eneolitică de la Turdaș*, in «Publicațiile Muz. jud. Hunedoara», III-IV, 1927-1928, 1928, p. 30, fig. 20/8.

⁴⁰ As part of the Vinča culture we do not know however of any pendant of this type, made in metal or bone. There is however a clay statuette, richly adorned and offering a more naturalistic interpretation in the squatting position, which recalls certain images found in Crete; cf. M. Vasić, *Ilpeucm. Buvia*, II, 1936, p. 150, fig. 113, a, b, c.

⁴¹ Remi Oguz Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca-Hüyük*, 1935, series V, 1, Ankara, 1937, pl. CCXXI, fig. 138 and fig. 139, cf. pl. CLXI, fig. 802.

⁴² *Ibidem*, fig. 103.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pl. CLXI, fig. 251 and fig. 180.

⁴⁴ Hamit Kosay and Mahmut Akok, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXIX, fig. 15/1.

ance, as owing to its characters it can be considered the prototype of the Tisza-Szöllős pendant. Besides, the Anatolian pendant (Fig. 6/8) is interesting in that it represents a less advanced schematization stage than the pendants we dealt with, the head remaining a separate part, rendered by a small rectangle, while in the above studied items, the head had lost its independence, being included in the upper part of the statuette. A peculiarity of the Büyük-Büllücek idol is the hollow in the centre, not made however as in the gold objects. Its contour is underlined by a slightly raised border. In metal, however, this raised border⁴⁵ could only be obtained by casting into moulds; this technique being yet unknown in Transylvania and in the south of Europe and the process being hard to achieve by hammering even under stress of heat, the smith resorted to cutting the plate in the shape of a circle. Therefore, it could seem we have a different element here, but in fact it proves precisely a close connection, the point being just an adaptation of the prototype, to certain local technical possibilities.

What is of interest to us, is the fact that in Crete a silver pendant with pierced disk was discovered, quite similar to the Tisza-Szöllős variant, as shown by Vl. Milojević⁴⁶. The Crete pendant was discovered at Eilethya together with other small silver objects in a grave belonging to the Early Minoic period I–II (middle of the IIIrd millenium).

In connection with the investigation of the relation with the Eastern Mediterranean area, we must recall, as particularly significant, the fact that the *en violon* idols are also found on Rumanian territory in the Hăbășești⁴⁷ and Trușești⁴⁸ settlements, belonging to the Cucuteni A phase.

In the series of the flat clay idols of Hăbășești we can find a good many similar to the gold pendants investigated, namely to each of the two main variants⁴⁹, both as concerns the general shape and the outline of the upper part. In the same way, the shape of the Trușești clay idol (Fig. 6/9) recalls the shape of the Büyük-Güllücek idol. From Trușești too we possess a silvered copper replica of these idols, 4.3 cm high; the lower part ends in a tapering point, very much like certain clay idols of Hăbășești. The upper part, of rectangular shape, exhibits two small round holes (Fig. 6/10). This copper pendant faithfully reproduces a clay idol of Hăbășești⁵⁰. It is therefore proved that, though sporadically, there were metal-conventionalized idols in this area as early as the Cucuteni A phase, just as in the Gumelnița A culture on the Lower Danube.

⁴⁵ Cf. note 15. The anthropomorphous female figurines made in clay or bone very rarely lack the indication of the sex by a triangle which appears in the same way in certain clay objects of the type «en violon». The indication of the sex could be even less frequently absent from the figurines we dealt with, and in which the attribute of fecundity had to be rendered as plastically as possible. Here, the notation of the sex is made by the central orifice cut in the shape of a circle. As a matter of fact, it is well-known that in ethnography the circle is the symbol of fertility (information supplied by R. Vulcănescu).

⁴⁶ Vladimir Milojević, *op. cit.*, p. 9. The work

in which the drawing of this piece is found, was not available in Bucharest.

⁴⁷ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbășești*, p. 414, fig. 36; H. Schmidt, *Cucuteni*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 33/6 (layer Cucuteni A); with a quadrilateral shaped head.

⁴⁸ Șantierul Valea Jijiei, in SCIV, III, 1952, p. 70, fig. 7 and fig. 8 (idol made of copper and silver).

⁴⁹ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbășești*, p. 414, fig. 36/1, the upper outlines of the head recall the object found at Tisza-Szöllős; for the round-shaped head, see fig. 36/6, 8–12; for quadrilateral head: fig. 36/5 and 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, fig. 36/4.

The affinities of the Hăbășești and Trușești clay idols with the West Anatolian stone and marble idols of the flat, extremely schematic type, of Troy and Yortan (Mysia), have already been pointed out⁵¹.

The links with the Eastern Mediterranean area and the Balkans, marking the way in which the *en violon* idol of the Cucuteni A culture reached Moldavia are difficult to establish, yet some hints were furnished by the large-eared bone idols of Cycladic type of the Gumelnița culture⁵², as well as by certain rare anthropomorphous clay figurines which could be interpreted as representing the type *en violon*⁵³.

The existence of these *en violon* clay idols of various aspects in Moldavia (some with a rectangular upper part and others of a rounded shape, like the Tisza-Szőllős variant) in the Cucuteni A phase, previous to the early period of the Bodrogkeresztúr-Decea Mureșului culture, is a fact which cannot be overlooked. Obviously it would be very alluring to suppose that these clay idols of the Cucuteni A phase could have been the models for the processing of gold pendants in Transylvania and on Hungarian territory, but we have no possibility as yet of verifying this hypothesis. On the other hand, it is less likely that the ringed pendant discovered in the Traian settlement of the Cucuteni A-B phase should have developed in this area on the basis of these older elements and that it should have spread westwards to Transylvania and Hungary, since we have no grounds to uphold it for the time being, so that it may remain just a working hypothesis.

Future investigation of possible contacts between the Bodrogkeresztúr-Decea Mureșului cultural area and the Cucuteni-Ariuşd cultural area might throw some light upon these two hypotheses. These suggestive indications, interesting by the conclusions they may lead to, are yet to be studied and expounded by subsequent research in Transylvania and even in Moldavia.

As regards the meaning these gold pendants might have borne for their owners, it is beyond any doubt that especially the large-sized ones might have combined the apotropaic use with the ornamental one. However, before examining this aspect of the problem, we must recall that the smaller ring pendants discovered in Hungarian cemeteries appear to have been worn in pairs on the temples, and by women alone. Patay Pál thinks that these small pendants were fixed on a band of cloth tied around the head. As concerns the fact that a pendant of this type was discovered at Pusztavánháza on the breast of a woman's skeleton, although the conditions in which the object was dug up

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 415; as concerns the idol on p. 414, fig. 36/12 from Hăbășești, it is similar both in form and in ornament to those found at Gezer (Syria); cf. R. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 296, fig. 217 being considered even on the Syrian Coast as a Cycladic influence.

⁵² Although in the Gumelnița culture these clay idols *en violon* are absent, we know here however the bone idols of a flat as well as of a convex type, with large ears and body of a rectangular form or rounded at the basis, which, as Vladimir Dumitrescu noted long ago (*Les découvertes de Gumelnița*, p. 339, fig. 9/1, cf. also *Les fouilles de Gumelnița*, p. 88, fig. 66/2), are a local counterpart made in bone,

of the Cycladic type *en violon*, cf. also D. V. Rosetti, *Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik aus einem Wohnhöhl bei Bukarest*, in JPEK, 12, 1938, pl. 13/6, with a lozenge-shaped head, found at Vidra (Gumelnița A₁). For the Gumelnița culture in Bulgaria, see G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, *op. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 67/1–7.

⁵³ G. Georgiev and N. Angelov, *Разкопки...*, in «Izvestiia-Institut», XVIII, 1952, p. 172, fig. 162/2, representing a clay figurine which could also belong to the *en violon* type; cf. also M. Mirchev, *Селищната мотра при село Сава*, p. 19, fig. 36/b in «Izvestiia-Varna», XI, 1960.

could imply the possibility of subsequent derangement, we nevertheless consider that the pendant's position is the initial one.

N. Angelov, the discoverer of the Hotnița hoard, believes these gold pendants were strung and worn at the neck which seems likely and may hold good also for the convex clay disks. But then it would have been all the more necessary for these delicate gold pendants to be lined with a stronger material. It is maybe to this effect that we should interpret the convexity of the gold foil which suited such a procedure and which of course was not fortuitous.

As a matter of fact we must admit it was natural for the small-sized pendants to be worn more usually on the head and more rarely on the chest, as amulets; on the other hand, the larger objects, such as those found at Tîrziu-Mureș, Tisza-Szöllős, etc., might have been worn only on the chest, either being hung like medallions at the neck, or sewn on the clothes like a sort of pectorals. Most likely the larger pendants were used chiefly in special circumstances – at certain cult ceremonies – and only by women enjoying some particular social importance in the community. In the same order of ideas we must recall the Trușești altar⁵⁴, as well as the fact that the two human figures found there wear at the neck large pendants of approximately the same form as ours.

As concerns the significance of the pendants-amulets found at Hotnița, the discoverer considers that they represent the head of open-mouthed idols, which would have been indicated by the existence of the round hole, while the two small threadholes could figure the eyes. Of course, in Bulgaria there are certain clay heads and even open-mouthed ones⁵⁵, but they are not independent, as they belong to some anthropomorphous idols. In the case of the gold amulets-pendants there can be no question of such a thing, for as we followed the filiation of these small-sized figures, as well as the process of their conventionalizing, we established they were in a relation of interdependence with the large ones, in which the aspect of anthropomorphous statuettes is more clearly reproduced. N. Angelov reaches this wrong conclusion because he considers the objects of the Gumelnița culture, both those of Wallachia and those of Bulgaria, as isolated cases, ignoring those of Transylvania and of Hungary. But, as we have seen, the Tisza-Szöllős pendant enables us to realize the sense of these figures and so do the pendants found at Progar (Syrmiu) as well as those of Hatvan-Újtelep. It is obvious that all these pendants represent a female idol (the whole body) of the type of the clay *en violon* idols of the Cycladic and Trojan type.

In the rather severe schematization generally evinced by the anthropomorphous figurines *en violon*, and by the Tisza-Szöllős pendants, the human body is rendered in a squatting position, with arms on the chest, under the breasts. Still we believe there is no question here of the favourite position of the Eastern people, that is squatting with in-bent legs, like the statue of the Egyptian scribe, but of the squatting position with slightly up-turned knees. That explains why the lower part of the body, characterized by the typical round curves of the anthro-

⁵⁴ Șantierul arheologic Trușești, in SCIV, 1–2, 1954, p. 11, fig. 3. This piece, definitively restored, is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of the Archaeological Institute of Bucharest.

ната эпоха, in « Izvestiia-Institut », VIII, 1934, p. 195, fig. 129/8, 10, 11, 12, fig. 162/2; *ibidem*, p. 198. The Gabarevo head, although isolated, does not enter this category, being of a larger size and with shut mouth, unlike those above quoted.

⁵⁵ V. Micov, *Идолната пластика през новокаме-*

pomorphous statuettes in south-east Europe and in the Near East, could have been schematized by an almost whole circle. A number of clay figurines of the Aegean Islands, as well as of Crete⁵⁶, which nevertheless prove a less advanced degree of schematization than the flat idols of Troy and Cucuteni, justify this interpretation of ours. Much in the same way, this squatting position appears perfectly clear with the clay figurines discovered in the tell of Chagar-Bazar (VIIIth level)⁵⁷, which are treated in a more naturalistic manner. Some of them are set on a short and round pedestal.

As in this case we have to do with feminine anthropomorphous figurines, it is not entirely out of the question that this awkward position should render the image of the mother goddess in the position specific to the act of childbirth. According to the information provided by some ancient texts, as well as according to some ethnographical data, with the ancient Hebrews and more generally in the Near East up to the South-East of Europe, such was and still is the position adopted by women at childbirth⁵⁸.

If this be so, both the clay reproductions and the gold ones of the type of feminine *en violon* idol must be linked with the principle of fertility and fecundity. If the larger objects could also be ritual objects, the smaller ones – the miniatural ones – were used only as amulets. Most likely, in the form of the « sympathetic magic » corresponding to the respective primitive mentality, they were expected to ensure prolificity, to protect the women from barrenness. This conclusion is also strengthened by the fact that such amulets, with apotropaic powers, were worn by women only.

Of course, the preoccupation connected with maternity, as a reflexion of the agricultural cult of fertility was so great that the amulets of this kind accompanied the women in their very grave⁵⁹, being objects of personal property.

The outspreading of this type of *en violon* idol from the Cyclades, on the one hand, through the Balkan Peninsula into Rumania (at Hăbășești and Trușești in Moldavia), and on the other hand through Anatolia up to the Caucasus⁶⁰, as well as through Mesopotamia and Iran to the Indus⁶¹, is proof of the universality of this cult of fertility essential in the life of the tribal populations at the end of the Neolithic and in the transition to the Metals-age. It is obvious that these ex-votos and pendants-amulets reflect the backward mentality of these tribes whose main concern was earth-tilling by rudimentary means.

On the territory of south-east Europe in which we are more particularly interested, these pendants-amulets appear in the anthropomorphous schematized shapes we have seen, and as adjacent objects as well simplified down to the symbolic form of convex disks – namely over a rather vast area stretching from

⁵⁶ R. W. Hutchinson, *Cretan Neolithic Figurines*, in JPEK, 1938, pp. 50 - 57, fig. 8 and 8 a; V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization*, London, 1927, p. 25, fig. 10.

⁵⁷ M. E. L. Mallowan, *The Excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar*, in «Iraq», IIIrd part, I, 1936, fig. 5/1 – 10.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁵⁹ See amulets found in women's graves at

Jászladány, Magyartés and Pustzaistvánháza, of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, which were mentioned in this paper.

⁶⁰ A. M. Tallgren, *Étude sur le Caucase du Nord* (Kuban, in the great Kurgan near the village Ul) in ESA, IV, 1929, p. 24, fig. 10 and 11.

⁶¹ Simone Corbiau, *New Finds in the Indus Valley*, in «Iraq», IV, p. 1 – 10, fig. 3/4, at Sari-Dheri (Peshawar department).

the south of the Balkan Peninsula to the north-east and down to Central Europe. Under their aspect, modest at first, these gold objects (which we find at Sesclo, in the Dimini culture, in the Gumelnița culture of Rumania and Bulgaria, as well as in Transylvania in the form of hoards and in Hungary in the cemeteries belonging to the Bodrogheresztúr culture, and then in Moldavia in the Cucuteni culture, phase A-B, as well as on the territory of Yugoslavia), are a proof of the vast current of circulation which existed in that space on the basis of the intertribal barter relations as well as on the basis of cultural kinship, in the transition period at the end of the Neolithic.

Really, if the expression of a dominant cult on large territorial areas, by forms relying on the same conception may very well be explained by the mere fact that the men who created these forms were at the same level of social evolution, the typological identity of these gold pendants can only be understood by the existence of active relations between south-east Europe and the Near-East. In any case, the idea no longer holds good of two entirely different cultural units: on the one hand, the Central and south-eastern Europe of the late Neolithic and on the other hand, the more developed Aegeic world of the Bronze Age -- with anything but some rare fortuitous analogies between them.

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Out of our statements above, we can derive the following conclusions:

1. In the present stage of the investigations, the Traian pendant-amulet, belonging to the Cucuteni A-B phase, appears here as an import piece, because in point of size, style and technique, it belongs to the Transylvanian and East-Hungarian group of this type of objects.

2. However, the Cucuteni culture turns out to be a rather favourable area for the adoption of such pendants, as there, as early as the Cucuteni A phase (the settlements of Hăbășești and Trușești), a type of flat *en violon* idol decorated with dots is known, as a clay replica of the West-Anatolian (Trojan) prototype of stone and marble. As a matter of fact, at Trușești an *en violon* idol made of copper and silver was actually discovered, which indicates the same connections with Troy II.

3. The impulse of the transposition in gold of such amulets also proceeds from the Near-East. One indication among others is given by the gold hoard of Troy. The diadem and the gold ear-rings of this hoard are formed of small chains on which amulets of thin gold foils are hanged, in the shape of *en violon* idols, highly conventionalized and adorned with dots in *repoussé*. According to Schaeffer's latest researches⁶² the hoard seems to belong to the Troy III layer.

4. The hypothesis of an Anatolian origin of the variant of pendant with pierced disk is strengthened by the clay prototype of the chalcolithic idol of Büyük Güllücek. For the ringed miniature type, the link is constituted on the continent by the miniature gold pendant of the Dimini layer at Sesclo. The connection with Transylvania and Hungary must have been established by the

⁶² Cl. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, vol. I, London, 1948, p. 220 sqq. The hoards may be dated at about

the year 2250, as Troy II ends in the year 2300 before our era (p. 240).

Gumelnița culture on the Lower Danube, the pendants of the Gumelnița culture probably being the forerunners of those in Transylvania and in Hungary.

5. The hypothesis of a parallel transmission from Anatolia of the variant with pierced disk, independent of the milieu of the Gumelnița culture, cannot be ascertained, on account of the missing links.

The hypothesis of the development of the ringed pendant type (the Traian gold pendant) on older local bases, although rather tempting, does not appear plausible.

6. The development of a centre of more intensive gold processing in Transylvania appears natural at that date and is due both to the pre-existing local conditions and to the wealth of the gold veins in the Apuseni Mountains and implicitly in the Transylvanian waters as well. The very large object 0.31 m length and 750 g weight of the Moigrad hoard would be a testimony to this effect, if it were genuine.

7. The opinion of the Hungarian authors and especially of Patay Pál, according to which this centre for processing gold objects developed during the Bodrogkeresztúr autochthonous culture, because most gold objects, sometimes having original forms of their own, were discovered especially in the cemeteries of this culture, is acceptable. Therefore we must admit that the gold pendants which appear in isolated cases in the neighbouring cultures (eastwards in the Neolithic Cucuteni culture, namely in the A-B phase of Traian, and to the south-west, according to the Projar pendant) are imported. We must also recall the pendant found in the Tisza-Szöllős (Heves) hoard, as well as that of Hatvan-Újtelep, localities which although situated in Hungary, lie more to the West of that centre which processed Transylvanian gold.

8. However, in order to explain in the same way the origin of the Transylvanian hoards we must first be able to prove the expansion of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture in Transylvania. It is well-known that recently the Decea Mureșului group was integrated with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, while certain older discoveries made by I. Kovács at Tîrgu Mureș, — where a typical Bodrogkeresztúr vessel was found, together with Ariușd sherds of the proto-Cucuteni and Cucuteni A types⁶³, — uphold the same idea. To this, we may add the fact that at Tîrgu Mureș again, the diggings brought out a gold pendant too, yet wrought in a less fine technique (Fig. 3/6), which however reproduces the miniature object of Vidra II B (= Gumelnița A 2) on a larger scale. In the present stage of the diggings in Transylvania, this problem still remains open⁶⁴.

9. As concerns Patay Pál's opinion that this centre for the processing of the Transylvanian and Hungarian gold developed on earlier local bases — on

⁶³ I. Kovács, *A Marosvásárhelyi őskori telep skytha...*, in *DoljCluj*, VI, 1915, with an abstract in French, on p. 209, fig. 10 and 11. As a matter of fact, a proof of the persistence of the ringed pendant type in the Mureș region down to a late epoch seems to be provided by the pendant found at Zagon Ceremuș (East Transylvania), which is more complex, but the three amulets placed on a ring, although in a reverse position, recall the type of ringed pendant; cf. Dorin Popescu, *Amulete hallstat-*

tiene in Transilvania, in *ACMIT*, 1932–1938, IV, p. 179, who considers them small amulet-axes.

⁶⁴ The problem of the extension of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture along the waters, eastwards, was studied by I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, in *22. BerRGK*, 1933, p. 73–79; N. Vlăssă, *Materiale aparținând culturii Bodrogkeresztúr* in «*Muz. Arch. din Cluj*» (in the press); *Istoria României*, I, 1960, pp. 59–60.

the strength of the argument that there are copper objects also in the Tisza-Polgár culture, with which the Bodrogkeresztúr culture is genetically connected – it seems only partly justified. The mere reason for it is that in the Tisza-Polgár culture there are no copper prototypes of the pendants we dealt with, nor of those specific forms which make the original quality of this centre of gold processing, as part of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The usual furniture made of copper objects, especially of ornaments found sporadically, such as rings, simple bracelets and even some tools, among which the most frequent are the square awls, are a characteristic element for other cultures too, besides the Tisza-Polgár one. Even in the Traian settlement, the ringed gold pendant is not alone, because very often small copper objects (tools and small ornaments) are found. As a matter of fact, copper was known in Moldavia as early as the Middle Neolithic, in the pre-Cucuteni III phase. On the other hand, as shown in this paper, the gold pendants of Transylvania seem to have their forerunners in the Gumelnița A culture, which appears as a milieu propitious to the propagation of this type of amulet, with south-eastern kinship, indicating its Near Eastern origin.

10. If the existence of the centre for the processing of gold in Transylvania and Hungary can be proved, and for good reason, according to the criterion of the creation of specific forms, then we are as much justified to state the existence of another centre of processing (where we find the same indications, with even earlier local roots), more to the south, in the Gumelnița culture, irrespective of the fact whether the gold was imported or native. This point of view is also confirmed by the fact that a 22 g gold ingot⁶⁵ – was also found in the eponymous settlement.

Moreover, apart from the gold pendants of the ringed type, belonging to phase A, we also know in the eponymous settlement of a gold pendant made of a convex plate like the *consecrated horns*, decorated with dots in *repoussé*, discovered in the Gumelnița B stratum. In Bulgaria too, two pendants of a peculiar shape were found, resulting from the transposition in gold of the local Gumelnița type of flat bone figurine, in a standing position. One is the gold foil pendant of Koshiritza (Kashlidere) of the Anghel-Burgas region, preserved in the Sofia Museum⁶⁶. The second pendant discovered near the town of Russe and acquired by the Bucharest Museum⁶⁷ represents the same type and is adorned with dots in *repoussé*. We must also recall the gold object hoard of Hotnița and the four interesting amulets. Out of these, apart from the first object, which is of the ringed type proper, the other three are variants, new and specific forms, shaped like a convex disk. At Vidra too, there is an object of this type in the Gumelnița B stratum (Fig. 6/2). The Kashlidere and Russe specimens are chronologically situated in the Gumelnița B phase. Although the chemical and metallographical analyses have not been made as yet, it is beyond any doubt that the gold processed here was of another origin than the Transylvanian one.

The difficulty in suggesting a local processing of the gold objects in the Lower Danube region too, lies precisely in the fact that the comparative and

⁶⁵ Information supplied by D. V. Rosetti; cf. also *Săpăturile de la Vidra*, p. 29 and pp. 45–46, fig. 42, holed axe, cast «à cire perdue», belonging to the Vidra II C = Gumelnița B layer.

⁶⁶ V. Mikov, *op. cit.*, p. 208–209, fig. 140/1.

The idol found at Kashlidere is 0.031 m high and 0.011 m broad.

⁶⁷ D. V. Rosetti, *Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik . . .*, p. 44, pl. 30.

minute analyses of the gold pieces discovered in the Gumelnița culture of Rumania and Bulgaria have not been made. They could lead us to more precise results concerning the origin of the gold manufactured into the respective objects. The above indications, as well as the existence in this area of some typical copper axes appear to justify our reserved postulation, of the gold objects found there to have been processed on the spot.

11. Certain synchronisms can be established between the two centres for processing gold – the Transylvanian-Hungarian one – and the alleged Lower Danube one. Indeed, the Cucuteni A-B phase is undoubtedly contemporary with the end of the Gumelnița A phase and the beginning of the Gumelnița B one, but at the same time it is also contemporary with the more advanced Bodrogkeresztúr culture⁶⁸. As a matter of fact, in both centres the same not very advanced technical procedures were used: the cold hammering of the gold plate, and, more rarely, the hot hammering, the same simple silex tools being used: small hammers and cisels, knife blades and gimlets, as well as a number of bone tools: spatulae for smoothing the gold foil and awls for making the in *repoussé* decoration. At this late Neolithic period we could not expect other tools, because neither on the general plane, nor in this case is there any special metal processing technique. As we noted from the very beginning, not only the shape of objects made of different material was imitated, but also technical peculiarities in the processing of the model object were adopted. We must note a process of continuous mutual influence between the technical procedures specific to the various raw materials used concomitantly: bone and gold, bone and clay, gold and clay⁶⁹.

As concerns the existence of copper metallurgy and especially of a copper age proper on the territory of Rumania, I. Nestor thinks that information up to now is not sufficient to consider the problem elucidated for good⁷⁰.

12. The chronological position of the Cucuteni A-B phase at Traian, set in the end period of the second half of the third millenium before our era⁷¹, corresponds as a whole with the date attributed to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture – the second period of the « copper age » – by the Hungarian archaeologists⁷². The essential fact which confirms this synchronization is the discovery of the gold pendant of the ringed Transylvanian-Hungarian type – in an area belonging to the Cucuteni A-B phase at Traian.

Taking into account the above mentioned partial synchronism, as well as the fact that the existence of an advanced point of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture

⁶⁸ According to Patay Pál (*Frühbronzezeitliche Kulturen in Ungarn*, in DissPann, series II, 13, 1938) the Bodrogkeresztúr culture is dated to the end of the more recent Eneolithic period, making the transition to the bronze culture, that is towards the end of the « copper age ».

⁶⁹ For instance, at the origin of the decoration in *repoussé* on the gold objects lies the string of hollow dots, typical of the bone and clay objects. When the gold plates evince the dots pushed from the back side (in *repoussé*) as a more suitable procedure for the metal sheet (gold or copper), and at the same time more efficient from the aesthetical point of view,

this procedure is immediately adopted also for decorating the convex clay disks of Hăbășești and Russe, as well as the clay idols of Trușești.

⁷⁰ I. Nestor, *Sur les débuts de la métallurgie du cuivre et du bronze en Roumanie*, in *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire*, Bucharest, 1955; cf. also I. Nestor, *Der Stand . . .*, p. 78.

⁷¹ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbășești*, pp. 453–455; *Istoria României*, I, 1960, p. 70.

⁷² Patay Pál, *Frühbronzezeitliche Kulturen in Ungarn*, p. 108, places the end of the « copper age » at about the years 2000–1900 before our era; Hillebrand I., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

has been mentioned, as we saw, on the western outskirts of the Cucuteni-Ariuşd culture, we are inclined to believe that between the Cucuteni A-B and the Bodrogkeresztúr-Decea Mureşului cultures (the latter having reached the Eastern Carpathians as early as its first phase ⁷³) there could be undoubted possibilities for more direct contact than the mere intertribal exchanges made over long distances. In this connection, as well as concerning the relations between neighbouring cultures, although they are not yet clear and noticeable enough, we must mention also the fact that the Ariuşd hoard of copper objects was found together with a vase of a shape typical of the Cucuteni A-B phase, as Vladimir Dumitrescu was the first to point out ⁷⁴.

Moreover, as we already stated on another occasion ⁷⁵, certain affinities which, judging by the customs noticed at certain burials, common to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture in Hungary and the Cucuteni A-B phase at Traian, seem to exist between these two cultures, are not to be neglected either.

HORTENSIA DUMITRESCU

⁷³ *Istoria României*, I, 1960, pp. 52–53, for the vestiges of the Tisza-Polgár culture discovered on the territory of the Rumanian People's Republic.

⁷⁴ Vladimir Dumitrescu and co-workers, *Hăbăşeşti*, pp. 451–453.

⁷⁵ Hortensia Dumitrescu, *Deux nouvelles tombes à*

rite magique, découvertes à Traian, in «Dacia», II. N.S., 1958, p. 416, 421; Patay Pál, *Részkei temető leletei Jászladányból*, in *AE*, series III, V–VI 1944–1945, p. 11 and following: the graves nos. 1, 8, 16, 20.