

Observations on graves in Lapuș

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The following investigations are based upon exceptional finds from the tumulus cemetery at Lapuș, province of Maramureș in northern Transylvania, which today still remain enigmatic.

Located in a landscape of undulating hills, this expansive cemetery comprises several groups of tumuli as well as individual tumulus graves. Reportedly there were originally ca. 70 tumuli present there. Twenty mounds have since been excavated, but published only to a scant extent. Regrettably, due to the poor state of publication only a few elaborately decorated ceramic vessels and metal grave goods can be assembled as find complexes.¹ Nevertheless, they can be viewed as leading finds of great import for our line of inquiry.

According to the excavator C. Kacsó, there are essential differences in the manner of burial among the individual tumuli at Lapuș. These divergences can be summed up in three basic forms.

The first burial form includes mounds that were built directly above the place of the funeral pyre. Before a tumulus was erected, some of the burnt bones were collected and placed in the centre of the mound. The remaining residue from the funeral pyre was shoved to the sides, and grave goods like vessels and metal objects placed upon it. In some of the tumuli the remains of the funeral pyre were first covered with gravel, and then the grave goods were deposited. The mound heaped above the grave extends far beyond the area of the funeral pyre; pottery was found in the earth that had been intentionally broken, indicating a special funerary ritual.

The second burial form includes tumuli, in which burials in urns are found, in contrast to unurned scattered cremations of the first group. However, occasionally burnt remains appeared in the earth heaped above the tumuli. This indicates that the cremation of the deceased did not take place at the site of the tumulus, but elsewhere in the vicinity.

The third possible form involves tumuli in which scarcely any human bones are present, but instead large amounts of burnt remains, pottery sherds, pieces of clay, stones, charred animal bones and also metal objects. If these contexts should be viewed as graves and not as relicts of special rituals or even as metallurgical activities, then one could assume that they are cenotaphs.²

Kacsó has a chronological explanation for these differences in burial forms at the cemetery in Lapuș. He ascribes tumuli with unurned cremation graves to the first phase, and tumuli with urn burials as well as “cenotaphs” to the second phase. This temporal assignment of the tumuli bases upon the characteristic grave goods, in particular the pottery.

In the thus far only partially published repertory of ceramics from Lapuș, three to four groupings in the pottery are clearly recognizable. They can be differentiated according to form and decoration, and they can be further subdivided as well. Due to limited time and space a detailed treatment of the pottery cannot be made here; therefore, a brief description of the groups must suffice.

The most outstanding type among the ceramics is the vessel with a tall cylindrical or conical neck, and with large horns or even animal protomes in the form of a bull³ or dog's head (Fig. 1). The surface of the vessels is decorated expansively with various motifs in incised or chip-carved (*Kerbschnitt*-) techniques. The motifs are ordered into several zones that run in a parallel, diagonal or wavy course. It is noteworthy that figural representations appear tall as

¹ Kacsó 1975; *ibid.* 1994; *ibid.* 2001a, *ibid.* 2001b; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 50–64. Thereby, the great difference in quality between the drawings in the articles of 1975 and 2001a is quite a disadvantage. Furthermore, there are a few discrepancies in the assignment of some of the vessels to tumuli.

² Kacsó 2001a, 236 f.; *ibid.* 2001b, 36 f. Kacsó's reason for viewing these as “collective graves” is not clear in his description. In this respect, see also Motzoi-Chicideanu 1999–2001, 227 ff. Fig. 18.

³ Opposite Kacsó's erroneous attribution (Kacsó 2001a, 232), this does not represent the head of a ram.

well. On the one hand, there are animals, probably wolves, and radiating suns, which form a frieze in the upper part of the neck. On the other, anthropomorphic figures in a worshipping position with the hands in the form of a branch decorate the area of the vessels shoulder between the horns or animal protomes. The last figures are rather similar to the upright, variously decorated and sometimes grouped rows of triangles, which form either the lower frieze around the neck or the outcurving rim of the vessels. They appear in combination with the tree-branch pattern.⁴

The second characterising ceramic group consists of channelled pottery, which is likewise represented predominantly by large vessels with a tall cylindrical or conical neck (Fig. 2). These vessels too are decorated with large, mostly snail-like horns, large bosses encircled by a channel, and larger knobs as well as with bands of wavy or spiral channels.⁵

Closely related to this last group are amphorae with a tall cylindrical or conical neck, in the centre of which two handles are attached (Fig. 2). As a rule, the neck is decorated with several horizontal, incised bands. The belly is decorated with horns or bosses as well as channels, that is to say, in the manner of channelled pottery.⁶

The fourth group is constituted by bowls with a marked rim, a slightly convex body and a flat base (Fig. 1–2). The bowls are decorated with very canonical patterns in the incised or chip-carved technique: On the base is either a concentric spiral or a circle surrounded by rays; the vessel's walls carry complex spiral motifs as well as hanging triangles (*Wolfszahn*) or standing triangles, zigzag lines and diagonal strokes. The entire composition on each bowl relays the impression of dynamic movement, perhaps the cyclic course of the sun through the firmament or the cosmos.⁷

There is a general consensus among scholars as to the dating and the cultural ascription of these ceramic groups, and this can be summarised as follows:⁸ According to the kind of decoration, the vessels with a tall cylindrical or conical neck, horns and animal protomes as well as bowls with spiral ornamentation all belong to chip-carved pottery (Fig. 1–2), in the tradition of the so-called “Carpato-Mycenaean decorative style”, which is characteristic for the Suci de Sus culture. It is assumed that this culture developed further in Lapuș⁹ and is designated there as a “post classical phase”–Lapuș 1. It is dated to the same time as Hänsel's Late Danubian I or Reinecke Bronze Age C2/D.¹⁰

By contrast, channelled pottery, in particular the tall cylindrical or conical necked vessels with snail-like protuberances, are brought into association with the Gava culture (Fig. 2). Further, although their basic form resembles leading forms of the Kyjatice culture, the amphorae are also assigned to Gava pottery, in view of their channelled decoration (Fig. 2).¹¹ This pottery then characterises the phase Lapuș 2 and is dated to Hänsel's Late Danubian II or Hallstatt A.

At first glance this chronological division seems quite logical and plausible. However, a preliminary investigation on combinations among the grave goods found in the tumuli at Lapuș reveals a surprising picture of a different consequence.

It is conspicuous that weapons are only found in tumuli in which chip-carved vessels with tall cylindrical or conical neck are present (Fig. 1). Indeed, the regular equipment consists of a sword or dagger and an axe as well as a socketed axe, and occasionally a chisel (tumulus 4, 2 and 1).¹² The tumuli concerned are those with unurned cremation graves.

⁴ Kacsó 1975, 55 ff. Fig. 5–8; *ibid.* 2001a, Fig. 4–11; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 50–52. See also Teržan 2005.

⁵ Kacsó 2001a, Fig. 12–21; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 54; 55,3.

⁶ Kacsó 1975, Fig. 5; 13,2; *ibid.* 2001a, Fig. 20; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 53; 55,2.

⁷ Kacsó 1975, 53 ff., Fig. 2–4; *ibid.* 2001a, Fig. 22–25; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 26–28.

⁸ See Kacsó 1975; *ibid.* 2001a; *ibid.* 2001b; *ibid.* 2004b; Vulpe 1975; Bader 1979, 21 ff.; Hüttel 1979, 44 ff. Yet, a detailed discussion of the problematic cannot be made here.

⁹ In this reference, see Hüttel's critical remarks; Hüttel 1979, 44.

¹⁰ Hänsel 1968, 22 ff., 168 ff. Fig. 2; Beilage 2, 5, etc.

¹¹ Cp. Kemenczei 1984, 64 ff. Pl. 130, 1. 3; 133,14; see also Hänsel 1987.

¹² Kacsó 1975, 49 ff. Fig. 1; *ibid.* 2001a, Fig. 26, H 1, H 2, H 4.

By contrast, weapons do not appear in tumuli with urn burials and in which vessels with cylindrical or conical necks and channelled decoration predominate (Fig. 2); instead only small cheekpieces, pendants,¹³ small rings and buttons as well as occasional bracelets, two pins and one fibula. These can possibly be viewed as the jewellery of female dress (tumulus 6, 20, 21, B).¹⁴ These differences in the pottery, in weaponry, in dress as well as in the manner of burial can also be interpreted as gender-specific.

In consequence, we have the following results:

Male individuals, in particular outstanding warriors, were placed to rest in tumuli, in which the deceased was cremated on the spot in the grave. Further, the deceased was furnished with the characteristic burial goods of weapons and splendid vessels with cylindrical or conical neck and with chip-carved (*Kerbschnitt*) decoration (Fig. 1). By contrast, the graves of females can be presumed in tumuli with urn burials and furnished with tall-necked, channelled vessels and jewellery (Fig. 2). Only few graves display both kinds of tall vessels together, that is, with chip-carved and with channelled decoration. Examples are tumulus 5 and 9,¹⁵ which possibly or even most likely held a double burial or a collective burial (cp. Fig. 1–2).

It is noteworthy that bowls with spiral ornamentation are found in graves in association with chip-carved pottery as well as with channelled pottery; that is to say, this form is not a gender-specific grave gift (Fig. 1–2). Bowls are found among funerary equipment of the male deceased (tumulus 1, 2) and the female deceased (tumulus 10, 21), or in double burials (tumulus 9). If this allocation is correct, then neither pottery with chip-carved decoration nor that with channels can be considered as a fine chronological indicator—as hitherto assumed—for the temporal division of the cemetery at Lapuș into two phases. However, this does not imply that there is no depth in time in the cemetery and that the pottery cannot be divided according to other viewpoints. Yet, such an investigation is not possible here nor is it possible externally due to the present state of publication.

A further important aspect for a new understanding of the cemetery at Lapuș is offered by the topographical location of the tumuli with gender-specific funerary goods; namely, a specific distribution is recognizable. Tumuli with burials of warriors are located exclusively in the western group, where they are arranged close to one another in its eastern area (Fig. 3, above, denoted by triangles). Tumulus 9, which is possibly a double burial, is the only exception (Fig. 2). It lies in the southwestern part, where tumuli with channelled pottery, that is, the burials of females, are frequent (Fig. 3, above, denoted by circles). Thereby, the largest tumulus, tumulus 21 (Fig. 2), with one of the richest dress outfits, holds the central position.

Fewer tumuli of the second group, located somewhat to the southeast, have been investigated. However, when compared to the first group, certain differences can be discerned. The southernmost tumulus 20 in this group held the burial of a female, as indicated by vessels with a conical neck and channelled decoration and by bracelets. The burial is remarkable in that a piece of a metal bar ingot was also among the grave goods (Fig. 2). Another mound in this group, tumulus 13, yielded a casting mould (Fig. 4). Hence, both of these finds¹⁶ are evidence of the deceased person's association with metalworking (Fig. 3, below, denoted by a square).

Yet another burial custom predominates in the third group in the northeast. As mentioned above, no human remains were found in these tumuli, and, therefore, they have

¹³ Comparisons for the pendant in a form of eight (8) in tumulus 9 are present in hoard as Domănești II, dated to the phase Uriu-Domănești (Petrescu-Dimbovița 1977, 59, Pl. 45, 13-14; Bader 1978, 219, Pl. 70, 13-14) as well as in a grave in Riegsee (Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 181, 4) and in a somewhat later burials of females in Budapest-Bekásmegyer and Tolmin. Cp. Kalicz-Schreiber 1991, 191 Fig. 24, 11; Svoljšak/Pogačnik 2001, Pl. 88, 6.

¹⁴ Kacsó 2001a, Fig. 26, H B; 27, H 6, H 9; 28, H 21.

¹⁵ Kacsó 1975, Fig. 12,2; 13,2 (tumulus 5); ibid. 2001a, Fig. 9 (tumulus 5); 11 and 16 (tumulus 9).

¹⁶ Kacsó 2001a, Fig. 27, H 20; H 13.

been presumed to be cenotaphs. The only possible exception might be tumulus 12,¹⁷ which lies on the periphery of this group. It is noteworthy that similar to tumulus 20, this tumulus also held several channelled vessels as well as a piece of raw material in the form of a perforated bronze plano-convex ingot, resp. casting cake (*Bronzegusskuchen*) (Fig. 2).¹⁸

Other tumuli in this group yielded remarkably large amounts of broken pottery, pieces of clay, stones and charred animal bones as well as other objects, which will receive special attention here (Fig. 3, below, denoted by squares). These objects comprise moulds for socketed axes (tumulus 11 and 16), broken tools such as one or two punches or awls of different size (tumulus 11) and fragments of scrap metal, a miscast and a round ingot (tumulus 18) (Fig. 4).¹⁹ This spectrum of finds, ranging from raw material and scrap metal, mould and miscasts to tools, presents unambiguous evidence of marked metallurgical activities. If these tumuli should be interpreted as burial places, then they are indicative of a special ritual treatment of persons, who were involved with metalworking.

From the topographical location, the kind of burial and the funerary goods in the individual tumuli and/or groups of tumuli, it is possible to further distinguish a marked social division and differentiation among the population buried at Lapuș. And this division or differentiation apparently resulted from a specialisation within the division of work.

The first group of tumuli in the west belonged to the elite, which was determined by warriors. They are represented in graves by weaponry and splendid vessels with horns or animal protomes, in some cases even gold jewellery (tumulus 2 and 7).²⁰ The female component of this elite social level, conversely, is represented by large vessels with channelled decoration and by various forms of jewellery.

In view of the funerary equipment, the second southern group of tumuli and the third northeastern group appear to be quite modest. Yet in their mode of burial as well as in their furnishings both groups display certain common elements, especially with regard to objects that have to do with metalworking. Thus, the assumption lies close at hand that these are the burials, cenotaphs or the remains from special funerary rituals for craftsmen or metallurgists (casters) and their relatives. It is notable, thereby, that on the periphery of each group of tumuli is one larger tumulus, that likely holds the burial of a female with large channelled vessels (tumulus 20 and 12 respectively), and which forms a link to the first group of tumuli, the dominant warrior elite (Fig. 3).

If this argumentation is accepted, then the question arises anew as to the time span of the use of the cemetery at Lapuș. As the aforementioned, specified leading ceramic forms have been proven to be gender- and even status-specific and for that reason are essentially coeval, the metal goods offer a more precise chronological framework.

Among the weapons are the blades of daggers (Fig. 1, tumulus 4 and tumulus 2), which correspond with the type Rozavlea according to Kacsó, or type B, variant 2 of the tongued daggers according to Kemenczei,²¹ and, thus, belong to the hoard horizon of Uriu-Opalyi or Hänsel's Late Danubian I.

Daggers of this type appear often in the wider surroundings of Lapuș (Fig. 5), for example, in the hoards at Rozavlea and Galoșpetreu.²² However, the last named hoard should be dated rather to the phase Hallstatt A 1 and, therefore, attests the presence of this dagger type in a further and later milieu. Thereby, it is surprising that almost all hitherto known daggers figure in the deposition of hoards, that is to say, as an offering to the gods—in the sense of

¹⁷ Unfortunately, Kacsó's description of this mound is very general and imprecise.

¹⁸ Kacsó 2001a, Fig. 27, H 12.

¹⁹ Kacsó 2001a, Fig. 27, H 11 3; 28, H 16 1–2 (moulds), 27, H 11, 1–2 (tools); 28, H 18 1–2 (scrap metal, fragments of a socketed axe and a sickle), 4 (miscast sickle), 3 (round ingot). On the ingots, see also Žeravica 1993, 124 ff. No. 728–742.

²⁰ Kacsó 2001a, 234, Fig. 26, H 2 3–6; 27, H 7; *ibid.* 2004a, Pl. 65,2. See also Teržan 2005.

²¹ Kacsó 2001a, 234, Fig. 26, H 2 2; H 4 2; Kemenczei 1988, 28 ff. No. 112 A–116.

²² Kacsó 1993; *ibid.* 2004a, 206, Fig. 71, 1; 72, 1; Chidioșan/ Soroceanu 1995, 169 ff. Fig. 2,2.

Hänsel's interpretation.²³ The only exception are three daggers, namely from Asuaju de Jos and Lapuș. The first from Asuaju de Jos, in an excellent state of preservation, was found in a peculiar position: inserted vertically into the earth, which is indicative of a special cultic action of martial character.²⁴ The situation in Lapuș is different. There the daggers were cremated together with the deceased and buried in the grave. Considering that spatially and temporally daggers are limited to hoards, that is, meant for the gods, the daggers in the tumuli at Lapuș can be seen as special grave goods, which implies a corresponding kind of ritual action: They are indicative of the deification of the deceased.

A similar position in time can be determined for the disc-butted axes (*Nackenscheibenäxte*) as well. They belong to type 3, variant Lapuș, according to Vulpe, and represent a characteristic form in the hoard horizon of Uriu, or Hänsel's phase Late Danubian I. Thereby, they can be considered as one of the oldest of this type.²⁵ It is remarkable that they appear in relatively small numbers within a relatively limited area around Lapuș (Fig. 6), which may be indicative of a specific value of these battle axes. Interestingly, opposite the daggers discussed above, these axes appear mostly as individual finds; therefore, the presence of axes as grave goods in Lapuș presents yet another rare exception. The miniature example of an axe found in tumulus 2 likewise demonstrates their special interpretation as status symbols. It can probably be viewed as a gift in the burial of a child (Fig. 1, tumulus 2).

The temporal assignment of the slender socketed axes made of bronze as well as moulds for these axes also results in a similar time span of their use: from Hänsel's Late Danubian I and into Hallstatt A 1.²⁶ Here the socketed axe made of iron discovered in tumulus 1 is quite outstanding; found in association with pottery with notched (*Kerbschnitt*) decoration, it was dated to phase Lapuș I or Hänsel's Late Danubian 1.²⁷ However, it seems that a surge in iron metallurgy in the northern Balkan-Carpathian sphere began only later with the hoard horizon of Cernat, the so-called winged axe (*Ärmchenbeil*) horizon. At that time massive tools and weapons made of iron appear frequently. As Hänsel could convincingly demonstrate, the finds from the blacksmith shop at Cernat and related finds such as those from Bîrlad date rather to the phase Hallstatt A.²⁸ This date also renders a more plausible time frame for the iron axe and—with that—tumulus 1 in Lapuș. Nevertheless, an older date cannot be excluded entirely, if one considers the Füzesabony-Otomani-age sickle found in Gánovce in eastern Slovakia.²⁹

The few characteristic pieces of jewellery also complement the time span circumscribed by weaponry for the cemetery at Lapuș. The decorated bronze pin from tumulus 21 has convincing comparisons in the nearby hoard of Popești as well as in the tumulus grave at Nyirkarász, the latter found together with a knob-headed pin (*Warzennadel*), a disc-butted axe (*Nackenscheibenaxt*) and pottery with chip-carved (*Kerbschnitt*-) decoration. All three pins closely resemble the Middle Bronze Age type of pin with a nail- to funnel-shaped head³⁰ and, hence, can hardly be dated any later than Hänsel's Late Danubian I. Although bronze cheekpieces or cheekpiece pendants do not belong to chronologically sensitive objects, the example from tumulus 21 finds an analogy in the hoard of Ungureni II, and the cheekpiece from tumulus 6 is even analogous with the moulds from Ciumești.³¹ So, both small cheekpieces can be assigned to the hoard horizon of Uriu-Opalyi, that is, to Hänsel's Late Danubian I.³²

²³ Cp. Hänsel 1997, 11 ff.

²⁴ Kacsó 1993, 39 ff. Fig. 1–2; Kacsó 2004, Pl. 72, 1; cp. Soroceanu 1995, 35 ff. Fig. 12.

²⁵ Hänsel 1968, 64 f. map 12; Vulpe 1970, 79 ff. No. 338–342; Kacsó 2001a, 233 ff. Fig. 26, H 2 1; H 4 1.

²⁶ Kacsó 2001a, 234, Fig. 26, H 4 4; 28, H 16 1–2; Hänsel 1968, 72 ff.

²⁷ Kacsó 2001a, 234 f., Fig. 26, H 1; Boroffka 1987, 55 ff.; *ibid.* 1991, 4, 10; Wanzek 1989, 104 f.

²⁸ Hänsel 1976, 156 ff; see also Wesse 1990, 143 ff. Pl. 27, 177.

²⁹ Furmánek 2000, 153 ff. Fig. 2.

³⁰ Cp. Hänsel 1968, 90, 56, 10; map 18; Moszolics 1960, 113 ff. Pl. 69, 7–8; 70, 6–7; Kacsó 1995, 95 ff. Fig. 2,2; *ibid.* 2001a, 238, Fig. 28, H 2 12; Innerhofer 2000, 150 ff., Pl. 38.

³¹ Petrescu-Dimbovița 1977, Pl. 133, 5b, 9a; Kacsó 2001a, 238, Fig. 27, H 6 3; *ibid.* 2003, 267 ff. Pl. 5, 2; 10.

³² Similar cheekpiece pendants appear in associations of later date as well, for example in the grave at Bujoru; cp. Moscalu/Beda 1991, 197 ff. Fig. 7,2; 7 A.

Not much younger in date is the severely deformed and fragmented fibula found in tumulus 21 (Fig. 2, tumulus 21). It does not belong to the bow-fibula type,³³ but instead to the type violin-bow fibula. Because the spring is constructed of three forward coils, it can only be assigned to the fibula type Cernat, according to Bader (Fig. 8).³⁴ Fibulae of the type Cernat represent a local east Carpathian form of violin-bow fibulae (Fig. 7). Therefore, it can be assumed that they were worn at more or less the same time as their prototype, be it the western violin-bow fibulae of the type Unter-Radl or the southern type Unešić-Podumci (Fig. 5). Since fibulae of the type Unter-Radl first appear during the phase Riegsee-Baierdorf-Čaka-Uriu and then remain in style well into the phase Hallstatt A 1,³⁵ the dating of the fibula from Lapuș to Hänsel's Late Danubian I–Hallstatt A is not questionable, but instead quite plausible.

Further, an example of this type of fibula found in the settlement Porumbenii Mari in the district of Harghita (Fig. 8, 3) could be dated within the same chronological frame. From there pottery of the Gava -, Grănicești- and Babadag-type is also known. Namely a vessel with incised garlands has good analogies in an early phase of the Grănicești-group, according to László³⁶, which corresponds with phase Hallstatt A. Similar ornamentation is rather frequent on vessels with a tall conical or cylindrical neck as well, like in the hoard of Cornutel, dated even earlier to the phase Uriu-Domănești³⁷. Sherds with stamped strings, triangles and S-motifs, on the other hand, are typical for the Babadag pottery style, which according to Hänsel already began in the late phase of Hallstatt A period.³⁸ This pottery makes it possible that the fibula of the Cernat type from Porumbenii Mare also belongs within the chronological span of the same period. Perhaps somewhat later is the fibula in the hoard of Ghirișu Român (Fig. 8, 2), in view of some socketed axes that indicate the hoard's deposition in phase Hallstatt A 2/ B 1.³⁹ Hence, fibulae of the Cernat type can hardly be dated any later than the Hallstatt A period.

Almost the same chronological position is also held by fibulae of the Badeni type with a similar construction of the spring that coils forward like fibulae of the Cernat type. However, they represent a local variant of Pannonian fibulae of the Vösendorf type⁴⁰, with the characteristic 8-shaped bow endings (Fig. 8, 5-6). Both of these types of fibulae–Cernat and Badeni–known exclusively in Transylvania and Transcarpathia seems to indicate contacts between the region of Lapuș and neighbouring groups on both sides of the Carpathians (Fig. 7).

In summary, the following picture can be outlined:

The major time of burials in the tumulus necropolis at Lapuș was during the Hänsel's phase Late Danubian I; it possibly continued into Hallstatt A 1. The population in Lapuș stood in the tradition of the Suciu de Sus culture; yet through the reception of some foreign elements it turned towards a new ideology, which is reflected in the practice of cremation burial customs.

Further, the cultivation of martial rituals can be observed, in which weaponry and also sets of vessels, especially richly decorated pottery, play a connotative role.⁴¹ Thereby, it is indeed noteworthy that the pottery with figural decoration and animal protomes does not find

³³ Kacsó 2001 a, 238, Fig. 28, H 21 4.

³⁴ Bader 1983, 15 ff. Pl. 1, 3–5.

³⁵ Cp. Betzler 1974, 16 ff., Pl. 1, 8-13; 2, 14-22; Vinski Gasparini 1970; Hänsel 1976, 159 ff.; Bader 1983, 15 ff., Pl. 1, 3–5; Teržan 1994, 446 f. Fig. 82; Marta 2003 (who however did not recognize the essential feature of the fibulae of type Cernat and, thus, deals with them together with fibulae with an inward-coiled spiral, as in Gemeinlebarn). For the type Unter Radl see now also Pabst 2009, note 14, Map with list 1.

³⁶ Cp. Marta 2003, Pl. 3,3; László 1994, 186 ff., Fig. 25, Pl. 2, 3A.

³⁷ Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 55, Pl. 35, 1.

³⁸ Cp. Marta 2003, 355 f., Pl. 3, 18; Hänsel 1976, 131 ff. Pl. 14, 9.10.13; 15,7; VI, 4.32-32; XI, 30.34.

³⁹ Cp. Bader 1983, 16, Pl. 1,5; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 145, Pl. 359,8.

⁴⁰ Betzler 1974, 21 ff., Pl. 2, 31-32.

⁴¹ Cp. also Teržan 2005.

any formal correspondences of the same time and place.⁴² This may signify that this pottery with its specific imagery and ritual was on the whole the expression of a specific form of identity of a new warrior elite. This elite presents itself in the grave through weaponry as grave goods, which should be interpreted not only as signs of power, but also to be understood as implication of deification. Apparently the elite had a command of metalworking and possibly disposed over the ores sources in the region as well. Like the distribution map of daggers of the type Rozavlea and of the Lapuș variant of disc-butted axes as well of the fibulae of Cernat type imply, the realm of this elite extended from the upper reaches of the Tisza River to the upper Mures (Fig. 5-7).⁴³ Its duration, however, was relatively short, although the dagger from Asuaju de Jos could possibly signify a ritual peacemaking.⁴⁴

Until now the cemetery at Lapuș represents a great exception during the Late Bronze Age in its broader surroundings as well. To date there is no evidence of any “successors”, neither in Transylvania nor farther in the eastern Carpathian region.

Daggers of type Rozavlea (according to Kacsó 1993) resp. type B 2 (according to Kemenczei 1988)

1. Ajak, Kom. Szabolcs-Szatmár, Hungary: hoard II (?) (Kacsó 1993, 40; Moszolics 1973, 117; Kemenczei 1988, 28 Taf. 9, 112 A).
2. Asuaju de Jos, Maramures, Romania: individual find (Kacsó 1993, 39 ff. Abb. 2; Kacsó 2004, Pl. 72, 1).
3. Bicaz, Maramures, Romania: hoards I and II (Kacsó 1993, 40 ff. Abb. 3, 1-5; Kacsó 2004, Pl. 76-77).
4. Căpleni, Satu Mare, Romania: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 6).
5. Cășei, Cluj, Romania: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 7).
6. Foieni, Saru Mare, Romania: hoard ? (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 8).
7. Felsődobza, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hungary: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42; Moszolics 1973, 134 f. Taf. 47, 28).
8. Felsősolca, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hungary: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42; Moszolics 1973, 136 Taf. 57, A 1; Kemenczei 1988, 29 Taf. 9, 113).
9. Găloșpetreu, Bihor, Romania: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 9; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 94 f., Pl. 145, 12; Chidioșan/ Soroceanu 1995, 171 Abb. 2, 2).
10. Gușterița, Sibiu, Romania: hoard II (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 10; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 95 ff. Taf. 156, 8).
11. Nyírácsád, Szabolcs-Szatmár, Hungary: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42; Moszolics 1973, 159 f. Taf. 57, B 1; Kemenczei 1988, 29 Taf. 110, 114).
12. Panticeu, Cluj, Romania: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 12; Moszolics 1973, 168 f. Taf. 45, B 4; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 65 ff. Pl. 58, 14).
13. Pápa, Veszprém, Hungary: individual find? (Kacsó 1993, 42; Kemenczei 1988, 29 Taf. 10, 115).
14. Rozavlea, Maramures, Romania: hoard III (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 13-14; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 67 f. Pl. 62, 12-13; Kacsó 2004, Pl. 71, 1).
15. Uioara des Sus, Alba, Romania: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42 Abb. 3, 15-18; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 114 ff. Pl. 244, 11.14).
16. Vilivítány, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hungary: hoard (Kacsó 1993, 42; Kemenczei 1988, 29 Taf. 10, 116).

To this type of sword count according to the form of a blade also following examples:

17. Nižnij Bistrii, Chust, Ukraine: hoard (Kacsó 2000, 210 Fig. 2, 3; Kobal’ 2000, 90 Taf. 72, B 1).

⁴² Only one single fragment of an animal protome, labeled as from the site of Culciu Mare/ Nagykolcs, is on exhibit in the museum in Satu Mare.

⁴³ On a largeness of territories of cultural groups in the bronze age see Harding 1997.

⁴⁴ Cp. Soroceanu 1995, 35 ff.

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18. Lapuș, Maramureș, Romania: tumuligraves (Kacsó 2001, Abb. 26, H 2-2. H 4-2; Kacso 2004, Pl. 54, 2). Fig. 1.

Violin-bow fibula of type Cernat according to Bader 1983

1. Cernat, Covasna, Romania: hoard and settlement finds (Bader 1983, 16, Taf. 1, 3-4; 55, B 1). Fig. 8, 1.
2. Ghirișu Român, Cluj, Romania: hoard (Bader 1983, 16, Taf. 1, 5-6; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 145, Pl. 359, 8). Fig. 8, 2.
3. Lapuș, Maramureș, Romania: tumulusgrave (Kacsó 2001, Abb. 28, 4). Here Fig. 2.
4. Lisičniki, Tarnopol, Ukraine: settlement find (Maleev 1988, 111 Fig. 11,3). Fig. 8, 4.
5. Noovoselka-Kostjukovaja, Ukraine: grave ? (Meljukova 1958, Fig. 5,5; Anohin et al. 1986, 39, Fig. 8,7).
6. Porumbenii Mari, Harghita, Romania: settlement find (Marta 2003, 353 ff., Taf. A 1). Fig. 8, 3.

Most probably count to this type of fibulae also an example from:

7. Rateșu, Vaslui, Romania: settlement find (Bader 1983, 8, Taf. 1, 1 A).

Badeni type fibulae according to Bader 1983

8. Augustin, Brașov, Romania: settlement or individual finds (Costea/ Bauman 2001, 1 ff. Pl. 1, 1-2). Fig. 8, 6.
9. Bădeni, Cluj, Romania: hoard or individual find (Bader 1983, 21, Taf. 2, 8). Fig. 8, 5.
10. Zoločiv, Ukraine: grave (Krušel'nic'ka 1976, 57, Fig. 22, 21; Krušel'nic'ka 1985, 76, Fig. 23, 11; Anohin et al. 1986, 41, Fig. 9, 16).

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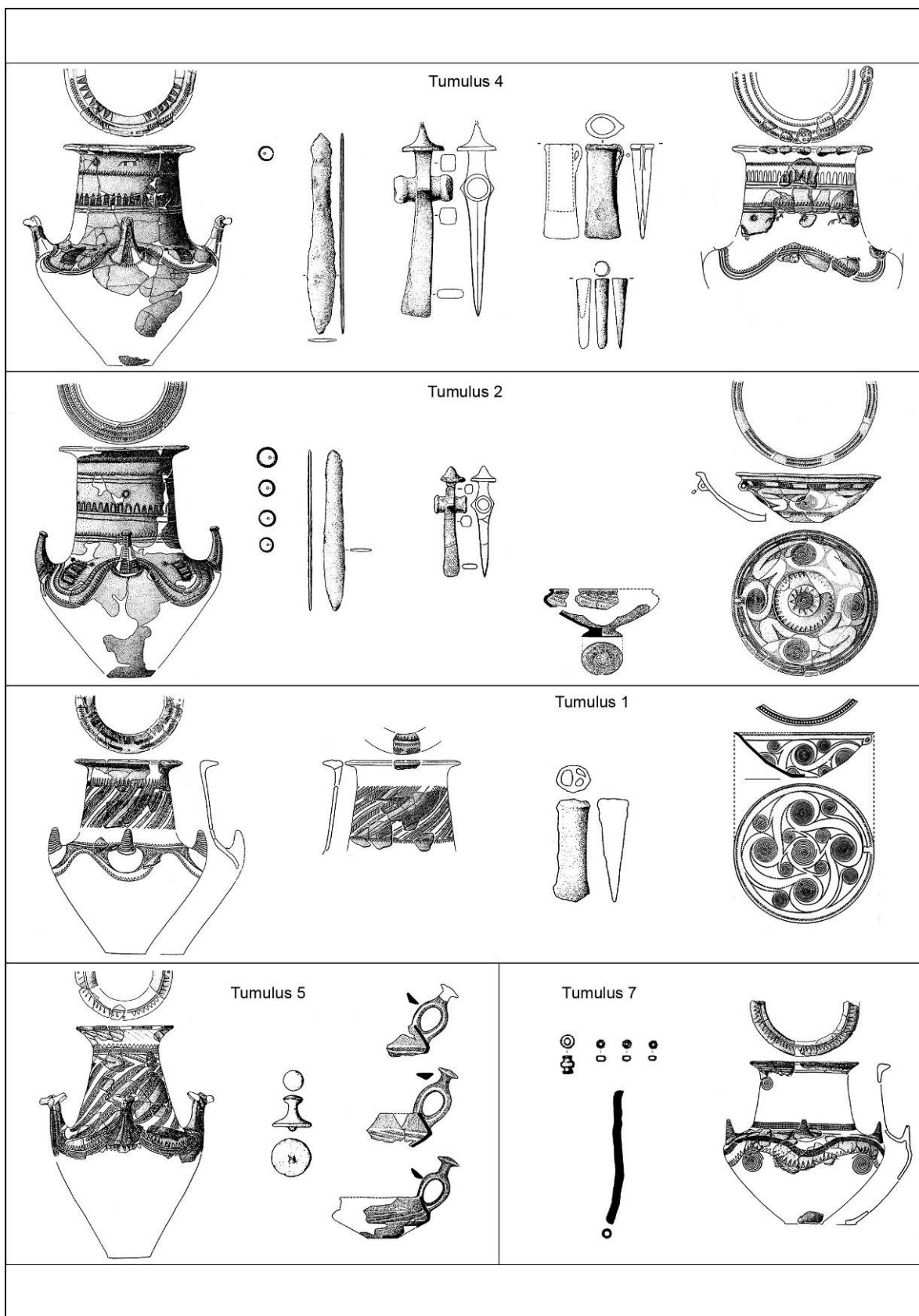


Fig. 1. Lapuș, selected grave-finds from tumuli 4, 2, 1, 5 and 7 (according to Kacsó 2001 a; see also Teržan 2005, 242 ff., Fig. 3).

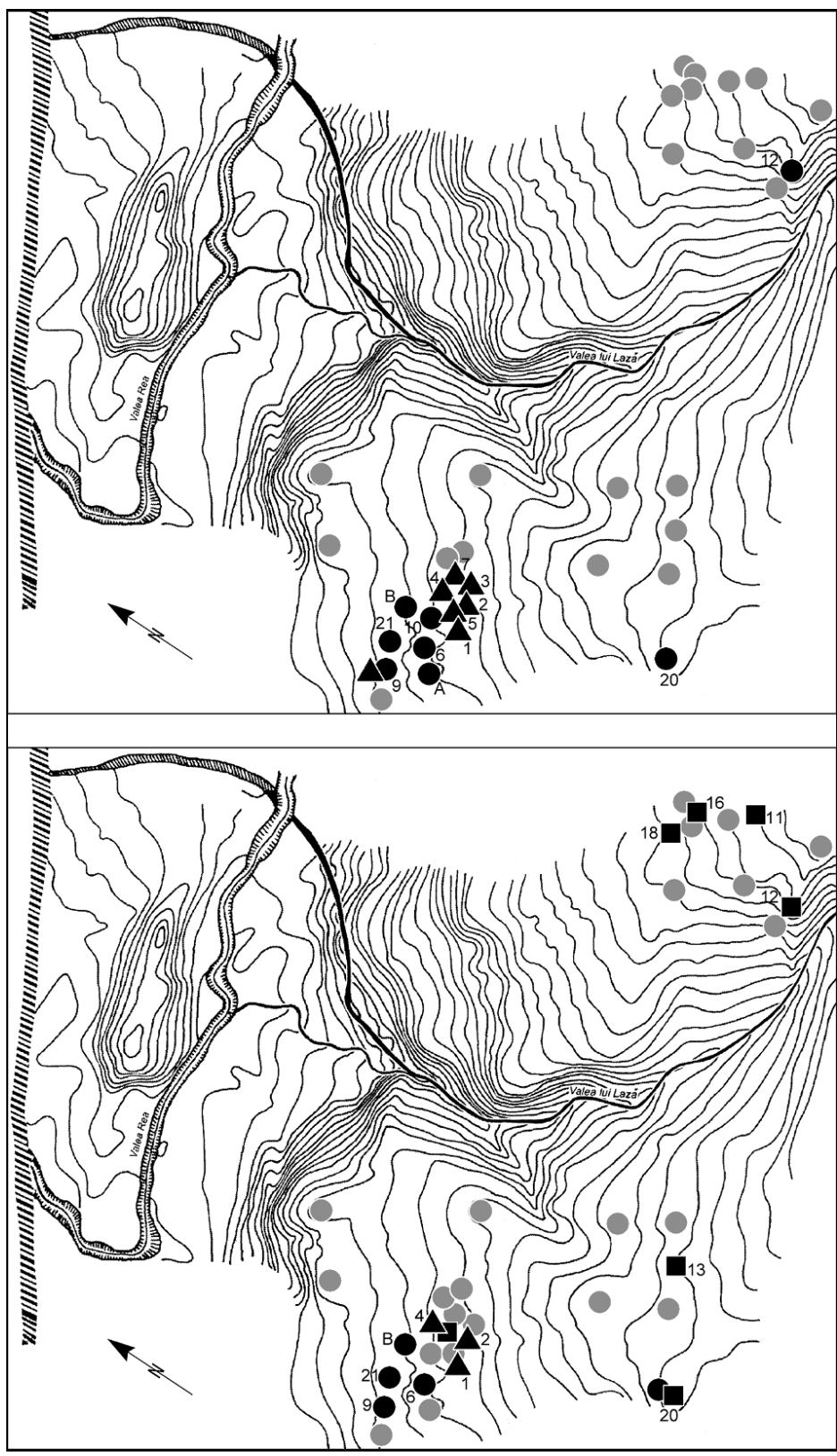


Fig. 3 Lapuș, plan of tumulus-cemetery:

Above—distribution of pottery decorated with various motifs in incised or chip-carved (*Kerbschnitt*) techniques ▲, of channelled pottery ● and of unexcavated barrows or barrows without such kind of ceramics ○.
 Below—distribution of weapons ▲, of jewellery ●, of metalworking indicators■ and of unexcavated barrows or barrows without such kind of finds ○ (after Teržan 2005).

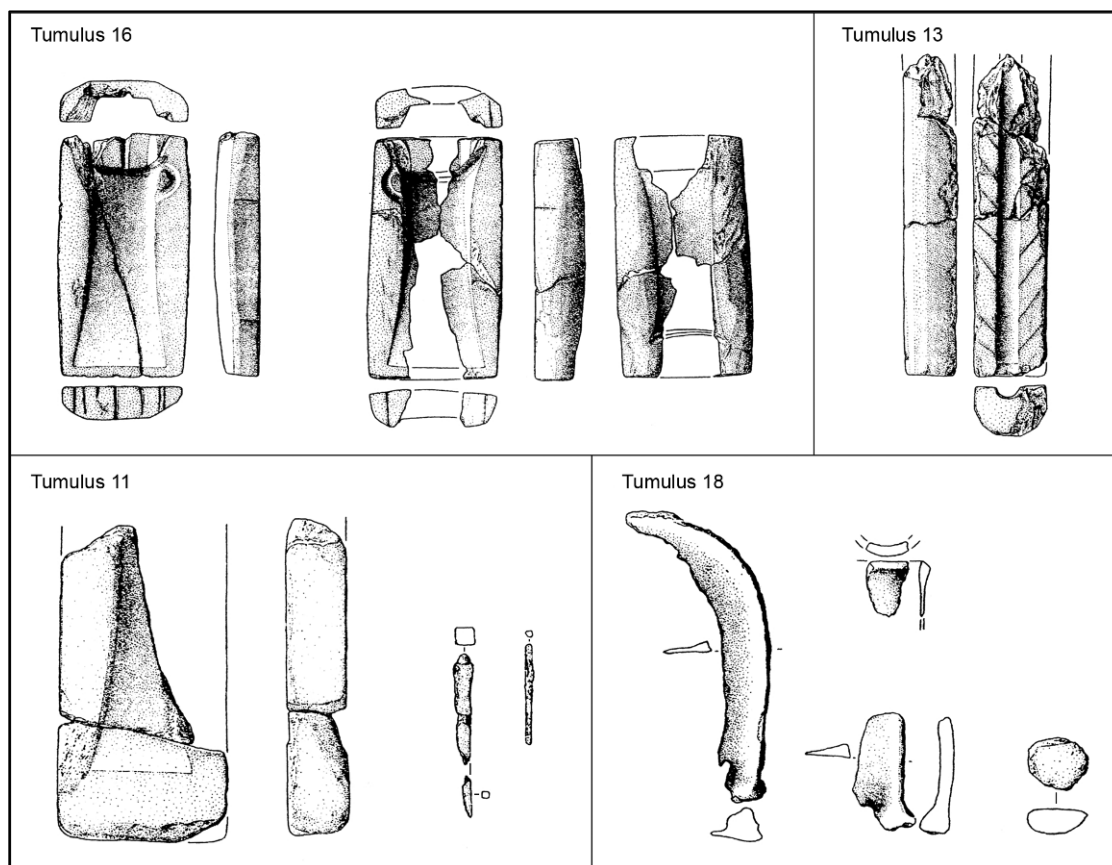


Fig. 4. Lapuș, selected grave-finds as metalworking indicators from tumuli 16, 13, 11 and 18 (according to Kacsó 2001 a).

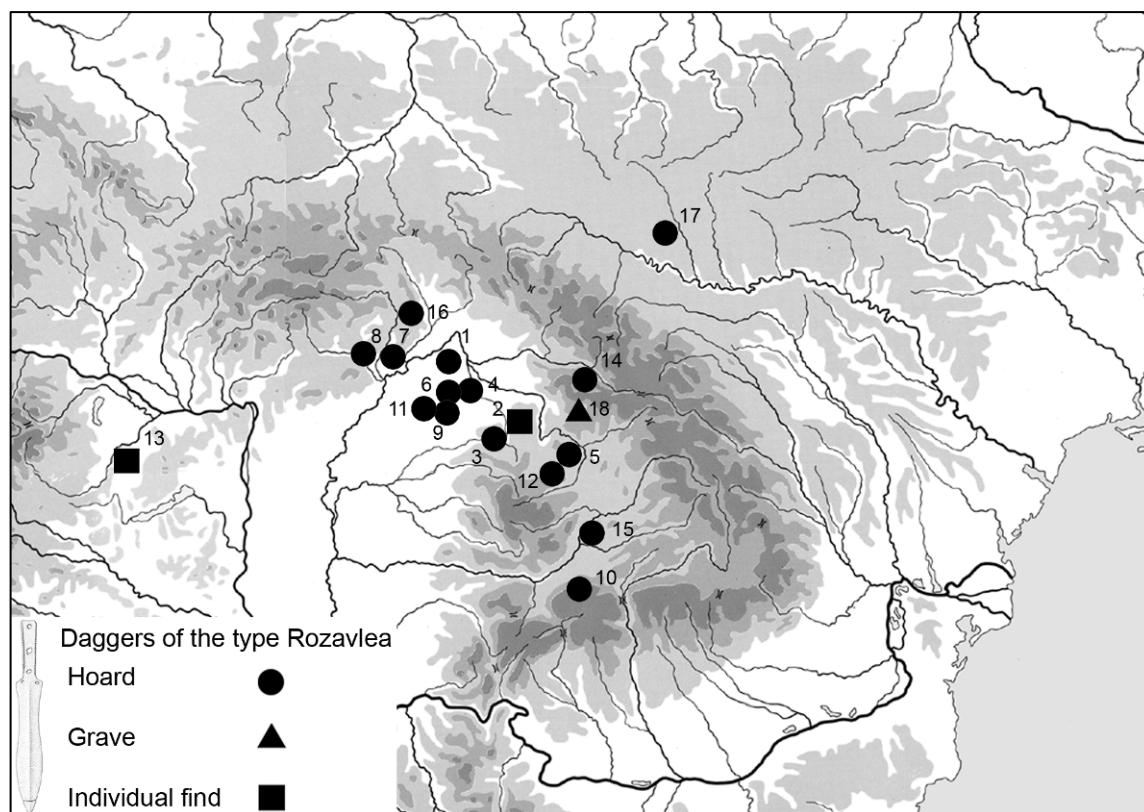


Fig. 5 Distribution map of daggers of type Rozavlea (hoard ●, individual find ■, grave▲, see list 1).

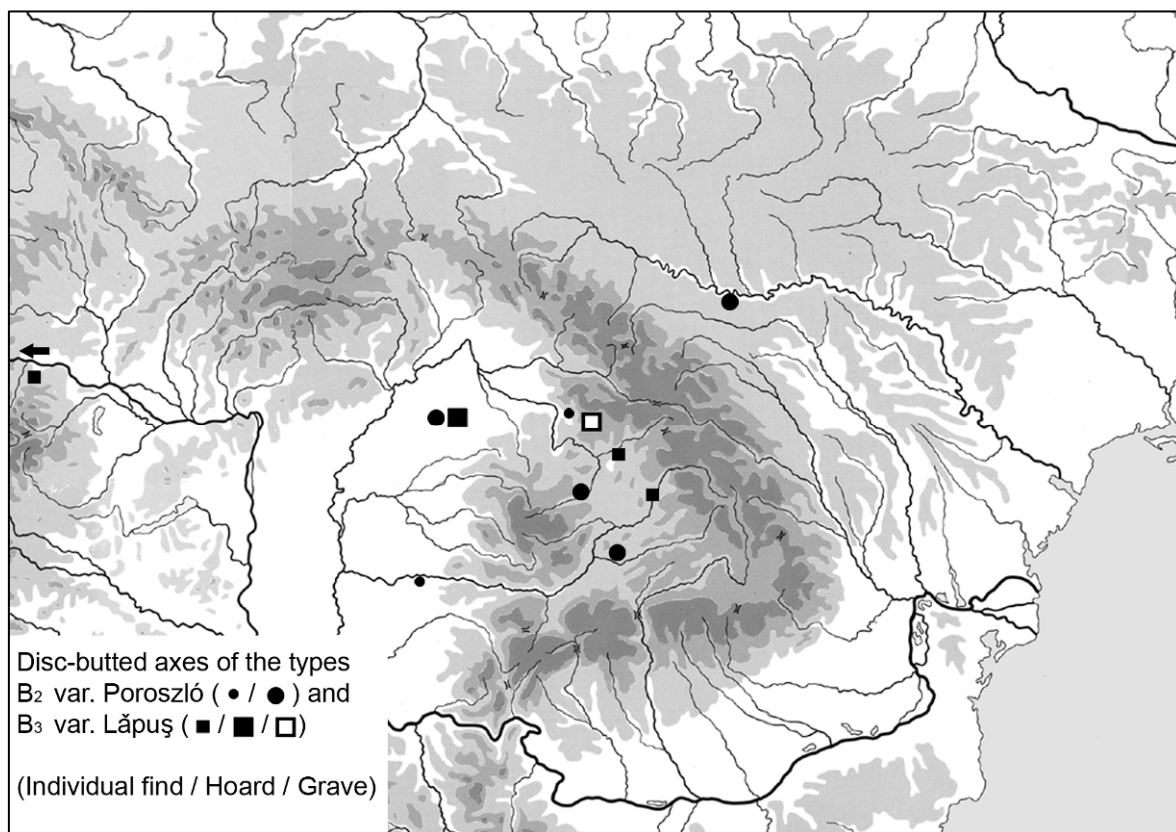


Fig. 6. Distribution map of disc-budded axes (*Nackenscheibenäxte*) of type B 2, variant Poroszló (• 9) and type B 3, variant Lăpuș (■) (according to Vulpe 1970, 79 ff. N. 338-342).

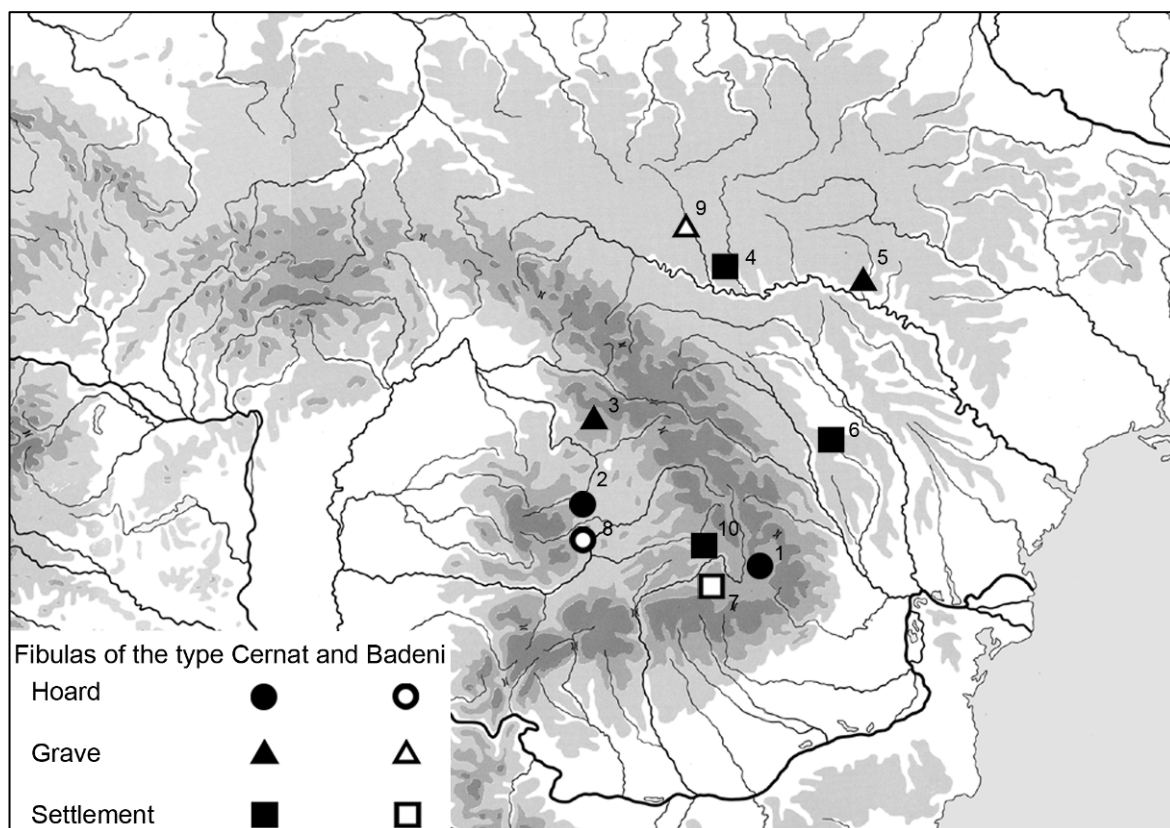


Fig. 8. Fibulae of Cernat type: 1 Cernat, 2 Ghirișu Român, 3 Porumbenii Mari, 4 Lisičniki; fibulae of Badeni type: 5 Badeni, 6 Augustin (see list 2).

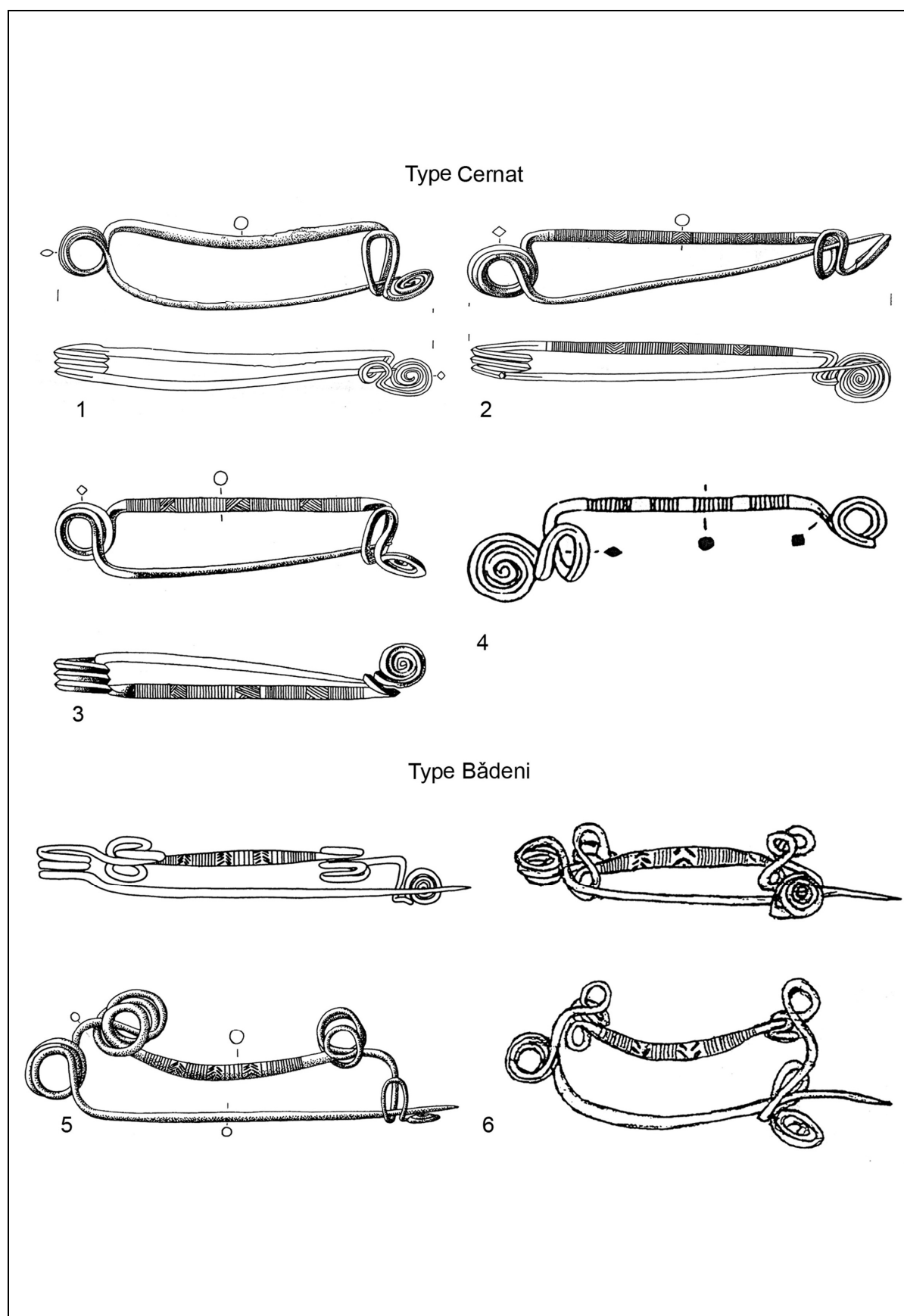


Fig. 7 Distribution map of fibulae of Cernat type (● hoard, ▲ grave, ■ settlement) and Bădeni type (○ hoard, □ settlement).