

ACTA TERRAE SEPTEMCASTRENSIS

XV, 2016

**LUCIAN BLAGA UNIVERSITY OF SIBIU
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY, HERITAGE AND PROTESTANT THEOLOGY**

ACTA TERRAE SEPTEMCASTRENSIS

XV

Editor: Sabin Adrian LUCA

Sibiu, 2016

Editorial board:

Editor:

Sabin Adrian LUCA (*Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu; Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu; Romania)

Members:

Ioan-Aurel POP (Member of the Romanian Academy)

Dumitru PROTASE (Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy)

Janusz K. KOZŁOWSKI (Member of Polish Academy)

Martin WHITE (Sussex University, Brighton, United Kingdom)

Krum BAKVAROV (Institute of Archaeology and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria)

Zeno-Karl PINTER (*Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu)

Marin CÂRCIUMARU (*Valahia* University of Târgoviște)

Nicolae URSULESCU (*Al. I. Cuza* University of Iași)

Gheorghe LAZAROVICI (*Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu)

Secretary:

Anamaria TUDORIE (*Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu, Romania)

Starting with 2011 *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis* is being included in the *SCIPPIO* editorial platform.

Since 2012 in *EBSCO* database.

Since 2014 in *European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences - ERIH PLUS*.

ISSN 1583-1817 (Print), ISSN 2392-6163 (Online), ISSN-L 1583-1817

Contact address: *Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Department of History, Heritage and Protestant Theology, B-dul Victoriei nr. 5-7, 550024, Sibiu, Romania; tel./fax. +4 0268/214468, +40745360883; e-mail: sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro; ins.arheologie@ulbsibiu.ro; web: <http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro>

Content

Sabin Adrian LUCA , <i>To Professor Nicolae Gudea at his 75th anniversary</i>	7
Sabin Adrian LUCA, Anamaria TUDORIE, Adrian GEORGESCU, Florentina MARTIȘ, Adrian LUCA , <i>New Details about the Sanctuary belonging to the Third Phase of Starčevo-Criș Culture from Cristian III Site (Sibiu County)</i>	47
Sabin Adrian LUCA, Florentina MARTIȘ , <i>Polished Stone Artefacts from Early Neolithic Settlement of Starčevo-Criș and Vinča Cultures</i>	95
Tibor-Tamás DARÓCZI, Marcel MIERTOIU , <i>Middle and Late Neolithic finds from Deva-Tăualaș</i>	121
Silviu I. PURECE, Claudiu MUNTEANU , <i>The Ancient Coin Hoard from Tălmăcel, Sibiu County</i>	155
Ioan OPRIȘ , <i>Michael Csaki and the Commision of Historical Monuments</i>	183
John NANDRIȘ , <i>Recollections of Brâncuși; Om Mare – A Great Man</i>	197

TO PROFESSOR NICOLAE GUDEA AT HIS 75TH ANIVERSARY

Sabin Adrian LUCA

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania
Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania

sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro;
sabin.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Dear Professor,

Sometime, at Gornea (Caraş-Severin County), it was the moment when I have first heard about you. Even though you were not present on the site, everybody talked with admiration about your achievement in archaeology. Later, at Reşiţa County Museum (today Banat Mountain Museum, in the same locality) I have seen many archaeological materials, in deposits, coming from the researches that you have made in the county. And more, excavating at Pojejena (*Nucet* point) I have noticed – at the local people – the same admiration, but also at the research collective members, a positive consideration.

During the period when I was a student, but also later one, I haven't known you – at the Museum of History of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca (today the National Museum of History of Transylvania) – than bowed on the writing machine or on the books that you used as bibliography. Not even the edited text, nor the books or papers you have consulted are few, but many.

From here resulted a few very onerous synthesis ideas. As an archeologist, with dedication; as an historian, an irreproachable documentation which is extremely hard to reach; as a professor, heights; as a man, demure, as family, exemplarity.

Now, at 75 years, I see the same qualities. Only knowing them I have dared – a few years ago – a collaboration for a project very dear to me (as a graduate of Simon Bărnuţiu High school from Şimleul Silvaniei): The

Archaeological Repertory of Sălaj County. With the power and abnegation well-known he acceded right away to the theme. An in this way a book resulted, which today, at the 20th of November 2016, has 744 views on www.academia.edu. It is much? It is little? Enough for assuring visibility to the discoveries from the county where I have spent the high school period and where the Professor brought an unequalled contribution to the knowledge of the Roman and Early Christians period.

Dear Professor,

You have never been the disciple of abusive eulogies. It is a duty for me – respecting you a lot – and I wish for you a long life, without illnesses, working strength to continue your opera – which is already immense – beautiful thoughts and the raise of new researches and specialists generations in the field of archaeology and ancient history.

Sibiu, at the 20th of November 2016

Professor Sabin Adrian Luca

Romanian version

PROFESORULUI UNIVERSITAR DOCTOR NICOLAE GUDEA LA 75 DE ANI

Domnule Profesor,

Cândva, la Gornea (județul Caraș-Severin) am aflat pentru prima dată de dumneavoastră. Chiar dacă nu erați prezent pe șantier, toți vorbeau cu admirație despre realizările pe care le aveți în arheologie. Mai târziu, în Muzeul Județean Reșița (astăzi Muzeul Banatului Montan, din aceeași localitate) am văzut multe materiale arheologice, în depozite, provenind din cercetările pe care le-ați făcut în județ. Și mai mult, săpând la Pojejena (punctul *Nucet*), am constatat – la oamenii locului – aceeași admirație, dar și la membrii colectivului de cercetare, considerația net pozitivă.

În perioada studenției, dar și mai târziu, nu v-am cunoscut altfel – la Muzeul de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca (astăzi Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei) – decât aplecat asupra mașinii de scris sau a cărților pe care le foloseați ca bibliografie. Nici textele redactate, dar nici cărțile și lucrările consultate, nu sunt puține ba – chiar – foarte multe.

De aici rezultă câteva idei de sinteză extrem de onorante. Ca arheolog, cu patos; ca istoric, o documentare ireproșabilă și greu de atins; ca profesor, înălțime; ca om, cumințenie și ca familie, exemplaritate.

Acum, la 75 de ani, vă recunosc aceleași calități. Doar cunoscându-le am îndrăznit – acum câțiva ani – să colaborem pe un proiect drag mie (ca absolvent al liceului „Simion Bărnuțiu” din Șimleul-Silvaniei): *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sălaj*. Cu puterea și abnegația arhicunoscută ați aderat imediat la temă. Și așa a rezultat o lucrare care are, astăzi 20 noiembrie 2016, 744 de accesări pe siteul www.academia.edu. Mult? Puțin? Îndeajuns pentru a asigura vizibilitate descoperirilor din județul în care mi-am petrecut partea liceală și în care Profesorul și-a adus o contribuție inegalabilă la cunoașterea istoriei romane și creștine timpurii.

Domnule Profesor,

Niciodată nu ați fost adeptul laudelor abuzive. Îmi fac datoria – respectându-vă prea mult – și vă doresc viață lungă, lipsită de boli, putere de muncă în continuarea operei dumneavoastră – și așa imense –, gânduri frumoase și creșterea unor noi generații de cercetători și specialiști în domeniul arheologiei și istoriei vechi.

Sibiu la 20 noiembrie 2016

Prof.univ.dr. Sabin Adrian Luca

List of bibliographic abbreviations

AB(SN)	<i>Analele Banatului. S.N. Arheologie-Istorie</i> , Timișoara
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolisensis</i> , Zalău
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu
AEA	<i>Archivo español de arqeologia</i> , Madrid
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> , Alba Iulia
AR	<i>Alba Regia</i> , Székesfehérvár

ArchKorr	<i>Archäologische Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz</i>
ArchV	<i>Arheološki Vestnik</i>
Banatica	<i>Banatica, Reșița</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports, Oxford</i>
Bayerische Vor	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München</i>
CCA	<i>Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România, București</i>
Crisia	<i>Crisia, Oradea</i>
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava, Brașov</i>
DaciaNS	<i>Dacia Nouvelle Series, București</i>
Drobeta	<i>Drobeta, Drobeta-Turnu Severin</i>
EphStud	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
Germania	<i>Germania, Berlin</i>
JAK	<i>Jahrsberichte aus Augst und Kaiseraugst</i>
Limes	<i>Limes. Revista de cultură a Sălajului, Zalău</i>
Marisia	<i>Marisia, Târgu Mureș</i>
MCA	<i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București</i>
NK	<i>Numizmatikai Közlöny</i>
PUA	<i>Passauer Universitätschriften zur Archäologie, Passau</i>
Pontica	<i>Pontica, Constanța</i>
Revista Bistriței	<i>Revista Bistriței, Bistrița</i>
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii și comunicări de istorie veche (și arheologie), București</i>
SMR	<i>Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, Stuttgart</i>
SpecNova	<i>Specimina Nova, Dissertatio ex institutio historico Universitatis Quinqueecclessiensis in de Jano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs</i>
Studia Judaica	<i>Studia Judaica</i>
Studia UBBTC	<i>Studia UBB Theologia Catholica, Cluj-Napoca</i>
StCom Brukenthal	<i>Studii și Comunicări Brukenthal, Sibiu</i>
Tibiscus	<i>Tibiscus, Timișoara</i>
TransRew	<i>Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca</i>
Zbornik	<i>Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja</i>

1969

1. *O inscripție din pretoriul castrului roman de la Buciumi (jud. Sălaj), în StCom Brukenthal 14, 1969, p. 289-298 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, M. Macrea).*
2. *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Bologa, jud. Cluj, în ActaMN 6, 1969, p. 503-508.*
3. *Castrul roman de la Buciumi, jud. Sălaj (1963-1968), în ActaMN 6, 1969, p. 149-155 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, C. Pop, V. Lucăcel).*

1970

4. *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Buciumi, jud. Sălaj, în SCIV 21, 1970, p. 299-311.*
5. *Castrul roman de la Buciumi, în Sesiunea de comunicări științifice a Muzeelor de Istorie, București I, 1970, p. 396-417 (în colaborare cu M. Macrea, E. Chirilă, V. Lucăcel, C. Pop).*
6. *O cărămidă cu ștampilă din secolul IV la Svinița, jud. Mehedinți, în ActaMN 7, 1970, p. 555-559.*
7. *Piese noi în tezaurul de la Șieu, în Tezaurare monetare din Nordul Transilvaniei, Zalău, 1970, p. 21-25 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).*
8. *Tezaurul monetar de la Vîrșoț, în Tezaurare monetare din Nordul Transilvaniei, Zalău, 1970, p. 27-31 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).*
9. *Tezaurul monetar de la Sălăjeni, în Tezaurare monetare din Nordul Transilvaniei, Zalău, 1970, p. 32-43 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).*

1971

10. *Castrul roman de la Rîșnov-Cumidava. Contribuții la cunoașterea limesului de sud-est al Daciei romane, Brașov, 1970, 66 p. + 60 ilustrații + 60 planșe (în colaborare cu I. Pop).*
11. *Das Römerlager von Rosenau-Cumidava. Beiträge zu Limesuntersuchungen in Südosten der römischen Dazien, Brașov, 1971 (69 p. + 68 Abb. + 60 Taf.) (în colaborare cu I. Pop).*
12. *Un relief al cavalerului trac descoperit la Pojejena; jud. Caraș-Severin, în SCIV 22, 1971, p. 345-351.*
13. *Descoperiri monetare antice și bizantine în Banat, în Banatica 1, 1971, p. 139-143.*
14. *Cavalerul trac de la Pojejena, în Banatica 1, 1971, p. 108-109 (în colaborare cu V. Stancovici).*

15. *Limesul roman în zona castrului de la Bologa*, în *ActaMN* 8, 1971, p. 507-532.
16. *Descoperiri arheologice din epoca dacică la Pescari, jud. Caraș-Severin*, în *ActaMN* 8, 1971, p. 465-467 (în colaborare cu T. Soroceanu și F. Mededeț).
17. *Tezaurul monetar de la Caransebeș*, în *Banatica* 1, 1971, p. 179-190 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă și I. Uzun).

1972

18. *CIL*, III, 7648, în *Apulum* 10, 1972, p. 707-712.
 19. *Castrul roman de la Bologa. Săpăturile din anul 1968*, în *Apulum* 10, 1972, p. 121-150.
 20. *Descoperiri monetare antice în Banat*, în *Apulum* 10, 1972, p. 713-714 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).
 21. *Inscripții și ștampile tegulare din castrul roman de la Bologa*, în *ActaMN* 9, 1972, p. 413-439.
 22. *Castrul roman de la Buciumi și rolul său în cadrul limesului*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 5-9.
 23. *Castrul de piatră*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 14-22.
 24. *Organizarea internă a castrului de piatră*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 22-32.
 25. *Ceramica din castrul roman de la Buciumi*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 37-62.
 26. *Arme și piese de echipament*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 62-78.
 27. *Unelte și obiecte din metal și piatră*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 78-87 (în colaborare cu C. Pop).
 28. *Vase de sticlă din castru*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 109-115 (în colaborare cu V. Lucăcel).
 29. *Materialul epigrafic din castru*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 114-120 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).
 30. *Concluzii în legătură cu castrul roman de la Buciumi*, în *Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 121-126 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).
- Articolele nr. 22-30 au fost reluate cu unele adăugiri și modificări și republicate în varianta germană a monografiei *Das Römerlager von Buciumi*, Cluj, 1973.
31. *Două piese antice din Muzeul Sighișoara*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 5-7; cf.

- Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1973, S. 5-6 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
32. *Tezaure și descoperiri izolate de denari republicani*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 8-12; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 7-12 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
33. *Descoperiri de monede imperiale romane*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 13-22; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 13-22 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
34. *Descoperiri recente de monete imperiale romane în zona orașului Sighișoara*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 23-24; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 23-24 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
35. *Monetele din necropola de la Pîrîul Hotarului*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 25-30; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 25-30 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
36. *Tezaurul monetar de la Laslea*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 31-34; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 31-34 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
37. *Tezaurul monetar de la Lechința de Mureș*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 35-40; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 35-40 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
38. *Tezaurul monetar de la Șeica Mică*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 41-57; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 41-58 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
39. *Un tezaur din secolul XVI*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 58-61; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 54-61 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).
40. *Tezaurul monetar de la Mălăncrav*, în *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 62-73; cf. *Münzen aus*

der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara, S. 63-76 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).

41. *Piese antice, medievale și moderne în colecția Muzeului din Sighișoara*, în *Tezaur și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul municipal din Sighișoara*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 71-81; cf. *Münzen aus der Sammlung des Museums von Stadt Sighișoara*, S. 77-84 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Gh. Moldovan).

42. „J. Šašel, *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, Ljubljana, 1970”, în *SCIV* 23, 1972, p. 491-493.

43. *Tezaurul monetar de la Dalboșet, secolul IV*, în *Tibiscus* 2, 1972, p. 53-60.

44. *Donariul roman descoperit la Gornea, jud. Caraș-Severin*, în *SCIV* 23, 1972, p. 671-675.

1973

45. *Șantierul arheologic de la Bologa. Săpăturile din anul 1967*, în *MCA* 10, 1973, p. 115-123 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).

46. *Castrul roman de la Pojejena. Săpăturile arheologice din anul 1970*, în *Banatica* 2, 1973, p. 85-96 (în colaborare cu I. Uzum).

47. *Sondajul arheologic de la Teregova*, în *Banatica* 2, 1973, p. 97-101.

48. *Ergänzungen zum LRBC*, în *Apulum*, 11, 1973, p. 223-236 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă și I. Stratan).

49. *O locuință romană rustică la Gornea*, în *ActaMN*, 10, 1973, p. 569-573.

50. *Al IX-lea Congres Internațional de studii asupra frontierelor romane, Mamaia, 1972*, în *SCIV* 24, 1973, p. 361-363.

51. A. Böhme, *Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel*, Berlin, 1972. Beiheft Saalburg Jahrbuch, în *SCIV* 24, 1973, p. 346-348.

52. W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen: Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischen Gefäße nach antiken Schrittsquellen*, Bonn, 1971, în *SCIV* 24, 1973, p. 347-348.

53. *Date noi despre castrul roman de la Bologa. Săpăturile din anul 1969*, în *Crisia* 2, 1973, p. 109-136.

54. W. Schleiermacher, *Cambodunum – Kempten. Ein römische Stadt in Algäu*, Berlin, 1972, în *SCIV* 24, 1973, p. 681-682.

55. *Castrul roman de la Rîșnov. Raport asupra săpăturilor din anul 1971*, în *Cumidava* 7, 1973, p. 12-23 (în colaborare cu I. Pop).

56. *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Rîșnov*, în *Cumidava* 7, 1973, p. 23-30.

1974

57. *Befestigungen am Banater Donaulimes aus der Zeit der Tetrarchie*, în *Limes* 9, Mamaia, 1972 (1974), p. 173-190.
58. *Castrul roman de la Bologa. Cercetările arheologice din anul 1970*, în *SMMIM* 12, 1974, p. 25-57.
59. *Sistemul defensiv al Daciei romane. Stadiul actual al cercetărilor*, în *Apulum*, 12 1974, p. 182-193.
60. „Legio VII Gemina, Leon, 1970”, în *SCIV* 25, 1973, p. 484-486.
61. *O statueta reprezentând pe Apis descoperită la Bologa (Apis' statuete discovered at Bologa)*, în *SCIV* 25, 1973, p. 445-448.
62. *Die Römer am Donau. Noricum und Pannonien*, Wien, 1973, în *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 703-704.
63. D. Baatz, *Kastell Hesselbach und andere Forschungen am Odenwaldlimes. Limes Forschungen*, Berlin, 1973, în *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 701-703.
64. Ch. M. Beckmann, *Metallfingerringen der römischer Kaizerzeit in Freien Germanien*, Berlin, 1973, în *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 700-701.
65. *Dacoromania. Jahrbuch ür östliche Latinität*, I, 1973, în *SCIV* 25, 1973, p. 315-318.
66. *Das Verteidigungssystem der römischen Dacien*, în *Saalburg Jarbuch* 31, 1974, p. 41-49.
67. *Trei tezaure monetare din Banat în secolul IV e.n. Contribuții la problema continuității în Dacia*, Timișoara, 1974, (100 p.+ 35 planșe+ 3 hărți) (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, I. Stratan).
68. *Drei Münzhorte aus dem Banat 4. Jh. Beiträge zur Kontinuitätsfrage in Dazien*, Timișoara, 1974 (105 S + 35 Taf. + 3 Karte) (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, I. Stratan).
69. *Teile spätrömischen Ballisten aus Gornea und Orșova (Rumänien)*, în *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 31, 1974, p. 50-72 (în colaborare cu D. Baatz).
70. *O contribuție la toponimia limesului bănățean al Dunării*, în *Tibiscus* 3, 1974, p. 141-146.
71. A. Neumann, *Ziegel aus Vindobona. Der Römische Limes in Österreich*. XXVII, Wien, 1970, în *SCIV* 25, 1974, p. 606-608.

1975

72. *Monetele din castrul roman de la Mehadia*, în *SCIV* 26, 1975, p. 149-153.

73. *Câteva aspecte și probleme privind procesul de romanizare al Daciei*, în *Apulum* 13, 1975, p. 75-112.
74. *Observații cu privire la cohortele I Hispanorum în Dacia*, în *SCIV* 26, 1975, p. 381-385.
75. *Epigraphische Studien*, V, 1968, în *Apulum* 13, 1975, p. 787-788.
76. *Sistemul defensiv al Daciei romane. Observații în legătură cu faza de pământ a castrelor*, în *AIIA* 18, 1975, p. 71-78.
77. *Castrul roman de la Pojejena. Săpăturile din anul 1973*, în *Banatica* 3, 1975, p. 333-343.
78. *O cărămidă cu inscripție din secolul IV la Gornea*, în *Banatica* 3, 1975, p. 99-122 (în colaborare cu I. Dragomir).
79. *Inscripții și monumente sculpturale din Muzeul de Istorie și Artă din Zalău*, Cluj, 1975, 51 p. + 48 planșe + 1 hartă (în colaborare cu V. Lucăcel).
80. *Tezaurul de la Răcașdia*, în *ActaMN* 12, 1975, p. 183-190.
81. *Castrul roman de la Rîșnov. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1973-1974*, în *Cumidava* 8, 1974-1975, p. 55-64 (în colaborare cu I. Pop).
82. *Castrul roman de la Feldioara-Făgăraș*, în *Cumidava* 8, 1974-1975, p. 40-54 (în colaborare cu I. Pop).
83. *Cercetări arheologice în castrul roman de la Rîșnov (1972)*, în *SMMIM* 7-8, 1974-1975, p. 55-78 (în colaborare cu I. Pop).
84. *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al Banatului*, în *Tibiscus* 4, 1975, p. 129-146 (în colaborare cu M. Moga).

1976

85. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A history of the Middle danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London, 1974, în *SCIV* 27, 1976, p. 417-419.
86. H. Schönberger, *Kastell Künzig-Quintana. Die Grabungen von 1958 bis 1966. Limesforschungen*, Berlin, 1975, în *Apulum* 14, 1976, p. 535-539.
87. *Contribuții la antroponimia și topografia limesului bănățean al Dunării*, în *AIIA* 19, 1976, p. 275-282.
88. *Legio VII Gemina în Dacia*, în *SCIV* 27, 1976, p. 109-114.
89. *Observații în legătură cu unele note „note epigrafice”*, în *SCIV* 27, 1976, p. 517-521.
90. *Ein Beitrag zur cohors II Raetorum*, în *BayerischeV* 41, 1976, p. 123-124.
91. *Eininge Bemerkungen zur Provinz Moesia Superior*, în *Germania* 54, 2, 1976, p. 452-456.

1977

92. *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum în Dacia*, în *SCIV* 28, 1977, p. 129-134.
93. *Der Limes Dakiens und die Verteidigung der Obermoesischen Donau Limes von Traianus bis Aurelius*, în *Au stieg und Niedergang der Antiken Welt* II/6, Tübingen, 1977, p. 849-887.
94. *Câteva observații în legătură cu trupele din Dacia de Nord și cu armata din Dacia Porolissensis*, în *ActaMP* 1, 1977, p. 115-122.
95. *Limesul Daciei romane de la Traianus la Aurelianus*, în *ActaMP* 1, 1977, p. 97-114.
96. *Materiale arheologice din castrul roman de la Bologa*, în *Apulum* 15, 1977, p. 169-215.
97. *A existat un sanctuar mithraic la Pojejena?*, în *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 117-132.
98. *Pojejena. Cronică arheologică*, în *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 435-436, (în colaborare cu O. Bozu).
99. *Contributions épigraphiques à l'histoire de ala I Bosporanorum*, în *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiées au VIII-e Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, București, 1977, p. 223-232 (în colaborare cu A. Zrinyi).
100. *Gornea. Așezări din epoca romană și romană târzie*, Reșița, 1977, (120 p. + 50 ilustrații în text + 100 planșe).
101. *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane. III/1; Dacia Superior, 1. Zona de sud-vest* (în colaborare cu I.I. Russu, V. Wollmann, M. Dușanić).
102. *Das Römerlager von Bologa. Fragen betreffend die dakischen Tonware in den Militärlager der römischen Dakien*, în *Limes 10 Xanten*, Bonn, 1977, p. 313-329.
103. *Epigraphische Notizen*, în *ArchKorr*, 1977, p. 454-456.
104. *Die Militärorganisation an der Nordgrenze der Provinz Moesia Superior während der Römerherrschaft in Dacien*, în *Limes 11 Székesfehérvár*, Budapest, 1977, p. 223-236.
105. *Un castru nou descoperit în sistemul defensiv al Daciei romane: castrul roman de la Feldioara*, în *Pontica* 10, 1977, p. 333-338.
106. E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman artillery*, Oxford, 1970, în *AIIA* 20, 1977, p. 401-403.
107. *Elemente de la piese de artilerie romană târzie descoperite la Gornea și Orșova. Împrejurările descoperirii și descrierea pieselor*, în *SMMIM* 10, 1977, p. 47-61.

1978

108. *Contribuții la istoria economică a Daciei romane. Producția de ceramică*, în *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 135-146.
109. J. Oldenstein, *Zur Ausrüstung römischen Auxiliärformationen*. Sonderdruck aus BRGK, 57, 1977, în *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 529-531.
110. Gh. Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova, 1977, în *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 531-533.
111. J. K. Haalebos, *Zwammerdamm = Nigrum Pullum. Ein Auxiliarkastell am Niedergermanische Limes*, Amsterdam, 1977, în *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 533-536.
112. *Câteva descoperiri arheologice la Gherla, jud. Cluj*, în *ActaMP* 2, 1978, p. 63-64 (în colaborare cu I. Chifor).
113. *Descoperiri arheologice mai vechi și mai noi la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 2, 1978, p. 65-76.
114. *Descoperiri mithraice la Pojejena*, în *SCIVA* 29, 1978, p. 563-572 (în colaborare cu O. Bozu).
115. *Câteva observații privind procesul de romanizare. În legătură cu cartea lui M. Benabou*, în *SCIVA* 29, 1978, p. 231-240.
116. *Eine weitere Angabe zu Beziehungen zwischen Pannonien und Dacien*, în *AR*, 1977, p. 363-364 (în colaborare cu B. Lörincz).
117. *Comori arheologice în regiunea Porților de Fier*, București 1978 (în colaborare).
118. *The Iron Gates archaeological Treasures*, Beograd, 1978, p. 162-160, (Orșova), p. 167 (Svinița), p. 167-172 (Gornea), p. 173-173 (Pojejena), voci pentru materiale: unelte, vase, cărămizi ștampilate, tezaure din secolul IV e.n. (în colaborare).
119. *Contribuții la istoria artileriei antice*, în *Drobeta III*, 1978, p. 69-75.

1979

120. *Castrul roman de la Inălceni. Încercare de monografie*, în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 149-274.
121. *Fibule romane în Muzeul din Zalău*, în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 321-378 (în colaborare cu V. Lucăcel).
122. *Vasul cu inscripție și simboluri creștine de la Moigrad*, în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 515-523.

123. *Tezaurul monetar de la Gherla*, sec. IV e.n., în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 525-531.
124. *Despre o gemă gnostică cu inscripție din Muzeul de Istorie și Artă Zalău*, în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 449-450 (în colaborare cu E. Lakó).
125. *Descoperiri monetare antice la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 3, 1979, p. 139-140 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).
126. *Despre importanța colonizării în Dacia*, în *SCIVA* 30/3, 1979 p. 393-398.
127. *Raport preliminar asupra săpăturilor arheologice executate la castrul roman de la Pojejena în anii 1977-1978*, în *Banatica* 5, 1979, p. 181-185 (în colaborare cu O. Bozu).
128. S. Soproni, *Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre*, Budapest, 1978, în *ActaMN* 16, 1979, p. 894-896.
129. *Al XI-lea Congres Internațional de arheologie clasică*, în *Pontica* 12, 1979, p. 259-261.
130. *The defensive system of Roman Dacia*, în *Britannia* 10, 1979, p. 63-87.
131. *Beiträge zur lateinisch-römischen Paläographie in Dakien. Ziegelinschriften*, în *Actes des XI-e Congres d'Epigraphie greque et latine*, București-Paris, 1979, p. 375-378.

1980

132. *Săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de restaurare și conservare executate la Porolissum (Moigrad) în anul 1979*, în *MCA, A XIV-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte*, Tulcea, 1980, p. 286-288 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, V. Lucăcel, Al. V. Matei).
133. *Cercetările de teren și săpăturile arheologice efectuate pe linia de turnuri din sectorul de nord-vest al limesului Daciei*, în *MCA, A XIV-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte*, Tulcea, 1980, p. 661-663.
134. *Săpăturile din castrul roman de la Feldioara*, în *MCA, A XIV-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte*, Tulcea, 1980, p. 289-291 (în colaborare cu I. Pop).
135. *Raport preliminar asupra cercetărilor de la Moigrad (Porolissum) în anii 1977-1979*, în *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 81-104 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, V. Lucăcel, Al.V. Matei).
136. *Vasele ceramice ștampilate de la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 105-190.
137. *Terra sigillata de la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 191-209 (în colaborare cu D. Isac).

138. *Propuneri de restaurare grafică a castrului de la Buciumi. II. Principia*, în *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 212-217 (în colaborare cu A. Landes).
139. *Castrul roman de la Brețcu. Încercare de monografie*, în *ActaMP* 4, 1980, p. 285-366.
140. N. Branga, *Aspecte și permanențe traco-romane*, Timișoara, 1978, în *ActaMN* 17, 1980, p. 879-886 (în colaborare cu D. Alicu).
141. *Despre granița dintre provinciile Dacia și Moesia Superior în sec. II-III e.n.*, în *Drobeta* 1980, p. 87-108.
142. *Recent research on the Limes of Roman Dacia*, în *Roman Frontier Studies XII Stirling 1979 (Limes 12 Stirling)*, în *BAR* 1980, p. 799-814.
143. *Kolomán Keresztes*, în *AIIA* 23, 1980, p. 607-608 (in memoriam).
144. H. J. Ubl, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Österreich, I, Wien, 1979, în *AIIA* 23, 1980, p. 569-571.
145. Gustav Müller, *Ausgrabungen in Doormagen*, Bonn 1979, în *AIIA* 23, 1980, p. 571-573.
146. *Tezaur și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul Județean Mureș*, Târgu Mureș, 1980, 176 p. + 30 pl. (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, V. Lazăr, A. Zrinyi).
147. *Münzhorte und Münz Funde aus dem Kreismuseum Mureș*, 1980, 184 s. + 30 Taf. (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, V. Lazăr, A. Zrinyi).
148. *Das Gefäß mit christlicher Inschrift aus Moigrad. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums in Dazien nach Aurelianus Abzug*, în *DaciaNS* XXIV, 1980, p. 255-260.
149. *Beiträge zu einem Literaturnachweiss der epigraphischen, das römischen Dakien betreffenden Forschung nach 1902*, în *ArhV* XXXI, 1980, p. 274-293.
150. *Spanish units in Roman Dacia*, în *AEA*, 1980, p. 61-76 (în colaborare cu M. Zahariade).
151. *Însemnătatea Moigradului pentru istoria poporului român din Transilvania*, în *Trepte vechi și noi în istoria eparhiei Oradea*, 1980, p. 45-50.

1981

152. *Propuneri de restaurare grafică a castrului de la Buciumi. III. Barăcile*, în *ActaMP* 5, 1981, p. 247-272 (în colaborare cu A. Landes).
153. *Chei romane în Muzeul de Istorie și Artă Zalău*, în *ActaMP* 5, 1981, p. 191-246 (în colaborare cu Al. Matei).

154. Eszter B. Vagó, I. Bona, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa*, Budapest, 1976, în *ActaMN* 18, 1981, p. 733-735.
155. *Note critice în legătură cu lucrarea lui N. Branga, „Urbanismul în Dacia romană, Timișoara, 1980“*, în *ActaMN* 18, 1981, p. 715-732 (în colaborare cu D. Alicu).
156. *Despre apărarea Pannoniei în secolul al IV-lea e. n. În legătură cu cartea lui S. Soproni*, în *SCIIVA* 32, 1981, p. 121-129.
157. *Die Sprachen in römischen Reich, Bonn, 1980. Note critice pe marginea unui articol*, în *AIIA* 24, 1981, p. 443-447.
158. *Tezaurul monetar de la Răcașdia (II) din secolul al IV-lea*, în *ActaMN* 18, 1981, p. 483-490.

1982

159. *Die Stempelgefäße von Porolissum*, în *RCRFAcra* XXI-XXIII, 1982, p. 167-208.
160. *Mărgele romane romane la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 23-41 (în colaborare cu I. Bajusz).
161. *Despre câteva donaria și aplici-disc cu inscripție din Dacia*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 51-59.
162. *Despre câteva fragmente de diplome militare redescoperite sau mai nou descoperite*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 59-69.
163. *Restituiri arheologice (II)*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 69-75.
164. *Economie, societate și populație în Dacia postaureliană (275-380 e.n.)*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 123-140 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă).
165. *În legătură cu o nouă descoperire cu caracter creștin la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 155-158.
166. *În legătură cu o carte despre Porolissum. Note critice privitoare la lucrarea lui E. Tóth: „Porolissum. Das Castellum in Moigrad. Ausgrabungen von A. Radnóti, 1943, Budapest, 1978“*, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 81-91.
167. A. Mócsy, *Die spätrömische Festung und Gräberfeld von Tokod*, Budapest, 1979, în *ActaMP* 6, 1982, p. 750-751.
168. Iudith Topál, *The southern cemetery o Matrica*, Budapest, 1979, în *ActaMN* 19, 1982, p. 749.
169. Silviu Sanie, *Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea Moldovei*, în *ActaMN* 19, 1982, p. 752-754.

170. *Despre granița de nord a provinciei Moesia Prima și hotarul nord-vestic al frontierei de nord a provinciei Dacia Ripensis*, în *Drobeta* 5, 1982, p. 93-113.

171. *Enciclopedia civilizației romane*, București, 1982. Coordonator științific D. Tudor (colaborare cu 63 voci).

1983

172. *Raport preliminar în legătură săpăturile arheologice executate la Moigrad (Porolissum) în anii 1980-1982*, în *ActaMP* 7, 1983, p. 119-140 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz).

173. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane.3. Cohors II Britannica de la Romita*, în *ActaMP* 7, 1983, p. 153-157.

174. *Propuneri pentru reconstituirea grafică a castrului de pe Pomăt. I. Clădirea comandamentului*, în *ActaMP* 7, 1983, p. 159-180 (în colaborare cu A. Landes).

175. *Mortare romane la Porolissum. Castrul de pe Pomăt*, în *ActaMP* 7, 1983, p. 185-193 (în colaborare cu E. Stoicovici).

176. *Tezaurul monetar de la Răcășdia. III*, în *ActaMN* 20, 1983, p. 481-488 (în colaborare cu D. Bălănescu).

177. *Câteva observații și câteva note critice cu specială privire la partea istorică a monografiei „Etnogeneza românilor” de I. I. Russu*, în *ActaMN* 20, 1983, p. 903-916.

178. *Verzeichnis der Römerbäder und Bauwerke mit Hypocaustanlagen in Dakien*, în *JAK* 3, 1983, p. 903-916.

179. *Ein Ziegel der Tetrarchenzeit mit Kursivschrift aus Gornea*, în *EphStud* 13, 1983, p. 91-109.

179a. *Săpăturile arheologice executate la Moigrad (Porolissum). I. Castrul de pe Pomet*, în *MCA, A XV-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte*, 1981 (București, 1983), p. 285-288.

179b. *Raport în legătură cu cercetările și săpăturile arheologice executate pe linia înaintată de turnuri a limesului de Vest*, în *MCA, A XV-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte*, Brașov, 1981, București, 1983, p. 304-305.

1984

180. *Castrul roman de la Buciumi. Propuneri pentru o restaurare grafică I-IV*, în *ActaMP* 8, 1984, p. 165-209 (în colaborare cu A. Landes).

181. *Din nou despre câteva fragmente de diplome militare și plăcuțe cu inscripție din Dacia Porolissensis*, în *ActaMP* 8, 1984, p. 211-218.
182. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane. IV. Cohors VI Thracum*, în *ActaMP* 8, 1984, p. 219-226.
183. *Legio VII Gemina Felix la Porolissum. O rectificare cu caracter cronologic*, în *ActaMP* 8, 1984, p. 227-230.
184. *Câteva note în legătură cu limesul Daciei Romane. Observații cu privire la articolul „Limes” fasciculele privind Dacia*, în *ActaMP* 8, 1984, p. 231-236.
185. *Strategie sau Limes? Note critice asupra lucrării lui E.N. Luttwak, The grand strategy of the Roman Empire from 1st century A.D. to the third*, în *AIIA* 25, 1982 (1984), p. 311-319.
186. *Cercetări arheologice efectuate între anii 1979-1982 pe limesul celor trei Dacii și a provinciilor cu granițe învecinate cu Moesia Superior și Moesia Inferior*, în *AIIA* 26, 1983-1984, p. 499-517.
- 186a. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane. 2 Ala I Gallorum et Bospornorum*, în *Marisia XIII-XIX*, 1984, p. 52-58.

1985

187. *Tezaurul monetar de la Visuia. Contribuții la studiul circulației monetare în Dacia Porolissensis (sec. I-III e.n.)*, în *ActaMP* 9, 1985, p. 111-136 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă și Gh. Marinescu).
188. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei Porolissensis. I. Linia înaintată de turnuri și fortificații mici de pe sectorul de nord-vest al limesului provinciei între castrerele de la Bologa și Tihău*, în *ActaMP* 9, 1985, p. 143-218.

1986

189. *Raport preliminar în legătură cu cercetările arheologice executate la Moigrad (Porolissum) în anii 1983-1985*, în *ActaMP* 10, 1986, p. 118-156 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Al. Matei, I. Bajusz).
190. *Statuia ecvestră a împăratului Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) de la Porolissum. Propuneri pentru o reconstituire grafică*, în *ActaMP* 10, 1986, p. 157-181 (în colaborare cu V. Salanțiu, Al. Matei).
191. *Sistemul defensiv al Daciei între realitate și ficțiune*, în *ActaMP* 10, 1986, p. 189-203.

192. *Un opaiț de bronz bizantin de la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 10, 1986, p. 209-214 (în colaborare cu I. Ghiurco).
193. *Porolissum. Res publica Municipii Septimii Porolissensium*, București, 1986 (122 p.).
194. *Despre un vas de sticlă din castrul roman de la Bologa*, în *ActaMN* 21, 1984(1986), p. 531-535.
195. *Bericht über zwischen 1979-1982 an Limes der drei Dakien und benachbarten Provinzen Moesia Superior und Moesia Inferior durchgeführten archäologischen Forschungen*, în *SMR* III, 1983 (1986) (Limes 13 Aalen), p. 477-497.

1987

196. *Contribuții la paleografia latină din Dacia. I. Inscricțiuni pe cărămizi și țigle*, în *ActaMP* 11, 1987, p. 91-158.
197. *Pannonian glazed pottery. A view from the east*, în *RCRFActa* XXV-XXVI, 1987, p. 409-436.
198. *Observații în legătură cu istoria Banatului în epoca romană*, în *Banatica* 7, 1987, p. 151-202 (în colaborare cu I. Moțu).
199. L. Plesničar-Gec, *Severno Emonske grobnice (The northren necropolis o Emona)*, Ljubljana, 1972, în *AIIA* 26, 1983-1984 (1987), p. 581-582.

1988

200. *Din istoria creștinismului la români. I. Mărturii arheologice*, Oradea, 1988, 300 p. (în colaborare cu I. Ghiurco).
201. *Raport preliminar în legătură cu săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare în complexul daco-roman de la Porolissum în anii 1986-1987*, în *ActaMP* 12, 1988, p. 147-174 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, Al. Matei, I. Bajusz, C. Stoica, I. Moțu).
202. *Contribuții epigrafice la cunoașterea sistemului vamal al Daciei romane. Vama de la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 12, 1988, p. 175-189.
203. *Porolissum cheia de boltă a apărării Daciei Porolissensis*, în *ActaMP* 12, 1988, p. 195-214.
204. *Despre ceramica provincială lucrată cu mâna din castre. Observații arheologice cu specială privire la câteva castre din Dacia Porolissensis*, în *ActaMP* 12, 1988, p. 229-250 (în colaborare cu I. Moțu).
205. *The colossal equestrian bronze statue of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) at Porolissum*, în *Griechische und römische Statuetten*

und Grossbronzen. Akten der 9. Tagung über antike Bronzen in Wien, Wien, 1988, p. 137-141 (în colaborare cu V. Salanțiu și Al. Matei).

206. *Eine spätrömische Ziegelinschrift aus Sucidava (Scythia Minor)*, în *ArchKorr* 18/3, 1988, Mainz, p. 301-304.

1989

207. *Porolissum. Un complex arheologic daco-roman la marginea de Nord a Imperiului Roman. I.* (= *ActaMP* XIII, 1989; 350 p. 94 fig. + 409 p. + 315 planșe).

208. *Archäologie im Württemberg. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven archäologischen Forschung*, Stuttgart, 1988, 559 p., în *AIIA* 29, 1988-1989, p. 639-640.

209. F. Lepper, S. Frere, *Trajan's Column. A new edition of the Cichorius plates*, Gloucester, 1989, 319 p., în *AIIA* 29, 1988-1989, p. 642-647.

1990

210. *Porolissum. Das Schlussstein der Verteidigung der Dacia Porolissensis*, în *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum* (Hrsg. H. Vetters-M. Kandler), Wien, 1990, p. 833-842.

1991

211. *Porolissum. Das Schlussstein der Verteidigungssystem der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis*, Marburg, 1989 (1990), 59 p. + 42 Taf.

212. *Ace de păr la Porolissum. Câteva observații în legătură cu ace de păr din os pentru prins părul din Dacia romană*, în *ActaMP* 14-15, 1991, p. 81-26 (în colaborare cu I. Bajusz).

213. *Despre cea mai veche diplomă militară eliberată pentru provinciile Dacice*, în *ActaMP* 14-15, 1991, p. 61-71 (în colaborare cu J. Garbsch).

214. *Über die glasierte Keramik aus dem 2.-3. Jh. in den dakischen Provinzen*, în *RCRFActa* XXVII/XXVIII, 1990 (1991), p. 155-169.

215. *Eugen Chirilă – In memoriam (1921-1991)*, în *EphNap* 1, 1991 p. 207-209.

216. *Römische Waffen aus den Kastellen des westlichen Limes von Dacia Porolissensis*, în *EphNap* 1, 1991 p. 68-80.

1992

217. *Despre ceramica glazurată panonică (sec. IV e.n.)*, în *ActaMN XXIV*, 1987-1988 (1992), p. 545-562.
218. ***, *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten, Köln, 1987*", în *ActaMN XXIV*, 1987-1988 (1992), p. 1176.
219. K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriege Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des Mittleren und Unteren Donau in den hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn, 1984, în *ActaMN XXIV-XXV*, 1987-1988 (1992), p. 1178-1186.
220. S. Soproni, *Die letzte Jahreszehnte des pannonischen Limes*, München, 1985, în *ActaMN XXIV-XXV*, 1987-1988 (1992), p. 1178-1186.
221. *Raport preliminar privind săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare în complexul daco-roman de la Porolissum în anii 1988-1991*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 147-174 (în colaborare cu Al. Matei, I. Bajusz, Dan Tamba).
222. *Studiu paleofaunistic al materialului osos descoperit în locuința LM I din sectorul LM al orașului roman Porolissum*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 187-200 (în colaborare cu I. Ghiurco, C. Lisovschi-Cheleşanu).
223. *Contribuții la paleografia latină din Dacia. II. Inscricții pe vase de la Porolissum și problema inscripțiilor pe vase din provinciile Dacia*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 201-247 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).
224. *Instrumente medicale și ustensile folosite de medici și farmaciști romani din Dacia Porolissensis. Contribuții la studiul medicinei romane*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 249-292 (în colaborare cu I. Bajusz).
225. *Despre fibule romane fără analogii în Dacia Porolissensis. Probleme de cronologie și origine*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 299-304 (în colaborare cu Al. Matei).
226. *Podoabe de bronz cu email din Dacia Porolissensis. I. Aplice*, în *ActaMP 16*, 1992, p. 305-340 (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).
227. *Archäologische Forschungen auf dem Limes der drei dakischen Provinzen und auf dem Grenzen der benachbarten Provinzen Moesia Superior und Moesia Inferior*, în *EphNap 2*, 1992, p. 69-99.
228. *Addenda et corrigenda ad „Römische Waffën aus den Kastellen des westlichen Limes von Dacia Porolissensis (EphNap 1, 1991, p. 68-80)“*, în *EphNap 2*, 1992, p. 249-250 + planșe.
229. *Note de lectură I*, în *EphNap 2*, 1992, p. 249-251.
230. ***, *Spätantike und frühes Mittelalter, Bonn, 1991*“, în *EphNap 2*, 1992, p. 251-252.

231. M. Grünwald, *Der römische Nordfriedhof in Worms. Funde der Münzerstrasse*, Worms, 1990, în *EphNap* 2, 1992, p. 253-254.
232. Gernot Piccottini, *Die kultischen und mytologischen Reliefs des Stadtgebietes Virunum*, în *Carinthia*, 1992, p. 504-506.
233. Eugen Chirilă, *Numismatul, Arheologul, Profesorul – in memoriam*, în *ActaMP* 16, 1992, p. 9-20.
234. *Ziegel- und Gefässinschriften im römischen Dakien*, în *SpecNova*, 1992, p. 293-299.

1993

235. *Castrul și așezarea romană de la Mehadia. Praetorium*, București, 1993 (151 p.+ LXII planșe) (în colaborare cu M. Macrea și I. Moțu).
236. *The Jews in the Roman Dacia. I. A bronze coin emited by Simon Bar Kochba at Pojejena (Caraș-Severin county)*, în *Studia Judaica* II, 1993, Cluj-Napoca, p. 102-166.
237. *Vasul cu inscripție și simboluri creștine la Moigrad. Contribuții la istoria creștinismului în Dacia după retragerea aureliană. II. Interpretarea semnelor și textului de pe partea exterioară a vasului. Studiu pale-ografic*, în *ActaMP* 17, 1993, p. 151-183.
238. *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores. Bibliografie 1992 (Rumänien)*, în *RCRFAc*, 1993, p. 18-21.
239. Gernot Piccottini, *Die kultischen und mythologischen Reliefs des Stadtgebietes Virunum. CSIR, II, 4, (Österreich)*, Wien, 1984, în *EphNap* 3, 1993, p. 306-308.
240. M. Mackensen, *Frühkaiserliche Kleinkastelle bei Nersingen und Burlafingen an der Oberen Donau*, München, 1987, în *EphNap* 3, 1993, p. 308-303.
241. *Despre legăturile comerciale între Augusta Treverorum și Porolissum la sfârșitul secolului al III-lea*, în *EphNap* 3, 1993, p. 227-231.
242. *Despre un opaiț bizantin de lut în Muzeul de Istorie din Cluj*, în *ActaMN* 26-30/I, 1, 1989-1993, p. 311-313.
243. *Die östlichste Fund triererer Spruchbecherkeramik*, în *ArchKorr* 23, 1993, p. 347-352.

1994

244. *Dacia Porolissensis în timpul războaielor marcomanice*, în *ActaMP* 18, 1994, p. 67-93.

245. *Semne în formă de cruce de pe vase romane de la Porolissum. Despre semnele în formă de cruce incizate sau zgîriate pe obiecte de uz comun în epoca preconstantiniană*, în *ActaMP* 18, 1994, p. 95-110.
246. *Raport preliminar în legătură săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare la Porolissum în anul 1993*, în *ActaMP* 18, 1994, p. 112-133 (în colaborare cu E. Chirilă, I. Bajusz, Al. Matei).
247. *Note epigrafice (III). Însemnări în legătură cu o inscripție de la Weisenburg-Raetia*, în *EphNap* 4, 1994, p. 159-171.
248. *Note de lectură (II) (Ablösungsbemerkungen. II)*, în *EphNap* 4, 1994, p. 353-358.
249. *Die ländliche Besiedlung und Landwirtschaft im römischen Dakien*, în *PUA* II, 1994 p. 511-520, 181-183.

1995

250. *Der römischen Limes in Siebenbürgen*, în *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Römer und der Völkerwanderung*, Köln, 1995, p. 71-115.
251. *Römische Waffen aus den Kastellen des westlichen Limes von Dacia Porolissensis*, în *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier (nachristlichen) Jahrhunderten*, Marburg, 1995, p. 79-89.
252. *Über ein Tonform von Barboși mit der Darstellung einer eselköpfigen menschlichen Gestalt*, în *ActaMN* 32/1, 1995, p. 149-165.
253. *Andreea Faber, Das römische Auxiliarkastell und der vicus von Regensburg-Kümpfmühl*, München, 1994, în *ActaMN* 32/1, 1995, p. 873-875.
254. *Diethard Knopf, Die römischen Inschriften Dakiens in Siebenbürgische Unteralt-Zibinbecken und ihr geschichtliches Hintergrund*, Bonn, 1993, în *ActaMN* 32/1, 1995, p. 861-867.
255. *Linii directe pentru sistemul de publicare în revista Acta Musei Napocensis*, în *ActaMN* 32/1, 1995, p. 909-910.
256. *Fibule romane din castrele de la Buciumi și Bologa (Dacia Porolissensis)*, în *ActaMP* 19, 1995, p. 49-59 (în colaborare cu S. Cociș).
257. *Despre fragmente de diplome militare „revăzute” sau mai nou descoperite la Porolissum*, în *ActaMP* 19, 1995, p. 72-88.
258. *Dacia Porolissensis und die Markomannkriege*, în *Markomannkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen*, Brno, 1994, p. 371-376.
259. *Note de lectură III. „W. E. Brown, The Oriental auxiliaries of the Roman Imperial Army, Yale University, 1980” (Ablösungsbemerkungen. III)*, în *EphNap* 5, 1995, p. 87-92.

259a. Ernst Künzl, *Die Alamanenbeute aus dem Rhein bei Neupots. Plunderungsgut aus den römischen Gallien*. Mainz 1993. Teil I-II-III-IV, în *EphNap* 5, 1995, p. 331-332.

259b. Thomas Fischer, *Das Umland der römischen Regensburg. Mit einem antropologischen Beitrag von P. Schröter*. M. Bz V-FG 42, München, 1995, în *EphNap* 5, 1995, p. 333-335.

1996

260. *Die Nordgrenze der Provinz Moesia Superior in der Zeit des Bestehens Dakiens*. 86-275 n. Chr., în *ActaMN* 33/1, 1996, p. 49-88.

261. *Câteva observații în legătură cu procesul de romanizare. III. Romanizarea numelor de plante în provinciile dacice. În legătură cu cartea Teresiei B. Tătaru*, în *ActaMN* 33/1, 1996, p. 115-133.

262. *Note de lectură. IV. Despre armata romană din provinciile dacice*, în *ActaMN* 33/1, 1996, p. 169-178.

263. *Note epigrafice. IV. Inscricții gnostice*, în *ActaMN* 33/1, 1996, p. 179-187.

264. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei Porolissensis. 5. Cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum*, în *ActaMP* 20, 1996, p. 87-96.

265. *Aplici cu disc ornamentate cu figură umană din Dacia Porolissensis*, în *ActaMP* 20, 1996, p. 97-114 (în colaborare cu I. Bajusz).

266. *Vasul cu inscripție și simboluri creștine de la Moigrad. Contribuții la istoria creștinismului în Dacia după retragerea aureliană. III. Reinterpretarea simbolului numit Copacul vieții*, în *ActaMP* 20, 1996, p. 115-124.

267. *A proposito di un fragmento dei diploma militare da Porolissum. Osservazioni riguardanti il diploma IDR I Dipl. XXIII*, în *Ommagio a Dinu Adameșteanu*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 151-154.

268. *Porolissum. Un complex daco-roman la marginea de nord a Imperiului Roman. II. Vama romană. Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, 138 p. + 61 fig. + 84 planșe + 80 anexe.

269. *Der Römergrenzkastell von Bologa-Resculum / Castrul roman de la Bologa-Resculum (Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis, I)*, Zalău, 1996, 68 p. + 80 anexe.

270. *Der obermoesische Limes zwischen 86 und 106 n. Chr.*, în *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade, 1996, p. 115-124.

271. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane. 2. Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum*, în *Marisia XIII-XIV*, 1996, p. 511-580 (în colaborare cu A. Zrinyi).
272. *Sull esistenza ai Romeni di medioevo della memoria di un cristianesimo iniziale (antico) di rito romano e lingua latina*, în *Colloqui I.2*, 1996, p. 5-10.
273. *Über die Produktion von glassierten Gefäßen in den dakischen Provinzen*, în *AR XXV*, 1996, p. 115-120.
274. *Kreuzförmigen Zeichen auf Gegenständen des täglichen Gebrauchs aus vorconstantinischen Zeit*, în *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*, Bonn, 1991 (Münster, 1995/1996), p. 833-848.
275. *Exercitus Moesiae Superioris 106-275*, în *Zbornik XVI/1*, 1996, p. 231-248.
- 275a. *Moigrad-Porolissum com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj*, în *Situri arheologice cercetate în perioada 1983-1992*, Brăila, 1996, p. 73-76.

1997

276. *Das Römergrenzkastell von Buciumi / Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Zalău, 1997 (*Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 2), 117 p. + ilustrații.
277. *Das Römergrenzkastell von Moigrad-Pomet / Castrul roman de la Moigrad-Pomet*, Zalău, 1997 (*Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 5), 129 p. + ilustrații.
278. *Der Meseș-Limes. Die vorgeschobene Kleinfestungslinie auf den westlichen Abschnitt der Grenze der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis/Limesul de pe munții Meseș. Linia înaintată de turnuri de pază de pe sectorul de vest al provinciei Dacia Porolissensis*, Zalău, 1997 (*Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 8), 127 p. + ilustrații.
279. *Der Dakische Limes. Materialien zur seiner Geschichte*, Mainz, 1997, *Sonderdruck aus der Jahrbuch der Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz*, 113 p. + ilustrații.
280. *The Fortifications for Lower Moesia. AD 86-275*, Amsterdam, 1997, 97 p. + 80 ilustrații (în colaborare cu M. Zahariade).
281. *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte von Dacia Porolissensis. (6). Cohors I Hispanorum Quingenaria*, în *ActaMN 34/1*, 1997, p. 61-73.
282. *Limes or strategy? Critical notes on E. N. Lutwak's work, „The grand strategy of the Roman Empire from the 1st century to the third, Baltimore, Maryland-London, 1976”*, în *ActaMN 34/1*, 1997, p. 213-225.

283. *Römische Drehmühlen von Porolissum und aus den Kastellen des westlichen Limes der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis*, în *ActaMN* 34/1, 1997, p. 229-324.
284. *Die gestempelten Gefäße von Porolissum. II. Die gestempelten Gefäße aus dem Kastell auf dem Hügel Pomet*, în *ActaMP* 21, 1997, p. 19-219 (în colaborare cu C. Filip).
285. *Nochmals zu einer Ziegelschrift aus Weisenburg / Bayern: die Tagesnorm eines römischen Ziegelarbeitsers*, în *ArchKorr* 26/4, 1996 (1997), p. 475-482.
286. *Date noi despre „Sfinxul ” de la Turda (New data about the „Sphinx” von Turda)*, în *Civilizația romană în Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 157-161.
287. *Die Verteidigung der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis zwischen Mauersperre und Verteidigung in der Tiefe*, în *Roman Frontier Studies 1995 XVI, Rolduc (Limes 16 Rolduc)*, Amsterdam, 1997, p. 13-24.
288. M. Mackensen, *Die spätantiken Sigillata- und Lampenö en von El Mahrine (Tunesien). Studien zur nordafrikanischen Feinkeramik des 4-bis 7. Jhr.*, München 1992, în *EphNap* 6, 1997, p. 301-304.

1998

289. *Despre existența la români a conștiinței unui creștinism inițial de rit roman și limbă latină (About the existence by the romanians of the conciousness of a primitive christian church with Roman ritus and latin language)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLI.1, 1996 (1998), p. 63-79.
290. *Congresul internațional pentru studiul frontierelor romane. Limesul roman în Dacia. I*, în *Limes* I.1, 1998, p. 8-14.
291. *Tezaurul monetar de la Moldova Nouă (sec. IV p. Chr.)*, în *AB(SN)* V, 1998, p. 83-112 (în colaborare cu R. Ardevan, N. Toma).
292. *Chr. Unz-Echardt Deschler-Erb, Katalog der Militaria aus Vindonissa. Militärische Funde, Pferde- geschir und Jochteile bis 1976. Veröffentlichung der Gesellschaft pro Vindnissa, Band XV, 1997, 96 S. + 86 Taf.*, în *ActaMN* 35/1, 1998, p. 267-268.
293. *Congresul internațional pentru studiul frontierelor romane. Limesul roman în Dacia II*, în *Limes* I/2-3, 1998, p. 159-167.
294. *The Jews in the Roman Dacia. II. A jewish coin in the Roman fort from Ilișua (Dacia Porolissensis)*, în *Studia Judaica* VII, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 199-202.

1999

295. *Contribuții la cunoașterea faunei domestice la daci înainte de cucerirea romană*, în *Apulum XXXVI*, 1999, p. 145-170 (în colaborare cu Al. Gudea).
296. *Limes Daciae Porolissensis. Beiträge zu einen historisch-archäologischen bibliographie*, în *Roman Frontier Studies XVII*, 1997, Zalău, 1999, p. 915-930.
297. *Un aspect mai puțin cunoscut al activității lui A. Mureșanu: polemica istorică*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLII/1*, 1997 (1999), p. 79-86.
298. *Die Anfänge des Christentums bei den Dako-Römern*, în *Früheschristentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel*, Wien, 1999, p. 64-65.
299. Joelle Napoli, *Recherches sur les Fortifications linéaires romaines*, *Collection de l'École française de Rome*. 229, Rome, 1997, în *ActaMN* 36, 1999, p. 265-273.
300. *Vase romane cu decor lipit de la Porolissum*, în *EphNap* 8, 1999, p. 273-303.
301. *Crucea relicvar de la Dăbâca. Considerații privind tipologia și cronologia crucilor relicviar bizantine descoperite pe teritoriul României*, în *EphNap* 8, 1999, p. 273-302 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).
302. *The Jews in the Roman Dacia. III. A clay counter with incised „star of David“ and other discoveries at Porolissum*, în *Studia Judaica* 8, 1999, p. 278-284.
303. *Contribuții la istoria Bisericii Române Unite. O notiță despre Biserica Română Unită în Istoria Armenilor din Transilvania*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLII/1*, 1998 (1999), p. 49-54.
304. *Porolissum. Auschnitte aus dem Leben einer dakisch-römischen Grenzsiedlung aus dem Nord-Western der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis (Xenia. Konstanzer Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte)*. Hrsg. Nicolae Gudea und Wolfgang Schüller, 240 p., Amsterdam, 1999 (autor și coeditor).
305. Ioan Horga, *L'Eglise Greco-Catholique (Uniate) de Transylvanie à l'époque de lumières. L'évêché d'Oradea (1760-1840)*, Université de Reims f. a., în *StudiaUBBTC XLII/1*, 1997 (1999), p. 118-121.
306. *Creștinismul vechi românesc între mit și realitate. 1. Despre legenda referitoare la predicarea apostolului Filip în Dobrogea*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLII/2*, 1997 (1999), p. 127-132.

2000

307. *Dacia Porolissensis. Contribuții la o bibliografie a istoriei militare și la un scurt istoric al cercetărilor*, în *Revista Bistriței* XIV, 2000, p. 355-370.
308. *Moigrad. com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj (Porolissum). Orașul roman. Cercetările arheologice de la Porolissum-sectorul LM-1 S (sanctuarul lui IOMD)*, în *CCA*, 2000, p. 62-64.
309. *Despre creșterea animalelor, cunoștințe de zootehnie și medicină veterinară în provinciile dacice. 106-275. O încercare metodologică pentru stadiul actual al cercetărilor*, în *Apulum* XXXVIII, 2000, p. 241-278 (în colaborare cu Al. Gudea).
310. *Bizantinologia între improvizație și realitate. Note, observații critice și completări la lucrarea: Byzantinologie. I. de V. V. Munteanu*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLV/1, 2000, p. 131-143.
311. *Die von Rumänischer Unierte Kirche (Griechisch-Katholischen) in der Zeit nach der Revolution von 1989 gespielten Rolle*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLV/2, 2000, p. 99-114 (în colaborare cu Fl. Crihălmeanu).
312. *Note de lectură. Contribuții la Istoria Bisericii Române Unite. II. Episcopul Márton Áron și Biserica Română Unită clandestină*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLV/2, 2000, p. 149-156.

2001

313. *Über den dakischen Peryplus der legio III Gallica zu Beginn des 3. Jhdts*, în *Al. Ciugudean and V. Moga (eds), Army and Urban Development in the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Alba Iulia, 2001, p. 277-283.
314. *Reflexii privind relația Stat-Biserică. O abordare din punct de vedere greco-catolic*, în *M. Nóda (coord.), Relația ideală dintre Biserică și Stat*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 45-66.
315. *Despre templul zeului Iupiter Dolichenus din municipium septimum Porolissensum*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, 174 p. + 80 fig. (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).
316. *Reflexii privind relația Stat-Biserică. O abordare din punct de vedere greco-catolic*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLVI/1, 2001, p. 167-205.
317. *Politica ignoraței sau ignoranța ca politică. Note critice în legătură cu un text despre Biserica Română Unită (Greco-Catolică) dintr-un ghid al Bisericilor Orientale*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLVI/1, 2001, p. 207-214.
318. *Porolissum „caput provinciae tertiae sive porolissensis”*, în *TransRev* X/2, 2001, p. 38-57.

319. *Despre statuete de marmoră reprezentând pe IOMD din templul de la Porolissum. Contribuții la arta provincială din Dacia romană, în Apulum XXXVII.1, 2001, p. 160-187.*

320. *Fibule de la Porolissum. Castrul Pomet și așezarea lui civilă, în Revista Bistriței XV, 2001, p. 7789 (în colaborare cu S. Cociș și D. Tamba).*

321. *Iudita Călușer, Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Oradea, contribuții monografice, Oradea 2000, în StudiaUBBTC XLVI/3, 2001, p. 177-180.*

322. *Das Gefäß mit christlicher Inschrift aus Moigrad. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums im ehe-maligen Daken nach Aurelians Abzug, în StudiaUBBTC XLVI/3, 2001, p. 53-64.*

322a. *Moigrad, com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj (Porolissum). Orașul roman, în CCA, 2001, p. 150-152, + planșe (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).*

2002

323. *Über römische Hakenkreuzfibeln mit Pferdekopfen, în ArchKorr 32, 2002, p. 101-104.*

324. *Das dakisch-römische Christentum.2. Das Kelch vom Moigrad. Die Frage der Verbreitung des Christentums auf dem Gebiet der ehemaligen dakischen Provinzen im 4. Jh., în A. Rustoiu-A. Ursuțiu (Hrsgs), Interregionale und Kulturelle Beziehungen im Karpatenraum 2. Jht. v. Chr.-1. Jht. n. Chr.), Cluj-Napoca 2002, p. 151-189.*

2003

325. *Religion und Kirchen in Ost/Mittleuropa: Rumänien, Slovakei, Ukraine, Ostfildern, 2003, 400 p (în colaborare cu M. Tomka, J. Márton, N. Marincovych, O. Turii, J. Brezak). Seria „Gott nach dem Kommunismus” Hrsgs. Paul M. Zulehner, M. Tomka, K. Toš).*

326. *Evreii în Dacia romană. 106-275, în EphNap IX-X, 2003, p. 179-208.*

327. *Noțiunea de limes: frontieră sau concepție de apărare. Câteva reflecții în legătură cu o carte recent apărută, în EphNap XX, 2003, p. 209-230.*

328. *Notițe de arheologie creștină. 1. Despre un vas de la Micăsasa, în Apulum XXIX, 2003, p. 615-618.*

329. *Îndreptări arheologice. 1. Câteva notițe despre mithraea în Dacia, în Apulum XXIX, 2003, p. 618-619.*

330. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei Porolissensis. 7. Îndreptări în legătură cu legio III Gallica, în Revista Bistriței XVI, 2003, p. 47-54.*

331. *Bezüglich der europäischen Wanderschaft der legio III Gallica zu Beginn des 3. Jhdts.*, în *Limes XVIII Amman. Proceedings of the XVIII-th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Nottingham, 2003, p. 19-24.
332. *The northern frontier of Moesia Prima and the western section of the north border of Dacia Ripensis between A.D. 275-378*, în K. Kuzmova, K. Pieta, J. Rajtar (Hrsgs.), *Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolnik zum 70. Geburtstag*, Nitra, 2003, p. 117-126.
333. *Note de arheologie creștină. 2. Vasul de sticlă de la Novae (Svistov, Bulgaria)*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVIII/4*, 2003, 63-76.
334. *Unitus versus uniti. Câteva notițe și remarci cu privire la panseuri teologice despre Biserica Unită*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVIII/4*, 2003 77-94.
335. *Einige Betrachtungen zur Lage der linken Donauufers im Gebiet des Eisernen Tores zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhd. und 378 n. Chr.*, în *Die Archeologie und Geschichte des Region des Eisernen Tores zwischen 106-275 n. Chr. Kolloquium in Drobeta-T. Severin 1-4. Oktober 2000*, București, 2003, 15-24.
336. *Moigrad, com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj (Porolissum), punct Pomet*, în *CCA*, 2003, p. 207-209 (în colaborare cu D. Tamba, I. Bajusz).
337. *Restituiri arheologice. III. Cohors IIII Betasiorum*, în *EphNap XI*, 2003, p. 55-60.
338. *Coin finds in the dolichenum from Porolissum*, în *NK*, 2003, p. 209-231 (în colaborare cu R. Ardevan).
339. *Die Nordgrenze der römischen Provinz Obermoesien. Materialien zur ihrer Geschite (86-275 n. Chr.)*, Mainz, 2003, 118 p.
340. *Creștinismul daco-roman. 2. Potirul de la Moigrad și problema răspândirii creștinismului pe teritoriul fostelor provincii dacice în secolul IV*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVII/2*, 2003, p. 5-62.
341. *Biserica Română Unită (Greco-Catolică) între chemarea endemică spre Occident și dificultățile ori-entale actuale*, în *Studia UBBTC XLVII/1*, 2003, p. 109-134.
342. *Die neuen konkreten Ziele der Rumänischen Unierten (Griechisch Katholischen) Kirche nach dem Fall der Mauern mit und in weltlichen und kirchlichen Millieu*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVII/1*, 2003, p. 135-164 (în colaborare cu F. Crihălmeanu).
343. *Tempfli Imre, Sárból és napsugárból. Pakocs Károly püspöki helynök élete és kora. 1892-1966*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVII/1*, 2003, p. 165-167.

344. Cristian Vasile, *Istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice sub regimul comunist. 1945-1989. Documente și mărturii*, în *StudiaUBBTC*, XLVII/1, 2003, p. 167-169.
345. Cristian Vasile, *Între Vatican și Kremlin. Biserica Greco-Catolică în timpul regimului comunist, București 2003*, în *StudiaUBBTC* XLVII/1, 2003, p. 169-174.
346. *Granița romană și romană târzie în zona Porților de Fier. Câteva note critice și statistice*, în *Banatica* 16/1, 2003, p. 171-194.
347. *Depozitul monetar de la Iclod, sec. IV p. Chr.*, în *Banatica*, 16/1, 2003, p. 245-261.
348. *Notițe de arheologie creștină. 3. O clădire din așezarea rurală de la Gornea între locuirea rustică și bazilică creștină*, în *Banatica*, 16/1, 2003, p. 262-272.
349. *Contribuții la istoria militară a provinciei Moesia. II.1. Despre lectura ștampilei*, în *Banatica*, 16/1, 2003, p. 317-322.
350. *Contribuții la istoria militară a provinciei Moesia Inferior. 1. Propunere pentru lectura unei ștampile încă nerezolvate: CEMEL*, în *Banatica*, 16/1, 2003, p. 323-332.
- 350a. *Opaștele din castrul roman de la Buciumi (Dacia Porolissensi)*, în *Studii în onoarea lui M. Porumb*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 21-38 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).

2004

351. *Das Römergrenzkastell von Buciumi. Vorschläge für eine graphische Wiederherstellung*, în *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 51, 2004, p. 127-152 (în colaborare cu arhitecta A. Gyemant).
352. *Raport preliminar în legătură cu cercetările de teren și arheologice, lucrările de conservare și restaurare executate la Porolissum între anii 1994-2002*, în *ActaMP* 25, 2004 p. 195-262 (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).
353. *Vase ceramice cu decor ștampilat la nord-vest de limesul dacic*, în *ActaMP* 25, 2004, p. 19-130 (în colaborare cu C. Filip).
354. *Jupiter Dolichenus aus Porolissum. Beiträge zur Provinzialkunst in römischen Dakien*, în P. Noelke (Hrsg.), *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften des Imperium Romanum. Akten des 6. Internationalen Colloquiums über die probleme des Provinzialrömischen Kunstschatens, Köln 2. bis 6. Mai 2001*, Mainz am Rhein 2004, p. 441-450.

355. *Note de lectură. IV. Despre Porolissum într-o corespondență din secolul al XIX-lea*, în *ActaMP* 25, 2004, p. 161-165.
356. *Note arheologice. II. Despre fibulele în formă de svastică cu capetele brațelor în formă de cap de cal*, în *ActaMP* 25, 2004, p. 153-160.
357. *Die cohors VII Breucorum c.R. equitata in Obermoesien*, în *Orbis Antiquus – Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca. 2004, p. 73-75.
358. *Din nou despre fibulele cu corpul în formă de svastică și capetele brațelor în formă de cap de cal*, în *Studia Historica et Archeologica in Honorem Magistrae Doina Benea*, Timișoara 2004, p. 189-193.
359. *În legătură cu o tipologie a plăcilor votive triunghiulare cu decor în relief din cultul lui IOMD. Contribuții la istoria religiilor*, în *Apulum* 41, 2004, p. 219-146.
360. *Preotul dr. Silvestru Augustin Prunduș între rescriptul împăratului Traian privind pe creștini și reco-mandările generalului C. Ioana privind pe greco-catolici*, în *StudiaUBBTC XLVIII/1*, 2004, p. 317-382.

2005

361. *Monete cu defecte de batere și imitații de secolul IV p.Chr. în tezaurul din Banat*, în *Revista Bistriței* 18 2005, p. 123-137 (în colaborare cu C. Găzdac).
362. *Über eine Typologie der dreieckigen Motivplättchen mit Reliefverzierung im Kulte des Iupiter Dolichenus*, în *The Antique Bronzes: typology, chronology, authenticity. Actes of the 16th International Congresses o Antique Bronzes*, Bucharest May 26th-31st 2003 (2005), p. 217-228.
363. *Did Jews live in the province of Dacia?*, în P. Cernovodeanu (ed.), *The history of the Jews in Romania. I. From the beginnings to the nineteenth century*, Tel Aviv 2002(2005), p. 9-28.
364. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Moesiei Inferior. 2. Pentru o nouă tipologie a ștampilelor legiunii I Italica*, în *EphNap* 13, 2005, p. 195-216.
365. *Moigrad-Porolissum (com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj)*, în *CCA*, 2005, p. 242-243.
366. *Das Gefäss mit christlicher Inschrift aus Moigrad. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums in ehemaligen Dakien nach Aurelians Rückzug*, în *Atti del XIV Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia cristiana*. Vienna 19-26 settembre 1999, Roma 2005, p. 887-891 + Taf. 142-146.
367. *Sanctuare și militari la Porolissum*, în *EphNap* 13, 2003 (2005), p. 217-242.

368. *Descoperiri arheologice creștine preconstantiniene în provinciile romane din jurul Daciilor*, în *StudiaUBBTC* L/1, 2005, p. 9-55 + 36 ilustrații (în colaborare cu D. Chiu).
369. *Note de arheologie creștină. 3. Inelul de aur cu inscripție de la Goznitza (Moesia Inferior)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* L/1, 2005, p. 3-8.
370. *Preot dr. Silvestru Augustin Prunduș OSBM*, în *StudiaUBBTC* L/1, 2005, p. 195-201.
371. *Îndreptări arheologice 5. Ulpientia. Contribuții la cunoașterea Ulpiei Traiana*, în *Apulum* 42, 2005, p. 505-572.
372. *Despre consumul alimentar al armatei romane din Dacia Porolissensis*, în N. Gudea-C. Cosma (eds.), *Comerț și civilizație în Transilvania în milenii I a. Chr.-1 p. Chr.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 185-210.
373. B. Lőrincz, *Die römische Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. Teil I: die Inschriften*, Wien 2001, 332 p + 17 Abb + 67 Tabellen., în *EphNap* 13, 2005, p. 313-315.
374. *Das römische Binnenkastell von Gherla. Die Erde-Holzphase 106-140*, în *Limes 19 Pécs. Akten des 19-ten Internationalen Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, September 2003, Pécs, 2005, p. 713-721 (în colaborare cu R. Ardevan și D. Protase).
375. *Odd 4th century coins in the hoards from Banat*, în *EphNap* 13, 2005, p. 243-259 (în colaborare cu C. Găzdac).

2006

376. *Sagittarii porolissensi și armele lor*, în *Fontes Historiae. Studia in Honorem Demetrii Protase*. Cluj-Napoca/Bistrița 2006, p. 395-413.
377. *Where the Jews in the provinces of Dacia? (ancient Romania) during the Roman era*, în *The History of the Jews in Romania from the beginning to the nineteenth century*, Tel Aviv 2006, p. 13-36.
378. *Despre un fragment de plăcuță de marmoră cu reprezentarea cavalerilor danubieni la Porolissum*, în *Revista Bistriței* 19, 2006, p. 77-85.
379. *Evreii în Dacia romană. 5. Discul miniatural de piatră cu reprezentarea stelei lui David la Porolissum*, în *Revista Bistriței* 19, 2006, p. 95-99.
380. *Note de lectură. IV. Domnul Ștefan Roșeanu și armamentul roman din Dacia*, în *Revista Bistriței* 19, 2006, p. 296-299.
381. *Über ein Marmorplatte mit der Darstellung der Danubischen Reiter von Porolissum*, în *Corona Laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Marinescu*. București, 2006, p. 215-220.

382. *Il cristianesimo daco-romano nella storiografia greco-cattolica romana moderna e contemporanea*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/1, 2006, p. 145-159.
383. Nicolaus Netzhammer, *In verbo tuo. Raymund Netzhammer o.s.b. arhiepiscop de București 1905-1924*, București 2003, 170 p., în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/1, 2006, p. 251-254.
384. *Moigrad, com. Merșid, jud. Sălaj (Porolissum)*, în *CCA*, 2006, p. 231-232, nr. 120 (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).
385. *Porolissum. Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins rom Romania. II*. Cluj-Napoca 2006, 189 p. + 17 planșe (în colaborarea cu C. Găzdac).
386. *Ein mit Inschrift versehener goldener Ring aus Gonitza (Moesia Inferior)*, în *ArchKorr* 36/2, 2006, p. 255-258.
387. *Dacia. Eine romische Provinz zwischen Karpaten und Schwarzem Meeres*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2006; 115 p. + 37 ilustrații color + 14 ilustrații alb-negru + 32 ilustrații desenate.

2007

388. *Der untermoesische Limes und die Verteidigung der Moesischen Nord und Westküste des Schwarzem Meeres. Limes et litus Moesiae Inferioris*, în *Sonderhet aus Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentral-museum Mainz* 52, 2007, 247 p.
389. *Votiv Denkmäler aus Stein und Ihre soziale und ethnische Widerspiegelung. Fallstudie: Porolissum (Dacia Porolissensi)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/1, 2007, p. 7-29.
390. *Note de arheologie creștină. 4. Descoperiri creștine la Gârla Mare (jud. Mehedinți)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/1, 2007, p. 31-39.
391. *Prospettiva della Chiesa Romana Unita con Roma (Greco-Cattolica) dopo la caduta delle mure nel contesto laico ed ecclesiastico*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/1, 2007, p. 139-166.
392. *Arme romane ca ofrande votive. Studiu de caz: templul lui IOMD de la Porolissum*, în *Revista Bistriței* 20, 2007, p. 125-132.
393. *Contribuții la cunoașterea limesului Moesiei Inferior. Cazul Iatrus*, în *Revista Bistriței* 20, 2007, p. 117-186.
394. *Das Gefäss mit christlicher Inschrift aus Moigrad. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums in ehemaligen Dakien nach Aurelians Rückzug*, în *Akten des XIV-ten Internationalen Kongresses für Christlichen Archäologie. I*. Citta del Vaticano 2007, p. 879-883 + Taf. 142-146.

395. *Die römische Grenze in Rumänien (Dacia), în Grenzen des Römischen Reiches.* Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 2007, p. 31-40.
396. *Römische Waffen als Votivgabeopfer. Fallstudie: Das IOMD – Tempel von Porolissum,* în C. Cosma (ed.), *Funerary offerings and votive depositions in Europe's first millenium. AD. Cultural artefacts and local identities,* Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 21-35.
397. Virgil Lungu, *Creștinismul în Scythia Minor în contextul vest-pontic, Sibiu-Constanța, 2000, 168 p. + 34 fig. Din secolele III-IV + 44 fig. Din secolele IV-VI,* în *StudiaUBBTC* LII/1, 2007, p. 141-143.
398. Daniel Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor. Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania sub conduce-rea episcopului Ioan Bob (1782-1830),* în *StudiaUBBTC* LI/4, 2007, p. 167-170.
399. Nicolai Staab, *Die Unierte Kirche in Rumänien 1948-1989. Tübingen 2005,* în *StudiaUBBTC* LII/4, 2007, p. 175-177.
400. Aurelia Știrban-M. Știrban, *Din istoria Bisericii Române Unite cu Roma de la 1918 la 1941,* în *StudiaUBBTC* LII/1, 2007, p. 144-145.
401. I.P. Southern, K.R. Dixon, *Roman cavalry equipment. Tempus Publishing Ltd. The Mill. Briscombe Port Stroud, Gloucestershire. 2003,* în *EphNap* 14-15/2004-2005 (2007), p. 211-212.

2008

402. *Castrul roman de la Feldioara/ Das Römerkastels von Feldioara,* Cluj-Napoca 2008, (224 p. + 28 figuri + 36 planșe).
403. *Așezări rurale din Dacia romană. 106-275. Schiță pentru o istorie a satului și agriculturii daco-romane,* Oradea, 2008 (138 p + 115 planșe).
404. *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Castrul roman de interior de la Gherla,* Timișoara, 2008 (503 p + 33 figuri + 99 planșe (în colaborare D. Protase și R. Ardevan).
405. *Lychnological Acts 2. Trade and local production off lamps from the prehistory to the Middle Ages devices,* Zalău-Cluj-Napoca 13th-18th May 2006, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, 243 p + 156 planșe în colaborare).
406. „*Pannonische glasierte Keramik*”. II. *Über die spatrömischen glasierten Lampen (4. Jh.) von der Mittle-ren und Unteren Donau,* în *Lychnological Acts 2,* Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 97-117.
407. *Die Lampen aus dem Römerkastell von Buciumi (Dacia Porolissensis),* în *Lychnological Acts 2,* Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 117-128 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).

408. *Note de arheologie creștină.5. Corrigenda et addenda la o intervenție privind vasul cu inscripții și simboluri creștine de la Moigrad*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/3, 2008, p. 31-35.
409. *Note de arheologie creștină.6. Despre datarea și interpretarea unor piese descoperite în Dacia și datând din epoca creștină veche (106-275/313 p. Chr)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/3, 2008, p. 37-41.
- 409a. *Paul Negruț, Biserica și statul: O interogație asupra modelului „simfoniei bizantine” Oradea 2005. 199p*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/3, 2008, p. 267-271.
410. *Note de arheologie creștină. 7. Despre un inel de aur cu gemă și simboluri creștine de la Durostorum (Moesia II)*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/1, 2008, p. 73-78.
411. *Biserica Română Unită 1945-1948. Confruntările cu statul comunist*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/4, 2008, p. 201-227.
412. *Proiect „Necropolis porolissensis. Methods and perspectives”*, în *ActaTS* VI, 2007 (2008), p. 9-17.
413. *Câteva notițe privind omisiuni, inadvertențe precum și adăugiri la un „Atlas-dicționar al Daciei romane”*, coordonator M. Bărbulescu, ed. Tribuna Pres, Cluj-Napoca 2005, în *Revista Bistriței* 21/1, 2008, p. 300-302.
414. *Un mesaj de pe limes dacicus pentru arheologii spanioli: despre un detașament din legiunea VII Gemina la Porolissum*, în *Revista Bistriței* 21/1, 2008, p. 283-291.
415. *Notizen christliches Archäologie, 2. Das Glassgefes von Novae (Svistov, Bulgarien)*, în *EphNap* XVI-XVII, 2007-2008, p. 165-176.
416. *O fibulă digitată cu mască umană pe picior descoperită la Așintiș (jud. Mureș)*, în *EphNap* 18, 2008, p. 213-226 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).
417. *E. Ch. Suttner, Staaten und Kirchen in der Völkerwelt des Ätlichen Europa. Entwicklungen der Neuzeit, Fribourg 2007*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/1, 2008, p. 223-244.
418. *Jan Mikrut, Die christliche Martyrer des Nazionalsozialismus und Totalitarismus in Mitteleuropa. 1938-1945, Wien 2005*, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/1, 2008, p. 225-227.
419. *Die dakische Gebiete in der Provinz Moesia Inferior. 101-118*, în *EphNap* 18, 2008, p. 49-84, (în colaborare cu C. Găzdac).
420. *Victoria Bolfă (sr. Veridiana), Aspecte din istoria comunității Surorilor Baziliene din România. Fondarea și perioada de persecuție 1948-1989*, ed.

Galaxia Gutenberg, Tg. Lăpuș 2007, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/3, 2008, p. 161-163.

421. *Din istoria Bisericii greco-catolice clandestine. 2. M. R. Birtz, M. Kierein, S. Făgăraș, Fărâme din prescura prigoanei – 1948-1990*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIII/4, 2008, p. 255-259.

2009

422. *Castrul roman de la Răcari*, Cluj-Napoca 2009, 204 p. + 166 planșe (în colaborare cu D. Bondoc).

423. *Din istoria Bisericii Române Unite clandestine. 3. Romul Pop, între cruce și stea. Un memoriu ecclesiastic*. Baia Mare 1997, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIV/2, 2009, p. 231-237.

424. *Din istoria Bisericii Române Unite clandestine. 4. Wiliam Totok, Episcopul, Hitler și Securitatea. Procesul stalinist împotriva spionilor Vaticanului în România*. Iași 2008, în *StudiaUBBTC* LIV/1, 2009, p. 213-217.

425. *Despre un tezaur de monete din secolul IV din Transilvania. Tezaurul de la Ocna de Sus (jud. Harghita)*, în *Revista Bistriței* 22, 2009, p. 179-182.

426. *Despre o jumătate de tipar bivalv din bronz pentru turnat fibule, prin metoda cerii pierdute*, în *Revista Bistriței* 22, 2009, p. 179-182 (în colaborare cu D. Tamba).

427. *Eine in Ațintiș (Kreis Mureș) entdeckte Fibel mit Darstellung einer menschlicher Mascke auf dem Fibelfuss*, în *ArchKorrBlatt* 39, 2009, p. 279-288 (în colaborare cu C. Cosma).

428. *Eine Fibelgussform aus Bronze aus Porolissum*, în *ArchKorrBlatt* 39, 2009, nr. 3, p. 409-414.

429. *Die Rumänische mit Rom Unierte Kirche (Griechisch-Katholisch) 1945-1948. Konfrontationen mit der kommunistischen Staat*, în *Felekezetek az igazság szógalatában-Történelem-Theologia-Onszonóság 1500-2000. Tanulmányok*, Budapest 2009, p. 49-57.

430. *Despre o jumătate de tipar bivalv de bronz pentru turnat fibule prin metoda cerii pierdute*, în *ActaMP* 30, 2009, p. 135-142.

430a. *Biserica Română Unită. 1945-1948. Confruntările cu statul comunist*, în *Biserica Română Unită 60 de ani de la desființare*. Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 301-329.

430b. *Eröffnungsrede*, în *Biserica Română Unită. 60 de ani de la desființare*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 9-10.

430c. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei Ripensis 1. Despre fortificații nominalizate de stampile tegulare*, în *Apulum* 46, 2009, p. 415-430.

2010

431. *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sălaj*, în *Bibliotheca Brukenthal XLV*, Sibiu 2010, 166 p. + 51 figuri ilustrate (în colaborare cu S.A. Luca).

432. *Arheologie și istorie. IV. Descoperiri din județul Sălaj*, Oradea 2010, 273 p. + 1 hartă (în colaborare cu S.A. Luca).

433. *Christiana minora. Studii, articole și note în legătură cu creștinismul primitiv din Dacia romană, Dacia postromană și unele provincii vecine*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, 519 p. + 193 figuri ilustrate.

434. *Funditores und Balistarii. Eine Fallstudie zur Dacia Porolissensis, în Waffen in Aktion. Akten des 16. International ROMEC Military Equipment Conference. Xanten 13-16 Juni 2007. Hrsg. Von Alexandra W. Busch und H. J. Schalles. Mainz, p. 223-236.*

435. *Vorschlag für eine neue Lesung der Inschrift OMHARVG auf dem Ring No. 3 aus dem Grab. No. 1 von Apahida (Klausenburg/Cluj-Napoca, Rumänien)*, în *StudiaUBBTC LV/3*, 2010, p. 25-66.

436. *Note de arheologie creștină. 8 A. Despre un inel bizantin de argint de căsătorie de la Durostorum (Moesia Secunda)*, în *StudiaUBBTC LV/4*, 2010, p. 11-15.

437. *Note de arheologie creștină 8. Despre o gemă gnostică de la Gravân/Dinogetia (Moesia Inferior)*, în *StudiaUBBTC LV/4*, 2010, p. 17-25.

438. *Contribuții la cunoașterea armatei romane târzii. 1. Arme pentru lupta la distanță din fortificațiile de pe granița de nord a Daciei Ripensis*, în *Apulum* 47, 2010, p. 77-106.

439. *Între frustrare și ignoranță. Răspuns la o pseudoscriere critică a d-lui Eugen S. Teodor*, în *Apulum* 47, 2010, p. 551-557 (în colaborare cu D. Bondoc).

440. *Prăbușirea apărării romane de frontieră la Dunărea de Mijloc și de Jos după 378. Cu privire specială la Dacia Ripensis*, în *Revista Bistriței* 23, 2010, p. 85-103.

2011

441. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des spätrömischen Heeres (4. Jahrhundert)1. Waffen für den Fernkampf aus den Wehranlagen an der Nordgrenze von Dacia Ripensis*, în *Revista Bistriței* 24, 2011, p. 267-283.

442. *Note de arheologie creștină. 7. Despre o gemă gnostică de la Gravân/Dinogeția (Moesia Inferior), în Classica et Orientalia 6/2, 2011, p. 445-453.*

443. *Note de arheologie creștină. Geme creștine la Carnuntum (Petronell, Austria), în Apulum 48, 2011, p. 217-224.*

444. *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei Porolissensis. Alte îndreptări în legătură cu cohors III decorum, în Apulum 48, 2011, p. 327-330.*

2012

445. *Ländliche Siedlungen in den dakischen Provinzen (106-275 n. Chr.). Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dorfes und der Landwirtschaft in der Römerzeit, în JarbuchRGZM 58, 2012, p. 445-453.*

446. *Stăpânirea romană / The Roman rule / La domination romaine, în Ioan Roșca (coord.), Dunărea românească, București, 2012, p. 21-29.*

447. *Castrul roman de la Slăveni. Încercare de monografie arheologică, Cluj Napoca, 2012, 259 p. (în colaborare cu G. Popilian, D. Tudor, D. Bondoc).*

448. *Cristiana Minora. Studii și articole, note în legătură cu creștinismul timpuriu în Dacia romană, Dacia Postromană și unele provincii vecine, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 519 p.*

449. *Konrad Weidemann (1938-2010), în Revista Bistriței 25, 2012, p. 383-386 (în colaborare cu Anette Frey).*

2013

450. *Zalău. Un oraș la frontiera de nord a Transilvaniei, Zalău 2013 (în colaborare cu V. Părău).*

451. *Note de lectură VI. Observații pe marginea studiului lui C. Olari "The late antiquity studies in the Romanian historiography, în Classica and Orientalia Christians 8/2, 2013, p. 684-687.*

452. *Note de lectură. V. Inscripții latine din Dacia. Addenda et corrigenda, în Alexandru Materi la 80 de ani. Arhive și Istorie în Clujul academic și universitar, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 2011-2013.*

453. *Contribuții la cunoașterea armamentului roman din Dacia. Despre arme pentru lupte la distanță din castrul pentru legiune de la Potaissa / Turda și zona aferentă lui, în Apulum 50, 2013, p. 151-165.*

454. *Thomas Fisher, Die armée der Caesaren. Archäologie und Geschichtnte Regensburg 2012/2013 (recenzie), în Revista Bistriței 26, 2013, p. 376-377.*

455. *Îndreptări arheologice. Câte ceva despre religia militarilor din castrul roman de la Bologa/Resculm*, în *Revista Bistriței XXVII*, 2013, p. 37-38.

456. *Der Limes der Provinz Dacia Inferior. 106-294 n. Chr.*, în *JahrRGZM* 60, 2013, p. 459-658.

2014

457. *Inscriptiones tegularum legionis XIII geminae. I. Tipologia ștampilelor pe cărămizi și țigle descoperite în castru*, în *Apulum* 51, 2014, p. 454-560.

458. *Von den Geheimnissen des dakischen Limes. Die Organisation der römische Verteidigung von dem Kastell von Bologa (jud. Cluj/Ro)*, în *Honesta Missio, Festschrift für Barbara Pferdehirt*, Mainz, 2014.

2015

459. *Contribuții la istoria creștinismului timpuriu în sud-estul Europei. Despre Biserica Creștină la Gepizi*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015 (în colaborare cu C. Gaiu).

NEW DETAILS ABOUT THE SANCTUARY BELONGING TO THE THIRD PHASE OF STARČEVO-CRIȘ CULTURE FROM CRISTIAN III SITE (SIBIU COUNTY)

Sabin Adrian LUCA

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania
Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania
sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro;
sabin.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Anamaria TUDORIE

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania
anamaria.tudorie@ulbsibiu.ro

Adrian GEORGESCU

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania
adrian.georgescu@ulbsibiu.ro

Florentina MARȚIȘ

Independent Researcher
tinamartis2003@yahoo.com

Adrian LUCA

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania
adrian.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Abstract: *In this article is being described the Early Neolithic site from Cristian III (Starčevo-Criș III culture) and it is being defined an early horizon of sanctuaries, which is being developed in at least two phase, where there are statuettes/menhirs made of stone in a Mesolithic technique*

Key words: *Early Neolithic, Starčevo-Criș culture, sanctuary, Cristian III, Transylvania, Romania*

A part of this large archaeological feature, formed of pits 392, 393, 518, 583 (C₃₉₂; C₃₉₃; C₅₁₈; C₅₈₃), following called by us **Sanctuary** – hut-dwelling number 7

(B₇) (photo 1-26; plan 1-3; graphics 1-6; fig. 1-13) discovered at Cristian III, Sibiu County was just published (only C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃) (Luca *et al* 2014; Luca *et al* 2015).

On the E-NE side of plan 1 it can be noticed the presence of a not very large feature for which there is a detailed plan below (plan 1 – in the left part, towards the west side of the two central archaeological features (C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃) there is C₃₉₃ and lower, towards S, C₅₁₈) (Luca *et al* 2012, 141, pl. XIV; 192-196, photo 37-46). As plan 1 shows, there can be inhabited splices also towards S-E (in the exterior of the yellow line which is indicating the limits of the disposition but – without having the disposition – we couldn't continue the research in that area).

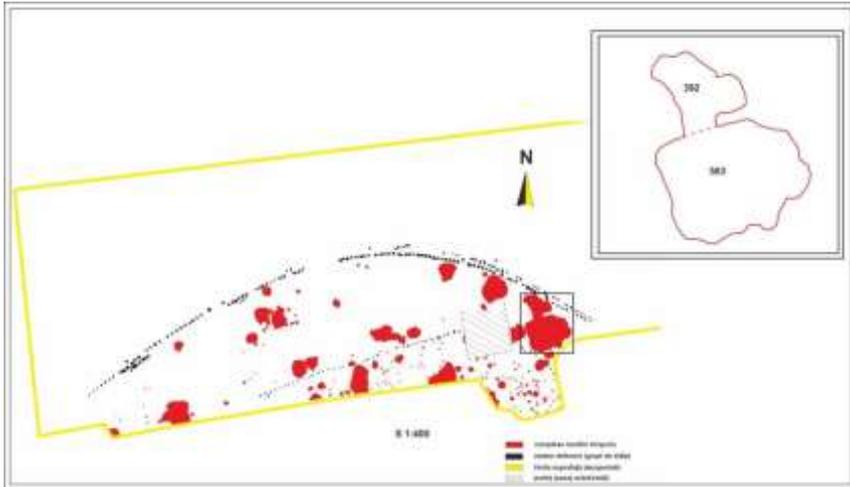
First, we can notice that this archaeological feature of sanctuary type has very large dimensions. The pit contained a large quantity of archaeological commune materials (pottery, tools, bones, horn), but also rare archaeological materials, cultic ones, in our opinion. We are being obliged to re-publish it because the initial excavation published (2011-2012) was extended to a new area in 2013, both the settlement and sanctuary getting another general form. More, the archaeological materials were studied in detail and we have several other opinions from the moment of the first publication.

Its *character*, of the sanctuary, is a special one. This type of architecture (large cultic spaces, formed by the joining of several deepened or semi-deepened improvements appears frequently in the last years researches from Cristian I (Luca *et al* 2014; Luca *et al* 2014a; Luca 2015, 123-195) and Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Luca *et al* 2007, 7-24; Luca *et al* 2008, 7-46). The construction from Cristian III seems to have been built of four or five connected huts and a veranda that surrounds it. This "dwelling" is – more likely – a construction with special character (sanctuary, shaman house or the house of the military head of the fortification).

The archaeological features discovered in the two excavation campaigns (2011-2013) have a relative rectangular shape, with rounded angles and endwise walls (we can detect at least four habituated pits, from which two of them can be noticed at C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃ – plan 2 and all four C₃₉₂; C₃₉₃; C₅₁₈ and C₅₈₃ at plan 1 – subscribed in a quadrangle). The sanctuary had numerous pits and alveolations on its bottom, which started from the first level of soil removal, respectively from the first 0.10-0.20 m, and it was delineated at -1.60 m (plan 2 – center). It could have been noticed the way of internal organisation of the space. The pits for the piles that sustained the roof, pits for the piles from the walls, parts spared from the roof or from the feature (with a support role for resting or for feeding, hearths (plan 2 – central, for the two huts, parts of the sanctuary C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃).

C₅₈₃, for example, is a deepened dwelling with straight walls, relatively circular (photo 1-2, 6), with numerous pits and alveolations on the bottom (photo 4-6). This is being delineated at the depth of 1.60 m.

This structure is one of the last that is preserving, compactly, remains of the lateral walls debris (photo 3).



Plan 1. Cristian III. With red: Starčevo-Criș III archaeological features; with black: Starčevo-Criș culture palisades. In the right, the feature analysed below (in right, up C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃). On the large plan, in the left side, towards West, a part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary, C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃, next there is C₃₉₃ and on the lower side, towards S, C₅₁₈.



Photo 1. Cristian III. Delineation of C₅₈₃. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.



Photo 2. Cristian III. Delineation of C₅₈₃. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

The present architecture elements are: pits for poles that are sustaining the roof, clay postaments for resin inside, furnished by clearing some parts of the walls from

the hut, eventually sleeping place or for depositing (plan 1 – right, up, central feature, the large one).

The discovered archaeological material is being illustrated and described at graphics 1-6 and at fig. 2-13.

In the sanctuary were discovered three hearths, **one** situated towards NE, near the center (close to it, at approximately 1 m S-SV was discovered another **menhir-stella** made of stone, having large dimensions, with an irregular shape, easily deepened in the middle on both sides (plan 2 – left; photo 8; C₅₈₃), **another** exactly on the center of northern side, at its limit towards inside (plan 2 – up; photo 9; C₃₉₂) and the **third** being in its western extremity (plan 2 – right; photo 7). The last one was displayed on a double river stone bed (between the two stone rows there was a mixture of ceramic fragments and sandy soil, light greyish-brown and yellowish-brown), relatively circular (with the diameter of 2.90/3.00 m) as a stand



Photo 3. Cristian III. The clearing of the architecture parts (the clearing of the southern side; the debris; C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 4. Cristian III. *Cross section* clearing of the architecture parts (the clearing of the northern side; intermediary level, C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 5. Cristian III. *Cross section* clearing of the architecture parts (clearing of the northern part, final C₅₈₃

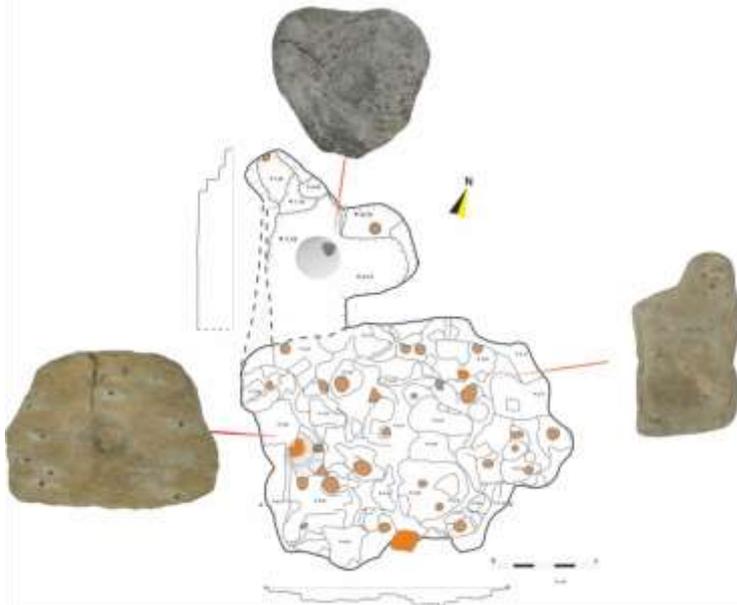


Photo 6. Cristian III integral cleaning of feature (C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

- Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

The archaeological feature has the maximal depth of -1.20 m (-2.80 m from the actual surface of the soil) and the dimensions of 15.30/13.40 m.

Directly, as an elongated extension towards the northern side of this feature, it is relating to the archaeological feature noted by us with **C₃₉₂**, discovered during the first campaign of excavations (2011-2012)(Luca *et al* 2012, 192, photo 37-39 – at delineation) and considered initially as a semi-depth dwelling with straight walls, built in steps. This is being delineated at -1.60 meters depth and inside were also surprised, both architecture elements, connected with the organization and improvements but also with elements connected with the shape and construction model (Luca *et al* 2012, 195-196, photo 43-46). The maximal depth of the archaeological feature was -1.10 m (so, -2.70 meters from the actual surface of the soil), and the dimensions of 9/6.80 m (we should mention that even since the report of the excavation presented and then published in 2012 (Luca *et al* 2012, 129-148), we considered that these weren't the real dimensions of the feature because it was continuator under the southern and western profile of the surface opened by us).



Plan 2. Cristian III (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary). With brown: pile poles; with orange: heaths and with black: three statuettes, stone menhir type.

In this context, we notice the **menhir-stella** with an irregular shape (or relatively triangular, both in plan and in section) having large dimensions, displayed almost in

the center of the feature, with the soft part facing up, where are well contoured two hemispherical concavities, face/back (the most well preserved, with the diameter of 10 cm and the depth of 3.25 cm)(Luca *et al* 2012, p. 193-194, photo 40-42).

Towards west is was delineated the feature C₃₉₃ (plan 1 – in the left side of the triangle, cutting it). Its characteristics are being identical with the ones from the other component parts of the sanctuary. It was entirely delineated at -1.60 m depth and it has 1.15 at the bottom, it is being rectangular and it has the dimensions of 4.60/4,25 m.

The research from 2013 confirmed the extension of the sanctuary though another feature, C₅₁₈, this one being, practically, an elongation of the cultic monument. It was delineated at 1.55 m depth and it had 2.75 m at the end. The dimensions of the feature are: 3.95/2.10 m. important is to emphasise the fact that we have surprised very strong marks of firing/charcoal in the central part of the feature, where we have also noticed a great agglomeration of archaeological materials, mainly ceramic fragments, many of them having signs of secondary firing, river stones, ceramic fragments and remains of animal bones.



Photo 7.1. Cristian III. The statuette/menhir no. 1 (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 7.2. Cristian III. The statuette/menhir no. 1. Back. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.



Photo 8.1. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 2. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary (Luca *et al* 2012, 193-194, photo 40-42 – *in situ*.)



Photo 8.2. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 2. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Table 1. Sanctuary, synthetic data

No. crt.	Feature number	The depth at delineation/final depth	Dimensions	Conclusions
1.	392	1,60/2,70 m	9/6,80 m	Heath, menhir-statuette
2.	393	1,60/2,75 m	4,60/4,25 m	
3.	518	1,55/2,75 m	3,95/2,10 m	
4.	583	1,60/2,80 m	15,30/13,40 m	Hearths, two menhir-stattuetes



Photo 9.1. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 3. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.



Photo 9.2. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 3. Back. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

We notice here the presence of the zoomorphic plastic art in the sanctuary (photo 10-13, 20, 22).

A zoomorphic statuette in this archaeological feature can be a dog. The preservation state of the piece doesn't allow us to make many observations on this topic. It has missing the inferior part of the left foot (photo 10-11).



Photo 10. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.



Photo 11. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

A second zoomorphic statuette (bovines?) is being fragmented. Its decor is being composed of short incisions, on the back and lateral sides of the animal. Dimensions: G=32 mm; L=33 mm; LA=23 mm (photo 12-13).

Analogies for this piece – for the ornament made with nail – we have one close by at Cristian I (Luca 2015, 146, fig. 115/1). We also notice the fact that the statuette from Cristian I is from an old level of Starčevo-Criș culture – I (Luca 2015, 219-224).



Photo 12. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovine. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.



Photo 13. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovine. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

C₅₁₈ is a part of the sanctuary with straight walls (photo 15-17), round (photo 14), built in steps (photo 15-17) and delineated at the depth of -1.60 m. Inside were discovered holes for the piles (photo 15-17; plan 3) for sustaining the roof made of "shelves" or "benches" made of clay, built through cleaning some parts form the walls or from the pit during its improvement (plan 3).



Photo 14. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Delineation.



Photo 15. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Clearing through *cross section* some parts of architecture (cleaning the northern part).



Photo 16. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Clearing through *cross section* some parts of architecture (cleaning the northern side).



Photo 17. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Cleaning entirely the feature. Detail.



Photo 18. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Fragments from the wooden pot.

The archaeological inventory discovered is being composed of entire, miniature vessels or vessels having small dimensions, fragments of pottery made by hand, both with decoration or without. The colour, the ornamentation and typology are being specific for this phase of Starčevo-Criș culture evolution.

Fragments of adobe, river stones, clay weights and animal bone remains (in very small quantities) complete the archaeological materials discovered in this feature.

The maximal depth is of -1.10 m and it has the following dimensions: 3.48/2.3 m. the filling is being composed of a yellowish-brown soil, mixt with a black-light coffee-like, clayish, with gravel, pigments, river stones, ceramic fragments and remains of animal bones in the composition.

The wooden pot had – as it is being shown in the reconstruction of its shape (fig.1; photo 18) – the belly very profiled, as it has the pot discovered at Grădinile (Nica 1981).

In the case of the feature analysed from Cristian III it was also discovered two fragments made of fossil wood – in our opinion. They represent the inferior part of a pot that is very similar with the one discovered at Grădinile by Marin Nica Nica 1981, 5-12). Its dating – 36.700±800 BP (Poz-25.226) (Luca *et al* 2011, 11, fig. 7) – make us thing in what concerns the raw materials used and its source.

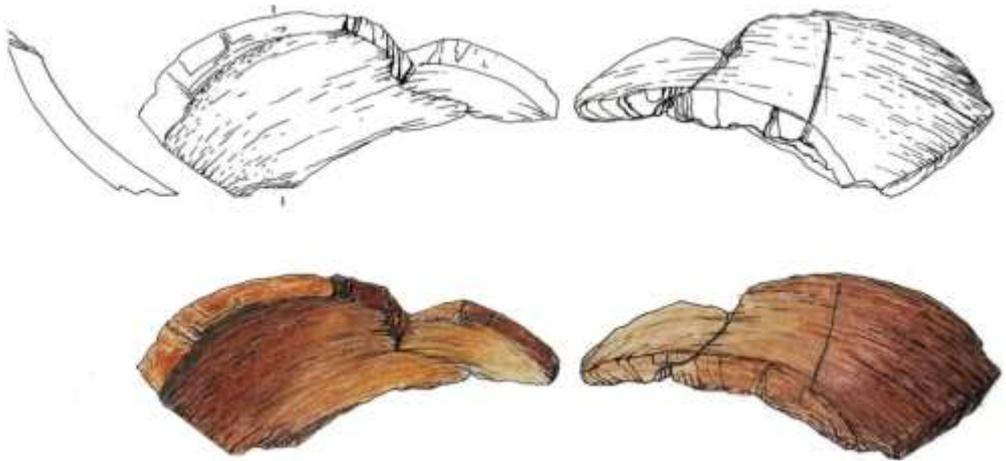


Fig. 1. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Wooden pot.



Photo 19. Cristian III. Miniature pot stand (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 20. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovine (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

A zoomorphic statuette (photo 20), along with another (photo 22)(fragmented, bovines) were discovered in Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

In the sacred feature was also discovered an amulet (photo 21) made from a pots wall (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 17/4, 7; 45/1; Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 23/13).

The chisel-axes, trapeze, made of stone, fine polished, with streight cuts and well sharpened (photo 25-26 – left and center)(Sava *et al* 2015, fig. 84/1; pl. 9/4).

Concave fragment of an obsidian blade (fig. 25-26 – right).

An unfinished scraper, made of a stone nucleus and it is being illustrated above (photo 24).



Photo 21. Cristian III. Ceramic amulet (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 22. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovines (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 23. Cristian III. Axe/sceptre made of stone (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 24. Cristian III. Unfinished scraper (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

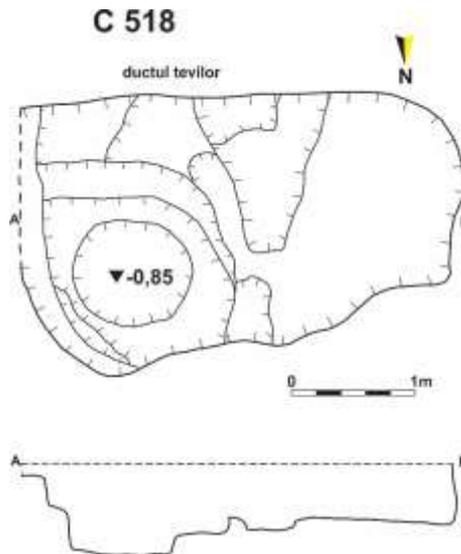
Axe/sceptre. Fragment of axe-hammer made of polished stone, transversal perforated; nape, conic, rounded by polishing. The piece (part of the inventory of one of the three kilns discovered in this feature, respectively of the one placed in the western extreme side) was probably broken by intention in half, on the line of the maximal diameter of the fixing hole, after it was thrown in the kiln – possible remains from a ritual (C₅₈₃, photo 23).



Photo 25. Cristian III. Axes made of polished stone (2) and obsidian blade (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Photo 26. Cristian III. Axes made of polished stone (2) and obsidian blade (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).



Plan 3. Cristian III. C₅₁₈. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. Plan.

The pottery

The statistical analysis of the pottery from the sanctuary.

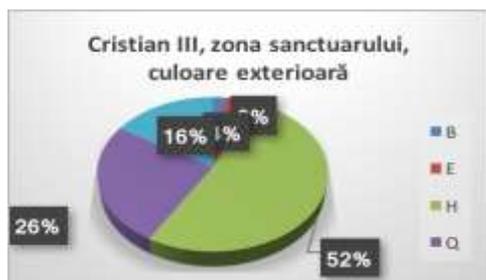
From a quantitative point of view, the number of ceramic fragments present in the sanctuary area of Cristian III site is a significant one: 3496 fragments.

From a qualitative point of view the semi fine category is being dominant, cu 79%, followed by the coarse one 20%. Only 1% it represents the fine category.

All in one, the features that we have analysed from Cristian III site it is being characterized by a predominance of the semi fine pottery domination, most of the time with percentages that are over three quarters of the total amount, followed by the coarse one, fine species being under-represented.



Graphic 1: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, category of the pottery.



Grafic 2: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, exterior colour of the pottery.

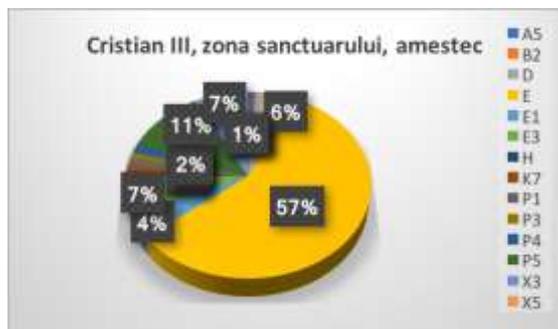


Grafic 3: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, interior colour of the pottery.

The exterior colour it is evidently being characterized by the light shades: light brown (code H) in proportion of 52%, brown with burning spots (code Q) 26%, brown (code U) 16%, dark brown (code E) 4% and brick-like (code B) 2%.

The inner colour of the pottery is light brown (code H) in proportion of 36%, brown with burning spots (code Q) 23%, brown (code U) 14%, greyish-black (code G)

17%, dark-brown (code E) 7% and brick-like (code B), whitish coffee-like (code O). Along, for 1% of the material it could not have been established the inner colour, the surface being exfoliated. As our oldest analysis indicated in the case of the inner colour we have the same colours as for the exterior ones, but we can notice a percentual increase of the light colours.



Graphic 4: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, the temper used for producing the pottery. shards (code P2), large grain sand, chaff and sherds (code P3), chaff and large size sand (code P4).

Over half of the ceramic material, respectively 57%, was tempered with chaff (code E). The difference of 43% is being divided like this: large grain sand and chaff (code P5) 11%, sand, chaff an ochre (code E3) 7%, 2% silt, chaff, mica, shards (code X7), 2% sand, silt, chaff and ochre (code A5) and one percentage: large grain sand (code K7), chaff and silt (code H), sand, chaff and

So, besides the most known combination: sand and chaff, in the paste used form making the pottery from the three features were frequently used shards, silt (the pottery has most of the times a floury aspect) large grain sand, gravel and mica. Usually, this last element, mica, wasn't mentioned by us in the macroscopic analysis made on the ceramic fragments but, in the case of the features from Cristian III its presence in a very large quantity, different from what we have analysed until that moment, determine dus to include it in the description.



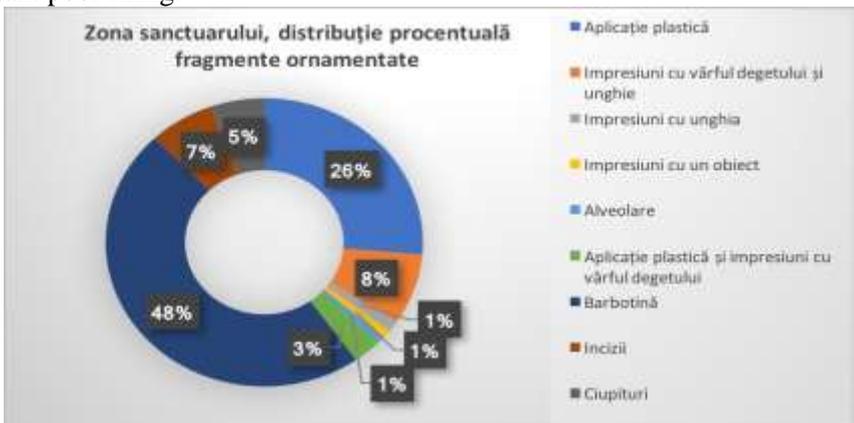
Graphic 5: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, treatment of the surface of the pottery.

The great majority of the pottery is flattened – 71%, 16% has a coarse surface, 6% a floury aspect, 6% barbotine, and 1% peeled off slip.

In what concerns the firing, 47% of the material it is being oxidant fired, 45% good firing, 7% poor oxidant and 1% oxidant, as it is being indicated in the above presented graphic. But, because of the large number of fragments from the sanctuary zone, the programme used eliminated some situations that we shall mention separately: 2 fragments present black-topped firing, 12 fragments with secondary firing, 20 fragments with reductant good firing and 12 fragments with reductant poor firing.



Graphic 6: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, firing of the pottery.



Graphic 7: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, percentual distribution of the ornamented fragments.

From the entire lot of pottery that was collected from the sanctuary area, 243 fragments presented an ornament. The largest part is being represented by **barbotine**, with almost half of the total amount – 48%. For the fragments that was possible to establish also the typology, most of them corresponded for code JM (19 pieces) and JN (19 pieces) (Maxim 1999, Fig. 33) – which is barbotine organised in vertical layers. **The plastic applications** were identified in 26% of the cases, the most frequent type being MC (Tudorie 2013, 85), in 13 cases, 8% represents **impressions made with finger-tip and nail**, 7% **incisions** (only for 4 cases was possible to establish also the type: DJ, FC (Maxim 1999, Fig. 33) and two new types:

UC, FT (they are to be published into another study), 5% **pinches** (in 4 cases the type was established: BC, BE – one case, BI – 2 cases, BK – 3 cases), 3% **plastic application** and **impressions made with finger-tip** and one percent **impressions made with nail**, **impressions made with an object**, **alveolations** (on/under the rim).

Besides the statistical data regarding ornamentation, we also should mention two quantitative data: 1 fragment that has **imprints on its bottom**, 1 ceramic fragment with barely visible marks of black colour paint which was displayed in horizontal stripes.

In what concerns the morphological analysis of the pottery, there were useful all the 297 fragments of rims and 345 fragments of bottoms. From all this, for the rims, in 145 cases the type could have been established, and for the bottoms in 171 cases.

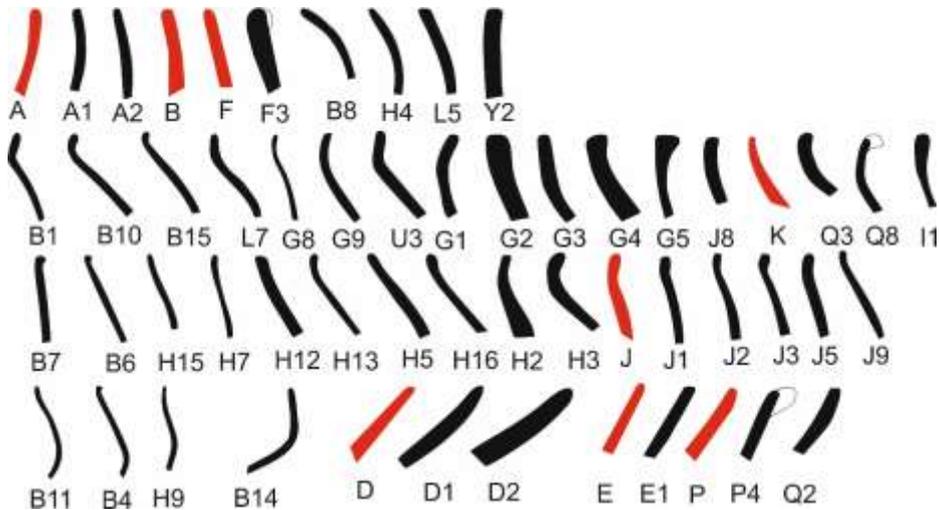


Fig 2. Typologies of rims identified in the sanctuary area of Cristian III.

A miniature pot, a cup with a stand, fragmentary, having the base of the stand slightly convex, was discovered inside the sanctuary (photo 19).

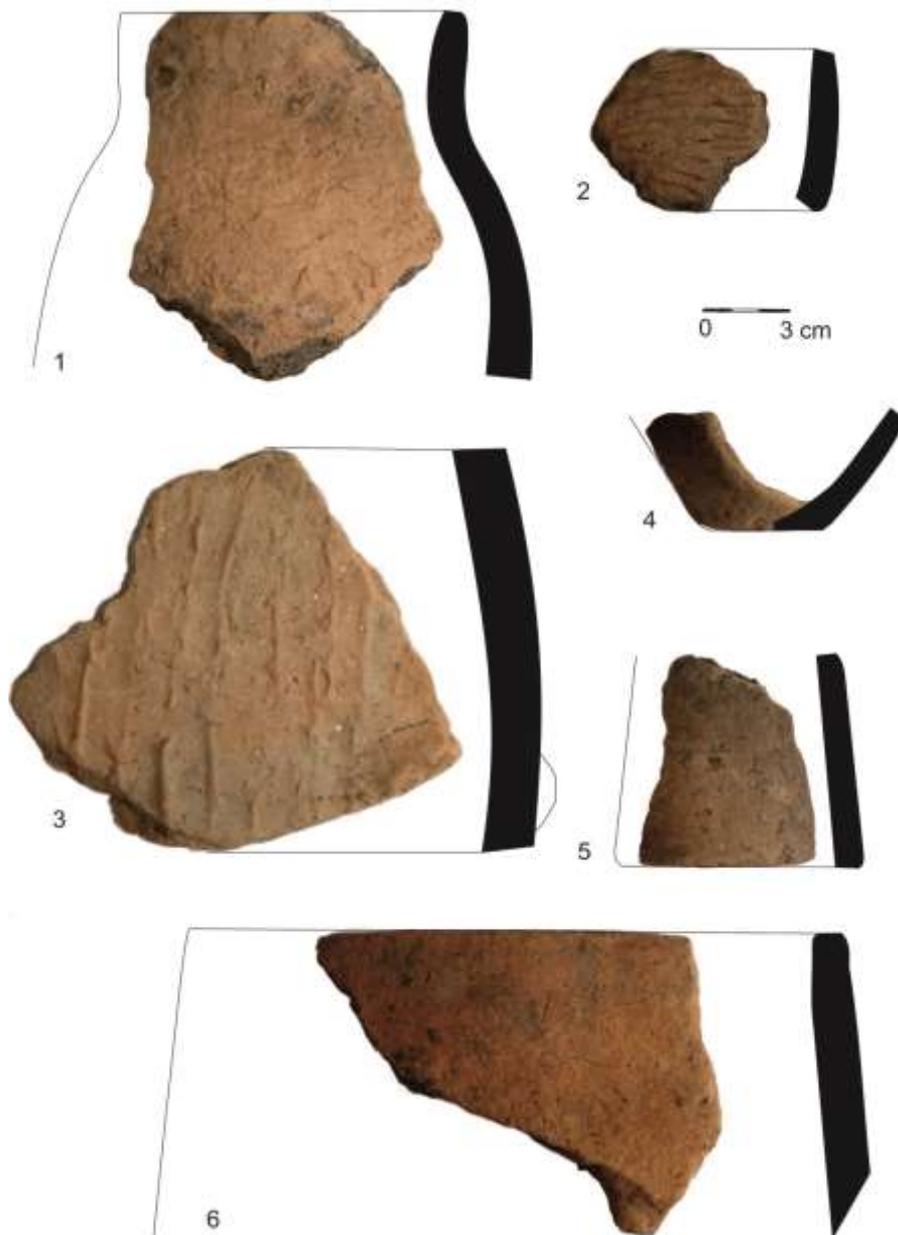


Fig. 3. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

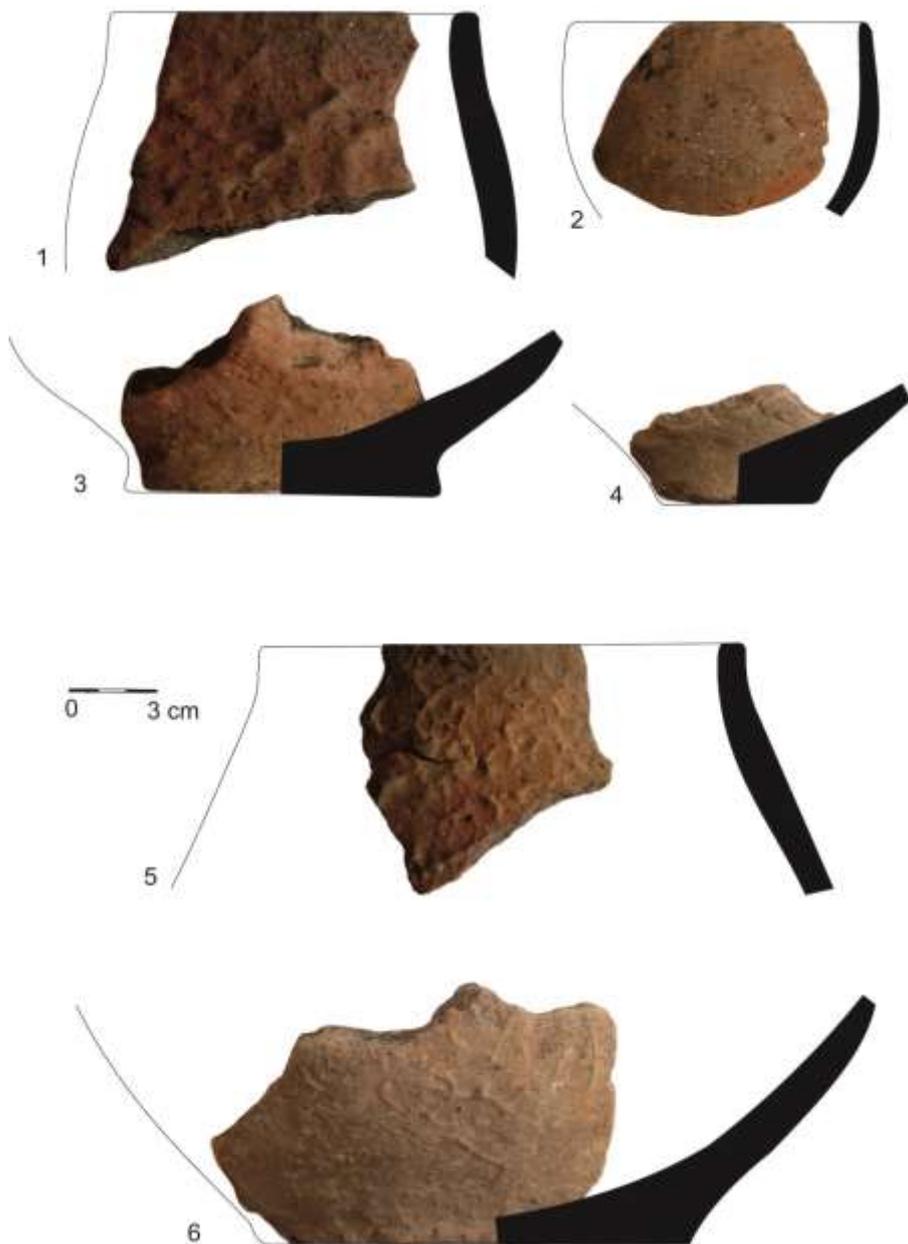


Fig. 4. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

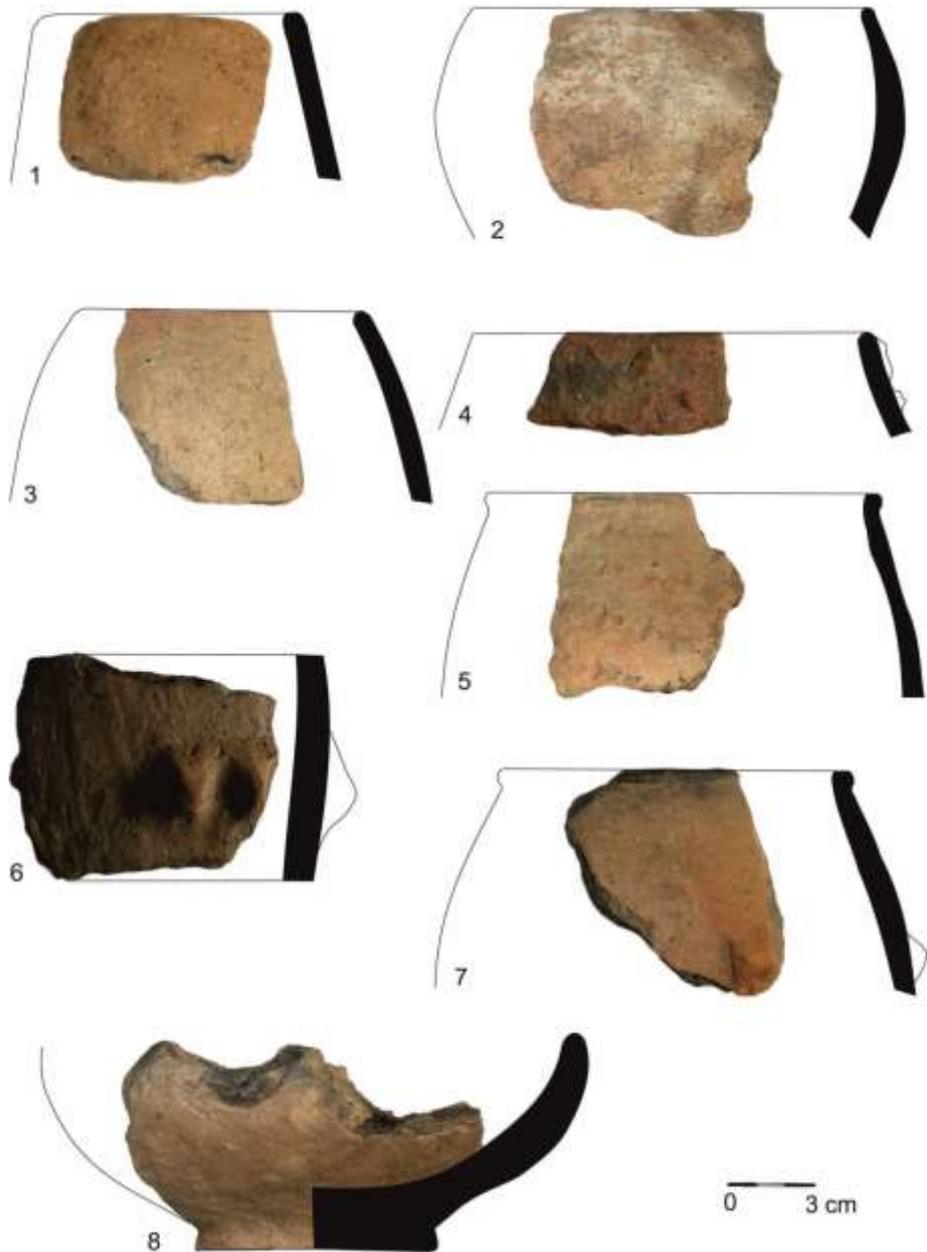


Fig. 5. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

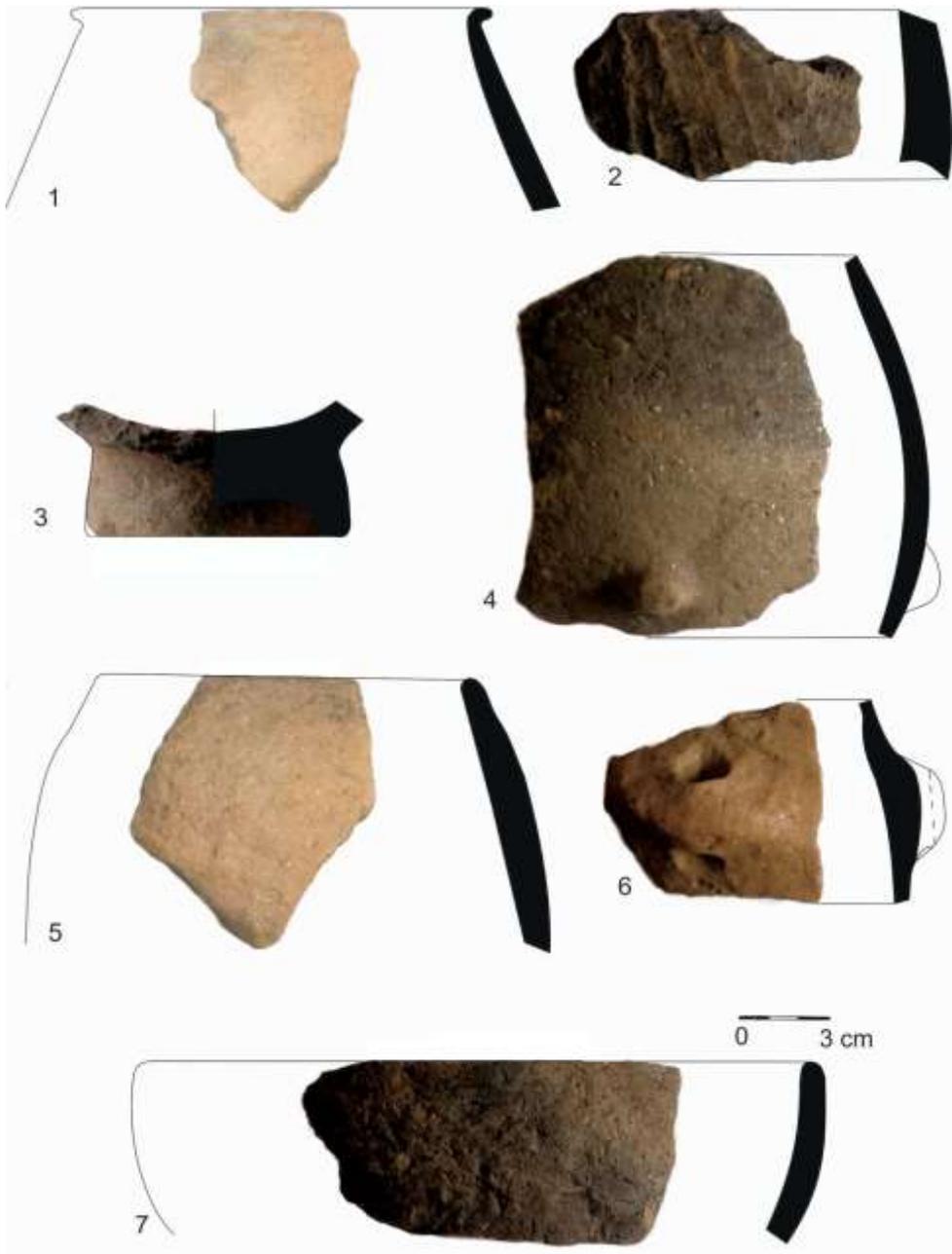


Fig. 6. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

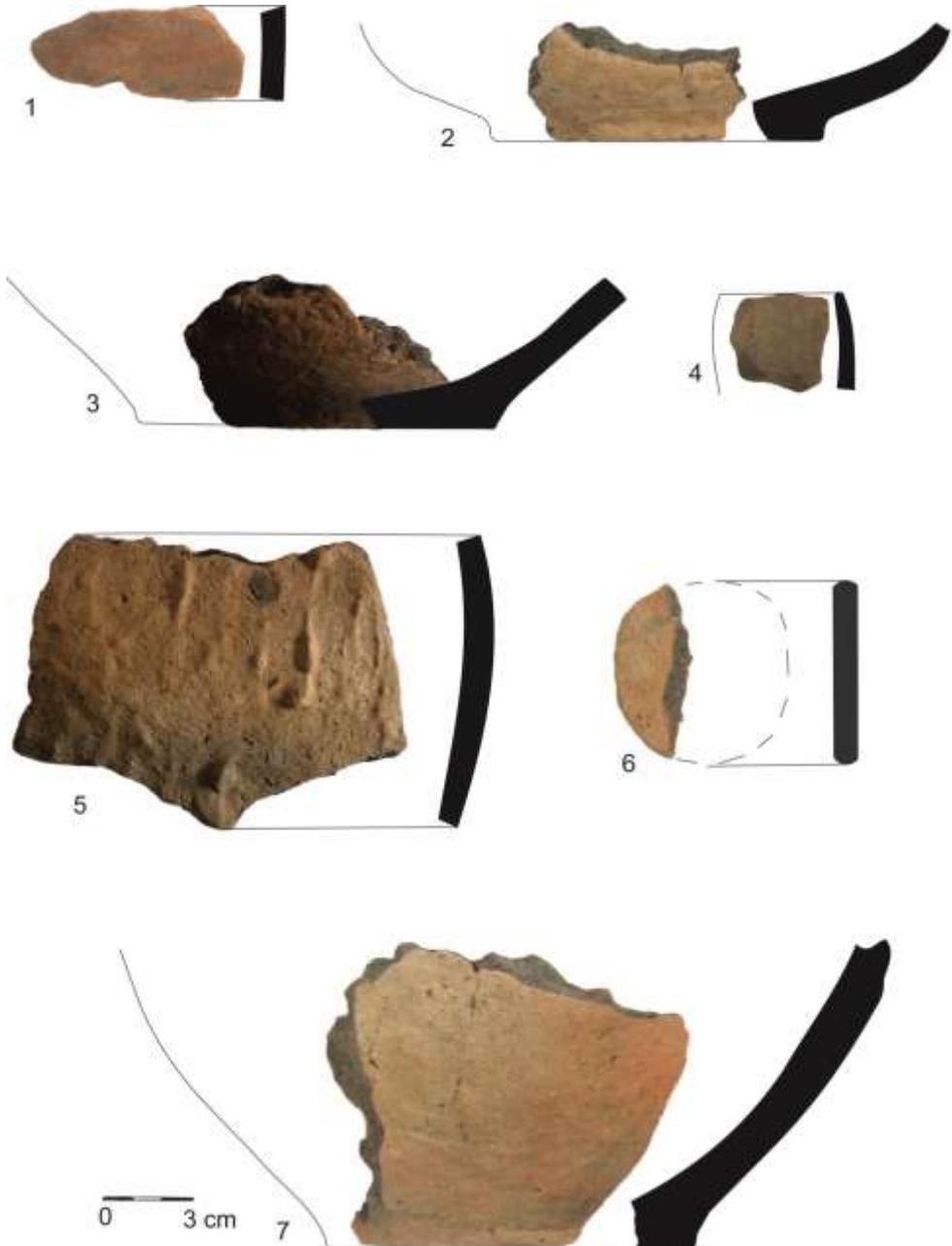


Fig. 7. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

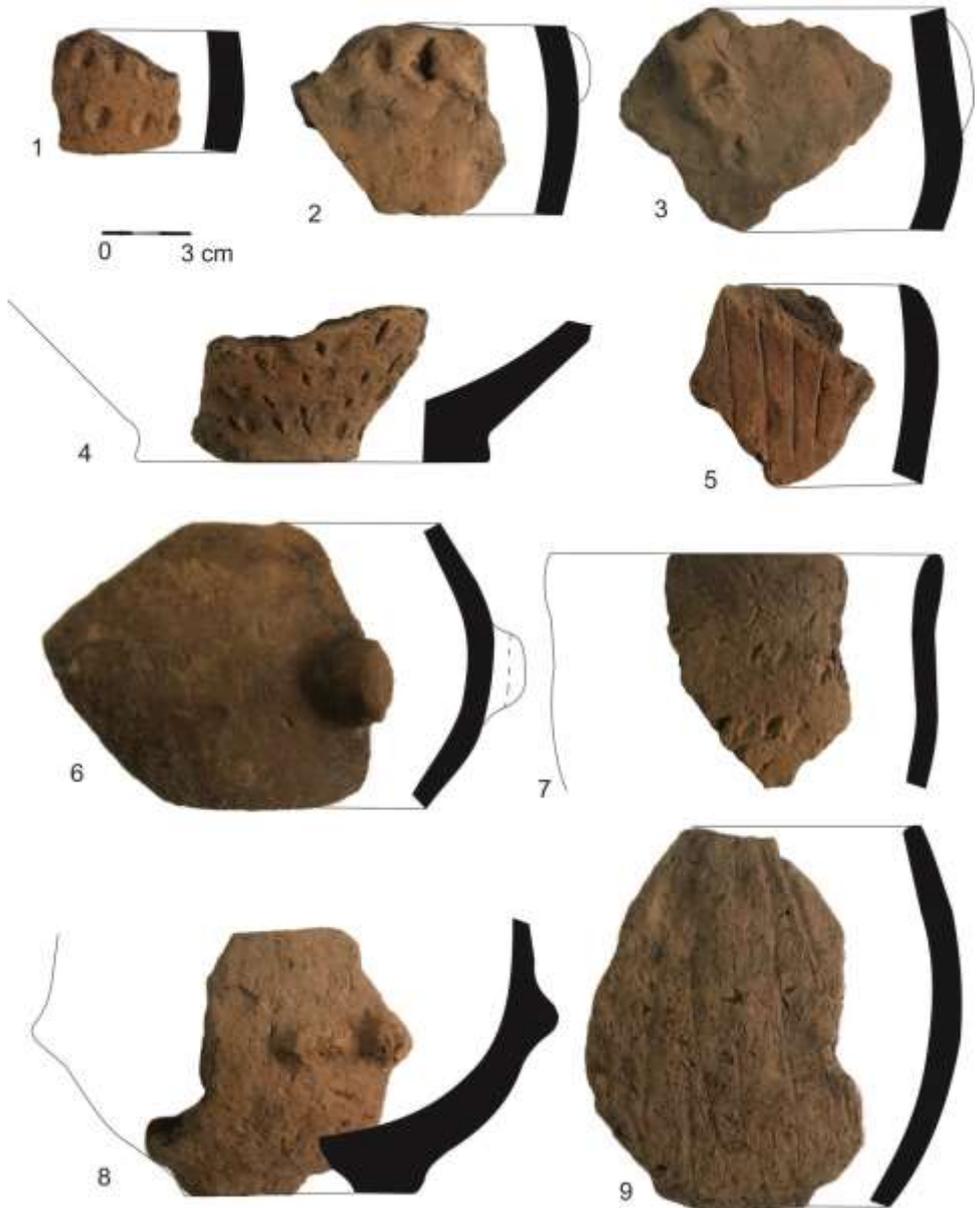


Fig. 8. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

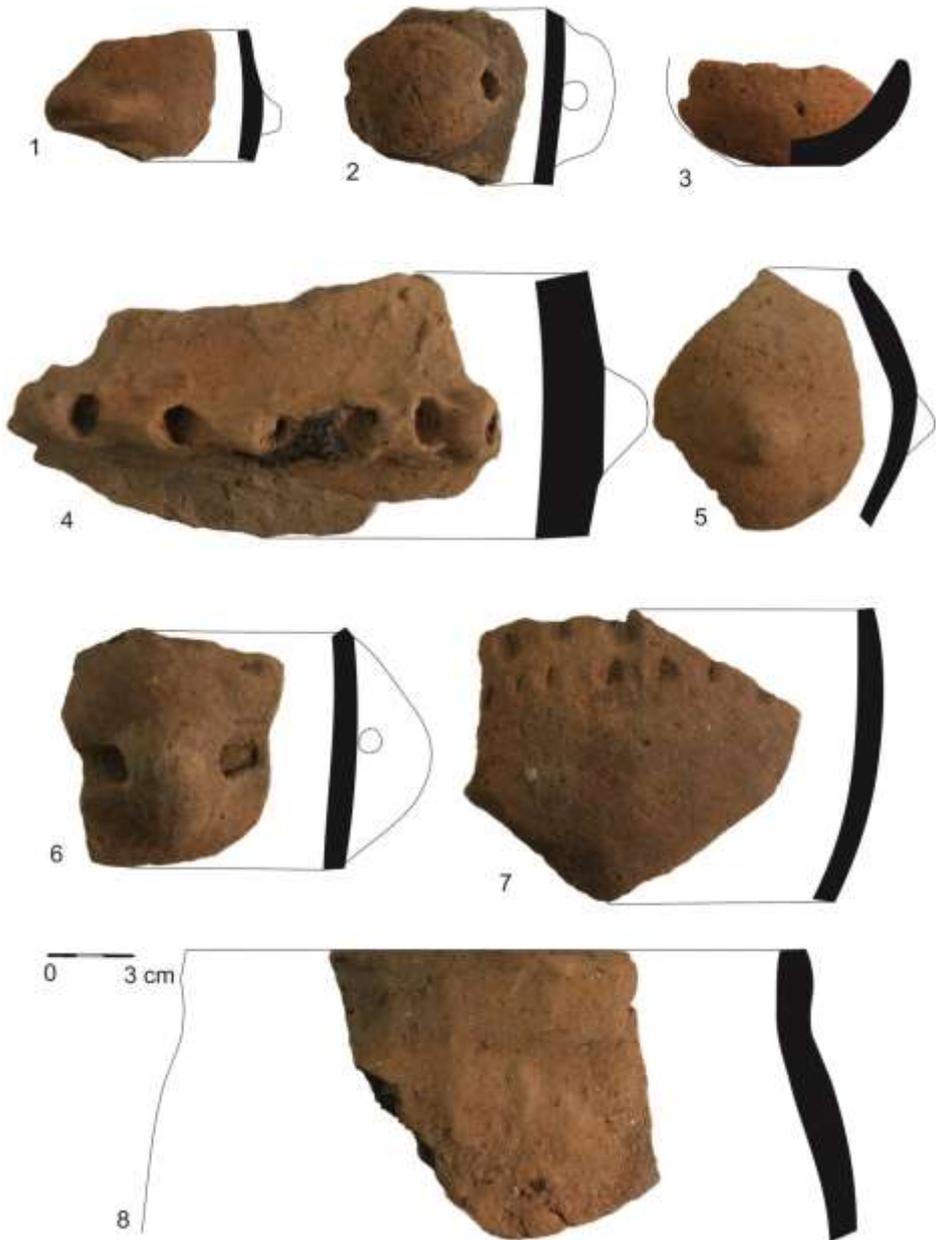


Fig. 9. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

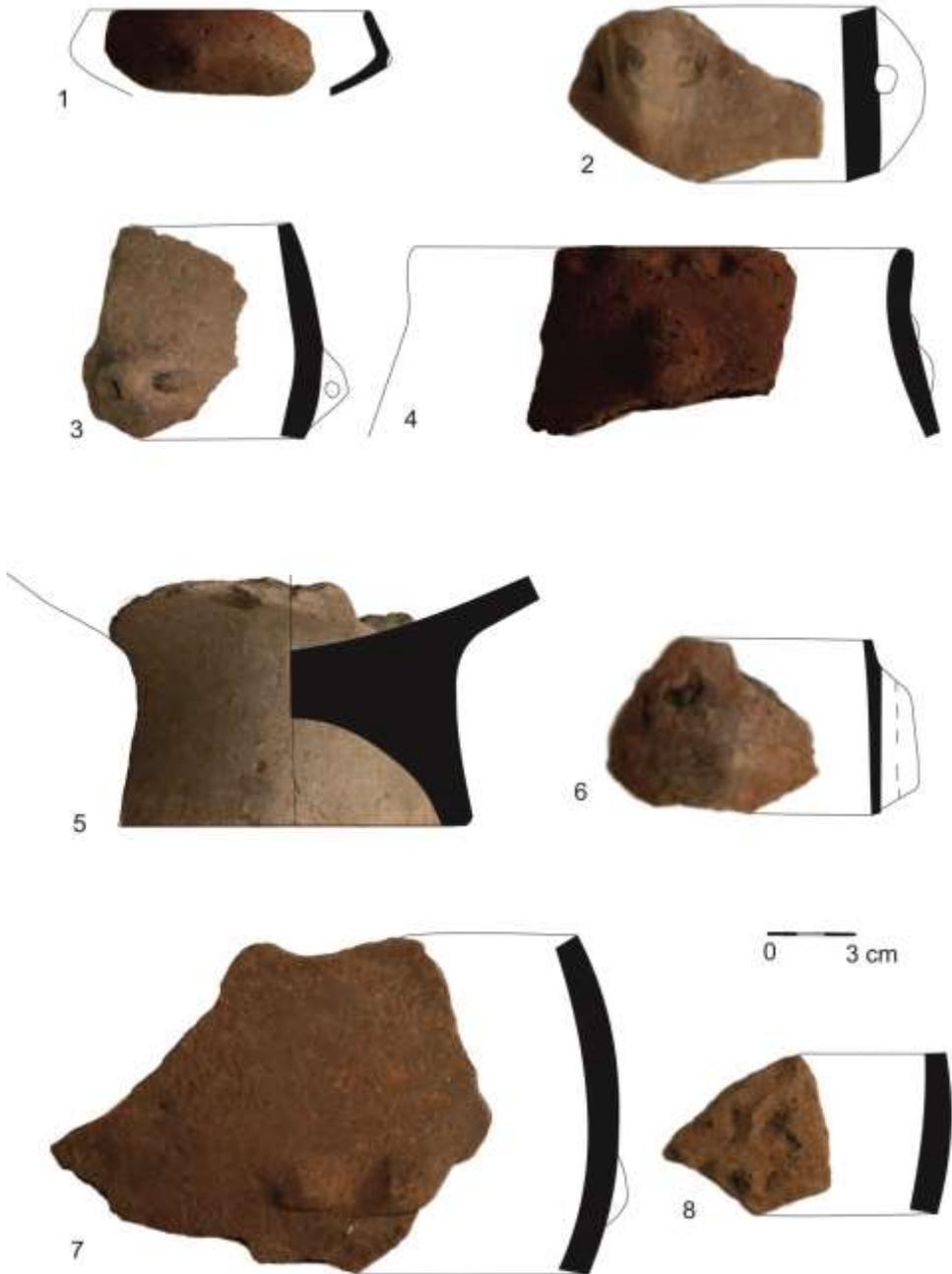


Fig. 10. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

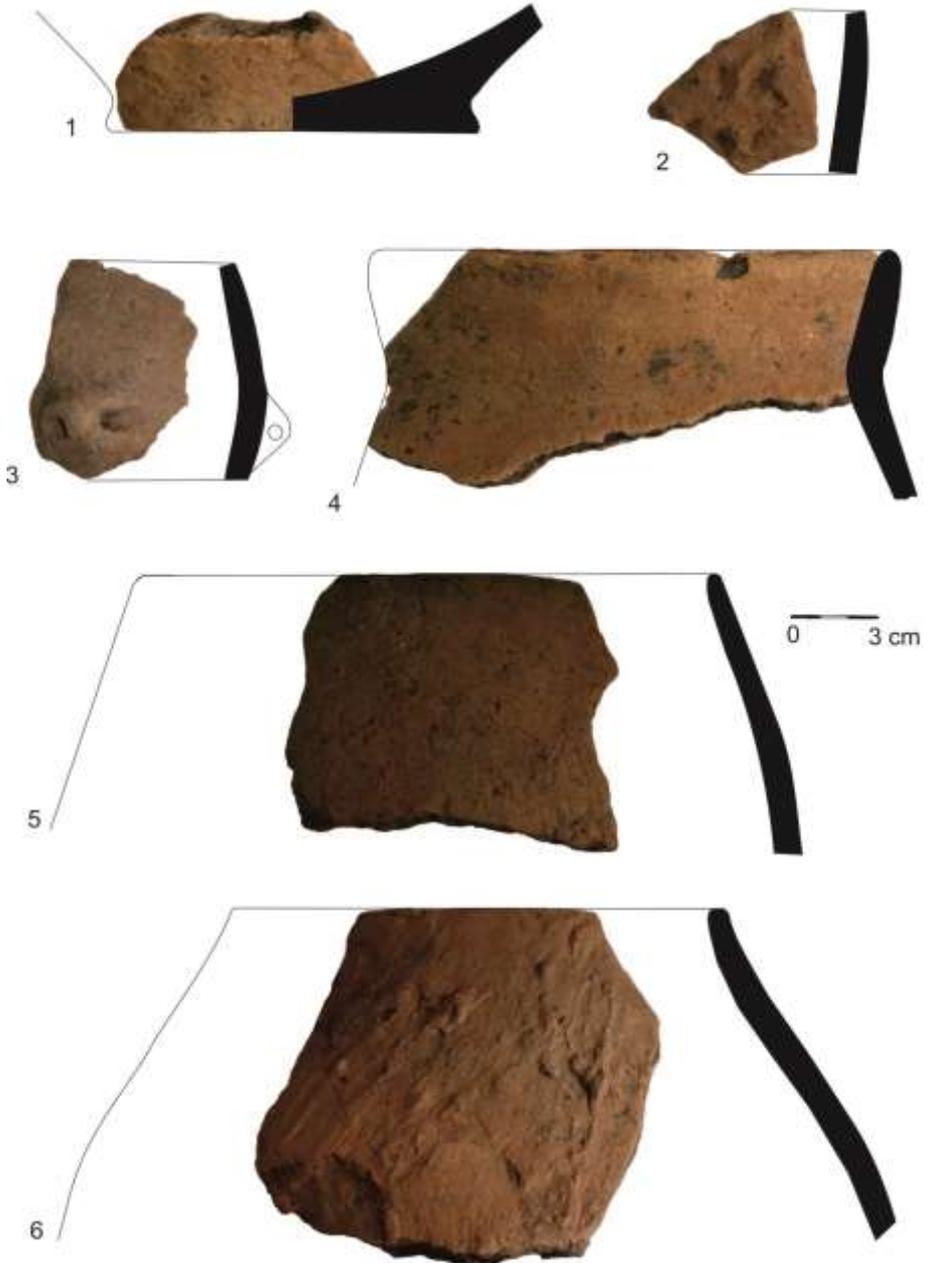


Fig. 11. Cristian III. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

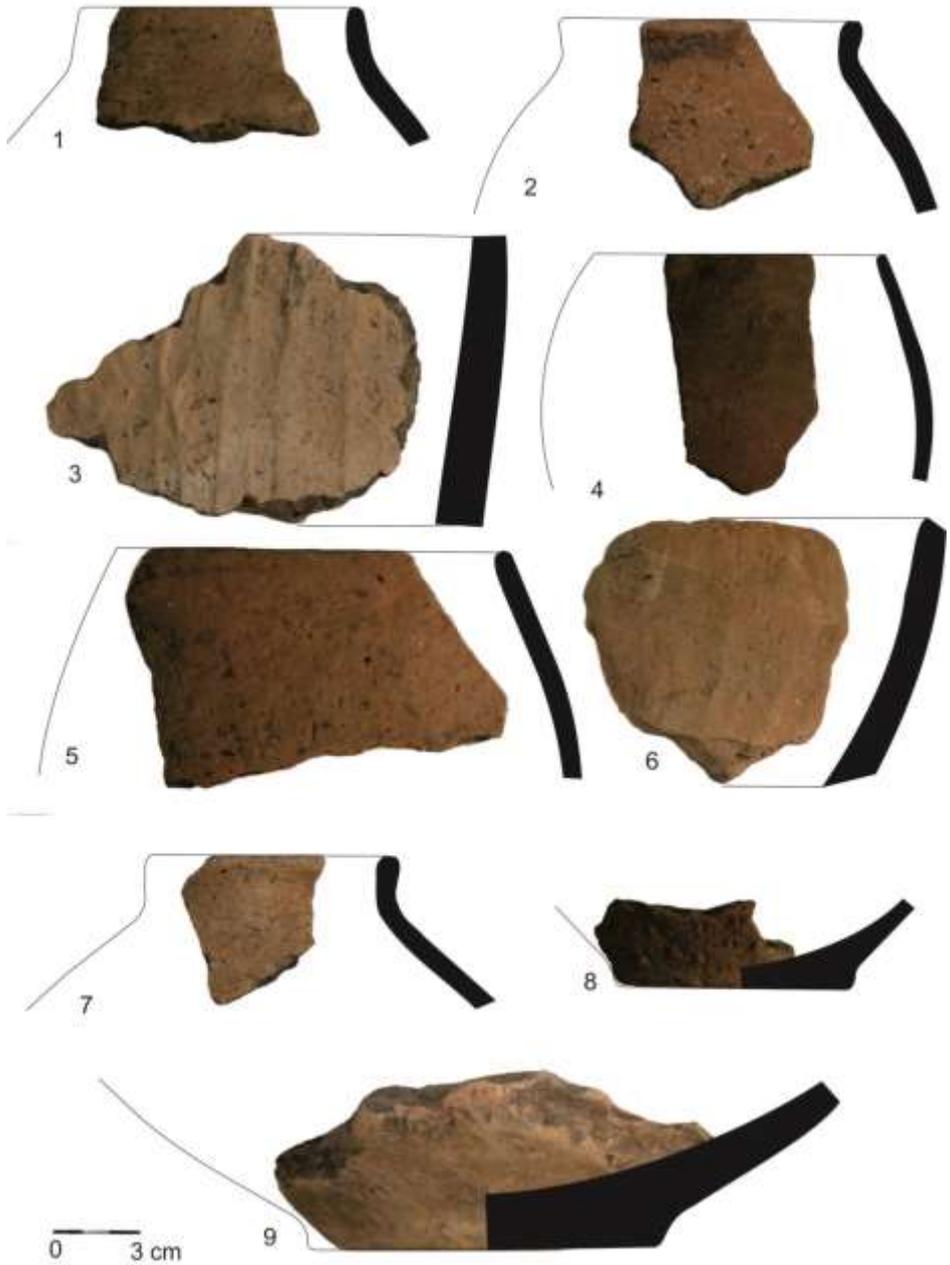


Fig. 12. Cristian III. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

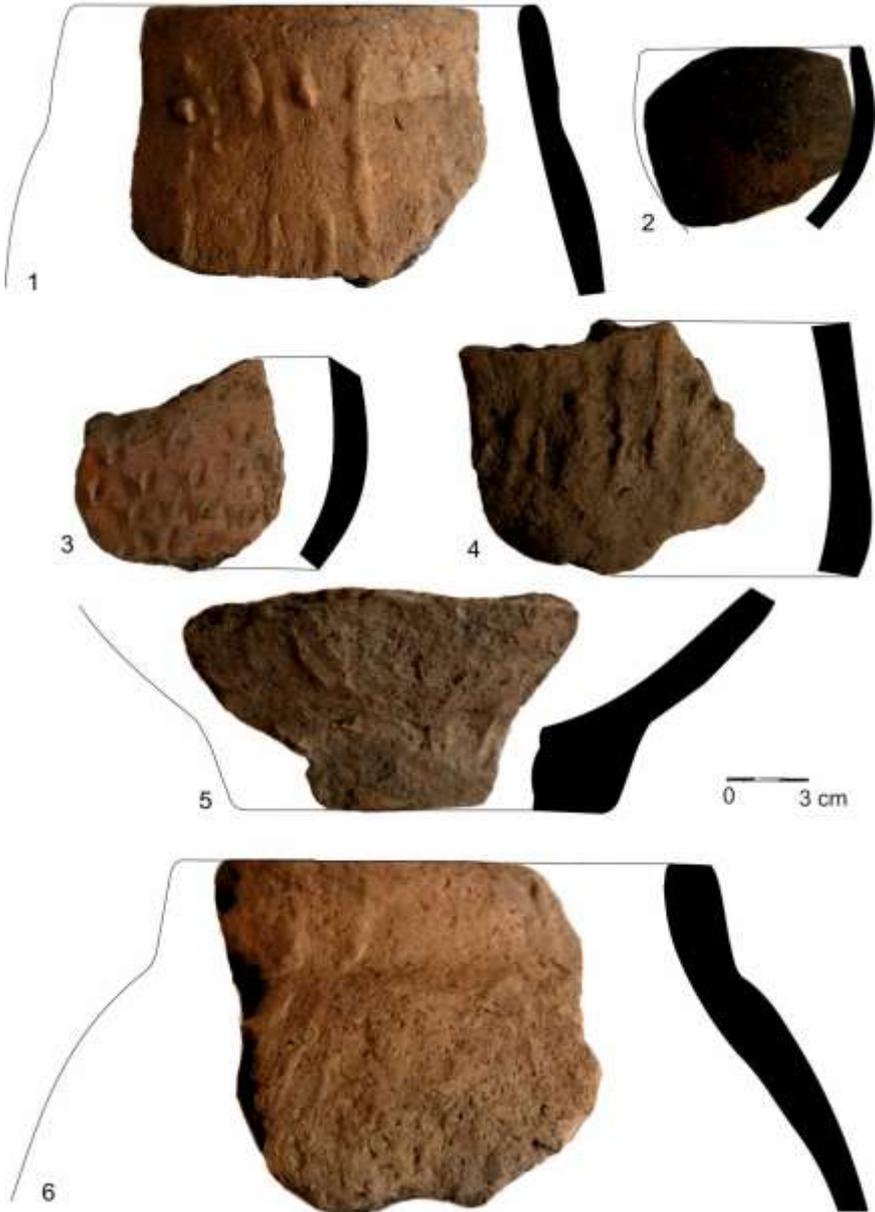


Fig. 13. Cristian III. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Description of the figures

Fig. 1. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Wooden pot.

Fig. 2. Typologies of rimes identified in the sanctuary area of Cristian III.

Fig. 3. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Fragment of a pot with cylindrical neck, slightly splayed neck, shape of jar, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant fired, applied barbotine, organised with the help of fingers, oriented oblique towards the rim;

2. Fragment of a pot belly, rough category, interior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, smoothed, weak oxidant fired, decorated with incisions, displayed parallel, in two registers that intersect in a bunch (Lazarovici 1984, fig. 8/23; Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 83/6);

3. Fragment of a pot belly, rough category, exterior and interior colour whitish-coffee-like, tempered with chaff, silt, large grain sand, floury aspect, weak oxidant fired, decorated with barbotine, organised with fingers, perpendicular on the pot (Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 39/4; 40/5; 79/11). On the pot, there is also a handle/button;

4. Fragment of a pot bottom, fine category, exterior and interior colour whitish-coffee-like tempered with silt and chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant fired;

5. Fragment of a pot stand, very high, cylindrical, semi-fine category, exterior colour light-brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing (very high, straight or a little splayed: Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 40/4; 74/9; 105/24, 26).

6. Rim fragment from a cylindrical neck, rough category, exterior colour orange, interior colour brown-pink, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, peeled off slip in the interior, good oxidant firing.

Fig. 4. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Rim fragment, jar, rounded around the belly, rough category, exterior and interior colour brown-pink, tempered with chaff, silt, mica, floury aspect, secondary firing, ornamented with splattered barbotine (Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 83/2, 4, 9; Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 21/4);

2. Rim fragment, semi fine category, exterior colour orange, interior colour light brown, tempered with slit, chaff, mica, shards, floury aspect, good oxidant firing;

3. Bottom fragment, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown with firing marks, tempered with chaff, large grain sand and shards, flattened, good firing, splatted barbotine;

4. Fragment of a pot bottom, semi fine category, exterior and interior colour whitish coffee-like, tempered with silt and chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant fired;

5. Fragment of a jar, having a straight cutted rim, exterior and interior colour brown-pink, tempered with chaff, silt, large grain sand and shards, floury aspect,

secondary fired, ornamented with splatted barbotine (Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 83/2, 4, 9);

6. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant fired, splatted barbotine splatted barbotine (Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 83/2, 4, 9).

Fig. 5. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III.

1. Fragment of a bowl, rough category, exterior colour coffee-like, interior colour whitish coffee-like, tempered with chaff, silt, sand, mica, floury aspect, weak oxidant fired;

2. Fragment of a bowl, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing marks, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff, large grain sand, oxidant firing;

3. Fragment of a bowl, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour whitish coffee-like, tempered with silt, chaff, large grain sand, mica, good oxidant fired;

4. Fragment of a rim, rough category, exterior and interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with chaff, large grain sand, silt, mica, secondary burning, ornamented with splatted barbotine with preminent swells (Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 8/6; 10/7-8; 11/6; 15/10; 18/6-11; 19/11; 24/3; 25/3).

5. Fragment of a rim, semi fine category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with silt, chaff, mica, floury aspect, slight oxidant burning, ornamented with pinches organises in perpendicular rows on the rim, and the rim is also being ornamented by *luppenrand* (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 14/1; 13/2; 16/1; 31/7; 43/11; 45/6).

6. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour whitish coffee-like, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff, mica, shards, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, ornamented with plastic application and organised barbotine;

7. Fragment of a rim, rough category, interior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour light brown, tempered with silt and chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant fired, ornamented with plastic application, the rim is being ornamented by *luppenrand* (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 14/1; 13/2; 16/1; 31/7; 43/11; 45/6).

8. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior and interior colour brown, mixed with chaff, silt and mica, floury aspect, good oxidant firing.

Fig. 6. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III.

1. Fragment of a pot having a bended rim towards the exterior of the recipient, semi fine category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with silt, slight oxidant firing (Lazarovici 1984, fig. 6/6-8, 10).

2. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with large grains sand and chaff, slight oxidant firing, ornamented with organised barbotine (Kalicz și Koós 2014, Taf. 39/4; 40/5; 79/11).

3. Pot stand, cylindrical, short, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour brown-pink, tempered with chaff and silt, peeled off slip, secondary firing (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 12/3-4, 9; 17/13; 40/11; 43/2).

4. Fragment of pot's belly with a button, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour light brown, tempered with large grains sand, mica and chaff, good oxidant firing;

5. Fragment of a bowl, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, sand, silt and mica, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing;

6. Fragment of a handle, perforated, rough category, exterior and interior colour orange, tempered with chaff, silt, large grain sand, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing;

7. Fragment of a tureen, rough category, exterior and interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with chaff and silt, peeled off slip, slight oxidant firing.

Fig. 7. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Fragment of a pot's belly, fine category, exterior colour brown, interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with chaff and sand, brown-reddish engobe, good firing, it presents remains of painting made with black colour shaped as horizontal stripes;

2. Fragment from a bottom, rough category, exterior and interior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff and slit, floury aspect, slight firing, oxidant;

3. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff, large grain sand, mica, good oxidant firing;

4. Fragment of a rim from a miniature pot, small cup, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour light brown, tempered with silt, chaff, shards, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, applied barbotine (Kalicz și Koós 2014, T. 39/4; 40/5; 79/11);

5. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour whitish coffee-like, interior colour greyish-black, tempered with chaff, silt and mica, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, barbotine organised in vertical rows (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 16/8; 35/9; 36/4; 37/3; 42/1-3);

6. Fragment of a disk, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff, large grain sand and shards, rough aspect, slight oxidant firing, incised (Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 23/13).

7. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, exterior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff, silt and shards, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, barbotine.

Fig. 8. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour brick-like, interior colour brown, tempered with large grain sand and silt, good oxidant firing, decorated with impressions made top of the nail, oblique displayed;

2. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff and silt, porous, secondary firing, decorated with alveolated plastic application (Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 14/2).

3. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior and interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, decorated with alveolated firing application (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 21/10; 22/5; 24/14; 36/1; 37/5; Kalicz, Koós 2014, Taf. 82/14; 83/5; Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 24/13, 15);

4. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff, sand and shards, flattened, good oxidant firing, decorated with pinches and impressions displayed perpendicular with nail (Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 14/8);

5. Fragment from a belly, rough category, exterior colour reddish, interior colour greyish-black, tempered with large grains sand and chaff, good oxidant firing, decorated with parallel incisions (Lazarovici 1984, fig. 8/12, 14; Kalicz 1990, Taf. 18/4; 22/16; 29/12).

6. Fragment from a belly with a half handle persevered, vertically perforated, fine category, exterior and interior colour brown, tempered with silt, chaff and shards, good oxidant firing, remains of painting made with black colour (Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 83/3; 107/1, 24, 26);

7. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour brown with firing spots, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, rough, good oxidant fired, decorated with pinches;

8. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour brick-like, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, silt, mica, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, presents circular plastic applications;

9. Fragment from a belly, rough category, exterior colour light brown, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant fired, decorated with incisions that are not organised in display (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 15/5; 21/7; 23/10, 13; 29/9; 31/4; 34/8; 35/1, 4; 39/2; Kalicz, Koós 2014, T. 67/5; Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 17/3-4).

Fig. 9. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Fragment of a belly, fine category, exterior colour brown-reddish, interior colour reddish, tempered with fine sand and chaff, polished slip, good oxidant firing, it presents a button of rectangular shapes, horizontally oriented on the pot's surface;

2. Fragment of a horizontally perforated handle, semi-fine category, exterior and interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing;

3. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior and interior colour orange with firing spots, tempered with large grain sand and chaff, porous, secondary firing;

4. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior and interior colour light brown, tempered with silt, sand and chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, ornamented with an alveolated band and barbotine;

5. Fragment of a rim, semi fine category, interior and exterior colour light brown, tempered with large grain sand, chaff and shards, good oxidant firing, it presented and application under the form of a circular button;

6. Fragment of a perforated handle, semi fine category, exterior and interior colour brown-reddish, tempered with chaff, silt and shards, peeled off slip and good oxidant firing;

7. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff, large grain sand and gravel, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing, decorated with parallel rows of finger made impressions;

8. Straight cutted rim, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, sand, mica and shards, good oxidant firing, organised barbotine, well flattened.

Fig. 10. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Biconical pot, very profiled, fine category, exterior colour brown-pink, interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, secondary firing, presents a circular plastic application, shaped as a button, in the maximal point of the pot's development (Lazarovici 1984, fig. 6/18-20; Luca *et al* 1998, fig. 3/4-6);

2. Fragment of a perforated handle, semi fine category, exterior colour brown, interior colour light brown, tempered with sand and chaff, it presents polished slip, good oxidant firing;

3. Fragment of a perforated handle, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour black-greyish, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing;

4. Fragment of a rim, jar-pot with a slightly evased neck, semi fine category, exterior and interior colour orange, tempered with chaff, large grain sand and shards, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing, ornamented with impression on the exterior side of the rim, under it and a double handle;

5. A pot's stand, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown with firing spots, tempered with silt and chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant firing (Lazarovici 1980, fig. 3/1; Lazarovici 1984, fig. 5/20-21; 6/4-5; Kalicz 1990, Taf. 17/14-15, 16b, 22; 27/5; 33/2-3; 34/5; 41/6, 13; 45/17a; Sava *et al* 2015, pl. 13/4).

6. Fragment of a handle perforated vertically, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff and sand, good oxidant fired;

7. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour brown, interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff, large grain sand and shards, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing, decorated with a horizontal plastic application;

8. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with large grain sand, silt, chaff, it presents slip on the inside, good oxidant firing, decorated with pinches.

Fig. 11. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. Fragment of a bottom, slightly widened in the inferior part, rough category, exterior and interior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing;

2. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with large grain sand, silt and chaff, floury aspect, slip on the interior, good oxidant firing, decorated with pinches;

3. Fragment from a perforated handle, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour greyish-black, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing;

4. A pot's neck, cylindrical, slightly evasated, rough category, exterior and interior colour brick-like, tempered with large grain sand and chaff, good oxidant firing;

5. The superior part of a pot, bowl, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, silt and large grain sand, slight oxidant firing;

6. A rim, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, decorated with barbotine organised oblique on the rim, with swells.

Fig. 12. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

1. A pot's neck, cylindrical, perpendicular on the belly, semi fine category, exterior colour coffee-like, interior colour dark brown, tempered with chaff, floury aspect, good oxidant firing;

2. Rim from a slightly bended rim, semi fine category, exterior colour brick-like, interior colour brown-reddish tempered with large grain sand and chaff, peeled off slip, good oxidant firing;

3. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour whitish-coffee-like, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, decorated with barbotine organised in vertical rows;

4. Fragment of a bowl, fine category, exterior colour brown, interior colour dark brown, tempered with large grain sand, flattened, good oxidant firing;

5. Fragment of a bowl's rim, rough category, exterior and interior colour brown-pink, tempered with chaff, silt, large grain sand, shards, floury aspect, good oxidant firing;

6. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior colour whitish-coffee-like, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, decorated with barbotine organised in vertical rows, well flattened;

7. Fragment from a pot's rim with cylindrical neck, semi fine category, exterior and interior colour light brown, tempered with chaff and large grain sand, flattened, slight oxidant firing;

8. Fragment from a bottom, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, silt, gravel, shards, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, decorated with pinches made with nail, organised;

9. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior colour whitish-coffee-like, interior colour coffee-like, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing.

Fig. 13. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary

1. Rim from a rounded pot, having the neck detached from the rest of the recipient through a very large groove, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant firing, organised barbotine, applied perpendicular on the pot's rim (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 16/7; 19/1; 38/3).

2. Fragment of a rim from a miniature pot, cup, semi fine category, exterior colour dark orange, interior colour light brown, tempered with silt, chaff, mica, shards, floury aspect, good oxidant firing;

3. Fragment of a belly, semi fine category, exterior colour brown-pink, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff, silt and large grain sand, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, decorated with pinches organised in rows;

4. Fragment of a belly, rough category, exterior and interior colour whitish-coffee-like, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, decorated with barbotine organised in vertical rows;

5. Fragment of a bottom, rough category, exterior and interior colour whitish-coffee-like, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, good oxidant firing, decoated with barbotine organised in vertical rows;

6. Rim from a rounded pot having the neck detached from the rest of the recipient through a very large groove, rough category, exterior colour light brown, interior colour brown, tempered with chaff and silt, floury aspect, slight oxidant fired, organised barbotine, flattened, perpendicularly on the pot's rim, which is being cutt straight. An ornament through which is being emphasised the neck is being obtained through the application of some swells of barbotine, short, parallel, perpendicular on the rim (Kalicz 1990, Taf. 16/7; 19/1; 38/3).

For barbotine, the similitudes with Early Neolithic are being canalised to the final part of Starčevo-Criș culture (Lazarovici 1980, fig. 1).

For framing in phases the Neolithic pottery from Romania an article signed by Gh. Lazarovici remains of reference (Lazarovici 1984). It can be noticed that – taken generally – the pottery from Cristian III it has the characteristics for III phase (Lazarovici 1984, p. 64-68, fig. 5-8). Maybe that our observation that regarded phase three in which it would exist a horizon IIIB₁ – where Vinča A₁ communities are being insinuated and start to influence the local cultural spectre – and IIIB₂ – the moment of colonisation itself – should be regarded with more leniency (Luca 1998, p. 96-97).

Interesting it is also the fact that biconical pottery has a less early occurrence that one would expect. This observation made us believe that we are part of a similar phenomenon with the one that concerns the contact between Early Neolithic and Mesolithic. On the other hand, we can notice how powerful is being the residence of Starčevo-Criș communities at the change towards Vinča. In the lateral areas – as Moldavia would be, on both sides of Prut river – the pottery with biconical shapes is very developed and varied, even though the cultural essence remains the Starčevo-Criș one (Dergacev și Larina 2015, p. 140; fig. 95).

Other investigated sites of this chronologic and cultural horizon are the ones from Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor, point X₈ (Luca *et al* 1998), Luca *et al* 1998 (Luca 2016, p. 28, 43, 125-127, 146-148, 201; fig. 18; 89; 111; 153) or Limba-Bordane (Ciută 2015).

Some observations regarding the attitude towards live from Starčevo-Criș, phases I-III communities.

In what concerns the relation of the communities with the divinity we know, at this moment of archaeological investigations, two sanctuary-construction that were integrally investigated: Cristian I (Luca 2015, p. 123-195) and Cristian III (Luca *et al* 2014; Luca *et al* 2015).

I. The sanctuary from Cristian I belongs to phase I of Starčevo-Criș culture and it has the following components:

- its architecture is being focused on the usage of eight "inhabiting" features, called by us "huts" (Luca 2015, p. 125; plan 8 – left side; photo 73; p. 127; reconstruction 1).

- these have a well-defined role in learning how to practice some "crafts" (pottery making, two features (Luca 2015, p. 126, plan 11; p. 128; reconstruction 3); the fabric of chipped stone tools, two feature) or practicing of the cult (ritual altar – one feature (Luca 2015, p. 126, plan 11; p. 145-150; photo 89-91; fig. 115-124)). Two features seem to have been used for resting or other occupations (Luca 2015, p. 128; reconstituire 2; p. 130; reconstituire 4), and one for heating during cold season (Luca 2015, p. 125-126; plan 10; photo 75-76).

- the sanctuary has also a piece made of stone, of large dimensions and it seems more like the cult statuettes for Mesolithic (Luca 2015, p. 110-152; photo 92).

II. The sanctuary from Cristian III belongs to phase III of Starčevo-Criș culture and it has the following components:

- its architecture is being focused on the usage of four, maybe five "inhabiting" features, called by us "huts" (Luca *et al* 2014; Luca *et al* 2015 – two of them were published: C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃)

- these – at least two of them, C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃ – are active parts of the sanctuary as it follows:

a) the most important seems to have been feature C₅₈₃. It has two hearths, two statuettes-menhir, an axe/sceptre made of polished stone, perforated and two zoomorphic statuettes;

b) the second one, in order of importance is C₃₉₂. It has a hearth, a statuette-memoir;

c) features C₅₁₈ and C₃₉₃ seem – more likely – places to rest, for the ones that have officiate in the sanctuary.

Other sanctuaries belonging to this period are in Gura Baciului (Vlassa 1972, fig. 12/2; Vlassa 1972a; Vlassa 1976, p. 230, fig. 12/12; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, p. 145, 151-152, fig. 30/7-9), Ocna Sibiului (Paul 1995), Tărtăria-Gura Luncii and Limba-Bordane (unpublished material – friendly information Marius Ciută).

III. The sanctuary from Gura Baciului seems to have been contemporary with the one from Cristian I. The stone heads are made of river boulders as the ones in the mentioned sanctuary (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, p. 179-182). Unfortunately, in the case of N. Vlassa the observations made could not be extended due to the small size of the excavation (Vlassa 1972; Vlassa 1972a).

Returning to the observations made by Gh. Lazarovici and Z. Maxim we can notice many similitudes with the situation from Cristian I:

- the relation between the stone head and the human remains – of "incineration", according to the two authors – in order to consecrate the ritual (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, p. 179-180);
- the relation between the "burial" related with stone statuette and an archaeological feature formed of several pits for habitation, connected between them (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, fig. 21, 24);
- other stone objects with modelling marks (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, fig. 21, 24), but also the multitude of small clay bulls from the researched features (Lazarovici și Maxim 1995, fig. 23).

IV. The sanctuary from Ocna Sibiului it is only suspected to exist and it is – more likely – a domestic one and without elements, statuettes massive made of stone. The main piece is an anthropomorphic one, very stylized, placed on a small altar – stand (Paul 1995a). We notice, again, the multitude of miniature statuettes of some bulls made of clay.

V. Also at Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* seem to have functioned a complex sacred place (Luca *et al* 2008; Luca *et al* 2008a). Again, we don't have any major plastic-art made of stone. But, there are casnic altars (Luca 2002; Luca 2004) and deposits – with an obvious ritual, major character (Luca *et al* 2009) – of hunted bovines.

VI. At Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii* we are, again, in front of a sanctuary contemporary with the one from Cristian III, this time. The proof? A stone statuette (photo 27), which came – without doubt – from level V, Starčevo-Criș III (Luca 2016, p. 128, 201, 234, 237-238). The illustrated piece was brought to surface after some construction works – possibly during the ones made of the fortification of 13th century). It was hitting several times by the plow (as a proof stand the multitude of profound, intersected scratches) and it is a miracle that it was preserved entirely. It is the best analogy for no. 2 piece (photo 8) from Cristian III (the shape and the two indents front/back).

VII. Still at this horizon, Starčevo-Criș III, can be framed the unpublished descriptions from Limba¹.

In another article that will be published in ActaTS, 15, from 2016, we have discussed also other gestures and occupations that show the profound ritual of life during Early Neolithic. There we were referring to the presence of maces and perforated axes with a symbolic role of power, of the herminetes with the same role, but maybe also the ones of trade, of the stone disks being used for polishing, but also a trade good, and the one of polishers or pottery having the role to better fix the colour elements.

All this observations indicates a very interesting aspect that is being resumed, at this moment, to the assessment that there is a cooperation – at this is the most kind word – if not a cohabitation between the older elements, the Mesolithic ones and the new comers, Neolithic, that seem to have had some accommodation problems, maybe this is how it can be explained the fact that in the rituals – but also in sanctuaries – between phases I-III of Starčevo-Criș culture are being assimilated, between the cultic elements the statuettes/stelas/menhirs of Mesolithic tradition.

These – the statuettes menhir – are being concentrated in the Danube Gorge, where the superb and enigmatic culture Lepenski-Vir (Srejović 1972; Srejović 1979) is being developed (also called Schela Cladovei in Romania)(the excavations of the late V. Boroneanț. The synthesis of the discoveries from the Danube Gorge was made by A. Boroneanț: Boroneanț 2012, p. 169-182).

From the oldest signalisations (Păunescu 1978) to the already mentioned synthesis (Boroneanț 2012) it can be noticed – at least for the caves from the norther side of the Danube River, researched during time (the shelter under rock Cuina

¹ We would like to thank Marius Ciută for the friendly information.

Turcului (Boroneanț 2012, p. 63-97), the caves I and Climente II (Boroneanț 2012, p. 98-106), but also the surface sits (Alibeg (Boroneanț 2012, p. 53-62), Veterani Terasă (Boroneanț 2012, p. 107-113), Răzvrata (Boroneanț 2012, p. 114-119), Icoana (Boroneanț 2012, p. 120-136), Ostrovul Banului (Boroneanț 2012, p. 137-162), Schela Cladovei (Boroneanț 2012, p. 169-182), Ostrovul Corbului (Boroneanț 2012, p. 183-193) – the fact that usually the archaeologists consider the two époques totally distinct as time and cultural perspective, even though the stratigraphic observations are – in many situations – formal. More, there is – as the author of the catalogue of the Early Neolithic sites observed (Boroneanț 2012, p. 200-223) – similitudes and connections between the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic communities that indicated the fact that *they knew each other*. The same the ¹⁴C data, taken after C. Bonsall (Boroneanț 2012, p. 224-226), indicates the fact the Starčevo-Criș communities are contemporary with the Mesolithic ones, at least during I-II phases of Lepenski Vir culture (Boroneanț 2012, p. 224-225) or Schela Cladovei culture (Boroneanț 2012, p. 226).

The stratigraphic data of the sanctuary from Cristian I or the one from Gura Baciului indicate clearly the fact that this mixture starts at least in Starčevo-Criș IB and it lasts, being more and more attenuated, until Starčevo-Criș III chronologic horizon, as the sanctuaries from Cristian III, Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii* and Limba indicate. We believe that once with Vinča culture this symbiosis will die forever, the Neolithic communities imposing their own way of life.

The same, the stratigraphy from Lepenski Vir has a transformation phase towards Early Neolithic, I-II (c. 6300-5900 BC)(Borić 2011, p. 160, 176 (6200/6300-6000/5950 cal BC); Borić, Dimitrijević 2007, p. 51, Table 2). In dwelling 54 from Lepenski Vir (Borić 2011, Fig. 14), for example, there is good quality Starčevo-Criș pottery (Borić 2011, p. 176; Fig. 13).

Also, the cultural and chronologic horizon from Cristian I shows the following chronological reality:

Nr. crt.	Number and laboratory	Conventional data	Calibrated data
1.	Beta-407716	7080±30 BP	6010-5965 cal BC; 5955-5900 cal BC
2.	Beta-405701	6910±30 BP	5845-5725 cal BC
3.	Beta 407717	6890±40 BP	5845-5710 cal BC

This data indicated – as it was expected – the fact that there is a powerful migration at the end of Lepenski Vir II. This is what happens during 6000 cal BC

when level II from here was still functioning. It can be noticed also at Lepenski Vir that the coming of the Neolithic communities didn't produce the vanishing of the former époque, the Mesolithic one. On the contrary, some Mesolithic traditions – as the statuettes/menhir are – still survive until the coming of the Vinča communities.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plans

Plan 1. Cristian III. With red: Starčevo-Criș III archaeological features; with black: Starčevo-Criș culture palisades. In the right, the feature analysed below (in right, up C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃). On the large plan, in the left side, towards West, a part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary, C₃₉₂ and C₅₈₃, next there is C₃₉₃ and on the lower side, towards S, C₅₁₈.

Plan 2. Cristian III (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary). With brown: pile poles; with orange: heaths and with black: three statuettes, stone menhir type.

Plan 3. Cristian III. C₅₁₈. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Photos

Photo 1. Cristian III. Delineation of C₅₈₃. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Photo 2. Cristian III. Delineation of C₅₈₃. Part of Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Photo 3. Cristian III. The clearing of the architecture parts (the clearing of the southern side; the debris; C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 4. Cristian III. *Cross section* clearing of the architecture parts (the clearing of the northern side; intermediary level, C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 5. Cristian III. *Cross section* clearing of the architecture parts (clearing of the northern part, final C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 6. Cristian III integral cleaning of feature (C₅₈₃ - Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 7. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 1 from the sanctuary.

Photo 8. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 2 from the sanctuary.

Photo 9. Cristian III. Statuette/menhir no. 3 from the sanctuary.

Photo 10. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

Photo 11. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

Photo 12. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovines. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

Photo 13. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovines. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃.

Photo 14. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Delineation.

Photo 15. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Clearing through *cross section* some parts of architecture (cleaning the northern part).

Photo 16. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Clearing through *cross section* some parts of architecture (cleaning the northern side).

Photo 17. Cristian III Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Cleaning entirely the feature. Detail.

Photo 18. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Fragments from the wooden pot.

Photo 19. Cristian III. Miniature pot stand (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 20. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovine (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 21. Cristian III. Ceramic amulet (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 22. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette, bovines (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 23. Cristian III. Axe/sceptre made of stone (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 24. Cristian III. Unfinished scraper (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 25. Cristian III. Axes made of polished stone (2) and obsidian blade (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Photo 26. Cristian III. Axes made of polished stone (2) and obsidian blade (Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary).

Graphics

Graphic 1: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, category of the pottery.

Graphic 2: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, exterior colour of the pottery.

Graphic 3: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, interior colour of the pottery.

Graphic 4: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, the temper used for producing the pottery.

Graphic 5: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, treatment of the surface of the pottery.

Graphic 7: Cristian III, the sanctuary area, percentual distribution of the ornamented fragments.

Figures

Fig. 1. Cristian III. Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary. C₅₈₃. Wooden pot.

Fig 2. Typologies of rimes identified in the sanctuary area of Cristian III.

Fig. 3. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 4. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 5. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 6. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 7. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 8. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 9. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 10. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 11. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 12. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

Fig. 13. Cristian III. Pottery from Starčevo-Criș III sanctuary.

The List of Bibliographical References

ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu
AMET	<i>Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei</i> , Muzeul Etnografic al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
Apulum	<i>Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BB	<i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BEphNap	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Academia Română, Institutul de arheologie și istoria artei, Cluj-Napoca
BMN	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BrukAM	<i>Brukenthal. Acta Musei</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
CCDJ	<i>Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos</i> , Călărași
DocPrae	<i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana
Istros	<i>Istros</i> , Muzeul Brăilei
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin-Lepzig
SSEP	<i>Studies into South-East European Prehistory</i> , Suceava
Starinar	<i>Starinar</i> Beograd
Transilvania	<i>Transilvania</i> , Sibiu
Tibiscus	<i>Tibiscus</i> , Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
VUS	<i>Vorgeschichtliche Untersuchungen in Sieberbürgen</i> , Alba Iulia

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barklay 1998	G. Barklay, <i>Farmers, Temple and Tombs. Skotland in the Neolithic and Bronze Age</i> . In <i>The making of Skotland</i> , <i>Historie Skotland</i> (1998).
Borić 2011	D. Borić, <i>Adaptations and Transformations of the Danube Gorges Foragers (c. 13.000-5.500 BC)</i> . In D. Ciobotaru, B. Horejs, R. Krauss (eds.). <i>Beginnings – New Research in the Appearance of the Neolithic between Northwest Anatolia and the Carpathian Basin</i> Leidorf (2011), p. 157-203.
Borić și Dimitrijević 2007	D. Borić, V. Dimitrijević, <i>Absolute chronology and stratigraphy of Lepenski Vir</i> . In <i>Starinar</i> LVII (2007), p. 9-55.
Boroneanț 2012	A. Boroneanț, <i>Aspecte ale tranziției de la mezolitic la</i>

- neoliticul timpuriu în zona Porților de Fier, Cluj-Napoca* (2012).
- Cauvin et al. 1999 Cauvin, Jaques, Aurenche, Olivier, Marie-Claire Cauvin, Nur Balcan Atli, *The Pre-Pottery Site of Cafer Höyük*. In Mehmet Özdoğan (ed.), *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries*, Istanbul (1999), p. 57-58.
- Ciută 2015 M. Ciută, *Noi precizări cu privire la succesiunea depunerilor neolitice de la Limba-Oarda de Jos (jud. Alba)*. In *Apulum* 52 (2015), p. 47-84.
- Dergacev, Larina 2015 V.A. Dergacev, O.V. Larina, *Monuments of Criș culture in Moldova*, Chișinău (2015).
- El Susi 2014 G. El Susi, *A survey on faunal remains from Cristian I (Sibiu County)*. In *ActaTS*, 7 (2014), p. 23-72.
- Esin 1999 E. Esin, *The Neolithic in Turkey: A General Review*. In Mehmet Özdoğan (ed.), *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries*, Istanbul (1999), p. 13-23.
- Florescu 1961 Fl.B. Florescu, *Un centru necunoscut de ceramică roșie lustruită de veche tradiție din Maramureș*. In *AMET* (1959-1961), p. 49-63.
- Hansen 2011 S. Hansen, *Descoperiri arheologice în Germania, Vademecum al expoziției de fotografii*, Berlin (2011).
- Lazarovici 1980 Gh. Lazarovici, *Câteva probleme privind sfârșitul neoliticului timpuriu din nord-vestul României*. In *ActaMN* 17 (1980), p. 13-29.
- Lazarovici 1984 Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul timpuriu în România*. In *AMP* 8 (1984), p. 48-104.
- Lazarovici, Maxim 1995 Gh. Lazarovici, Z. Maxim, *Gura Baciului. Monografie arheologică*. In *BMN* 11 (1995).
- Luca 1998 S.A. Luca, *Liubcova-Ornița. Monografie arheologică*, Târgoviște (1998).
- Luca 2002 S.A. Luca, *Eine zoomorphe statuette aus der Jungsteinzeitliche Siedlung von Reussmarkt / Miercurea Sibiului / Szerdahely – Petriș (Kr. Hermannstadt – Sibiu / Nagyszeben)*. In *CCDJ* 19 (2002), p. 96-106.
- Luca 2004 S.A. Luca, *O statueta zoomorfă descoperită în stațiunea de la Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș (jud. Sibiu, România) și câteva opinii despre începutul neoliticului timpuriu din Transilvania*. In *Istros* 11 (2004), p. 3-26.
- Luca 2015 S.A. Luca, *Viața trăită sub zei. Situl Starčevo-Criș I de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu, România*. In *SSEP* 2, Suceava

- (2015).
- Luca 2015a S.A. Luca, *Istoria unei comunități din primul val de neolitizare a teritoriului Transilvaniei*. In Sorin Cociș, Vlad-Andrei Lăzărescu, Monica Gui, Dan-Augustin Deac (eds.), *Ad Finem Imperii Romani. Studies in Honour of Coriolan H. Opreanu, BEphNap* 8 (2015), Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, p. 239-274.
- Luca 2016 S.A. Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*. In *BB* 71, Alba Iulia (2016).
- Luca et al 1998 S.A. Luca, N. Boroffka, M. Ciută, *Așezarea neolitică aparținând culturii Starčevo-Criș de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor, punct X₈ (campaniile 1993-1994)*. In *Apulum* 35 (1998), p. 17-29.
- Luca et al 2008 S.A. Luca, D. Diaconescu, C.I. Suciu, *Cercetările arheologice de la Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș (județul Sibiu, România). Nivelul Starčevo-Criș în campaniile de cercetare din anii 1997-2005*. In *BruckAM* 3 (2008, 1), p. 7-46.
- Luca et al 2008a S.A. Luca, D. Diaconescu, C.I. Suciu, *Archaeological research in Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș (Sibiu County, Romania): the Starčevo-Criș level during 1997-2005 (a preliminary report)*. In *DocPrae* 35-2008), p. 325-341.
- Luca et al 2009 S.A. Luca, D. Diaconescu, G. El Susi, Fl. Dumitrescu-Chioar, *Feature G₂₆/2005 from Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș and new questions about the life „beyond” objects of an Early Neolithic*. In *ActaTS* 8 (2009), p. 17-34.
- Luca et al 2010 S.A. Luca, C.I. Suciu, Fl. Dumitrescu-Chioar, *Starčevo-Criș culture in western part of Romania – Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Oltenia and Western Muntenia: Repository, distribution map, state of research and chronology*. In *Neolithisation of the Carpathian Basin: Northernmost Distribution of the Starčevo/Körös culture*, Krakow-Budapest (2010), p. 103-118.
- Luca et al 2011 Luca S.A., Suciu C.I., *Starčevo-Criș Culture in Western part of Romania – Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Oltenia and Western Muntenia: repository, distribution map, state of research and chronology*. In *The First Neolithic Sites in Central/South-East European Transect. Volume II: Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criș) sites on the territory of Romania*, in *BAR IS* 2188 (2011), p. 7-17.
- Luca et al 2012 S.A. Luca, I. Boca, A. Georgescu, A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, Cl. Munteanu, C.M. Neagu, A. Nițoi, A. Tudorie, *Cercetările*

- Luca et al 2013 *arheologice preventive de la Cristian (județul Sibiu), Campania 2011. In BB 60 (2012, 60).*
S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „*Consacrarea ritualică*” a primei colonizări neolitice din România Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea I. Fundarea. In: *Apulum 50 (2013, 1)*, p. 1-22.
- Luca et al 2013a S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, “*The ritual consecration*” of the first Neolithic colonization from Romania. The pits sanctuary from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part I. The Foundation. In *BruckAM 8 (2013, 1)*, p. 11-28
- Luca et al 2013b S.A. Luca, Marțiș Fl., A. Tudorie, A. Luca, “*The Ritual Consecration*” of the First Neolithic from Romania. The Pits Sanctuary from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part III. The Abandonment. In *ActaTS 12 (2013)*, p. 7-20.
- Luca et al 2013c S.A. Luca, Marțiș Fl., A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „*Consacrarea ritualică*” a primei colonizări neolitice din România. Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea III. Părăsirea. In *Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie – In memoriam Liviu Măruia – Timișoara (7 decembrie 2013)*, Szeged (2013, 1), p. 35-44.
- Luca et al 2014 S.A. Luca, A. Georgescu, Fl. Marțiș, A. Luca, *Data on a sanctuary belonging to Starčevo-Criș culture discovered at Cristian III, Sibiu County.* In *BruckAM 9 (2014, 1)*, p. 7-18.
- Luca et al 2014a S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, *The „Ritualistic Consecration” of the First Neolithisation in Romania. The site of Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part 4. The plastic art.* In C.-E. Ursu, S. Țerna (eds.), *Anthropomorphism and symbolic behavior in the Neolithic and Cooper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe, Studies into South-East European Prehistory*, Suceava (2014, 1), p. 13-28.
- Luca et al 2014b S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „*Consacrarea ritualică*” a primei colonizări neolitice din România. Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea II. Locuirea. In *Apulum 51 (2014, 1)*, p. 1-24.
- Luca et al 2015 S.A. Luca, A. Georgescu, Fl. Marțiș, A. Luca, *Date despre un sanctuar aparținând culturii Starčevo-Criș descoperit la Cristian III, jud. Sibiu.* In Ioan Bolovan, Ovidiu Ghitta (coord.), *Istoria ca datorie. Omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, Cluj-Napoca (2015), p. 293-306.

- Luca *et al* 2015a S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, "The Ritual Consecration" of the first Neolithic Colonization from Romania. The Pit Sanctuary from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part II. The Habitation. In *From Symbols to Signs. In memory of Klaus Schmidt*, Suceava (2015), p. 115-132.
- Marțiș *et al* 2015 Fl. Marțiș, S. Câmpean, O. Popescu, *Ocurența materiilor prime în industria litică preistorică transilvăneană*. In *Transilvania*, 2015 (3-4), p. 2-9.
- Nițu *et al* 2015 E.-C. Nițu, Fl. Marțiș, S.A. Luca, *Considerații tehnologică și funcționale asupra materialului litic cioplit din așezarea Cristian I (Neolitic timpuriu – Starčevo-Criș I)*. In *Apulum* 52 (2015, 1), p. 11-34.
- Nițu *et al* 2015a E.-C. Nițu, Fl. Marțiș, S.A. Luca, *Techno-typological and Functional considerations concerning the Chipped stones materials from Cristian I settlement (Early Neolithic – Starčevo-Criș I)*. In *ActaTS* 14 (2015), p. 7-29.
- Paul 1995 I. Paul, *Aspekte des Karpatisch-Balkanisch-Donau ländischen Neolithokums. Die Präcriș-Kultur*. In *VUS* (1995), p. 28-68.
- Paul 1995a I. Paul, *Das "Mythogramm" von Salzburg-Ocna Sibiului*. In *VUS* 919950, p. 129-135.
- Păunescu 1978 A. Păunescu, *Cercetări arheologice de la Cuina Turcului – Dubova (jud. Mehedinți)*. In *Tibiscus* 5 (1978), p. 41-46.
- Rosenberg 1999 M. Rosenberg, *Hallan Çemi*. In *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries*, Mehmet Özdoğan (ed.), Istanbul (1999), p. 9-18.
- Srejović 1972 D. Srejović, *Europe's First Monumental Sculpture: new discoveries at Lepenski Vir*, New York (1972).
- Srejović 1979 D. Srejović, *Lepenski Vir. Guide*, Beograd (1979).
- Tillman 1995 A. Tillman, *Mesolithikum und Neolithikum*. In *Archäologie um Ingolstadt Archäologische Untersuchungen beim Bau der B16 und der Bahnverlegung*, (1995), p. 35-52.
- Vlassa 1972 N. Vlassa, *Cea mai veche fază a complexului cultural Starčevo-Criș în România*. In *ActaMN* 9 (1972), p. 7-28.
- Vlassa 1972a N. Vlassa, *Eine frühneolithischen Kultur mit bemalter Keramik der Vor- Starčevo-Körös – Zeit in Cluj-Gura Baciului, Siebenbürgen*. In *PZ* 47 (1972, 2), p. 147-197.
- Vlassa 1976 N. Vlassa, *Neoliticul Transilvaniei, studii, articole, note*. In *BMN* 3 (1976).

POLISHED STONE ARTEFACTS FROM EARLY NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENTS OF STARČEVO-CRIȘ AND VINČA CULTURES

Sabin Adrian LUCA

Lucian Blaga University from Sibiu, Romania

sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania

sabin.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Florentina MARȚIȘ

Independent Researcher

tinamartis2003@yahoo.com

Abstract: *The lithic polished artefacts discovered during the recent preventive researches, open a new perspective over the relations between the habitations from Anatolia and Transylvania. Through ethnographic analogy, from Maramureș popular tradition, we can recognize some habits and objects discovered in prehistoric settlements from Transylvania, used as polishers, having remains of red or black pigment. The composition and structure of the archaeological materials from the sanctuaries of Early Neolithic shows an amazing similarity of the surviving Mesolithic technologies.*

Key words: *Starčevo-Criș Neolithic sites, social stratification, prestige elements, perforated polished artefacts, strikers, currency-axes, red and black pigment. Cultic places in Starčevo-Criș culture.*

Between the 11th and 8th millennium the man started gradually to give up the nomad way of life, in favor to permanent dwellings and in this way the first farmers villages appeared (Esin 1999, p. 14). The origins of the Neolithic farmer should be somewhere in Iran, Levant and Anatolia, where the hunter, gatherer and fisherman assume the domestication, the domestic ways being more practical, so that around 5.000 B.C. to be inhabited also the fertile valleys from norther Europe, respectively of Scotland (Barklay 1998, p. 12).

In time, the pallet of the lithic industry is being diversified, recognizing among the usual artefacts, the cultic ones and prestige objects or, according to other interpretations, "fashion objects" (Esin 1999, p. 14), pendant of a social stratified society, of which elite has the privilege of a special clothing and obvious of a mobile inventory of the sort below presented.

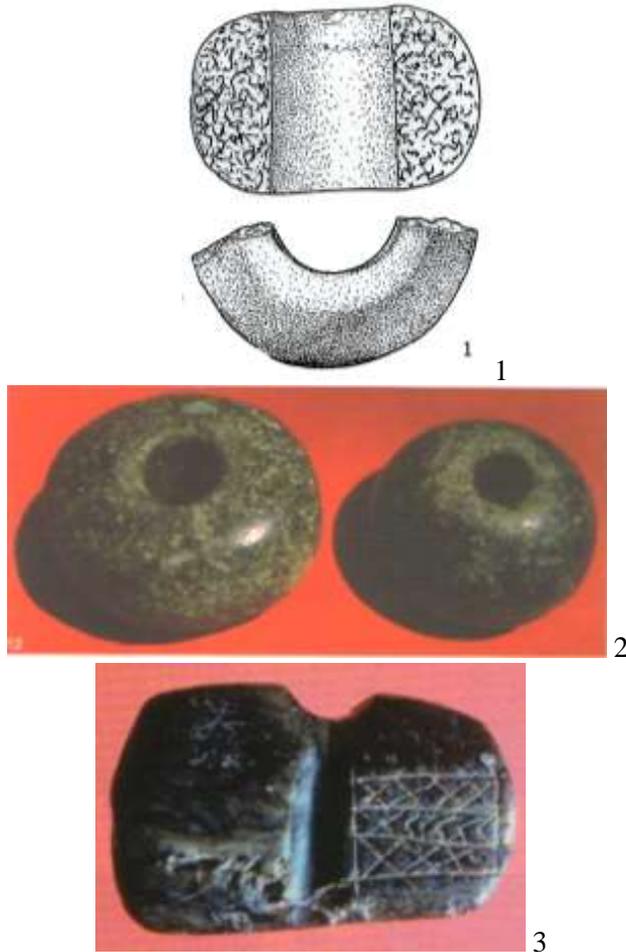


Fig. 1. **1.** Mace of *microdiorite* discovered at Cristian I, Sibiu County, Starčevo-Criș level, C₁₀; **2.** *Diorite* maces discovered at Hallan Çemi, Turkey (Rosenberg 1999, p. 16, fig. 12); **3.** Stone club (possible *gabro*) polished, perforated and decorated with incisions (Cauvin *et al* 1999, p. 76, fig. 32).

A distinct category of stone artefacts are the polished and perforated pieces, controversial because of the unclear conditions of sampling and research of the archaeological features, that sometimes appear. But, in Anatolia, appear in clear stratigraphic conditions and – more recently – in sites researched and published from south-western Transylvania (Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș, Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, Limba-Bordane, Miercurea Sibiului II, Cristian I and Cristian III), objects that are

connected more likely with the prestige, either that they are called scepters, or maces (fig.1/2) or cudgel (fig.1/3). From the same category, but from Pottery Neolithic, Starčevo-Criș culture, phase I, in the archaeological station from Cristian I (Sibiu County) feature C₁₀, along with the block axe (fig. 2) it is also being discovered a half of mace from polished and perforated diorite (fig. 1/1), as the ones from Hallan Çemi, Turkey (Rosenberg 1999, p. 16, fig. 12).

The pieces that are to be presented following were used in preparing and sustain the doctoral thesis of Mrs. Florentina Martiș, all of them came from the preventive researches made by Brukenthal National Museum, above mentioned as sites.²

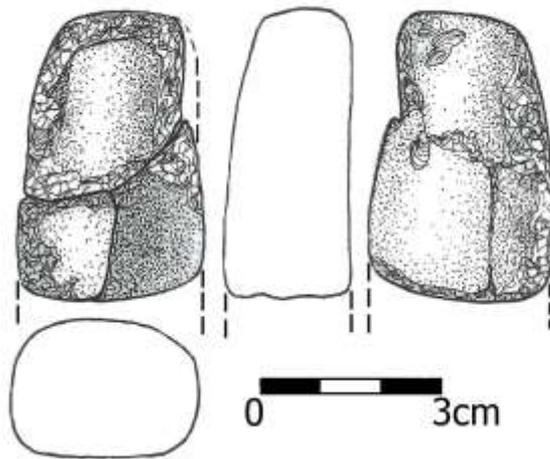


Fig. 2. Cristian I, C₁₀, axe of *chaille* (*corneean?*), remounted, thermic treated. Cristian I, C₁₀.

The polished artefacts have their origin in the Pre-Pottery level, evolving then, in Starčevo-Criș I, towards the block axes from Cristian I (Sibiu County) (plan/convex) (fig. 2) or trapezoid (fig. 3) from Miercurea Sibiului II station (Sibiu County). In many cases the passive part of the artefact presents polishing/usage imprinted on the nape of the axes, by the functionality of striker.

² Ph.D. thesis sustained at *Lucian Blaga* University from Sibiu in 2015.

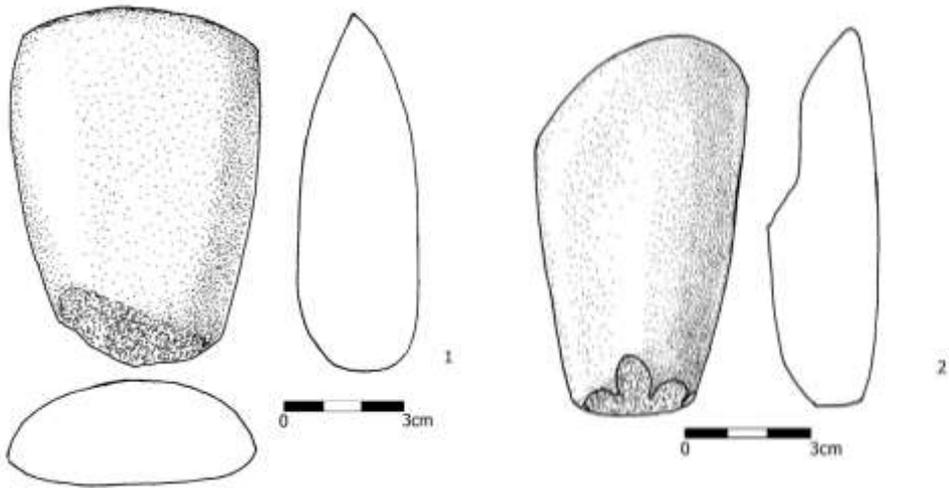


Fig. 3. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₂, Starčevo-Criș dwelling, *block axes* made of: 1. Greenish *diorite* with white quartzite lodes; 2. *Microdiorite* grey-greenish - *amfibolit* (?) (with usage marks in the nape area. These have functioned as strikers/polishers.

At this moment, we should discuss a few things about feature C₁₀ from the settlement of Cristian (Sibiu County). Over it sever scientific articles were published (Luca 2015a; Luca *et al* 2013; Luca *et al* 2013a; Luca *et al* 2013b; Luca *et al* 2013c; Luca *et al* 2013d; Luca *et al* 2014a; Luca *et al* 2014b; Luca *et al* 2015a; El Susi 2014; Nițu *et al* 2015; Nițu *et al* 2015a), but also a synthesis book (Luca 2015). In the case of pit C₁₀ we are facing a special situation because it represents an apart case. It is being displayed at north form the sanctuary formed of ritual pits and it has some particularities that distinguish it from the rest of the features.

We can notice that for pit C₁₀ there is a special situation because it represents a totally apart case. It is being displayed at North from the sanctuary formed of ritual pits and it has some particularities that are distinguishing it from the rest of the features. These are: the pit that stands out from the general context of display of the pits from the sanctuary, not being part of its general architecture; it is being isolated, but it pieces the debits od ritual-dwelling L₁, so it is being after the ritual of its abandonment – or at least – of that part of the feature (the pit of the ritual-dwelling may be abandoned in successive stages). The composition of the pottery for pit C₁₀ it is being formed two pots having a different facture in the context of the sanctuary formed of ritual pits, being contemporary – in our opinion – with phase IC of Starčevo-Criș culture (Luca 2015, p. 207-208; photo 109).

More – and more interesting – in the composition of the pit there are several stone pieces, weights or pieces that are components for the roof (Luca 2015, fig. 102; 139-141 – these seem to be transformed in *cult pieces* in this case or in the case of C₇₉), used as offering, this time losing their practical character (as there are other isolated cases, as pit C₇₉)(Luca 2015, p. 89-92, fig. 67-77; photo 66-67), and the ¹⁴C for this feature (C₁₀) confirms our assumption regarding the relative chronology of the feature Beta 405701: 6.910±30 calBP (Luca 2015, p. 208).

This feature is being different by two aspects. From 48 stone pieces discovered here, there was no blade. Only two fragments of small blades fine retouched, marginal, chopped of Balkan flint, the rest of the products being associated with debitage of splinters: 13 splinters, one nucleus, 22 remnant and crackers, two percutors from which one it is also used as rubbers, 6 fragmented boulders. The second distinct element it is that the only polished piece from the settlement, a fragment of an axe that was fired, was discovered in this feature (Luca 2015, p. 155).

Next are the pieces from C₁₀ (9%), the rest being under 4%. It can be said that the chopping area for the lithic material, but also for usage of the tools, as it will show in the analysis, was located in C₄₀, while in C₁₀ it is being surprised a small sequence of processing some categories of rocks, maybe ritual deposits (Luca 2015, table synthetic 9; graphic 29).

The obvious conclusion for these observations is the one that also considering the rituals of abandonment of the sacred area (or one its parts) the surrounding communities have not forgotten the magical signification, ritual of the area described and came – from time to time – to bring offerings for the ones that used to be priests, the shamans of a group of communities that used to live in Southern and South-Western Transylvania (Luca 2015, p. 208).

All these observations, along with the piece from fig. 1/1 from this article, indicate the fact that the signification of C₁₀ feature can be connected to a ritual made in honor of a great priest or a shamanic leader of the community. A process of sacred remembering (important signs of the character but also other communities, were putted in a pit; the mace-scepter was broken in two pieces – fig. 1/1, an axe was broken and fired – fig. 2, some of the stone pieces, component of the roof were buried next (Luca 2015, fig. 102; 139-141) some type of tools, but also two pots (Luca 2015, p. 207), and the pit was made eccentric as positioning, but near the ritualist dwelling L₁. One of its parts (Luca 2015, p. 123-174). The phases of evolution of the communities from Cristian I were synthetically explained, at the end of the book (Luca 2015, p. 220-221).

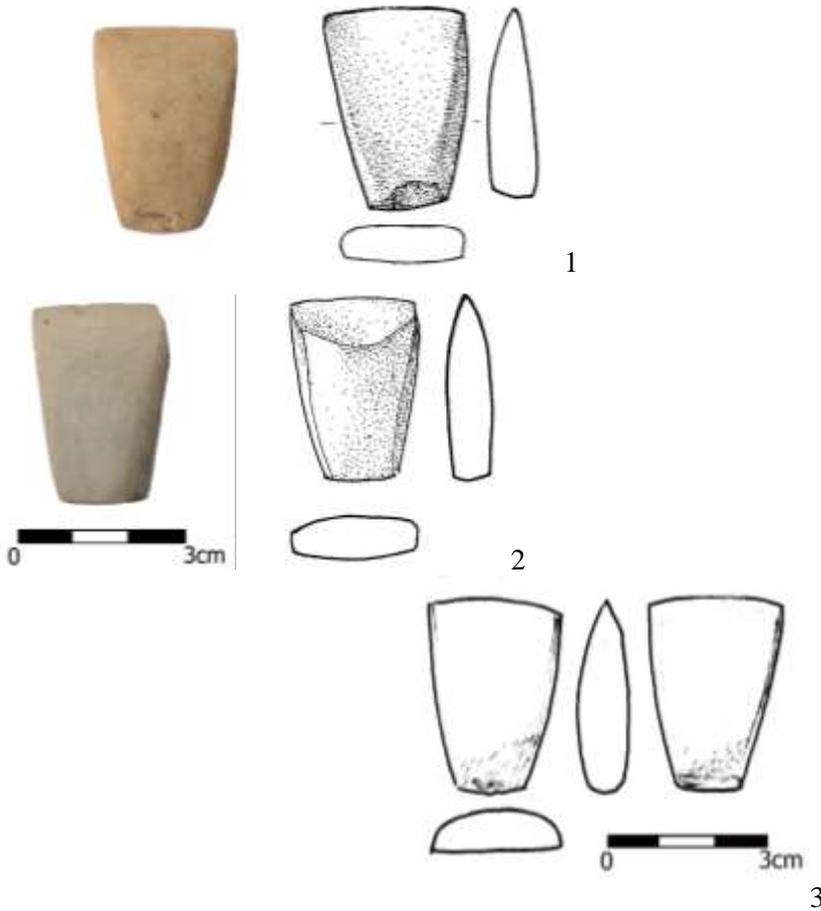


Fig. 4. Cristian III (sanctuary – dwelling-hut number 7 (B₇)). Herminete small axes made of conreean rock 1-3, C₃₉₂.

The polishes small axes, herminets (fig. 4), appear, among other stations, also at Cafer Höyük, Turkey, pre-pottery archaeological site (with structures of the dwellings organized on rectangular foundations, extremely elaborated)(Cauvin *et al* 1999, p. 64-65), revealing the existence of this type of artefact, before pottery, also of perforated and polished axes and (fig.1/2)(Rosenberg 1999, p. 16; fig. 12/3).

In the archaeological site of Cristian III (Sibiu County) was discovered the same type of *herminet* as the ones from Turkey (fig. 4).

The herminets, or the small axes, many times they are discovered as funerary inventory all around Europe (Vlassa 1976, 83-84; Tillman 1995, p. 44; Hansen

2011, p. 28; Marțiș *et al* 2015, p. 2-3), without knowing exactly in what conditions or purposes they were deposited. The dimensions of this small axes and their morphology are matching for fixing a handle, and the fixing was explained through the discovery, unique, of one small axe of this type, having a wood handle, in Scotland (fig. 8 – possible hatchet, scepter)(Barklay 1998, p. 8).

At Cristian III these pieces (fig. 4) were discovered in a sanctuary (formed of pits C₃₉₂, C₃₉₃, C₅₁₈ and C₅₈₃)(Luca *et al* 2014; Luca *et al* 2015). Towards this supposition leads us to the positioning – somehow isolated – of the construction, near the external north-east palisade, but also the doubling, its excessive reinforcement, of the wood wall, even though we are not facing a fortification reinforcement. Other arguments by the special character of the construction are:

- the existence of a circular hearth in the central-eastern zone of the feature, another in the central-western zone and the third one, quadrilateral, towards the south of C₅₈₃;

- the existence of three statuettes/menhir (custom also present at Cristian I – Luca 2015, p. 150-152, photo 92) in three distinct areas (the northern one, the eastern one – in correlation with the rounded hearth and the western one in correlation with another round hearth); the un-natural position in situ of some ceramic fragments of hearth, which indicates the fact that these were troubled/broken and placed facing down, intentional;

- the existence of a pot made of fossil wood in the center of the construction (fig. 5);

- the presence of a fragment of axe/scepter of polished stone, transversal perforated and with nape, conic, rounded by polishing. The piece (part of the inventory of one of the three hearths discovered inside this feature, respectively of the one placed in its western extremity) was, probably, interionately broken on the line of maximal diameter of the fixing hole, after it was thrown on the hearth – possibly material rest of a ritual (photo 5-6). Dimensions: L=69 mm; LA=48/23 mm; H_{Hole}=48 mm (possible scepter, symbol of power?);

- were discovered other fragments of zoomorphic statuettes (photo 1-4) and amulets.

One of the zoomorphic statuettes from this archaeological features can be a dog, considering the attitude and position. The way this piece was preserved does not allow us to make more observation in this matter. The statuette is missing the inferior part of the left leg. Dimensions: I=39 mm; L=43 mm; LA=19 mm (photo 1-2).



Photo 1. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Feature 583 (sanctuary – dwelling-hut number 7 (B₇)).



Photo 2. Zoomorphic statuette. Feature 583 (sanctuary – dwelling-hut number 7 (B₇)).

A second zoomorphic statuette (bovine?) is fragmentary. Its décor is being composed of short incisions, on the back and lateral sides of the animal. Dimensions: I=32 mm; L=33 mm; LA=23 mm (photo 3-4).

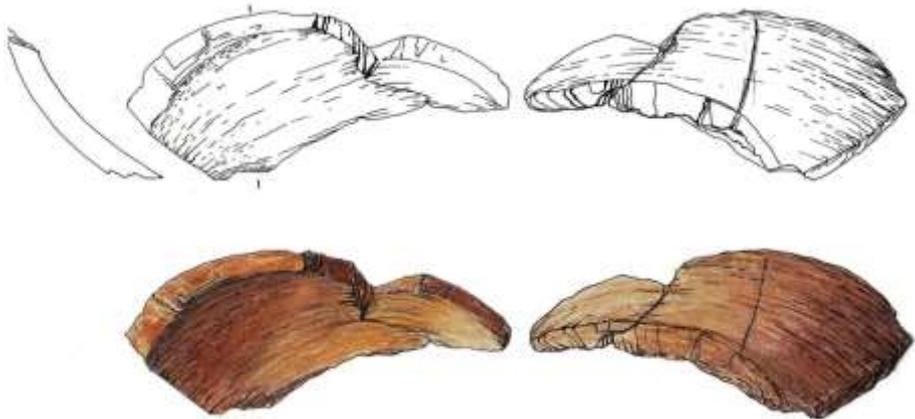


Fig. 5. Cristian III. Pot made of wood (sanctuary– hut-dwelling number 7 (B₇)).

Analogies for the described piece – for its ornament made with nail – we have nearby, at Cristian I (Luca 2015, p. 146, fig. 115/1). We notice the fact that the statuette from Cristian I is from an older level of Starčevo-Criș culture (Luca 2015, p. 219-224). There is a continuity that reflects, by reporting to the economic models that are around, an incapacity of adaptation to the new realities from here (where hunting, fishing and gathering have a determinant role), so we have to notice that fact that these adopt some strange divinities for Neolithic, specific for the Mesolithic the three massive sculptures, made in stone, specific to Lepenski Vir –

Schela Cladovei, in order to reach an equilibrium with the structure of exploiting the existing habitat. More, the sceptre it is being broken, wood pots apearar – extremely rare and a dog of clay it is being modeled, a very rare fact for Neolithic communities. All these observations show that the herminiets too have here a well established role.



Photo 5. Cristian III. Axe/scepter made of polished stone (sanctuary– hut-dwelling number 7 (B₇)).



Photo 6. Cristian III. Axe/scepter made of polished stone (sanctuary– hut-dwelling number 7 (B₇)).



Fig. 6. Trapezium Neolithic axe, in wood handle, fragmented, “Shuloshader Axe” discovered in a swamp from Lewis. It is being preserved at Scotland National Museum (Barklay 1998, p. 8).

The proof of finxing the axe in a handele exists – we are reefing to axes or scepters – on each artefact, either there were fine incisions oriented oblique on the ax

of the small axe, either glue of bines or bitumium, but the discovery if the axe already fixed in the handle (fig. 6) is the most serious proof of the existence of it, in this maner, but it also precedes the hatchet with two edges made from one piece.

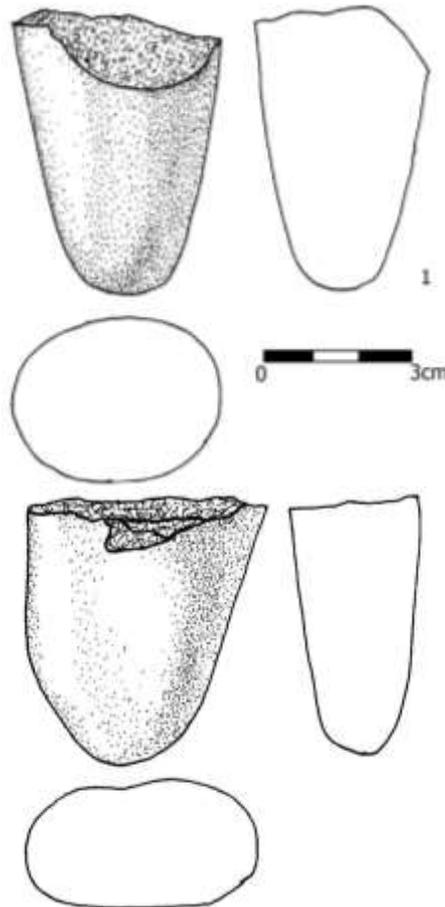


Fig. 7. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₂, Starčevo-Criș dwelling: 1. Proximal fragment of *cob* axe made of *amfibolit*; 2. Proximal fragment of *cob* axe made of black gabbro (?).

As in the case from Miercurea Sibiului II, C₁₂ (fig. 7), the small axes are isolated, as values itselfs, either by two pieces component of the above mentioned hatchet. Unfortunately, the working of landscaping during prehistory, but also the agricole ones from the last 50 years distoyed the Vinča habitation level from here, so we

don't have any framing on features for the artefacts from Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County)(fig. 8-9).

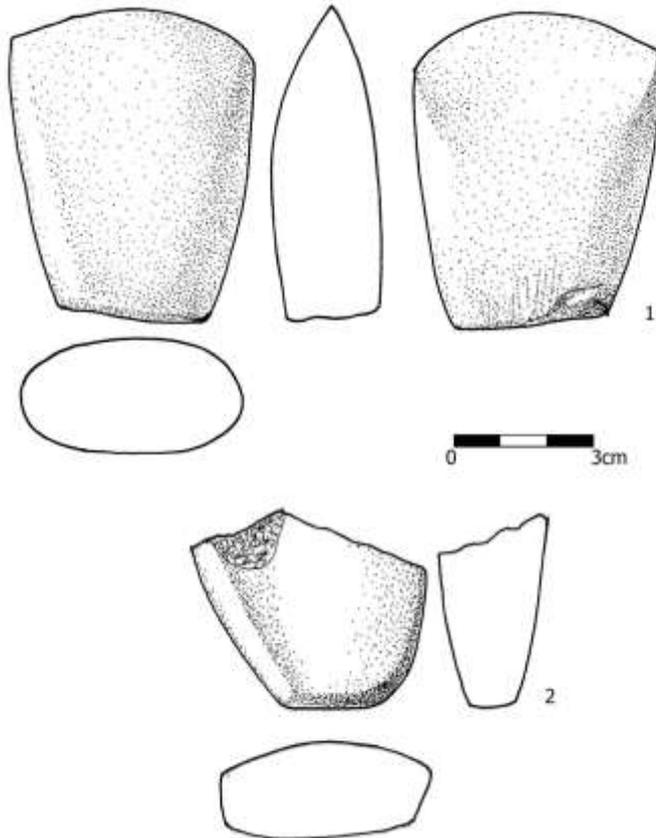


Fig. 8. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu county), C₁₇, Vinča dwelling, *cob* axes: 1. Axe from *corneean*, faced; 2. Proximal axe fragment of *chaille baige*.

A category of polished artefacts, discovered in the recent excavations, are the stones made of kind of anatomic shape, easy to grabe, generally *argillits*, easy to polish, present in Early Nelithic sites, Starčevo-Criş in our case.

Today, in the old tradition pottery centres, as are the ones from Maramureş, for polishing the clay pots, dried 2-3 weeks in shade, it is being used the object strictly destined for this purpose, called "*bdicaş*" - grit stone (Florescu 1970, p. 52, 57), and the *pigment*, red-dark-red used for painting the pots, *is the earth-stone brought*

from Glodului Valley, smashed, dissolved in a watery solution called "șar" (Florescu 1970, p. 57-58). "Fătiușa"/spatula it is another object used for flattening the pot, name also valid today.

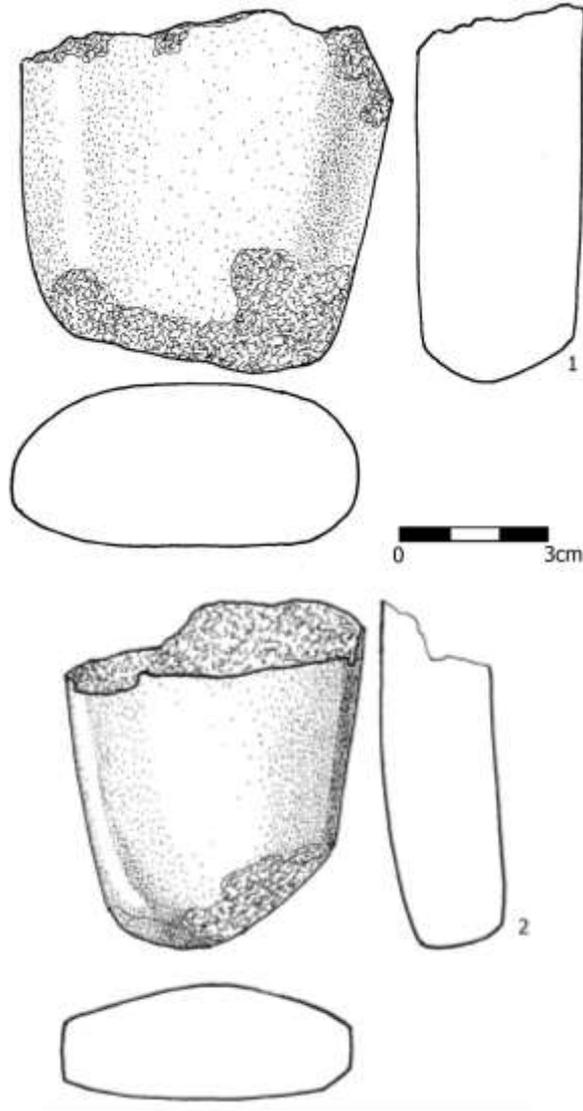


Fig. 9. Miercurea Sibiului II, (Sibiu County), C₁₇, Vinča dwelling (?). Poximal fragments of *cob* axes: 1. Light grey-greenish with white spots; 2. Proximal fragment

of axe made of *chaille*.

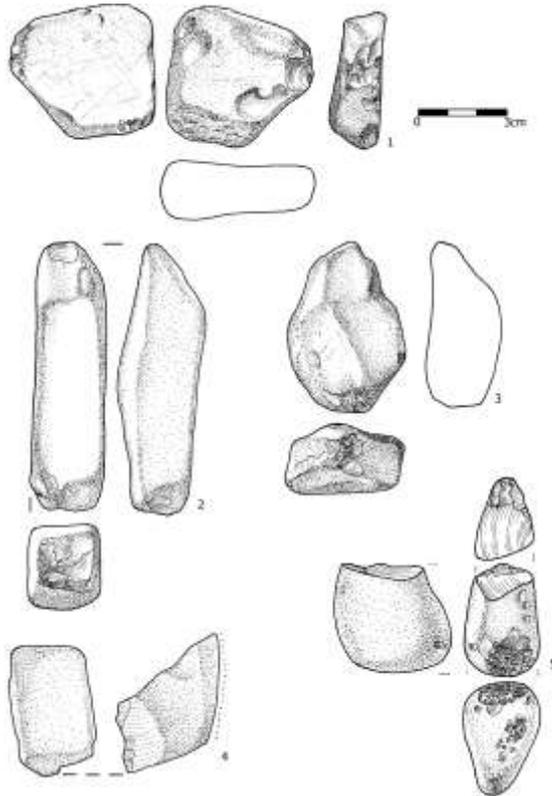


Fig. 10. Cristian I (Sibiu County), L₁ (C₄₀) Starčevo-Criș ritual dwelling, polishers with red painting in dents: 1-4. *Argilite* red ochre; 5. *Jasp* with ochre.

Through the etnographic analogy, we notice a series of objects from Starčevo-Criș dwellings, that present the same characteristics, with a well defined anatomical shapes, good flattening and oxides of some mineral substances of dark-red colour as Florescu also describes it.

An important lot of polished materials are the polishers (fig. 10-13). These have been described at Cristian I, C₄₀ (fig. 10; 11/1 (Luca 2015, p. 133, photo 78), Cristian III (fig. 11/2) or Miercurea Sibiului II (fig. 11/3; 12). The piece from fig. 12/b can be – with the normal equidistance – also the handle of a stone pot.

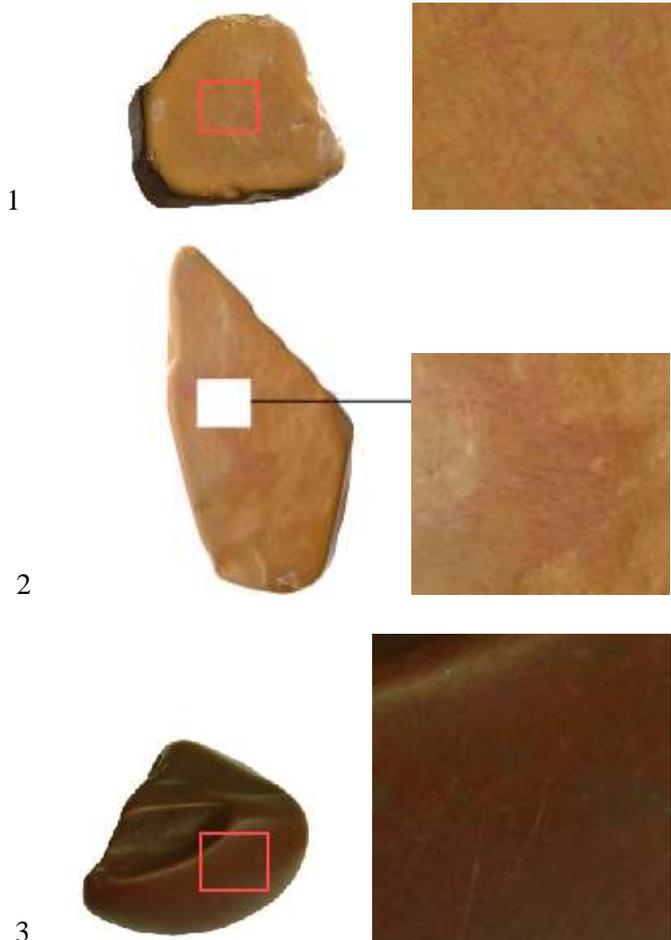


Fig. 11. Polishers. „*Bdicaș*” in a Romanian popular term . 1. Cristian I (Sibiu County). Starčevo-Criș I. Frecător/lustruitor cu pigment roșu în striațiile de uzură; 2. Cristian III (Sibiu County). Starčevo-Criș III. Polisher, remains of red pigment with usage striations; 3. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș dwelling, polisher of brown-reddish *argilit*.

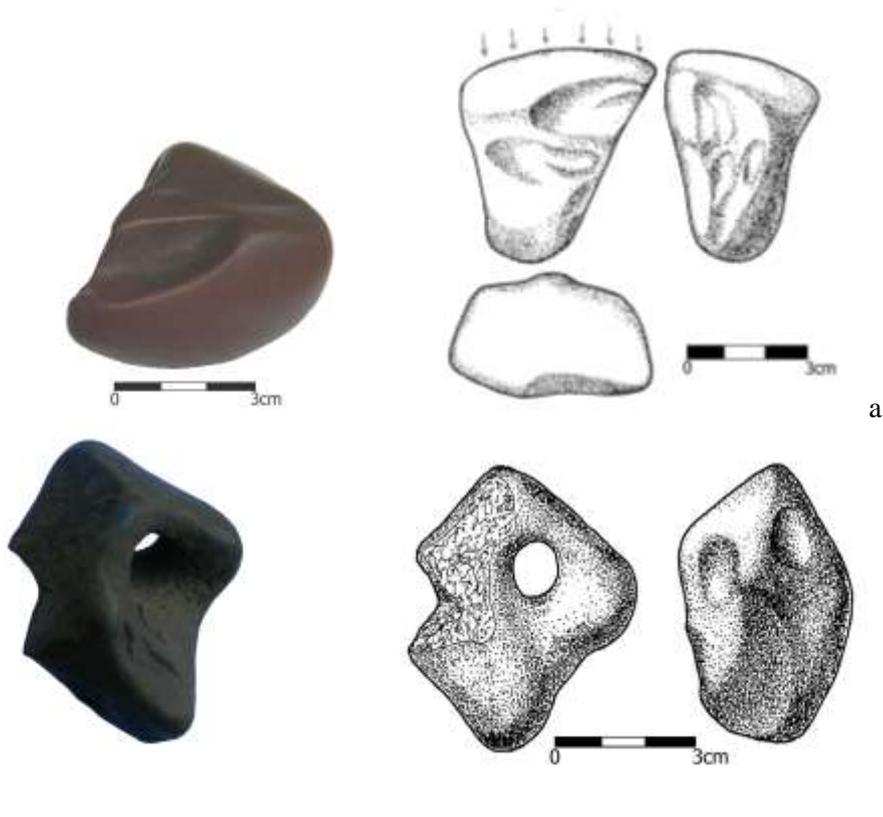


Fig. 12. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), Starčevo-Criș dwellings: a. C₂₅, polishers of brown-reddish *argilit*; b. C₁₇, polisher of brown-reddish *argilit-cuarțit*.

The general observation is – in all three studied sites – that the way of polishing, but also of usace of some special pigments in this action, is quasi-identical the in the first three pahses of Starčevo-Criș (I-III) culture. All the polishers from fig. 11 keep this obvious marks.

At Cristian I the variety of polishers – as shape – it is very large. This affirmation can be exemplified through many archaeological materials already published (Luca 2015, p. 131, fig. 97, p. 132, fig. 106 or p. 133, fig. 109).

The percutors/polishers from Cristian I (Luca 2015, p. 133, fig. 108 – the piece is not being used for this article)(fig. 14)(Luca 2015, p. 131, fig. 96 – a part of these can be also cult objects, of exchange) and Miercurea Sibiului II (fig. 15-17) are very numerous. They have a distinct characteristic. Ther repetitive and long usage has profiled them, in a special way, crating some prismatic or biconical shapes, very frewuent in the recent researched areas in the zone of Miercurea Sibiului-Cristian.

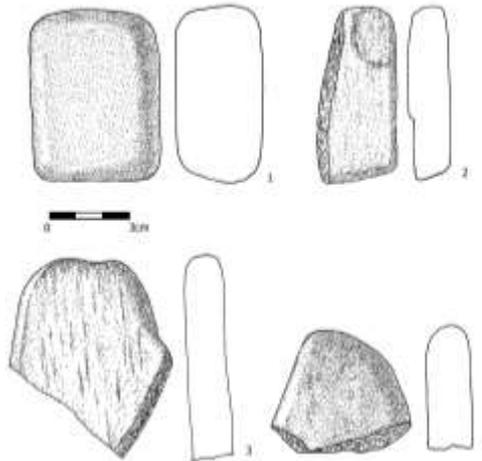


Fig. 13. Cristian I (Sibiu County). Polishers: 1. *Quartzite* (feature C₄); 2. *Grindstone* (feature C₄); 3. *Quartzite micaceu* in layers with blaj filons of piroclastite (feature C₄₀); 4. *Quartzite grindstone* (feature C₄).

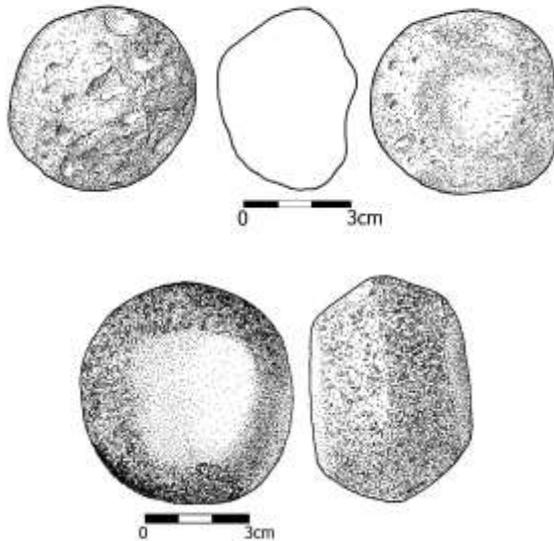


Fig. 14. Cristian I (Sibiu County). 1. Percutor made of olive colour *flint* (C₄₀); 2. Biconical percutor-polisher (C₇₉ sanctuary made of ritual pits).

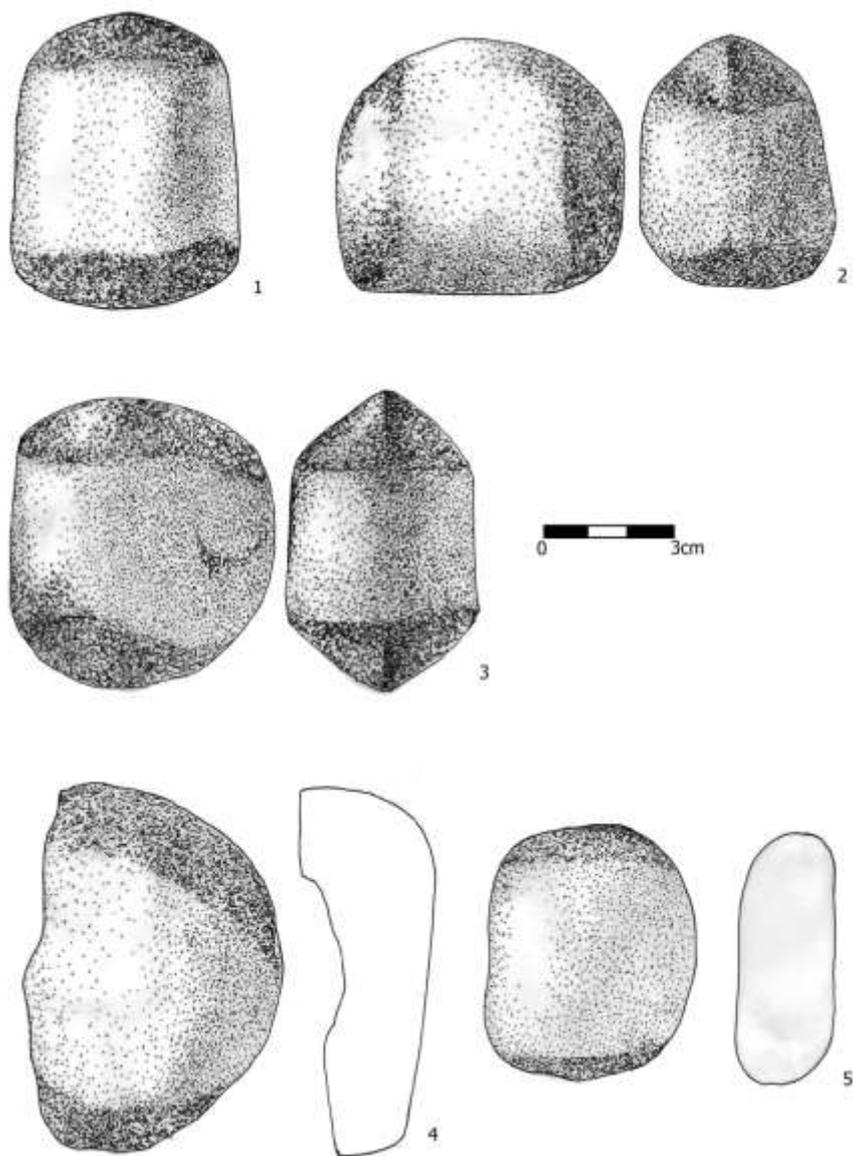


Fig. 15. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County). C₂₅. Percutor-polishers with net profilation in the polished zone; 1-2, 4-5 – *quartzite*; 3 – *quartz*.

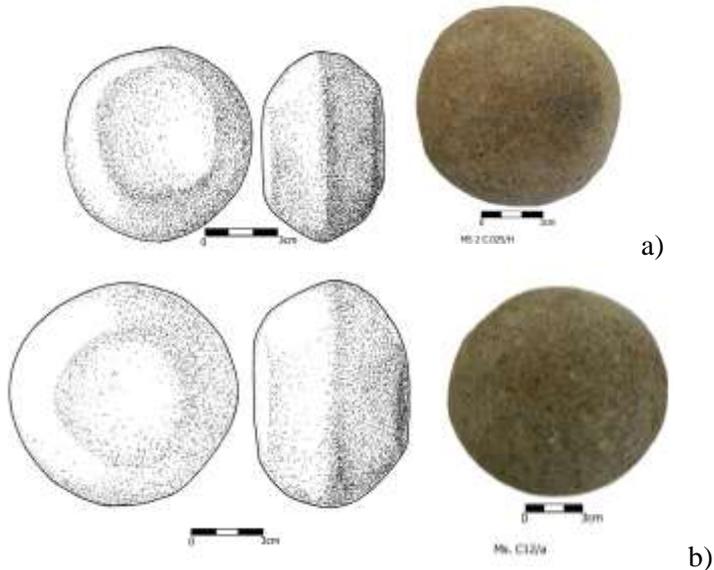


Fig. 17. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County). Starčevo-Criș dwellings. a. C₂₅; b. C₁₂: artefacts made of *silicified gridstone*.

The percutors themselves are at Miercurea Sibiului II (fig. 16/3; 18; 20). They have an obvious role in smashing raw vegetal material or in other activities that are hard to explain today.

Some percutors are being used also as polishers – without being able to name the succession of the etaphs – giving birth to some smooth surfaces, no mater of the durity of the rocks, the usace of the rock proving their long usage (fig. 14-20).

Either that they are used as percutor-axes (fig. 18-20) they present the same type of usage and profilaton, the same ad the other artefacts. A type of such rubber-polisher, presenting black pigment in the used part (we don't have any analysis for the black material), there is at fig. 20ș. Maybe this kind of objects were used for smashing the orgaing substance in order to obtain paint, as it was discovered at Cristian I (Luca 2015, p. 66-69; fig. 33-38; photo 36-37; analysis 1 (paint); feature C₅₈).

In what concerns the polishers, these have also a cultic role or they were used as exhchange values, and they are present at Miercurea Sibiului II (fig. 19) or at Cristian I (Luca 2015, p. 131, fig. 96).

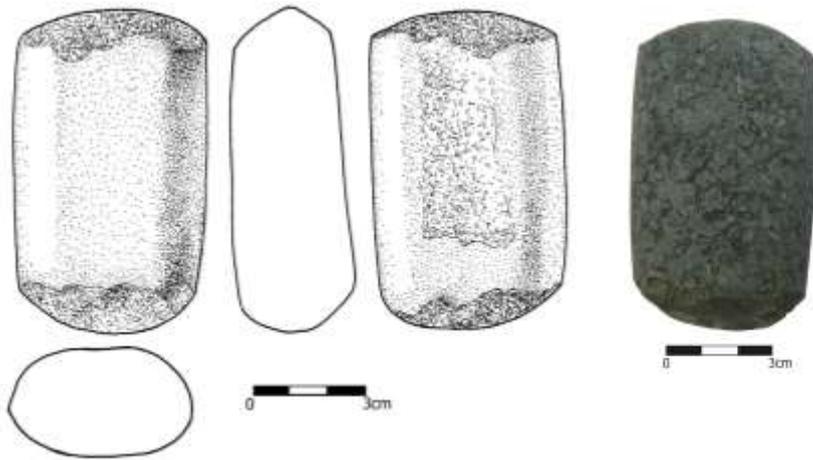


Fig. 18. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș dwelling. Hammer made of greenish *microdiorit*.

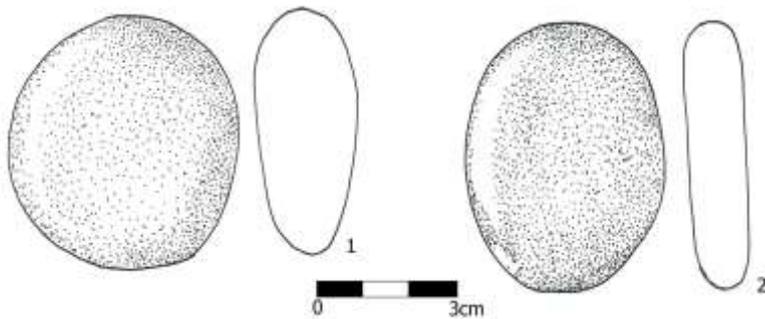


Fig. 19. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș. 1. *Quartite*; 2. *Argilit* – polishers or objects with cultic role, exchange values.

In this text we have tried to show the unicity of the material and spiritual synthesis produced at the impact of two civilisations: the Mesolithic one and the Neolithic one. It is obvious that the "salvation" of each ment – in some zones, and one of them is Transylvania, maybe the same in the Danube Gorge – also in creating some surviving models integrated in two components. Once with phase A of Vinča culture we can discuss about the definitive neolithisation of these zones.

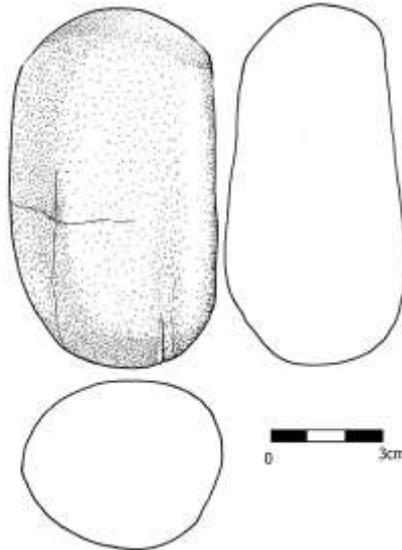


Fig. 20. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₇, Starčevo-Criș, ochre-brik-like smasher made of *quartzite*, with remains of black pigments, with the extremities profilated conical from usage (probably omogenisator of black painting/pigment).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

Fig. 1. 1. Mace of *microdiorite* discovered at Cristian I, Sibiu County, Starčevo-Criș level, C₁₀; 2. *Diorite* maces discovered at Hallan Çemi, Turkey; Stone club (possible *gabro*) polished, perforated and decorated with incisions.

Fig. 2. Cristian I, C₁₀, axe of *chaille* (*corneean?*), remounted, terminally treated.

Fig. 3. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₂, Starčevo-Criș settlement, *block* axes made of: 1. Greenish *diorite* with white quartzite lodes; 2. *Microdiorite* grey-greenish - *amfibolit* (?) (with usage marks in the nape area. These have functioned as strikers/polishers.

Fig. 4. Cristian III. (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)). *Herminete* axes made of *corneean* rocks. 1-3, C₃₉₂.

Fig. 5. Cristian III. Pot made of wood (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Fig. 6. Trapeze Neolithic axe in wood handle, fragmentary. „Shuloshader Axe” discovered in a swamp from Lewis. It is being preserved in the National Museum of Scotland.

Fig. 7. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₂, Starčevo-Criș dwelling: 1. Fragment of proximal from *cob* axe made of *amphibolite*; Fragment of proximal from *cob* axe made of black gabro (?).

Fig. 8. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₇, Starčevo-Criș dwelling, *block* axes: 1. Axe made of *corneean*, faceted; 2. Fragment of proximal of axe made of *chaille baige*.

Fig. 9. Miercurea Sibiului II, (Sibiu County), C₁₇, Vinča settlement (?). Proximal fragments of *block* axes: 1. Light grey-greenish with white spots; 2. Proximal fragment of *chaille* axe.

Fig. 10. Cristian I (Sibiu County), L₁ (C₄₀) Starčevo-Criș ritual settlement, rubber-polishers with red pigment in striation: 1-4 *Argilite* with reddish ochre; *Jasper* with ochre.

Fig. 11. „*Bdicaș*” (a Romanian popular term) polisher. 1. Cristian I (jud. Sibiu). Starčevo-Criș I. Rubber-polisher with red pigment in usage striations; 2. Cristian III (jud. Sibiu). Starčevo-Criș III. Rubber-polisher with red pigment in usage striations; 3. Miercurea Sibiului II (jud. Sibiu), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș dwelling, polisher of brown-reddish *argilite*.

Fig. 12. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), Starčevo-Criș dwellings: a. C₂₅, polisher of brown-reddish *argilite*.; b. C₁₇, polisher of brown-reddish *argilite-quartzite*.

Fig. 13. Cristian I (Sibiu County). Polishers: 1. *Quartzite* (feature C₄); 2. *Grindstone* (feature C₄); 3. *Quartzite micaceous* with black small lodes made of piroclastite (feature C₄₀). *Quartzite grindstone* (feature C₄).

Fig. 14. Cristian I (Sibiu County) . 1. Striker made of olive-coloured *flint* (C₄₀); 2. Striker-rubber biconical profilated (C₇₉ the sancturay of ritual pits)

Fig. 15. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County). C₂₅. Striker-polishers with net profile of the polished zone, 1-2, 4-5 – *quartzite*; 3 – *quartz*.

Fig. 16. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County). C₁₂. 1-4. Polishers/strikers of *silicolite* (*silicified grindstone*). Strikers-polishers transformed in nucleus; 3. *Cob* – proximal fragmented – crusher made of *diorite*; 4. Striker-polishers of *silicolite*.

Fig. 17. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County). Starčevo-Criș dwellings. a. C₂₅; b. C₁₂: artefacts made of *silicide grindstone*.

Fig. 18. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș dwelling. Axe made of greenish *micro-diorite*.

Fig. 19. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₂₅, Starčevo-Criș. 1. *Quartzite*; 2. *Argilite* – polishers or objects with cultic role, ore exchange value.

Fig. 20. Miercurea Sibiului II (Sibiu County), C₁₇, Starčevo-Criș, crusher made of ochre-brick like coloured quartz, with traces of black pigment, with the extremities conical profligate from usage (probably homogenizer for paint/black pigment).

Photos

Photo 1. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Feature 583 (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Photo 2. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Feature 583 (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Photo 3. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Bovidae. Feature 583 (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Photo 4. Cristian III. Zoomorphic statuette. Bovidae. Complex 583 (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Photo 5. Cristian III. Axe/sceptre made of polished stone (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

Photo 6. Cristian III. Axe/sceptre made of polished stone (sanctuary – hut number 7 (B₇)).

List of bibliographical abbreviations

ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu
AMET	<i>Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei</i> , Muzeul Etnografic al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
Apulum	<i>Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BB	<i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BEphNap	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Academia Română, Institutul de arheologie și istoria artei, Cluj-Napoca
BMN	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BrukAM	<i>Brukenthal. Acta Musei</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
SSEP	<i>Studies into</i>
Transilvania	<i>Transilvania</i> , Sibiu

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cauvin et al. 1999 Cauvin, Jaques, Aurenche, Olivier, Marie-Claire Cauvin, Nur Balcan Atli, *The Pre-Pottery Site of Cafer Höyük*. In *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries* (Ed.) Mehmet Özdoğan, Istanbul (1999), p. 57-58.
- Barklay 1998 G. Barklay, *Farmers, Temple and Tombs. Skotland in the Neolithic and Bronze Age*. In *The making of Skotland*,

- Historie Scotland (1998).
- El Susi 2014 G. El Susi, *A survey on faunal remains from Cristian I (Sibiu County)*. In *ActaTS* 7 (2014), p. 23-72.
- Esin 1999 E. Esin, *The Neolithic in Turkey: A General Review*. In *The Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries*, Mehmet Özdoğan (ed.), Istanbul (1999), p. 13-23.
- Florescu 1961 Fl.B. Florescu, *Un centru necunoscut de ceramică roșie lustruită de veche tradiție din Maramureș*. In *AMET* (1959-1961), p. 49-63.
- Hansen 2011 S. Hansen, *Descoperiri arheologice în Germania, Vademecum al expoziției de fotografii*, Berlin (2011).
- Luca 2015 S.A. Luca, *Viața trăită sub zei. Situl Starčevo-Criș I de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu, România*. In *SSEP* 2 (2015).
- Luca 2015a S.A. Luca, *Istoria unei comunități din primul val de neolitizare a teritoriului Transilvaniei*. In Sorin Cociș, Vlad-Andrei Lăzărescu, Monica Gui, Dan-Augustin Deac (eds.), *Ad Finem Imperii Romani. Studies in Honour of Coriolan H. Opreanu, BEphNap* 8 (2015), Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, p. 239-274.
- Luca et al 2010 S.A. Luca, C.I. Suciu, Fl. Dumitrescu-Chioar, *Starčevo-Criș culture in western part of Romania – Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Oltenia and Western Muntenia: Repository, distribution map, state of research and chronology*. In *Neolithisation of the Carpathian Basin: Northernmost Distribution of the Starčevo/Körös culture*, Krakow-Budapest (2010), p. 103-118.
- Luca et al 2011 Luca S.A., Suciu C.I., *Starčevo-Criș Culture in Western part of Romania – Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Oltenia and Western Muntenia: repository, distribution map, state of research and chronology*. In *The First Neolithic Sites in Central/South-East European Transect. Volume II: Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criș) sites on the territory of Romania*. In *BAR IS* 2188 (2011), p. 7-17.
- Luca et al 2012 S.A. Luca, I. Boca, A. Georgescu, A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, Cl. Munteanu, C.M. Neagu, A. Nițoi, A. Tudorie, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Cristian (județul Sibiu)*, Campania 2011. In *BB* 60 (2012, 60).
- Luca et al 2013 S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „*Consacrarea ritualică*” a primei colonizări neolitice din România

- Luca et al 2013a *Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea I. Fundarea.* In: *Apulum* 50 (2013, 1), p. 1-22.
- Luca et al 2013b S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, "The ritual consecration" of the first Neolithic colonization from Romania. The pits sanctuary from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part I. The Foundation. In *BruckAM* 8 (2013, 1), p. 11-28.
- Luca et al 2013c S.A. Luca, Marțiș Fl., A. Tudorie, A. Luca, "The Ritual Consecration" of the First Neolithic from Romania. The **Pits Sanctuary** from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part III. The Abandonment. In *ActaTS* 12 (2013), p. 7-20.
- Luca et al 2013c S.A. Luca, Marțiș Fl., A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „Consacrarea ritualică” a primei colonizări neolitice din România. Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea III. Părăsirea. In *Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie – In memoriam Liviu Măruia – Timișoara (7 decembrie 2013)*, Szeged (2013, 1), p. 35-44.
- Luca et al 2014 S.A. Luca, A. Georgescu, Fl. Marțiș, A. Luca, *Data on a sanctuary belonging to Starčevo-Criș culture discovered at Cristian III, Sibiu County.* In *BruckAM* 9 (2014, 1), p. 7-18.
- Luca et al 2014a S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, *The „Ritualistic Consecration” of the First Neolithisation in Romania. The site of Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part 4. The plastic art.* In C.-E. Ursu, S. Țerna (eds.), *Anthropomorphism and symbolic behavior in the Neolithic and Cooper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe, Studies into South-East European Prehistory*, Suceava (2014, 1), p. 13-28.
- Luca et al 2014b S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, „Consacrarea ritualică” a primei colonizări neolitice din România. Sanctuarul de gropi de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu. Partea II. Locuirea. In *Apulum* 51 (2014, 1), p. 1-24.
- Luca et al 2015 S.A. Luca, A. Georgescu, Fl. Marțiș, A. Luca, *Date despre un sanctuar aparținând culturii Starčevo-Criș descoperit la Cristian III, jud. Sibiu.* In Ioan Bolovan, Ovidiu Ghitta (coord.), *Istoria ca datorie. Omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, Cluj-Napoca (2015), p. 293-306.
- Luca et al 2015a S.A. Luca, Fl. Marțiș, A. Tudorie, A. Luca, "The Ritual Consecration" of the first Neolithic Colonization from Romania. The Pit Sanctuary from Cristian I, Sibiu County. Part II. The Habitation. In *From Symbols to Signs. In*

- memory of Klaus Schmidt, Suceava (2015), p. 115-132.
- Martiş *et al* 2015 Fl. Martiş, S. Câmpean, O. Popescu, *Ocurența materiilor prime în industria litică preistorică transilvăneană*. In *Transilvania*, 2015 (3-4), p. 2-9.
- Nițu *et al* 2015 E.-C. Nițu, Fl. Martiş, S.A. Luca, *Considerații tehnologicice și funcționale asupra materialului litic cioplit din așezarea Cristian I (Neolitic timpuriu – Starčevo-Criș I)*. In *Apulum* 52 (2015, 1), p. 11-34.
- Nițu *et al* 2015a E.-C. Nițu, Fl. Martiş, S.A. Luca, *Techno-typological and Functional considerations concerning the Chipped stones materials from Cristian I settlement (Early Neolithic – Starčevo-Criș I)*. In *ActaTS* 14 (2015), p. 7-29.
- Rosenberg 1999 M. Rosenberg, *Hallan Çemi*. In *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilisation. New Discoveries*, Mehmet Özdoğan (ed.), Istanbul (1999), p. 9-18.
- Tillman 1995 A.Tillman, *Mesolithikum und Neolithikum*. In *Archäologie um Ingolstadt Archäologische Untersuchungen beim Bau der B16 und der Bahnverlegung*, (1995), p. 35-52.
- Vlassa 1976 Vlassa Nicolae, *Neoliticul Transilvaniei, studii, articole, note*. In *BMN* 3 (1976).

MIDDLE AND LATE NEOLITHIC FINDS FROM DEVA-TĂUALAŞ

Tibor-Tamás DARÓCZI

Independent researcher
csibike3@yahoo.com

Marcel MIERTOIU

miertoium@yahoo.com

Abstract: *Archaeological finds dated to the Middle and Late Neolithic recovered in the 1970s from earthworks carried out at the site of Deva – Tăualaş are presented in this paper. Sherds, terracotta objects and lithics are amongst the salvaged finds some even bearing unique decorations or having rare shapes. The importance of these finds arises from the fact that there has been a lot of specialised archaeological discussion devoted to this site and its finds, especially since it yielded a not very common type of painted pottery specific to the Middle and Late Neolithic of the middle Mureş river. Evidence for one of the earliest metallurgical processes of the wider southeast European region is also documented among the artefacts.*

Keywords: *Middle and Late Neolithic, southwest Transylvania, pottery, figurine, metallurgy*

Previous research at the site

The prehistoric site of Deva-Tăualaş, or in the more recent literature also as Tăualaş, is located on the left bank of the Mureş river and to the north-east of the train station, under the modern town and in the area of the agricultural fields. Based on its toponym and its topographic location (**pl. 1**) a marshy and swampy area fed by the waters of the Mureş river can be inferred. These micro-environmental conditions creating and maintaining histosols were suitable for an abundant presence of molluscs, reeds and other aquatic flora (Daróczy 2012a, 33-34, 44; Daróczy 2012b, 47; Sümegi 2004).

The first mention of the site is from the year 1902 at the toponym of *Tóállás* (*Tó* from hung. *lake* + *állás* from hung. *staying*), where during ploughing sherds, lithics, antler tools, shells are mentioned and lacustrine structures presumed (Kun *et al.* 1902, 12-13; Téglás 1902, 25). After a few further mentions of fortunate finds (Roska 1933, 8, no. 5; Roska 1942, 67, no. 36) in 1944 an excavation was carried out by Hortensia Dumitrescu when two trenches were dug (Dumitrescu 1966, footnote 1) and a few decades later the results were also published (Dumitrescu 1984; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986). In 1947 Mihail Macrea and Octavian Floca have also conducted a small-scale field research, the results of which were only briefly mentioned, but never published (Dumitrescu 1966, footnote 7; Floca 1969, 8-9;

Lazarovici, Némethi 1983, footnote 25, Dumitrescu 1984, footnote 3). The members of the Archaeological Society of Deva during construction of the sewerage-system for the C.A.P. farms in the early 1970s (1971, 1973, and 1974) carried out find-salvaging and, where possible, context-recording activities. Some of the finds and features documented in these years are presented in this paper. Lastly, in 1983 a small scale survey was carried out by Gheorghe Lazarovici, Florin Drașovean and Mihai Rotea (Kalmar 1984, 393, no. 13, fig. 3/6, 7, 9), while a small sondage was undertaken in 1996 by Sabin Adrian Luca (personal communication on 18. 09. 2013.).

Stratigraphic observations

The channels dug for the sewer-system of the C.A.P. farms were 1.50 m wide and 2 m deep. Two archaeological layers were recognised in these trenches at depths of 0.40 – 1.30 m and 1.40 – 1.90 m with an archaeologically sterile flood-layer in between them, thus confirming the research results of Hortensia Dumitrescu slightly to the south (Dumitrescu 1966, 436). Furthermore, at least two dwellings each with a hearth were identified in a depth of 1.40 m, which would position them in the upper part of the lower layer, i.e. *Tăuălaș I*. The adobe fragments of previously burnt daub found in this area come to further strengthen the evidence for structures (**pl. 5/2, 4-6 – cat. no. 62**). The thickness of the hearths varied from 5 to 7 cm, while their lengths were of 1.20 and 1.50 m. Each hearth had an upper, brownish-red, better fired layer and a lower, black, poorly fired one. Based on this stratigraphic information it can be said that the fireplaces were used for a moderate period of time.

Pottery

The ceramic materials recovered are limited in number, nevertheless carry important chronological information and indicate ties with neighbouring regions. Goblets with a slightly higher and full stem (**pl. 4/11 – cat. no. 6**), black painted, thick-lined and “V”-shaped motifs (**pl. 3/14 – cat. no. 33**), spherical or bitruncated pots decorated with incised lines organised in bundles (**pl. 3/6 – cat. no. 26**) are all exclusively found in the horizons of the Turdaș – *La Luncă* site I-II layers (Luca 2001, 37, 56, 61 nos. F3, I1, figs. 15/8; 25/1). Deep bowls (**pl. 3/5 – cat. no. 4**) are also encountered in these earliest layers at the *La Luncă* site (Luca 2001, 37, 42-43, 60 no. A5a, 61 no. C4, figs. 13/4; 21/7), but they also appear in layers of nearby sites, synchronised with layer II at Turdaș (Luca 2001, 38, 65 no. D5, fig. 23/6). Furthermore, some of the miniature vessels, tumblers with knobs (**pl. 4/19-20 – cat. nos. 30-31**), are found in earlier levels dated to the chronological horizon of the Turdaș I-II layers (Luca 2001, 37, 42-43, 61 no. B4, fig. 17/6). Jugs or juglets with straight sides, flat bases and cylindrical bodies (**pl. 3/2, 15 – cat nos. 16-17**) and a miniature vessel (**pl. 4/23 – cat. no. 25**) are also found in the earliest and in the

following layer of the *La Luncă* and other contemporaneous sites of the region (Luca 2001, 61 no. B1, fig. 17/2, 7). Typical decoration for this chronological sequence and region are the horizontal and incised bands under the rim on straight-sided jars (e.g. **pl. 4/2 – cat. no. 10**) (Luca 1997, 61). Lug-handles split vertically into two smaller lugs (**pl. 4/16-17 – cat. nos. 41-42**) are found in stratigraphic contexts, which are synchronised with the second layer of the *La Luncă* site (Luca 2001, 38, 43, fig. 16/2), as are beaked-shaped handles (Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, 8-9). Spherical bowls (**pl. 4/4 – cat. no. 1**) appear in the second layer (Luca 2001, 43, fig. 45/2, 4) and are still present in the levels of nearby sites synchronised with the latest, third layer of the Turdaş site (Luca 2001, 40, 75 no. D1, fig. 44/2). Although, incised and filled check board patterns and rhombi do occur in this period on the middle Mureş river (Luca 1997, 62, pls. 11/12; 14/5-6; 23/2; 24/1; 27/10; 30/6; 45/9), until now were not documented with a filling of circular stitches, as in our case (**pl. 4/7 – cat. no. 11**). Otherwise, the mentioned technique of filling is only seldomly encountered in the discussed period of the region (Luca 1997, 62, pls. 11/7, 14; 14/11-12; 27/3). Generally, incised bands filled with stitches or short incisions (**pl. 4/2, 4-6 – cat. nos. 1, 7, 10, 14**) are common in all layers of the Turdaş site and others synchronised with these (Luca 2001, 65-66). Less common decorations are hatched and incised triangles standing just above the base of vessels (**pl. 4/9 – cat. no. 18**) (Luca 2001, 67, fig. 26/3).

Bases of vessels with slight hollows (**pl. 4/8-9 – cat. nos. 8 and 18**) are considered typical shapes for our site and are dated to the MN IIb and to some extent in the LN I (Draşovean, Rotea 1986, 20). Juglets with a slender or slightly squashed “S”-profile (**pl. 3/1, 9-10 – cat. nos. 19, 20, 22**) were found in levels contemporaneous with the second and especially third layers of the *La Luncă* site (Luca 2001, 44-45, 65 nos. D2 and D4, figs. 14/4; 32/13). Horizontal handles (**pl. 4/14-15 – cat. nos. 38, 40**) are more frequent than vertical ones at the eponym site of Turdaş (Luca 2001, 71), though they do appear in the oldest layers at Petreşti, as well (Luca 2001, 77, fig. 38/18). Some sherds and miniature vessels (**pl. 4/10, 12, 22 – cat. nos. 5, 24, 34**) with analogies of the finds at Valea Nandrului – *La Dos* are dated to the LN I in the region, in a Vinča C₁ horizon (Maxim 1999, 171, no. 663; Draşovean 2003, 43). The same is true for the small vessel with slag remains (**pl. 4/21 – cat. no. 23**) and it has rough analogies in the most recent layers at Turdaş and at other, nearby sites with synchronous layers (Luca 2001, 38-39, 44, 65 no. D4, fig. 22/3). Decorations, similar to the jar of **cat. no. 10** (**pl. 4/2**) and sherds of **cat. nos. 35-36** (**pl. 4/24-25**), have been found at Vrşac-At in Vinča C contexts (Lazarovici 1979, fig. 11 bottom row, middle row - centre and right). A jar or deep dish with straight sides, with a horizontal embossed band and with oval, slightly diagonal dents can also be dated in a Vinča C horizon of the LN I period (Draşovean 1994a, 417). Similarly spherical(?) pots with impressed and fringed rims with or without decoration of irregular incised

lines on the body (**pl. 3/6-7 – cat. nos. 26-27**) are found in early Vinča C horizon in the area of the middle Mureş (Draşovean 1996, 48, 55, 57-58; Luca 1998, 34-35). The sherd decorated with thin and parallel, red lines organised in chevrons and not joining at their tips, on a dark buff background (**pl. 3/13 – cat. no. 32**) can be attributed to a Foeni-Mintia horizon, which has been sequenced at the nearby site of Mintia in its first and earlier, second layers as synchronous with the later *Tăualaş* layer (Draşovean, Luca 1990, 14-15).

From the earliest analysis of finds at this site it was claimed that the paint, i.e. organic slurry, is applied on the vessel before firing (Dumitrescu 1966, 435; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, 9). Contrary to this opinion it is correctly recognised, in the more recent literature, that the painted decoration was applied after firing (Luca 1997, 63, 70). There is no data for the chemical composition of the clay slurry of the pots at *Tăualaş*, though a bitumen-based painting is constantly invoked in the literature for pottery with similar black paint (Lazarovici, Némethi 1983, 30-31; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, 9; Luca 2001, 56, 70-71, 137; Luca *et al.* 2004, 106-108). Black painted motifs of slightly earlier and contemporaneous date encountered in the upper basin of the Tisa river (Comşa, Nánási 1972, 11-12; Vizdal 1973, 96; Šiška 1974, 8; Kalicz, Makkay 1977, 52 and footnote 139; Пелещин 1979; Потушняк 1979; Lazarovici, Némethi 1983, 18-19, 32; Potushniak 1997, 40; Strobel 1997, 68; Maxim 1999, 75; Virag 2004, 13 and esp. 14; Virag 2005, 14, 20, 21; Luca *et al.* 2011), were chemically analysed. The results indicate that due to the high level of proteins the colouring ingredient in some instances might have been animal blood (Korek 1983, 24 and footnote 25), though more recent analysis suggests wood-tar won from birch or pine resin as the raw material source and most certainly not bitumen (Jakucs, Sándorné Kovács 2012, esp. 309, fig. 1). Extensive literature exists on ways that wood-tar was obtained and documented in archaeological contexts for which a good, though somewhat later, example is the site of Biskupin in Poland (Piotrowski 1999). Analogies for this black painted ware were identified at an early stage, in the lower layers at Lumea Nouă and Dumbrava (Dumitrescu 1966, 435).

The vertical incised meander decoration on a sherd (**pl. 6/1 – cat. no. 9**) might be seen as a local imitation or import of a pottery decoration encountered in the Alföld and dated to a Vinča B₂/C-C, found in other nearby and contemporaneous settlements, as well (Luca 1986, 46, 53, fig. 1/6). A pair of semi-spherical lugs on the body of the vessel **cat. no. 34 (pl. 4/12)** and lugs vertically split into two **cat. nos. 41-42 (pl. 4/16-17)** have been found at Cenad as well and are attributed to a MN IIb-LN I horizon (Lazarovici 1979, fig. 24 - third row ; Horváth 1982, 209, e.g. figs. 13/4; 16/4). Furthermore, the mixture on the former sherd (**cat. no. 34**) of lugs encountered in the Alföld and painting encountered on the middle Mureş, suggests connections between these two regions.

Less common finds are the leg of a quadruped vessel (**pl. 4/3 – cat. no. 28**) and a spouted bowl (**pl. 4/18 – cat. no. 29**) more often found in contexts of the second layer at Turdaş and other contemporaneous sites, but they do appear in older ones as well (Luca 1998, p. fig. 42/9, 13). Carinated bowls (**pl. 3/4, 12 – cat. nos. 2-3**) are considered common in the LN in southwestern Transylvania (Paul 1992, 53-54; Luca 2001, 71; Luca *et al.* 2004, 108-109) and by some in the regions of the lower Mureş and Banat (Draşovean 1994b, fig. 2; Draşovean 1997, fig. 2; Luca *et al.* 2004, 108-109, 113), but they are encountered as early as the latest MN at the sites of *Tăuલાશ* or *Şoimuş – Ferma Nr. 2* and *Abator* (Draşovean, Rotea 1986, 20; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, 8, 29). These might be dated to a Vinča C₁ horizon and slightly overlapping with the Turdaş III phase in the LN I period (**pl. 2**) (Lazarovici 1987, 34-35). The decoration on a spherical bowl (**pl. 4/4 – cat. no. 1**) is similar in composition of ornaments to earlier MN II patterns (Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 1/12), though the orientation of the stitches and the slightly off-set nature of the band from the rim are also documented in the LN I of southwestern Transylvania (Paul 1992, 53, fig. 20/1; Draşovean 1997, fig. 3; Luca 2001, 77).

The site of *Tăuલાશ* entered the literature in the late '70s as yielding LCA pottery (Andriţoiu 1978, 68, no. 35) with unpublished materials from this period in the local museum (Draşovean, Rotea 1986, 22 and footnote 60), a claim that is still upheld today (Popa 2009, 185, no. 503), though with no physical evidence presented. A welcomed addition is the sherd at **cat. no. 37 (pl. 6/2)** that is the first factual and published documentation of the LCA period at this toponym with good analogies in the LCA I phase (Roman 1976, 37).

Terracotta objects

A few fragments of figurines have been also recovered and are in tone with the style of the period and region, but some rare characteristics are also recognised. The small fragment of the body of a figurine with two small breasts indicates a female shape (**pl. 5/1 – cat. no. 43**). It has good analogies at the sites of *La Luncă* and *Ostrovu Golu* in a Vinča B horizon (Lazarovici 1979, 33), in the MN IIb-LN I period. The leg fragment of a figurine (**pl. 5/3; 6/3 – cat. no. 44**) is dated to the same period as the previous fragment with analogies at the same sites (Hansen 2007, 213). The left, lower leg of a figurine, probably sitting on a 'throne', (**pl. 6/6 – cat. no. 45**), as far as it can be ascertained is the only example of its kind in the region, though a fragment of a figurine in a similar, sitting position was discovered in the excavation campaign of 2012 at the site of Turdaş – *La Luncă* (personal communication of Sabin Adrian Luca on 20. 09. 2013.). Similarities in rendering the toes and not adjoining legs can be recognised with a figurine attributed to the LN I at the nearby sites of *Orăştie – Dealul pemilor, punct X2* and *Turdaş-La Luncă* (Luca 1995, pl. I; Luca 1997, 65, pl. 15/1; Luca 2001, fig. 4/3). The realistic rendering of toes in well

documented milieus of the middle Mureş allows us to securely date the find (Luca 1995, 88-89; Luca 2001, p. 38) in the MN IIB-LN I period (**pl. 2**). Good analogies for the shape of a sitting figurine are found in the late MN and earlier LN of the Alföld; furthermore, if decoration is present on these figurines it is usually located on the lower upper body and the upper part of the legs (Hegedűs, Makkay 1987, fig. 8).

A loom(?) -weight (**pl. 6/3 – cat. no. 47**) and a spherical spindle-whorl (**pl. 6/4 – cat. no. 46**) with a squashed body were also recovered. The spindle whorl has good analogies in the youngest layers at the site of *La Luncă* (Luca 2001, 38, 44-45, figs. 8/1; 9/1).

Lithics

The lithics are either chipped or polished stones and were found in a very fragmentary and damaged condition. The raw material of chipped stones is chert of light or dark colour. The retrieved objects are blades, arrow-heads or scrapers.

The blades are long and slender with one or two dorsal ridges with triangular (**pl. 5/8-9, 11-14, 16-19 – cat. nos. 51-54, 56-59, 62-63**) and trapeze cross-section (**pl. 5/7, 10, 15, 20 – cat. nos. 50, 55, 60-61**), respectively. No retouching of the blade edges was noticed. The arrow-heads are of slightly darker chert and are triangular shaped, either equal-sided or isosceles (**pl. 5/21-22 – cat. nos. 48-49**, respectively). Both objects have retouched edges and their tips are broken off. A scraper (**pl. 5/23 – cat. no. 66**) made from a darker chert was also recovered. The cutting edge is retouched and it is located opposite of the rounded-off side. A rectangular polished-stone chisel with rounded off corners and slightly chipped cutting-edge was also noted (**pl. 5/24 – cat. no. 64**). The light grey(?) or white(?) colour with dark circular and oval spots most likely indicates diorite as raw material. A prism-shaped grindstone was also discovered (**pl. 5/25 – cat. no. 65**), which is of a dark and hard raw material and it has a 4 cm deep hollow in the middle. Similar objects have been found in the earlier excavations at this site (Dumitrescu 1984, 7).

Conclusions

Although some elements of our site are dated early in the Vinča B₂ horizon of the MN IIB period (Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, 18), the bulk of the finds can be placed in the middle and to a lesser extent in the youngest Turdaş layers. This would allow us to date the presented finds to the turn from the MN to the LN and in the earliest part of the LN I.

Some of the finds are quite remarkable as the unique decoration, as far as it can be ascertained, on the four sided jar (**pl. 4/7 – cat. no. 11**) and the lower leg of a sitting figurine (**pl. 6/6 – cat. no. 45**). Others are encountered at different sites as well, but they are not very common, as the association of painted pottery seen at the sites of Foeni, Mintia and Turdaş (**pl. 3/13 – cat. no. 32** and **pls. 3/14; 4/12 – cat.**

nos. 33, 34), the butterfly pattern on **cat. no. 13 (pl. 4/1)** or the hollowed out bases **cat nos. 8, 18 (pl. 4/8-9)** specific to our site. The miniature vessel with remains of copper slag **cat. no. 23 (pl. 4/21)**, based on a recent survey of possible LN evidence for copper metallurgy (Draşovean 2015, 131, 134-135), represents the earliest proof of such activities in this region. Also, it is a significant addition to the documentation of metallurgical activities not only of southwestern Transylvania, but also of the wider southeast European Neolithic.

Finally, we would like to suggest some influences of the painted pottery of this period on the middle Mureş. Based on new evidence from nearby sites to the west (Horváth, Draşovean 2013, 125-128) and east (Luca *et al.* 2011) imports of painted pottery or of the decoration technique from the upper and middle Tisa has been documented in the form of complete ceramic pots. These might be seen as the impulse for the emergence of the scarce, but nevertheless present, painted pottery styles of southwestern Transylvania.

Catalogue of finds:

Pottery:

1. Bowl(?), rim fragment; **Pl. 4/4**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II – Petreşti A/MN IIb – LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

Rim fragment of a bowl(?) or less likely a jar. The decoration consists of parallel rows of slightly elongated stitches bordered on top by a horizontal incised line.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 45, 75 no. D1, figs. 18/5; 44/2; 45/2,4.

decoration: Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 1/12; Luca 2001, 65-66, 77, fig. 44/2.

2. Bowl, rim fragment; **Pl. 3/12**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* dark brown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Rim fragment of small carinated bowl and slightly everted rim.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1987, fig. 4 – topmost.

3. Deep bowl, rim fragment; **Pl. 3/4**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* light brown; *tempering:* fine sand

Rim fragment of a bitruncated and carinated deep bowl.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1987, fig. 4 – central.

4. Deep bowl, rim fragment; Pl. 3/5

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** 8 cm

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* light grey; *tempering:* fine sand

Rim fragment of a deep bowl with an “S”-profile and everted rim.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 37, 60 no. A5a, 61 no. C4, 65 no. D5, figs. 13/4; 21/7; 23/6; Luca *et al.* 2004, pl. 19/4-5.

5. Goblet, foot fragment; Pl. 4/10

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and very good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

The foot and the bottom part of the cup of a spherical(?) goblet are preserved.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pls. 94/1-2; 95/2; 147/7; Luca 1997, pl. 8/9; Draşovean 2003, 43; Luca *et al.* 2004, pl. 51/4.

6. Goblet, foot fragment; Pl. 4/11

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş I/MN Ib

firing: oxidising and very good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

The foot and the bottom part of the cup of a spherical(?) goblet are preserved.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, fig. 15/8.

7. Jar(?), base fragment; Pl. 4/6

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II/MN Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

Base fragment of a straight-sided jar(?). The decoration comprises of a rhombic pattern of single-line incised bands filled with circular or elongated stitches.

Lower spaces between two adjoining rhombi are also filled with similar stitches.

The entire decorative pattern is resting on a row of circular stitches.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 81/15; Luca 2001, figs. 17/2; 26/1.

decoration: Roska 1941, pl. 81/15; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, figs. 1/5; 3/3.

8. Jar(?), base fragment; Pl. 4/8

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II/MN Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Base fragment of a straight-sided(?) jar. It is decorated with incised and parallel zig-zag lines organised in vertical bands bordered by further incised zig-zag lines.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 92/10; Draşovean, Rotea 1986, pls. 2/11; 7/2.
decoration: Roska 1941, pl. 92/10.

9. Jar(?), body fragment; Pl. 6/1

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Tisza I/MN Iib

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* dark brick-red; *tempering:* unknown

The shape is most likely that of a jar. The decoration is a combination of various shapes of incised motifs probably covering the entire surface of the vessel. A vertical band of meanders separates concentric rhombi on the right from a rectangular motif on the left.

Analogies: *decoration:* Luca 1986, 44, fig. 1/6.

10. Jar(?), full profile fragment; Pl. 4/2

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II /MN Iib-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* (type and quality)

Full profile fragment of a straight sided jar. It is decorated below the rim with two horizontal and parallel rows of incised dashed lines bordered at the bottom of them by a horizontal incised line. The middle and lower part of the vessel is decorated with a horizontal zig-zag band of two parallel rows of incised dashed lines bordered on each side by a single incised line.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 1997, pl. 6/13.

decoration: Roska 1941, pls. 85/7; 107/10; Luca 1997, 61, pl. 6/13.

11. Jar, base fragment; Pl. 4/7

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **■ base:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II /MN Iib-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Base fragment of a square-sided vessel. The decoration consists of a check-board pattern of incised line with alternating squares filled with circular stitches.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 93/5-12; Luca 1997, pls. 12/5; 24/10, 12; Luca 2001, fig. 27/1, 7-8.

decoration: -

12. Jar/deep dish(?), body fragment; Pl. 3/8

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Vinča C₁/LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour*: dark brown; *tempering*: sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body fragment of a straight-sided jar. It has just below the rim, on its widest diameter a belt with finger stitches.

Analogy: *shape*: Draşovean 1994a, fig. 3/B VIIIb.

decoration: Draşovean 1994a, fig. 4/A12.

13. Jar, body fragment; **Pl. 4/1**

H: unknown; **Th**: unknown; **Ø**: unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN IIB-LN I

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour*: brick-red; *tempering*: fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body fragment of a straight-sided jar with a small and horizontal lug-handle serving as the centre of a “butterfly-wing” pattern. This pattern consists of single, incised lines forming triangles filled with elongated stitches. The upper part of this motif is bordered by a horizontal ledge and above this by a single row of slightly elongated stitches.

Analogy: *shape*: Luca 2001, figs. 15/10; 26/1; 29/2.

decoration: Luca 2001, fig. 27/8.

14. Jar, body fragment; **Pl. 4/5**

H: unknown; **Th**: unknown; **■ base**: unknown

Dating: Turdaş II/MN IIB-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour*: unknown; *tempering*: fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body fragment of a square-sided jar. The decoration consists of a meander pattern of single-line incised bands filled with circular stitches.

Analogy: *shape*: Roska 1941, pl. 93/5-12; Luca 1997, pls. 12/5; 24/10, 12; Luca 2001, fig. 27/1, 7-8.

decoration: Luca 2001, 66, fig. 27/8.

15. Jar, rim fragment; **Pl. 3/11**

H: unknown; **Th**: unknown; **Ø rim**: unknown

Dating: Turdaş/MN IIB – LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour*: dark brown and black (mottled); *tempering*: sand and small quartzite pebbles

The rim fragment of a straight sided jar. A small and vertically pierced lug handle is just below the rim, while a similar though a slightly larger lug handle is located right below the small one.

Analogy: *shape*: Roska 1941, pl. 121/9.

16. Jar, rim fragment; **Pl. 3/2**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* dark brown and black (mottled); *tempering:* sand and small quartzite pebbles

Straight sided jar with neatly worked rim and a short and slender neck.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 37, 61 no. B1, figs. 17/2; 17/7; Luca *et al.* 2004, pl. 20/5.

17. Juglet, base fragment; Pl. 3/15

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** 6 cm

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* greyish; *tempering:* fine sand

Base fragment of a juglet with a flat base.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 37, 61 no. B1, fig. 17/2; Luca *et al.* 2004, pl. 20/5.

18. Jug/Juglet(?), base fragment; Pl. 4/9

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

Lower part of a jug or juglet with a high S-shaped base. The incised decoration is organised hatched triangles standing on their base and forming a band just above the base of the vessel.

Analogies: *shape:* Draşovean, Rotea 1986, pl. 5/16; Draşovean 1996, pl. 41/10.

decoration: Luca 2001, 67, fig. 26/3.

19. Juglet, full profile fragment; Pl. 3/1

H: 11 cm; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** 7 cm

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* greyish; *tempering:* fine sand

Full profile fragment of juglet with a slender “S”-shaped profile and slightly everted rim.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1987, fig. 4 - middle column, bottom row; Luca 2001, 44-45, figs. 14/4; 32/13; Luca *et al.* 2004, pl. 25/3.

20. Juglet, rim fragment; Pl. 3/10

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* greyish; *tempering:* fine sand

Rim fragment of a juglet with a slightly squashed “S”-profile and everted rim, with a pointy and a horizontally pierced lug-handle placed on the maximum diameter.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1987, fig. 4 - middle column, bottom row; Luca

2001, 44-45, figs. 14/4; 32/13.

21. Juglet, rim fragment; Pl. 3/3

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* light grey and black (mottled); *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Rim fragment of a slender “S”-profiled juglet with slightly thickened rim.

Analogies: *shape:* Draşovean, Rotea 1986, pls. 2/16; 3/8, 13, 17.

22. Juglet, rim fragment; Pl. 3/9

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: reducing and good; *colour:* greyish; *tempering:* fine sand

Rim fragment of a juglet with a slightly squashed “S”-profile and everted rim, with a pointy and a horizontally pierced lug-handle placed on the maximum diameter.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1987, fig. 4 - middle column, bottom row; Luca 2001, 44-45, fig. 14/4.

23. Miniature vessel; Pl. 4/21

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre ; *colour:* grey; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Fragmentary miniature vessel with a full profile preserved. Used probably as a ladle since remains of copper slag were recognised and confirmed after the chemical analysis.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 38-39, fig. 22/3.

24. Miniature vessel; Pl. 4/22

H: 2.9 cm; **Ø rim:** 3.4 cm; **Ø base:** 2.7 cm

Dating: Turdaş II-III/LN I

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Tumbler-shaped with semi-spherical bottom.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 147/1, 15; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 6/7, 14; Draşovean 2003, 43.

25. Miniature vessel; Pl. 4/23

H: 4.1 cm; **Ø rim:** 4.2 cm; **Ø base:** 3.1 cm

Dating: Turdaş I/MN IIb

firing: oxidising and mediocre, *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* fine sand

Has a bitruncated shape with two horizontal, pierced lug-handles on the same side.

Analogies:

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 2001, 35, 44, fig. 20/2, 7.

26. Pot, rim fragment; Pl. 3/6

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and poor; *colour:* light brown; *tempering:* sand and small to medium sized quartzite pebbles

It is the rim fragment of a bitruncated or spherical pot with the remains of a vertically pierced lug handle. The top of the rim is decorated with irregular finger stitches, at least the upper one third with incised single lines of irregular orientations.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 1998, fig. 7/2a-b; Luca 2001, 61 no. F3, figs. 30/2, 4; 35/1.

decoration: Draşovean 1996, fig. 66/1; 67/1; Luca 1998, fig. 7/2b; 2001, fig. 30/2, 4.

27. Pot, rim fragment; Pl. 3/7

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* light brown and black (mottled); *tempering:* sand and small quartzite pebbles

It is the rim fragment of a bitruncated pot with a slight “S”-profile and a slightly everted rim. The top of the rim is decorated with regularly spaced finger stitches.

Analogies: *shape:* Luca 1998, fig. 7/2a-b; Luca 2001, 61 no. F3, figs. 30/2, 4; 35/1.

decoration: Luca 1998, figs. 7; 8/2b; Luca 2001, fig. 30/2, 4.

28. Quadruped vessel, leg fragment; Pl. 4/3

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø rim:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising mediocre; *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

A leg of a quadruped vessel, triangular in cross-section with circular and slightly elongated stitches.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 98/11; Maxim 1999, 206, annexe 11/2b.

decoration: Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 3/5.

29. Spouted bowl(?), rim fragment; Pl. 4/18

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* black; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Rim fragment of a spherical(?) spouted bowl(?).

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 83/6.

30. Tumbler, fragment; **Pl. 4/19**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** 5.5 cm

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and poor; *colour:* dark brown and black (mottled); *tempering:* sand and small quartzite pebbles

It is a small-sized tumbler with the upper part missing. It has two, small lug-handles preserved, though originally might have been four placed across from each other.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 81/13; Luca 2001, 37, 61 no. B4, fig. 17/6.

31. Tumbler, full profile fragment; **Pl. 4/20**

H: 6.7 cm; **Th:** unknown; **Ø base:** 4.3 cm

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* dark brown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

The fragment since it is a full profile of a straight-sided tumbler. It has a small, unpierced lug handle below the rim still preserved; most likely it had four across from each other.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 81/13; Luca 2001, 37, 61 no. B4, fig. 17/6.

32. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 3/13**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Foeni-Mintia/LN I

firing: oxidising and very good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

The shape of the vessel is unknown. The painted decoration is of black colour and is organised in thin and parallel inverted 'V'-shaped lines.

Analogies: *decoration:* Draşovean, Luca 1990, fig. 4/4, 8; Draşovean 1997, fig. 3.

33. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 3/14**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş I-II/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and very good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

The shape is unknown and it has a horizontally(?) pierced lug preserved. The decoration is painted and of black colour arranged in an angular (thick 'V'-shaped) motif.

Analogies: *decoration:* Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, pl. 1/ 3-8; Luca 2001, 70, fig. 25/1; Luca *et al.* 2004, pls. 31/1, 3-4; 32/2; 33/1.

34. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 4/12**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Tisza I/MN IIb

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

Body fragment of a spherical vessel. It has two horizontal, semi-spherical and small knobs to the left of the end of a dark-red diagonal stripe.

Analogies: *decoration:* Roska 1941, pl. 147/19; Lazarovici 1979, 191, fig. 24 - second row-left side; Horváth 1982, figs. 13/4; 16/4; Draşovean 2003, 43 .

35. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 4/24**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III – Precucuteni I/LN I

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small pebbles

Small body fragment of a vessel of unknown shape. It is decorated with vertical and parallel incised lines.

Analogies: *decoration:* Paul 1969, pl. III/1; Lazarovici 1979, fig. 11, middle row - centre and right.

36. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 4/25**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III-Precucuteni I/LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body fragment of a vessel of unknown shape. It is decorated with vertical and incised parallel lines.

Analogies: *decoration:* Paul 1969, pl. III/1; Lazarovici 1979, fig. 11, middle row - centre and right.

37. Unknown, body fragment; **Pl. 6/2**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Coţofeni I-II/LCA Ib

firing: unknown; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* unknown

Body fragment of a vessel of unknown shape. It is decorated with a diagonal band of at least three parallel and diagonal rows of short, vertical incised lines bordered on top by a diagonal, incised line.

Analogies: *decoration:* Roman 1976, pls. 55/13; 56/7-8; Luca 2001, 40, 48, fig. 46/19.

38. Unknown, handle & body fragment; **Pl. 4/15**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III – Petreşti A/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body and handle fragment of a vessel of unknown shape. It is a horizontal handle with circular cross-section.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 120/1; Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 5/20; Luca 2001, 71, figs. 23/3; 38/18.

39. Unknown, handle fragment; **Pl. 4/13**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and good; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand

A pierced beak-handle of a vessel of unknown shape.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986, fig. 5/9, 18-19.

40. Unknown, handle fragment; **Pl. 4/14**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-Petreşti A/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Horizontal handle with circular cross-section of a vessel of unknown shape.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 120/1; Luca 2001, 71, figs. 23/3; 38/18.

41. Unknown, handle fragment; **Pl. 4/16**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-Tisza I/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Horizontal lug handle split in two knobs by a vertical groove.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1979, fig. 24 - middle row; Luca 2001, 38, fig. 16/2.

42. Unknown, handle fragment; **Pl. 4/17**

H: unknown; **Th:** unknown; **Ø:** unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-Tisza I/MN I Ib-LN I

firing: reducing and mediocre; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Horizontal lug handle split in two knobs by a vertical groove.

Analogies: *shape:* Lazarovici 1979, fig. 24 - middle row; Luca 2001, 38, fig. 16/2.

Terracotta:

43. Figurine, body fragment; Pl. 5/1

H: unknown

Dating: Vinča B – Turdaş I-II/MN IIB

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Body fragment of a female figurine with roughly rendered breasts, missing lower limbs and head.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, 138/2; Lazarovici 1979, pl. X/A 19-20; Hansen 2007, pl. 135/2.

44. Figurine, leg fragment; Pl. 5/3; 6/5

H: 9 cm

Dating: Vinča B – Turdaş I-II/MN IIB

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* brick-red; *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Slender leg fragment of a steatopyg(?) figurine. The foot is rendered in an unrealistic fashion and it is only suggested by a broad base. It has marks of secondary firing.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 138/2, 7; Hansen 2007, pl. 135/3.

45. Figurine, leg fragment; Pl. 6/6

H: 8.5 cm

Dating: Turdaş II-III/MN IIB-LN I

firing: oxidising and mediocre; *colour:* brick-red (biscuit), dark brown (slip); *tempering:* fine sand and small quartzite pebbles

Left leg of a figurine, probably sitting in a 'throne', with an estimated height of 20 cm. Three toes are still visible and it is narrower in the area of the ankles and below the knee. On the outside of the knees it is decorated with a slightly tilted vertical band of two parallel rows of elongated, diagonal stitches bordered on each side by a single incised line.

Analogies: *shape:* Hegedüs, Makkay 1987, fig. 8; Korek 1987, figs. 15-16; Luca 1995, 86-88, pl. 1; 1997, pl. 15/1; Hansen 2007, 213, 509, pls. 277; 279/11.

decoration: Hegedüs, Makkay 1987, fig. 8.

46. Spindle whorl, fragment; Pl. 6/4

H: unknown

Dating: Turdaş III/LN I

firing: unknown; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* unknown

A fragment of a spherical spindle whorl with a squashed body.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 125/1-2; Luca 2001, figs. 8/1; 9/1.

47. Weight; Pl. 6/3

H: unknown

Dating: Turdaş II-III-Petreşti A/MN IIb-LN I

firing: unknown; *colour:* unknown; *tempering:* unknown

A complete loom(?)-weight of frustum shape with heavily rounded of edges.

Analogies: *shape:* Roska 1941, pl. 125/15; Luca 1997, 37, pl. 15/4, 6; Luca 2001, fig. 9/7.

Lithics:

48. Arrow-head; Pl. 5/21

L: unknown

material: chert

Triangular shaped arrow-head with a central ridge.

49. Arrow-head; Pl. 5/22

L: unknown

material: chert

Elongated and triangular shaped arrow-head with a central ridge and retouched edges.

50. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/10

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with two dorsal ridges and a trapeze cross-section.

51. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/11

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

52. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/12

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

53. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/13

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-

section.

54. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/14

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

55. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/15

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with two dorsal ridges and a trapeze cross-section.

56. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/16

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

57. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/17

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

58. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/18

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

59. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/19

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

60. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/20

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with two dorsal ridges and a trapeze cross-section.

61. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/7

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with two dorsal ridges and a trapeze cross-section.

62. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/8

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

63. Blade, fragment; Pl. 5/9

L: unknown

material: chert

Small fragment of a chert blade with one dorsal ridge and a triangular cross-section.

64. Chisel; Pl. 5/24

L: unknown

material: unknown

A small polished chisel with an indentation on the cutting-edge.

65. Grindstone, fragment; Pl. 5/25

L: unknown

material: unknown

A prism-shaped grindstone with a 4 cm deep hollow in the middle for grinding.

Analogies: *shape:* Dumitrescu 1984, 7.

66. Scraper; Pl. 5/23

L: unknown

material: chert

Scraper with one straight and the other curved side with a retouched scraping-edge.

Other finds:

67. Adobe; Pl. 5/2, 4-6

Adobe fragments indicating at least a light upper structure of a wattle and daub construction with impressions of reeds or sticks. The fired nature of the previous clay daub indicates the destruction method of at least a building at this site.

Acknowledgements:

We are thankful to Eszter Bánffy and Sabin Adrian Luca for the useful comments on earlier drafts. Furthermore, we are in debt to Mihai Rotea for

mediating the contact and helpful discussions on earlier versions of the present paper. We are also grateful to David Diaconescu for the drawings and Patricia Todoran for the digital reconditioning of the visual documentation. A general sense of gratitude is expressed towards the members of the Archaeological Society of Deva.

We would like to thank ESRI Deutschland GmbH for accepting a project and supporting it with the *ESRI Absolventenprogramm*, through which a full license of ArcGIS 10 was awarded for the duration of the doctoral research of Tibor-Tamás Daróczi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrițoiu 1978 Ioan Andrițoiu, *Descoperiri arheologice la Crăciunești (com. Băița, jud. Hunedoara)*. In: *Apulum* 16 (1978), pp. 55-71.
- Comșa, Nánási 1972 Eugen Comșa, Zoltán Nánási, *Date privitoare la ceramica pictată din epoca neolitică din Crișana*. In: *SCIV* 23 (1972), pp. 3-18.
- Daróczi 2012a Tibor-Tamás Daróczi, *Environmental changes during the Holocene in Transylvania*. In: *CsSzME* 8 (2012), pp. 27-58.
- Daróczi 2012b Tibor-Tamás Daróczi, *Environmental changes in the Upper and Middle Tisza/Tisa Lowland during the Holocene*. In: *Ziridava* 26 (2012), pp. 35-60.
- Drașovean 1994a Florin Drașovean, *Die Stufe Vinča C im Banat*. In: *Germania* 72 (1994), pp. 409-425.
- Drașovean 1994b Florin Drașovean, *The Petrești culture in Banat*. In: *AB S.N.* 3 (1994), pp. 139-170.
- Drașovean 1996 Florin Drașovean, *Cultura Vinča târzie (faza C) în Banat*. In *Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica* 1 (1996) Timișoara.
- Drașovean 1997 Florin Drașovean, *Die Petrești-Kultur im Banat*. In: *PZ* 72 (1997), pp. 54-80.
- Drașovean 2003 Florin Drașovean, *Transilvania și Banatul în neoliticul târziu. O contribuție la originile culturii Petrești*. In: *Apulum* 40 (2003), pp. 40-58.
- Drașovean 2015 Florin Drașovean, *The transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age in Banat. Tradition and innovation*. In Sorin Cociș, Vlad-Andrei Lăzărescu, Monica Gui and Dan-Augustin Deac, *Ad finem Imperii Romani. Studies in Honour of Coriolan H. Opreanu*. In *Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis* 8 (2015) Cluj-Napoca, pp. 129-143.
- Drașovean, Luca 1990 Florin Drașovean, Sabin Adrian Luca, *Considerații preliminare asupra materialelor neo-enolitice din așezarea de la Mintia (com. Vețel, jud. Hunedoara)*. In: *SCIVA* 41 (1990), pp. 7-17.

- Draşovean, Rotea 1986 Florin Draşovean, Mihai Rotea, *Aşezarea neolitică de la Şoimuş. Contribuţii la problemele neoliticului târziu din sud-vestul Transilvaniei.* In: *Apulum* 23 (1986), pp. 9-24.
- Dumitrescu 1966 Hortensia Dumitrescu, *Câteva probleme legate de cultura Petreşti.* In: *SCIV* 17 (1966), pp. 433-444.
- Dumitrescu 1984 Hortensia Dumitrescu, *Cercetările arheologice de la Tăualaş-Deva (partea I).* In: *ActaMN* 21 (1984), pp. 3-44.
- Floca 1969 Octavian Floca, *Harta arheologică a municipiului Deva.* In: *Sargetia* 6 (1969), pp. 7-36.
- Hansen 2007 Svend Hansen, *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur anthropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa.* In *Archäologie in Eurasien* 20 (2007) Mainz am Rhein.
- Hegedűs, Makkay 1987 Katalin Hegedűs, János Makkay, *Vésztő-Mágor. A settlement of the Tisza culture.* In Pál Raczký, László Tálás, *The Late Neolithic of the Tisza region: a survey of recent excavations and their findings: Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, Szegvár-Tűzköves, Ócsöd-Kováshalom, Vésztő-Mágor, Berettyóújfalu-Herpály* (1987) Budapest/Szolnok, pp. 85-103.
- Horváth 1982 Ferenc Horváth, *A gorzsai halom későneolit rétege.* In: *AÉrt* 109 (1982), pp. 201-222.
- Horváth, Draşovean 2013 Ferenc Horváth, Florin Draşovean, *Remarks on the connections between the Banat and the Great Hungarian Plain at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic (Satchinez-Alföld Linear Pottery-Esztár-Vinča).* In Alexandra Anders, Gabriella Kulcsár, *Moments in time. Papers presented to Pál Raczký on his 60th birthday.* In *Ősrégészeti Tanulmányok/Prehistoric Studies* I (2013) Budapest, pp. 113-131.
- Jakucs, Sándorné Kovács 2012 János Jakucs, Judit Sándorné Kovács, *Északkelet-magyarországi és északnyugat-romániai középső neolit festett kerámiák festékanyagának azonosítása Fourier-transzformációs Infravörös Spektrofotometriai (FTIR) módszerrel.* In Attila Kreiter, Ákos Pető, Beáta Tugya, *Környezet-Ember-Kultúra. Az alkalmazott természettudományok és a régészet párbeszéde. Magyar*

- Nemzeti Múzeum Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Központ 2010. október 6-8-án megrendezett konferenciájának tanulmánykötete* (2012) Budapest, pp. 307-316.
- Kalicz, Makkay 1977 Nándor Kalicz, János Makkay, *Die Linienbandkeramik in der grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene*. In *Publicationes Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae: Studia archaeologica* 7 (1977) Budapest.
- Kalmar 1984 Zoia Kalmar, *Materiale neo-eneolitice intrate în colecția Muzeului de Istorie al Transilvaniei (I)*. In: *ActaMN* 21 (1984), pp. 391-403.
- Korek 1983 József Korek, *Adatok a Tiszahát neolitikumához*. In: *NyJAMÉ* 18-20 (1983), pp. 8-60.
- Korek 1987 József Korek, *Szegvár-Tűzköves. A settlement of the Tisza culture*. In Pál Raczyk, László Tóth, *The Late Neolithic of the Tisza region: a survey of recent excavations and their findings: Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, Szegvár-Tűzköves, Öcsöd-Kováshalom, Vésztő-Mágor, Berettyóújfalu-Herpály* (1987) Budapest/Szolnok, pp. 47-60.
- Kuun *et al.* 1902 Géza Kuun, Zsófia Torma, Gábor Téglás, *Hunyadvármegye története az őskortól a honfoglalásig* (1902) Budapest.
- Lazarovici 1979 Gheorghe Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*. In *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis* IV (1979) Cluj-Napoca.
- Lazarovici 1987 Gheorghe Lazarovici, „Șocul” *Vinča C în Transilvania (contribuții la geneza eneoliticului timpuriu)*. In: *ActaMP* 11 (1987), pp. 33-55.
- Lazarovici, Dumitrescu 1986 Gheorghe Lazarovici, Hortensia Dumitrescu, *Cercetările arheologice de la Tăuțaș-Deva (partea II-a)*. In: *ActaMN* 22-23 (1986), pp. 3-40.
- Lazarovici, Németi 1983 Gheorghe Lazarovici, János Németi, *Neoliticul dezvoltat în NV României*. In: *ActaMP* 7 (1983), pp. 47-60.
- Luca 1986 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Discuții asupra materialului ceramic din stațiunea neolitică de la Lipova - "Hodaie"*. In: *Apulum* 23 (1986), pp. 43-53.
- Luca 1995 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Die Kultanlage von Broos/Orăștie-*

- Böhmerberg/ Dealul Pemilor, Ausgrabungsstelle X₂ (Kreis Hunedoara)*. In: *ForVL* 38 (1995), pp. 85-90.
- Luca 1997 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (I). Habitatul turdășean de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor (punct X₂)*. In *Bibliotheca Musei Apvlensis* 4 (1997) Alba Iulia.
- Luca 1998 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Liubcova - Ornița. Monografie arheologică* (1998) Târgoviște.
- Luca 2001 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaș-Luncă I. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995*. In *Bibliotheca Musei Apvlensis* 17 (2001) Sibiu.
- Luca et al. 2004 Sabin Adrian Luca, Cristian Roman, Dragoș Diaconescu, *Cercetări arheologice în Peștera Cauce (I), sat Cerișor, comuna Lelese, județul Hunedoara*. In *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis* 4 (2004) Sibiu.
- Luca et al. 2011 Sabin Adrian Luca, Dragoș Diaconescu, Cosmin Ioan Suciu, *A ceramic import from Neolithic discovered at Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș, Sibiu county*. In: *BAM* 6 (2011), pp. 23-34.
- Maxim 1999 Zoia Maxim, *Neo-enoliticul din Transilvania. Date arheologice și matematico-statistice*. In *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis* XIX (1999) Cluj-Napoca.
- Paul 1969 Iuliu Paul, *Așezarea neo-eneolitică de la Pianul de Jos (Podei), jud. Alba*. In: *StudComSB* 14 (1969), pp. 33-88.
- Paul 1992 Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești* (1992) București.
- Popa 2009 Cristian I. Popa, *Cultura Coțofeni. Cu privire specială asupra Transilvaniei. [Repertoriul descoperirilor culturii Coțofeni. I. Repertoriul descoperirilor Coțofeni de pe teritoriul României (Literale A-O)]*, PhD thesis, Facultatea de Istorie și Filologie, Universitatea 1 Decembrie 1918 (2009) Alba Iulia.
- Пелещишин 1979 М. А. Пелещишин, *Енеолітичне поселення поблизу м. Берегове на Закарпатті*. In: *Археологія* 29 (1979), pp. 83-94.
- Piotrowski 1999 Wojciech Piotrowski, *Wood-tar and pitch experiments at Biskupin Museum*. In Anthony F. Harding ed., *Experiment and*

- design. Archaeological studies in Honour of John Coles* (1999) Oxford and Oakville, pp. 148-155.
- Потушняк 1979 М. Потушняк, *Неолітичне поселення Дякове I на Закарпатті*. In: *Археологія* 30 (1979), pp. 57-74.
- Potushniak 1997 M. Potushniak, *Some results of research on the Middle Neolithic layer from a multilevel settlement near the village of Zastavne/Zápszony-Kovadomb in the Carpathian Ukraine*. In: *NyJAMÉ* 37-38 (1997), pp. 35-50.
- Roman 1976 Petre I. Roman, *Cultura Coțofeni*. In *Biblioteca de Arheologie XXVI* (1976) București.
- Roska 1933 Márton Roska, *Az erdélyi halastavak őskori vonatkozásai*. In: *Erdély* 30/3 (1933), online.
- Roska 1941 Márton Roska, *A Torma Zsófia-gyűjtemény* (1941) Cluj Napoca.
- Roska 1942 Márton Roska, *Erdély régészeti repertóriumai I. Őskor*. In *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Transsilvanicarum - Praehistorica I* (1942) Cluj-Napoca.
- Šiška 1974 Stanislav Šiška, *Abdeckung von Siedlungen und einem Gräberfeld aus der jüngeren Steinzeit in Kopčany, Krei Michalovce*. In: *ArchRoz* 26 (1974), pp. 3-15, 101-104.
- Strobel 1997 Michael Strobel, *Ein Beitrag zur Gliederung der östlichen Linienbandkeramik. Versuch einer Merkmalsanalyse*. In: *SaStuMA* 4-5 (1997), pp. 9-98.
- Sümegei 2004 Pál Sümegei, *The analysis of mollusk shell remains*. In Pál Sümegei, Sándor Gulyás eds., *The geohistory of Bátorliget marshland: an example for the reconstruction of late quaternary environmental changes and past human impact from the northeastern part of the Carpathian Basin*. In *Archaeolingua* 16 (2004) Budapest, pp. 62-63.
- Téglás 1902 Gábor Téglás, *Erdélyi kalauz. III. Hunyadvármegyei kalauz* (1902) Cluj-Napoca.
- Virag 2004 Cristian Virag, *Așezările grupului neolitic Pișcolt din nord-vestul României*. In: *StudComSM* 27-31/1 (2004), pp. 13-26.

- Virag 2005 Cristian Virag, *Problematici ale neoliticului din nord-vestul României și zonele învecinate*. In: *StudComSM* 22 (2005), pp. 13-25.
- Vizdal 1973 Jaroslav Vizdal, *Zemplin v Mladšej dobe kamennej* (1973) Košice.

Abbreviations:

AB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Seria Nouă, Timișoara
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
AÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti, Művészettörténeti és Éremtani Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia
Археология	Археология, Kiev
ArchRoz	Archeologické rozhledy, Prague
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Musei, Sibiu
BibEphemNap	Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
CsSzMÉ	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc
Erdély	Erdély, Cluj-Napoca
ForVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Darmstadt
NyJAMÉ	A Nyíregyházi Jónás András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
SaStuMA	Saarbrücker Studien und Materialien zur Altertumskunde, Saarbrücken
SCIV	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche, București
SCIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, București
StudComSB	Studii și Comunicări Sibiu, Sibiu
StudComSM	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare, Satu Mare
Ziridava	Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica, Arad

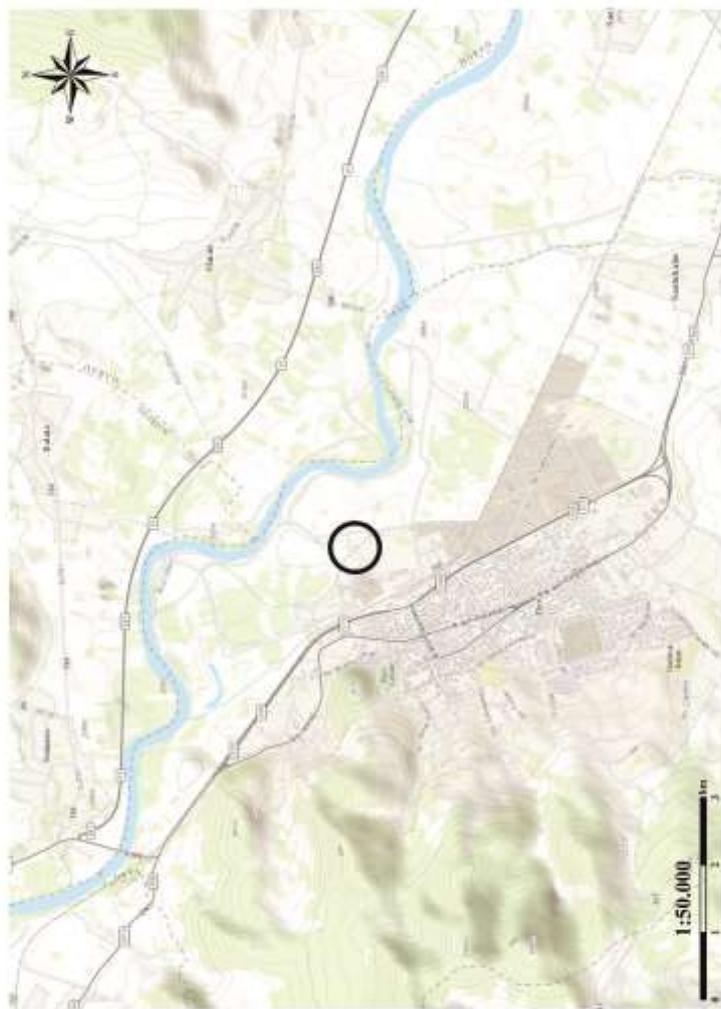


Plate 1

Plate 1. Location of the site Deva – Tăuલાશ.

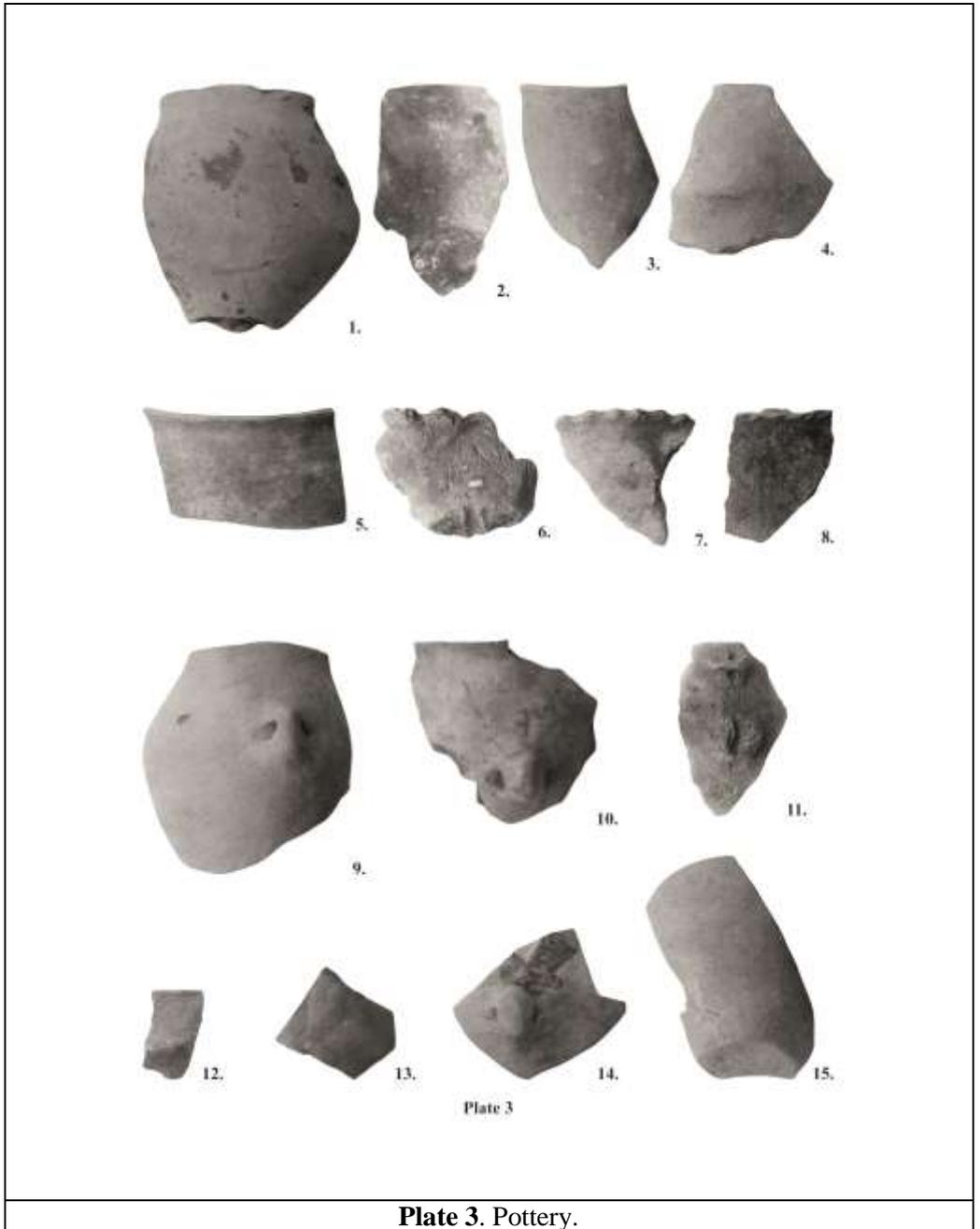


Plate 3

Plate 3. Pottery.

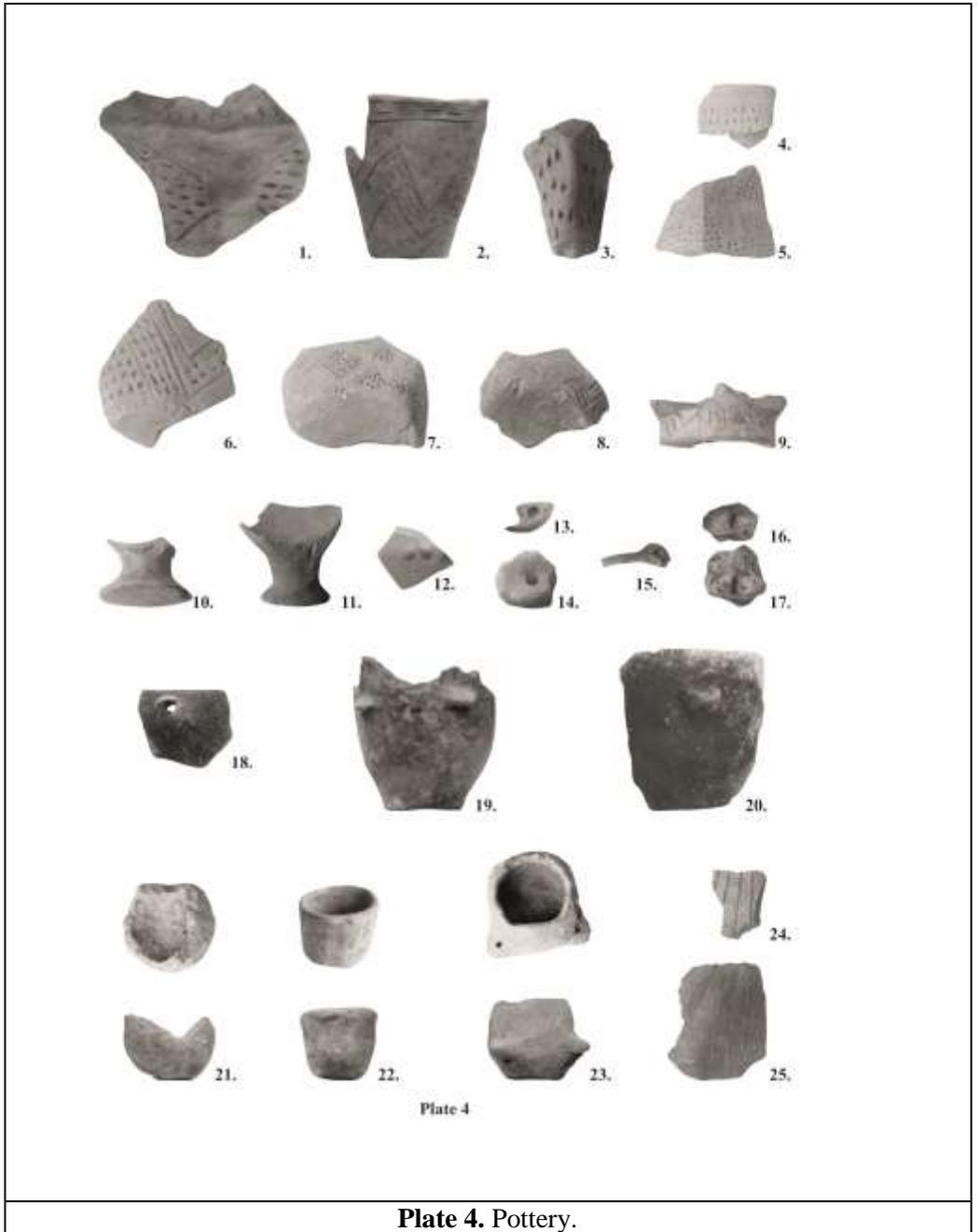


Plate 4. Pottery.

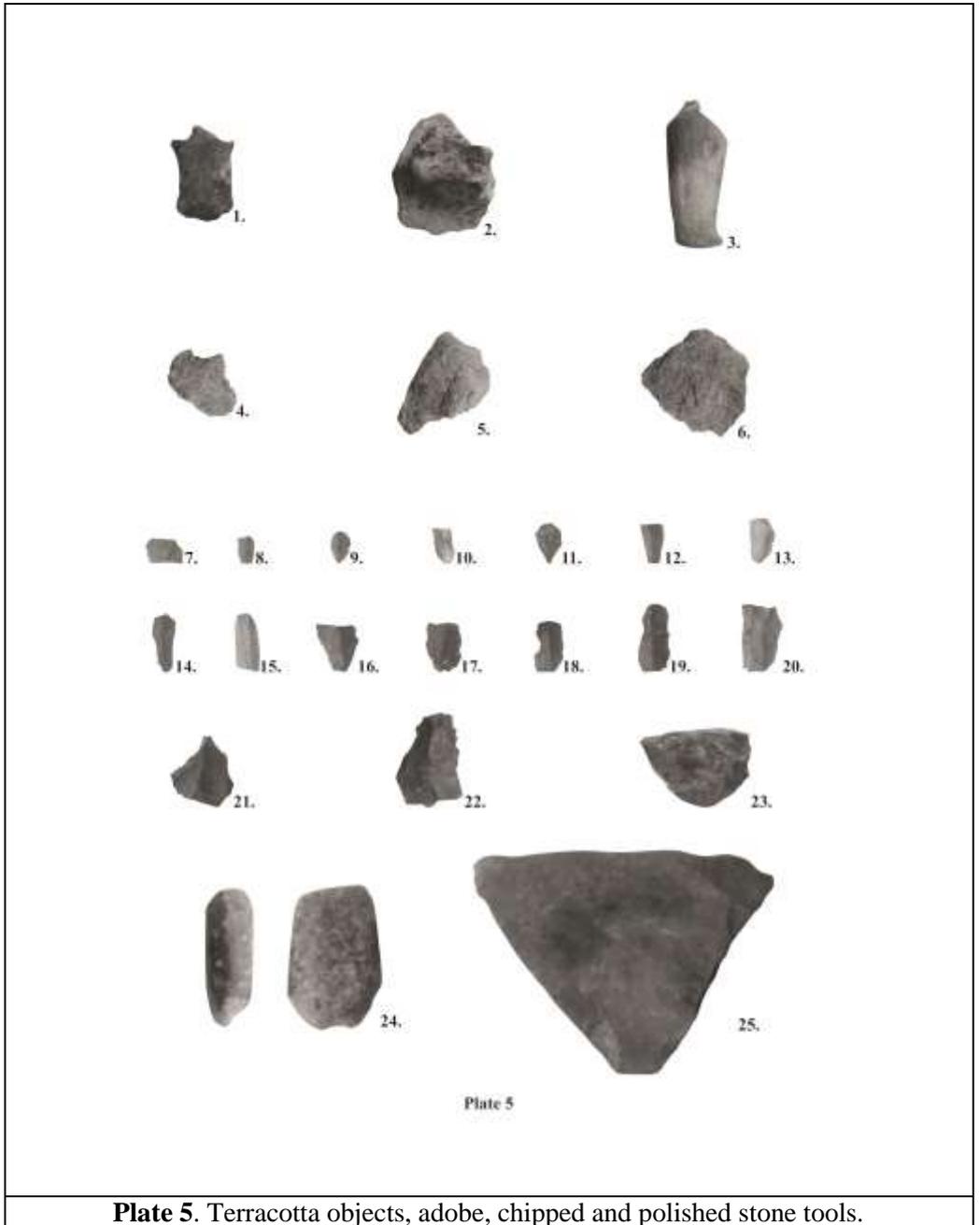
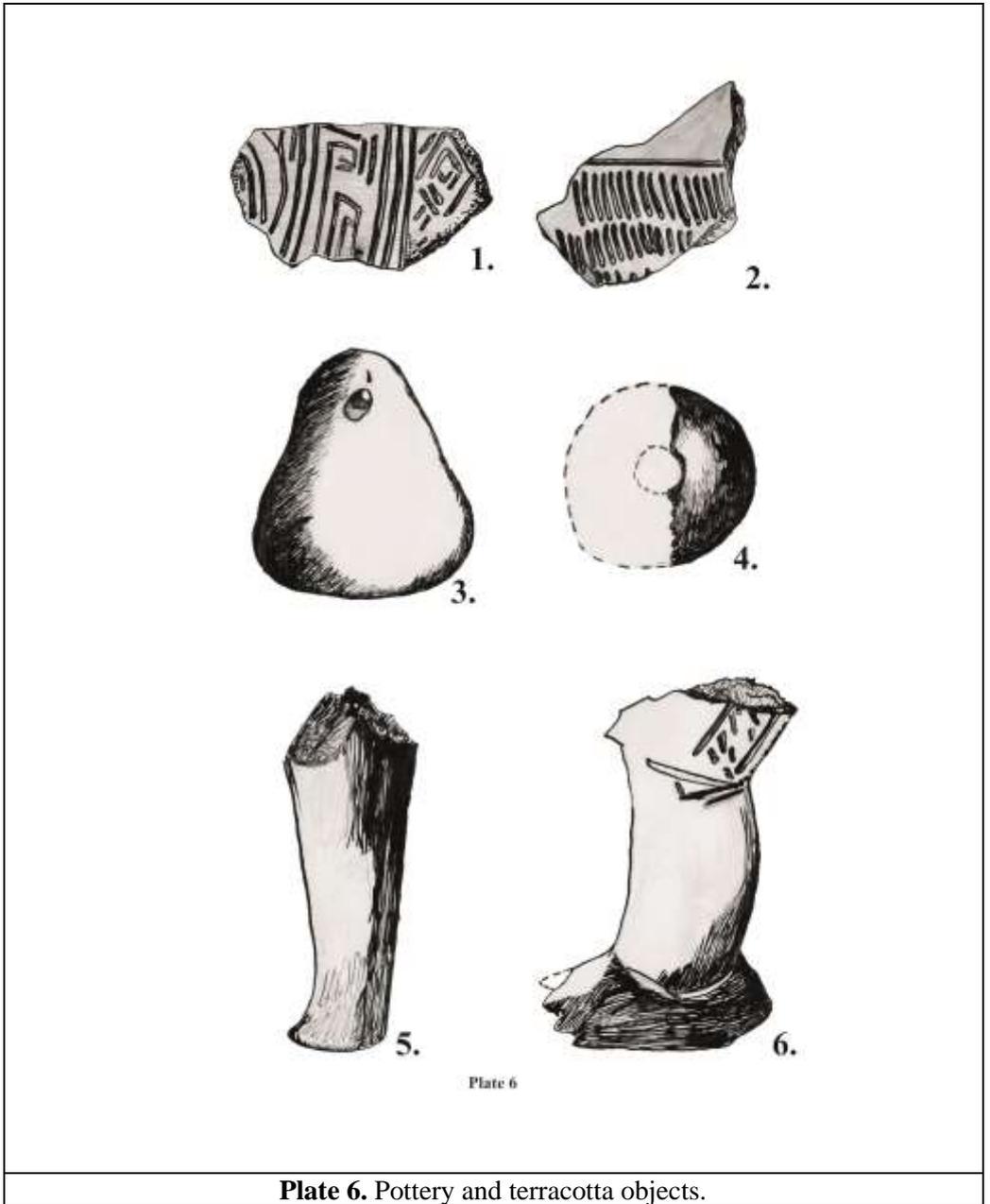


Plate 5. Terracotta objects, adobe, chipped and polished stone tools.



THE ANCIENT COIN HOARD FROM TĂLMĂCEL, SIBIU COUNTY

Silviu I. PURECE

Lucian Blaga University from Sibiu, Romania
silviu.purece@ulbsibiu.ro

Claudiu MUNTEANU

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania
munclaiul@gmail.com

Abstract: *In 2015, during metal detecting activities, on a hill situated at about one kilometer northwest from the eastern entrance in the village of Tălmăcel was found an ancient coin hoard.*

The hoard was formed of 110 Dyrrhachium-issued drachms and was preserved in a small Dacian pot, with its upper part and handle missing. It is registered in the numismatic collection of the Brukenthal National Museum from Sibiu.

Key words: *Tălmăcel, Dyrrhacium coin, hoard, monetary circulation, Sibiu County*

In 2015, during metal detecting activities, on a hill situated at about one kilometre northwest from the eastern entrance in the village of Tălmăcel (fig. 1), an ancient coin hoard was found.

The hoard was formed of 110 Dyrrhachium-issued drachms and was preserved in a small Dacian pot, with its upper part and handle missing. The grey pot was made of semi-fine material, mixed with pebbles and mica (fig. 3).

In Sibiu district were found before these type of coins in different places, isolated (Luca *et alii* 2003, *passim*), as well as in several hoards – Agârbiciu (two fibulae with noduls + 5 drachms and one undetermined bronze coin)(Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 28, no. 6), Apoș (34 drachms)(Purece 2012, pp. 53-61), Miercurea Sibiului (150 drachms + 132 Republican denars)(Purece *et alii* 2014, pp. 7-47), Sebeșu de Sus (469 drachms)(Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 190, no. 2), Sibiu – *Ștrand neighbourhood* (unknown number of Apollonia/Dyrrhachium drachms)(Munteanu 2005, p. 89) and Turnu Roșu (unknown number of drachms and Roman imperial coins)(Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 232, no. 8) (fig. 2).

The coins are presented in relation with the order of the numbers in H. Ceka's catalogue (Ceka 1972):

CATALOGUE

1. ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ/ΑΣΚΛΑΠΟΥ

Obverse: [E]ΧΕΦΡΩΝ

Cow between club to the left and wheat ear to the right. Bunch in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΣ/ΚΛΑ/ΠΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 193, drachm.

3,4 g., 18,9 x 19,3 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7077.

2. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Nike with a wreath in her hand, in flight towards right. Thunderbolt in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥ[Ρ/ΑΓΑ/ΘΙΩ]/ΝΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 316, drachm.

3,12 g., 16,8 x 17 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7078.

3. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ

Obverse: [ΜΕ]ΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Eagle to the right over the legend.

Rudder in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΓ[Α/ΘΙΩ/ΝΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 316, drachm.

3,19 g., 17 x 18,2 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7079.

4. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕ]ΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/[ΧΙΠ/ΠΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

2,93 g., 16,3 x 16,8 mm, axis 12.

Inventory number T 7080.

5. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/[ΧΙΠ/ΠΟΥ]

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,24 g., 16,4 x 17,2 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7081.

6. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕ]ΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Rudder in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/[ΧΙΠ/ΠΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,18 g., 16,2 x 19,3 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7082.

7. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΑΡ/ΧΙΠ/Π[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

2,67 g., 16,3 x 18,1 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7083.

8. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ]/ΧΙΠ/ΠΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,19 g., 16,7 x 17,5 mm, axis 12.

Inventory number T 7084.

9. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/[ΧΙΠ/Π]ΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,28 g., 16,5 x 17,9 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7085.

10. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕΝΙ]ΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Rudder in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΑΡ/ΧΙ[Π/ΠΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,16 g., 15,8 x 18,6 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7086.

11. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Reverse: ΔΥ[Ρ/ΑΡ/Χ]Π/ΠΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,25 g., 16,2 x 17,1 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7087.

12. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/ΧΙΠ]/ΠΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,23 g., 16,8 x 17,8 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7088.

13. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡ/ΧΙΠ/[ΠΟΥ]

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

3,13 g., 18 x 18,6 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7089.

14. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Α]Ρ/ΧΙΠ/[ΠΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 318, drachm.

2,75 g., 16,7 x 18,1 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7090.

15. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ]/ΣΙΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,88 g., 15,9 x 17,8 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7091.

16. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Δ]ΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,37 g., 17,1 x 17,7 mm, axis 6.

Inventory number T 7092.

17. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,73 g., 16,5 x 16,7 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7093.

18. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [Δ]YP/ΔIO/[NY/ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,58 g., 15,8 x 16,6 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7094.

19. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: ΔYP/ΔIO/NY/[ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,12 g., 17,2 x 17,8 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7095.

20. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/[Δ]IO/NY/ΣIO[Y]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,05 g., 17,9 x 18,6 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7096.

21. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΔIO/NY/[ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,18 g., 16,2 x 17 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7097.

22. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: ΔYP/ΔIO/NY/[ΣIOY]

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,03 g., 16,9 x 17,8 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7098.

23. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΔIO/NY/[ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,77 g., 16 x 18,1 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7099.

24. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΔIO/NY/[ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,73 g., 16 x 17,5 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7100.

25. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΔIO/N[Y/ΣIOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,42 g., 16 x 17 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7101.

26. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: $\Delta[YP/\Delta IO/N]Y/\Sigma IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,49 g., 16,1 x 18 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7102.

27. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: $\Delta YP/[\Delta IO/NY]/\Sigma IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,2 g., 16,4 x 17,7 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7103.

28. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: $[\Delta YP/\Delta] IO/NY/\Sigma IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,19 g., 16 x 17,1 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7104.

29. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [ME]ΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: $[\Delta YP/\Delta] IO/NY/\Sigma IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,24 g., 16,7 x 17,4 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7105.

30. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: $[\Delta Y]P/\Delta IO/NY/[\Sigma IOY]$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,06 g., 17,3 x 17,7 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7106.

31. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: $\Delta YP/\Delta IO/[NY/\Sigma] IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,22 g., 16,5 x 17,2 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7107.

32. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: $\Delta[YP/\Delta IO]/NY/\Sigma IOY$

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,24 g., 16,3 x 17,2 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7108.

33. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: $\Delta YP/[\Delta IO/N]Y/\Sigma IOY$

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,26 g., 16,4 x 17,8 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7109.

34. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [ME]ΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: $\Delta YP/\Delta IO/NY/[\Sigma IOY]$

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,14 g., 16,2 x 17,1 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7110.

35. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,83 g., 16,2 x 17,1 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7111.

36. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕΝ]ΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/[ΣΙΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,08 g., 16,1 x 16,4 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7112.

37. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,17 g., 16,1 x 16,6 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7113.

38. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,15 g., 17,1 x 17,7 mm, axis 6.

Inventory number T 7114.

39. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ]/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,23 g., 15 x 17 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7115.

40. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/[ΔΙΟ]/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,1 g., 17,1 x 17,3 mm, axis 3.

Inventory number T 7116.

41. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕΝ]ΙΣΚΟΣ

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ/[ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ]

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3 g., 16,3 x 18,2 mm, axis 3.

Inventory number T 7117.

42. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Δ]ΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,32 g., 15,7 x 18,2 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7118.

43. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,14 g., 16,7 x 17,5 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7119.

44. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/[ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ]ΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,05 g., 15,9 x 17,4 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7120.

45. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕ]ΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ/Ν]Υ/ΣΙΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

2,88 g., 15,8 x 17,4 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7121.

46. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥ[Ρ/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ]/ΣΙΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,05 g., 17 x 18,3 mm, axis 6.

Inventory number T 7122.

47. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,23 g., 16,1 x 17,8 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7123.

48. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/[ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙ]ΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,05 g., 17,5 x 18,2 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7124.

49. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: Δ[ΥΡ/Δ]ΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,07 g., 16 x 17,2 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7125.

50. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝ[ΙΣΚΟΣ]

Reverse: [ΔΥ]Ρ/ΔΙΟ/[ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,49 g., 17 x 17,6 mm, axis 6.

Inventory number T 7126.

51. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Bird in flight towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥ[Ρ]/ΔΙΟ/ΝΥ/ΣΙΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 320, drachm.

3,07 g., 15,5 x 17,5 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7127.

52. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/Λ[Y/KΙΣ/Κ]ΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,19 g., 16,7 x 17,9 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7128.

53. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Λ]Υ/ΚΙΣ/ΚΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,15 g., 15,7 x 16,3 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7129.

54. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ/Κ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,52 g., 16,7 x 17,3 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7130.

55. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Reverse: Δ[ΥΡ/ΛΥ/ΚΙ]Σ/ΚΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

2,54 g., 16,5 x 16,9 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7131.

56. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ/[ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,19 g., 16,3 x 18,6 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7132.

57. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/Λ[Y/KΙΣ]/ΚΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,08 g., 16 x 17,9 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7133.

58. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Λ]Υ/ΚΙΣ/ΚΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,12 g., 16,6 x 17,1 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7134.

59. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ/ΚΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,14 g., 18 x 18,2 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7135.

60. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΛΥ/[ΚΙΣ/ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

2,7 g., 16,4 x 18 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7136.

61. **ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΛY/KI[Σ/KOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,07 g., 14,1 x 17,9 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7137.

62. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]

Reverse: Δ[YP/ΛY/KI]Σ/KOY

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,07 g., 16,9 x 17,4 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7138.

63. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP/ΛY]/KIΣ/KO[Y]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,1 g., 15,9 x 17,6 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7139.

64. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP]/ΛY/KIΣ/[KOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,1 g., 15,9 x 16,9 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7140.

65. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [Δ]YP/ΛY/KIΣ/[KOY]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,15 g., 17,5 x 17,7 mm, axis 12.

Inventory number T 7141.

66. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side.

Reverse: ΔYP/[ΛY/KIΣ/]KOY

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,05 g., 15,9 x 16,4 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7142.

67. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side.

Reverse: ΔYP/Λ[Y/KIΣ/K]OY

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,19 g., 16,5 x 16,6 mm, axis 7.

Inventory number T 7143.

68. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔYP/ΛY]/KIΣ/KOY

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,07 g., 16,1 x 17,2 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7144.

69. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [ME]ΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔYP/Λ[Y/KIΣ/K]OY

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,12 g., 15,6 x 17,1 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7145.

70. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣ[ΚΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥ]Ρ/ΛΥ/[ΚΙΣ/ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,31 g., 17,2 x 18,3 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7146.

71. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ/ΚΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,29 g., 16,4 x 17,7 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7147.

72. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [ΜΕ]ΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/Λ[Υ/ΚΙ]Σ/ΚΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,24 g., 15 x 17,7 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7148.

73. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥ]Ρ/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ/[ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,02 g., 16 x 18,6 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7149.

74. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΛΥ/ΚΙ[Σ/ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,15 g., 16,6 x 17,4 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7150.

75. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/Λ[Υ/ΚΙ]Σ/ΚΟΥ

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

3,22 g., 16,3 x 18 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7151.

76. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Reverse: Δ[ΥΡ/ΛΥ/ΚΙΣ]/ΚΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

2,92 g., 15,7 x 18,1 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7152.

77. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Character in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Λ]Υ/ΚΙΣ/[ΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 325, drachm.

2,42 g., 16,2 x 17,5 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7153.

78. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΟΝΩΣ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Eagle towards right over the legend.

Rudder in exergue.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ/Λ]Ο/ΝΩΣ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 330, drachm.

3,18 g., 16,8 x 17,1 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7154.

79. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: [ME]ΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]/ΛΩ/Τ[Α]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,08 g., 16,7 x 17,4 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7155.

80. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [Δ]ΥΡ/ΦΙ/ΛΩ/[ΤΑ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,07 g., 16,9 x 17,1 mm, axis 8.

Inventory number T 7156.

81. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ/[ΛΩΤΑ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,16 g., 17,6 x 18,7 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7157.

82. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]ΛΩ/ΤΑ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,26 g., 17,3 x 18,7 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7158.

83. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]

Torch in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]/ΛΩ/ΤΑ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,4 g., 16,6 x 18,5 mm, axis 1.

Inventory number T 7159.

84. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Φ]Ι/ΛΩ/Τ[Α]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,2 g., 16,7 x 17,7 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7160.

85. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]ΛΩ/Τ[Α]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,22 g., 16,8 x 16,9 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7161.

86. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: [M]ΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ

Torch in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]/ΛΩ/ΤΑ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.

3,25 g., 16,3 x 17,3 mm, axis 2.
Inventory number T 7162.

87. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ
Torch in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.
Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ/[ΛΩ/ΤΑ]
Off-center strike.
Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.
3,12 g., 17,6 x 18,5 mm, axis 7.
Inventory number T 7163.

88. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: [Μ]ΕΝΙΣΚΟ[Σ]
Dog towards right in exergue.
Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ]/ΛΩ/Τ[Α]
Off-center strike.
Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.
3,23 g., 16 x 16,4 mm, axis 7.
Inventory number T 7164.

89. ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΦΙΛΩΤΑ

Obverse: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ
Torçã in the right side. Dog towards right in exergue.
Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙ/Λ]Ω/ΤΑ
Off-center strike.
Ceka 1972, 331, drachm.
3,26 g., 15,8 x 17,3 mm, axis 4.
Inventory number T 7165.

90. ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ
Eagle towards right over the legend. Rudder in exergue. Off-center strike.
Reverse: [Δ]ΥΡ/ΑΓΑ/ΘΙ[Ω/ΝΟΣ]
Ceka 1972, 353, drachm.
3,14 g., 16,7 x 17,6 mm, axis 8.
Inventory number T 7166.

91. ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΠΥΡΒΑ

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ
Eagle towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.
Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΠΥ]Ρ/ΒΑ
Ceka 1972, 360, drachm.
3,1 g., 16,2 x 16,7 mm, axis 2.
Inventory number T 7186.

92. ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ
Eagle towards right over the legend.
Reverse: [ΔΥ]Ρ/ΦΙΛΟ/ΔΑ/[ΜΟΥ]
Off-center strike.
Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.
3,15 g., 17 x 18,1 mm, axis 10.
Inventory number T 7167.

93. ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ
Probably eagle towards right over the legend. Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.
Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΦΙΛΟ/Δ[Α/ΜΟΥ]
Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.
3,27 g., 16,4 x 17,6 mm, axis 8.
Inventory number T 7168.

94. ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ
Eagle towards right over the legend. Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.
Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙΛΟ]/ΔΑ/ΜΟΥ
Off-center strike.
Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.
3,13 g., 17,2 x 18,3 mm, axis 7.
Inventory number T 7169.

95. **ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ**

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ

Eagle towards right over the legend.

Dog towards right in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/[Φ]ΙΛΟ/ΔΑ/[ΜΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.

3,24 g., 16,9 x 17,3 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7170.

96. **ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ**

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟ[N]

Eagle towards right over the legend.

Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΦΙΛΟ/[ΔΑ]/ΜΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.

3,15 g., 17,6 x 17,9 mm, axis 9.

Inventory number T 7171.

97. **ΞΕΝΟΝ/ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ**

Obverse: ΞΕΝΟΝ

Eagle towards right over the legend.

Dog towards right in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΦΙΛ]Ο/ΔΑ/ΜΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 362, drachm.

3,22 g., 16,9 x 19,1 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7172.

98. **ΣΙΑΝΟΣ/ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ**

Obverse: ΣΙΑΝΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡΙ/ΣΤΗ/ΝΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 376, drachm.

3,16 g., 16,2 x 18 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7173.

99. **ΣΙΑΝΟΣ/ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ**

Obverse: ΣΙΑΝΟΣ

Thunderbolt in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [Δ]ΥΡ/ΑΡΙ/ΣΤΗ/Ν[ΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 376, drachm.

3,08 g., 16,4 x 17,2 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7174.

100. **ΣΙΑΝΟΣ/ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ**

Obverse: ΣΙΑΝΟΣ

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ]/ΑΡΙ/ΣΤΗ/[ΝΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 376, drachm.

2,96 g., 16,4 x 17,2 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7175.

101. **ΣΙΑΝΟΣ/ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ**

Obverse: [Σ]ΙΑΝΟ[Σ]

Thunderbolt in exergue. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡΙ/ΣΤΗ/ΝΟΣ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 376, drachm.

3,14 g., 16,1 x 17,9 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7176.

102. **ΦΙΛΩΝ/ΑΡΙΣΤΕΝΟΣ**

Obverse: ΦΙΛΩΝ

Thunderbolt in exergue.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΑΡΙ/Σ[ΤΕ/ΝΟΣ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 433, drachm.

3,05 g., 16 x 17,4 mm, axis 2.

Inventory number T 7177.

103. **ΦΙΛΩΝ/ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ**

Obverse: [ΦΙΛ]ΩΝ

Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/Μ[Ε/ΝΙ/ΣΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

2,86 g., 16,2 x 17,6 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7178.

104. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑΩΝ[N]

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΜΕ/[ΝΙ/ΣΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

3,21 g., 16,5 x 17,2 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7179.

105. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: [ΦΙ]ΑΩΝ

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΜΕ/Ν[Ι/ΣΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

2,33 g., 16,6 x 18,2 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7180.

106. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑΩΝ

Bunch? over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: ΔΥΡ/ΜΕ/[ΝΙ]/ΣΚΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

3,12 g., 16,6 x 17,4 mm, axis 4.

Inventory number T 7181.

107. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑΩΝ

Bird in flight towards right over the legend.

Reverse: Δ[ΥΡ/Μ]Ε/ΝΙ/ΣΚΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

2,7 g., 17,4 x 17,9 mm, axis 10.

Inventory number T 7182.

108. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑΩΝ[N]

The head of a deity towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/Μ]Ε/ΝΙ/ΣΚ[ΟΥ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

2,98 g., 17,7 x 17,8 mm, axis 11.

Inventory number T 7183.

109. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑ[ΩΝ]

Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΜΕ]/ΝΙ/ΣΚΟ[Υ]

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

3,1 g., 15,6 x 19,4 mm, axis 9.

Inventory number T 7184.

110. ΦΙΑΩΝ/MENIΣΚΟΥ

Obverse: ΦΙΑΩΝ

The head of a deity towards right over the legend. Off-center strike.

Reverse: [ΔΥΡ/ΜΕ]/ΝΙ/ΣΚΟΥ

Off-center strike.

Ceka 1972, 438, drachm.

3,14 g., 16,4 x 18,6 mm, axis 5.

Inventory number T 7185.

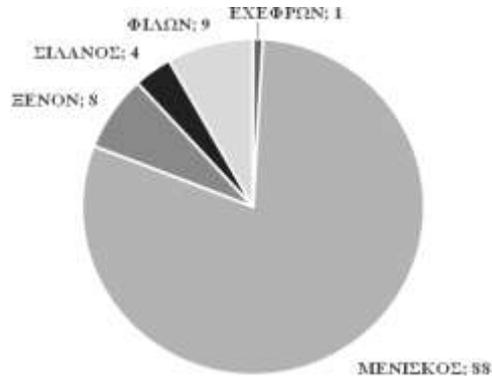
Almost all the coins in the hoard fit in the last group of the Dyrhachian mint, the fifth, only one coin belongs to the fourth group. The latter was minted during the time of the eponymous magistrate ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΥ, monetary magistrate being ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ. The fifth group of coins belongs to the following pairs of magistrates:

Eponymous Magistrate	Monetary Magistrate	Number of coins
ΠΥΡΒΑ	ΞΕΝΟΝ	1
ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ	ΞΕΝΟΝ	6
ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ	ΞΕΝΟΝ	1
ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	2
ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	11
ΦΙΛΩΤΑ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	11
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	37
ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	26
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ	ΦΙΛΩΝ	8
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΝΟΣ	ΦΙΛΩΝ	1
ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ	ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ	4
ΦΙΛΩΝΩΣ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	1

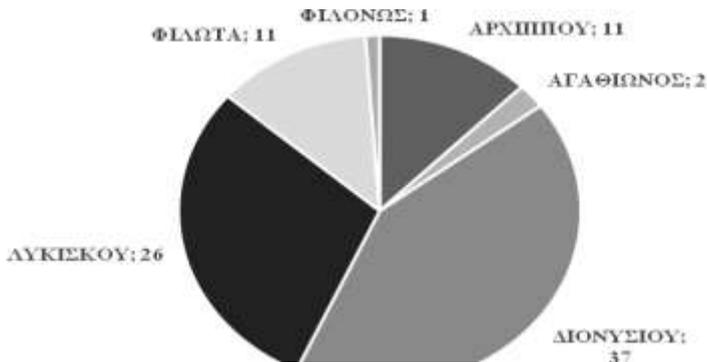
The pairs of magistrates (Petrányi 2007-2008, p. 78-79) from the table were organized according to the G. Petrányi's relative chronology (Petrányi 1995-1996, p. 11; Petrányi 1992-1993, p. 72). We must notice that we have with the coins issued by the monetary magistrate ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ almost all the eponymous magistrates attested until the end of the issuing period of the mint in Dyrhachium. The only missing magistrate from the list is, peculiarly, ΚΑΛΛΩΝΟΣ, the eponymous magistrate chronologically situated between ΦΙΛΩΤΑ and ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. Its absence must be underlined due to the fact that is active in a chronological interval when most coins in the hoard are issued and because in the hoards unearthed close to the Tălmăcel hoard, this magistrate has a consistent presence (Purece 2012, p. 56, Purece *et alii* 2014, p. 30). As seen before, in the hoards including coins of the fifth group, most issues belong to the pair of magistrates ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ/ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ (Conovici 1985, p. 40).

As highlighted in the table, most numerous in the hoard are the issues of the monetary magistrate ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ (80 %), numbering 88 items. The rest of the coins are distributed in such manner: ΦΙΛΩΝ – 9 (8 %), ΞΕΝΟΝ – 8 (7 %), ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ – 4 (4 %) și ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ – 1 (1 %)³.

³ See graphic 1.

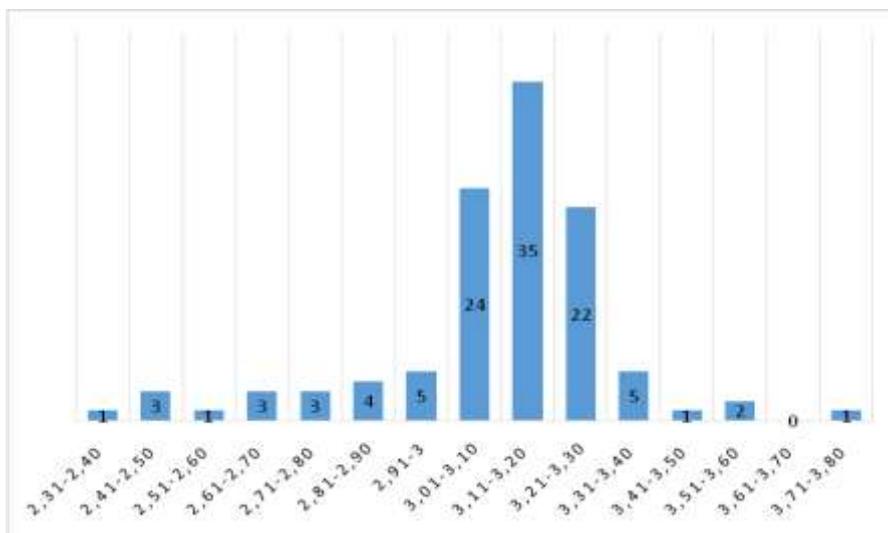


It can be noticed the the issues of MENISKOΣ are widespread in the hoard, being issued during the times of 6 eponymous magistrates: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ (37 coins), ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ (26 coins), ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ (11 coins), ΦΙΛΩΤΑ (11 coins), ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ (2 coins) and ΦΙΛΩΝΩΣ (1 coin).



Regarding the weight of the coins, 81 of them have it between 3,01 and 3,30 grams, the average weight in the hoard being 3,10 grams. The lowest weight, 2,33 grams, has the coin no. 105 in the catalogue, belonging to the pair of magistrates ΦΙΛΩΝ / ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ, while the heaviest coin, 3,73 grams, is the issue no. 17 in the catalogue, being assigned to the magistrates ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ / ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Regarding the weight of the coins, the following situation may be observed:



The weight – magistrates ratio is highlighted in the following table:

Magistrate	Eponymous Magistrate	Weight average
ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ	ΑΣΚΛΑΠΟΥ	3,40
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΦΙΛΩΤΑ	3,20
ΞΕΝΟΝ	ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ	3,19
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΦΙΛΟΝΩΣ	3,18
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ	3,16
ΞΕΝΟΝ	ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ	3,14
ΞΕΝΟΝ	ΠΥΡΒΑ	3,10
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ	3,10
ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ	3,09
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ	3,09
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ	3,08
ΦΙΛΩΝ	ΑΡΙΣΤΕΝΟΣ	3,05
ΦΙΛΩΝ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ	2,93

The averages seen here fit in the previous known patterns (Conovici 1986-1991, p. 59-64). But it must be mentioned that the calculated averages are, in most of the cases, under the ones globally known (Conovici 1986-1991, p. 58; Petrányi 1995-1996, p. 11). The average of the weights related to monetary magistrates is presented in the following table:

Magistrate	Weight average
ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ	3,40
ΞΕΝΟΝ	3,18
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	3,11
ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ	3,09
ΦΙΛΩΝ	2,94

Once again it is being confirmed the reduction of the coins' weight, the decrease being correlated with the assumption regarding the place in the relative chronology of monetary magistrates in the fifth group (Conovici 1986-1991, p. 58; Petrányi 1995-1996, p. 11).

The only hoards in the area we can compare the Tălmăcel hoard are the ones from Apoș (Purece 2012, p. 53-61) and Miercurea Sibiului (Purece *et alii* 2014, p. 7-47). Unfortunately, most of such hoards unearthed in Sibiu district were not published in detail, their existence being only mentioned (Luca *et alii* 2003, *passim*; Munteanu 2005, p. 89). In the following table was indicated, beside the number of coins, the percent for the most important three monetary magistrates in each hoard:

Magistrate	Tălmăcel	Apoș	Miercurea Sibiului
ΕΧΕΦΡΩΝ	1		2
ΣΟΣΤΡΙΩΝ			1
ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ			1
ΞΕΝΟΝ	7 / 9%	3 / 9%	44 / 25 %
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	88 / 80%	31 / 91%	94 / 63%
ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ	4		1
ΦΙΛΩΝ	10 / 7%		6 / 5%

Regarding this comparison, the result is that in the Apoș hoard, as well as in the Tălmăcel hoard, the issues of the monetary magistrate ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ categorically prevail. The difference is in the Miercurea Sibiului hoard, where the coins of ΞΕΝΟΝ exist in a bigger number, situation that diminishes the impact of the ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ issues. It must be specified that the Miercurea Sibiului hoard contains an important number of roman republican denarii – 132 (Purece *et alii* 2014, p. 8), in comparison to the other two hoards that have in composition only Dyrhachian drachms.

As observed, the Dyrhachian coins entered the regions north of the Danube in short time, a proof being the high quantity of issues belonging to the fifth group

(Conovici 1983-1985, p. 75). It was also noticed the high number of coins belonging to the monetary magistrate ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ. Different hypothesis were formulated regarding the causes that determined the entrance of these issues north of the Danube in short time and in large quantities. The phenomenon is related to the Civil Wars of the Roman Republic in the first century B.C., which had as a main operation area the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the expansion of the state led by Burebista. The first century B.C. is the time when the Roman state intensified its military actions in the northern area of the Balkan Peninsula. Issuing this type of coins seems to be related to the roman war effort, which involved payment of mercenaries recruited in the Balkan areas (Ujes-Morgan 2012, p. 375) and the procurement of vital goods, salt among the most coveted. Neither we exclude the possibility that a part of the coins found in Dacian areas were brought during military expeditions organized by Burebista in the Danubian regions, as N. Conovici supposed (Conovici 1983-1985, p. 82).

Another problem is the moment of hiding these hoards with Dyrhachian coins. It is possible that the hiding of a large number of hoards with this type of issue was caused by the conflicts following the dissolution of the Burebista's state, a situation that seems to be well illustrated by the Miercurea Sibiului hoard (Purece *et alii* 2014, p. 10). In this category of hoards is possible to include the Tălmăcel hoard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ceka 1972 H. Ceka, *Questions de numismatique illyrienne*, Tirana, 1972.
- Conovici 1983-1985 N. Conovici, *Aspecte ale circulației drahmelor din Dyrrhachium și Apollonia în Peninsula Balcanică și în Dacia*, in: *BSNR*, 77-79, 1983-1985, p. 69-88.
- Conovici 1985 N. Conovici, *Contribuții privind cronologia și circulația drahmelor de Dyrrhachium și Apollonia la Dunărea de Jos*, in: *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de jos. Contribuții 1*, 1985, Călărași, p. 35-43.
- Conovici 1986-1991 N. Conovici, *Noi contribuții privind circulația drahmelor de Dyrrhachium și Apollonia: aspectul metrologic*, in: *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, 80-85, 1986-1991, București, p. 49-67.
- Luca et alii 2003 S. A. Luca, Z. K. Pinter, A. Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu. Situri, monumente arheologice și istorice*, Sibiu, 2003.
- Munteanu 2005 C. Munteanu, *Descoperiri monetare din județul Sibiu*, in: *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*, II, 2005.
- Petrányi 1992-1993 G. Petrányi, *Comments on the chronology of the final minting period of the Apollonian - Dyrrhachium drachms*, in: *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, 140-141, 1992-1993, p. 67-75.
- Petrányi 1995-1996 G. Petrányi, *Relative chronology of the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the final period minting*, in: *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, 94-95, 1995-1996, p. 3-16.
- Petrányi 2007-2008 G. Petrányi, *Which name represents the eponymous magistrate on the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium?*, in: *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, 106-107, 2007-2008, p. 75-80.
- Purece 2012 Silviu I. Purece, *Tezaurul de monede dyrrhachiene de la Apoș, județul Sibiu*, in: Cl. Munteanu (coord.), *Monedă și comerț în sud-estul Europei*, IV, 2012.
- Purece et alii 2014 Silviu I. Purece, Gheorghe Natea, Vasile Palaghie, Sabin A. Luca, *The hoard with Roman Republican and Dyrrhachian coins from Miercurea Sibiului IV – Highway*, in: *Coinage and Commerce in Southeast Europe*, VI, 2014.
- Ujes-Morgan 2012 D. Ujes-Morgan, *1st Century B.C. Drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the Territory of the Scordisci. A Prologue of the Roman Conquest of the Balkans*, in: E. Paunov, S. Filipova (eds.), *Studia in honorem Iliae Prokopov sexagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*, p. 367-387.



Fig. 1. The findspot.



Fig 2. Coin hoards with Dyrrhachium-issued coin, found in the proximity of the Tălmăcel hoard.

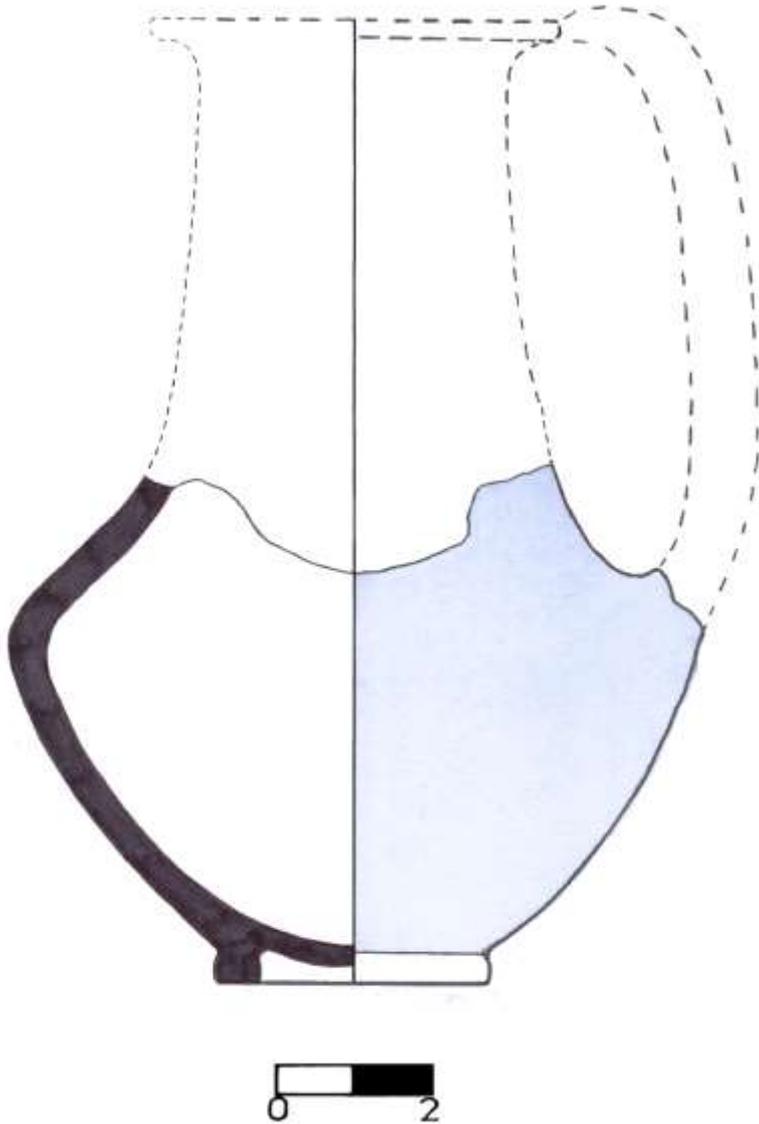
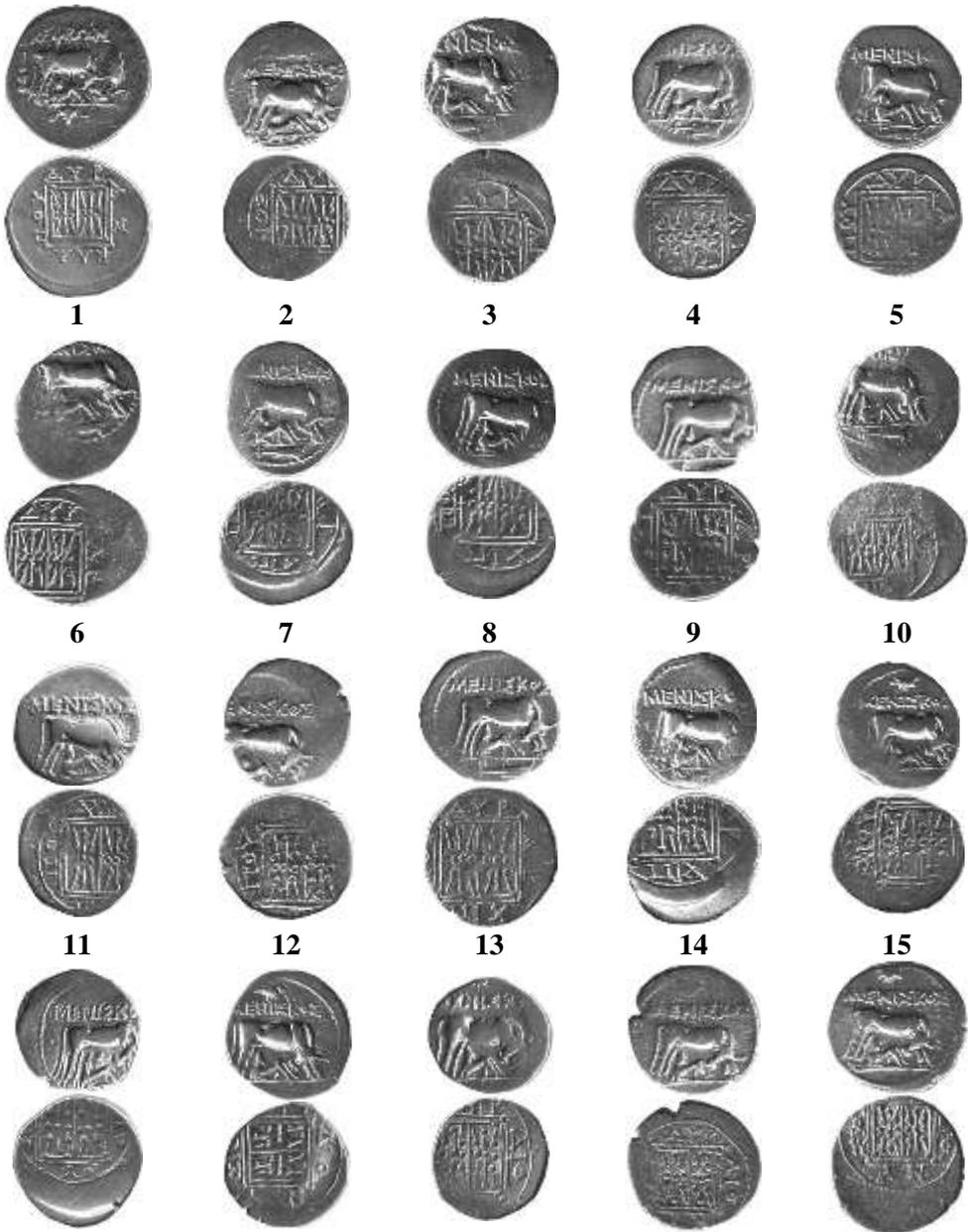
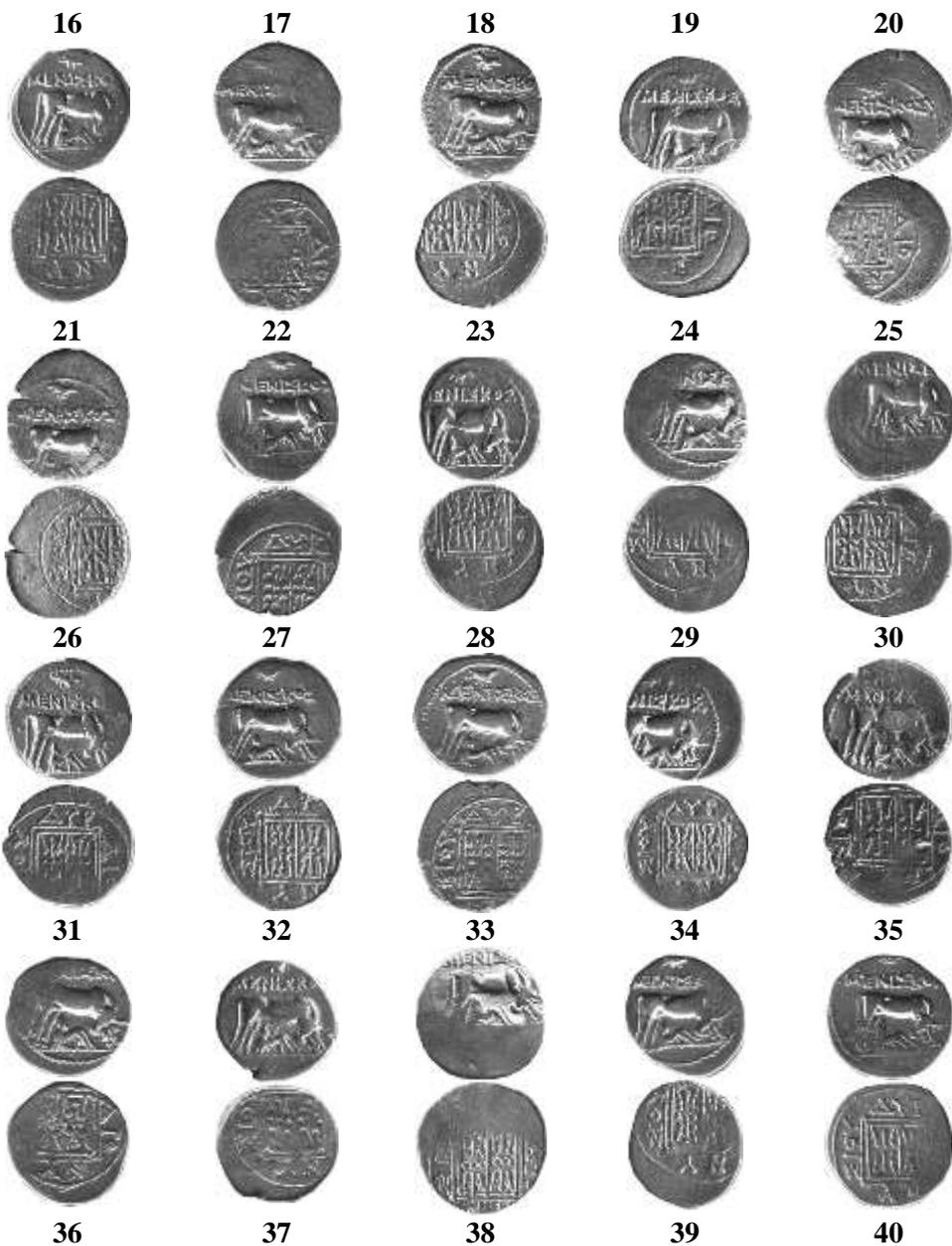


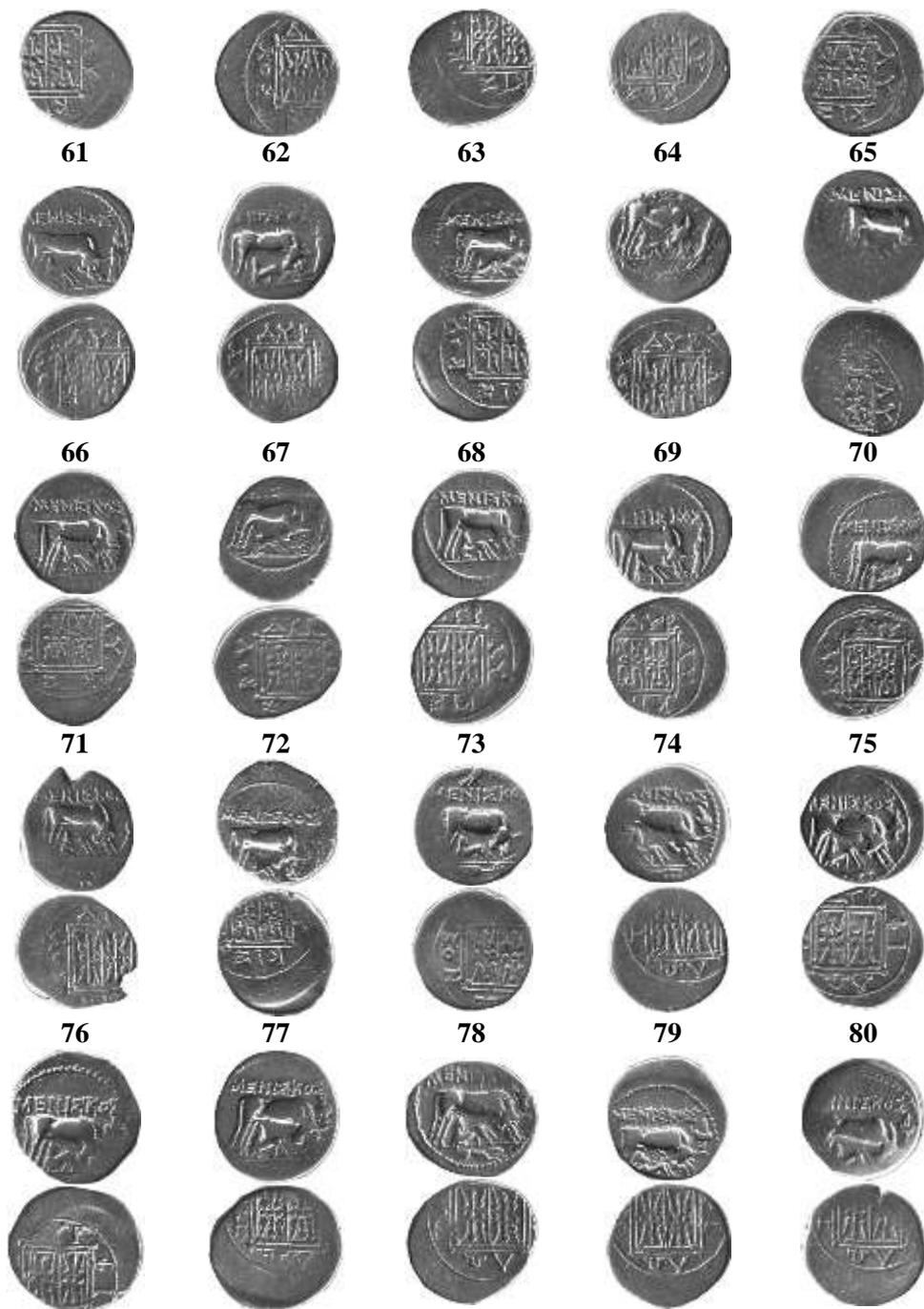
Fig. 3. The pot of the hoard.

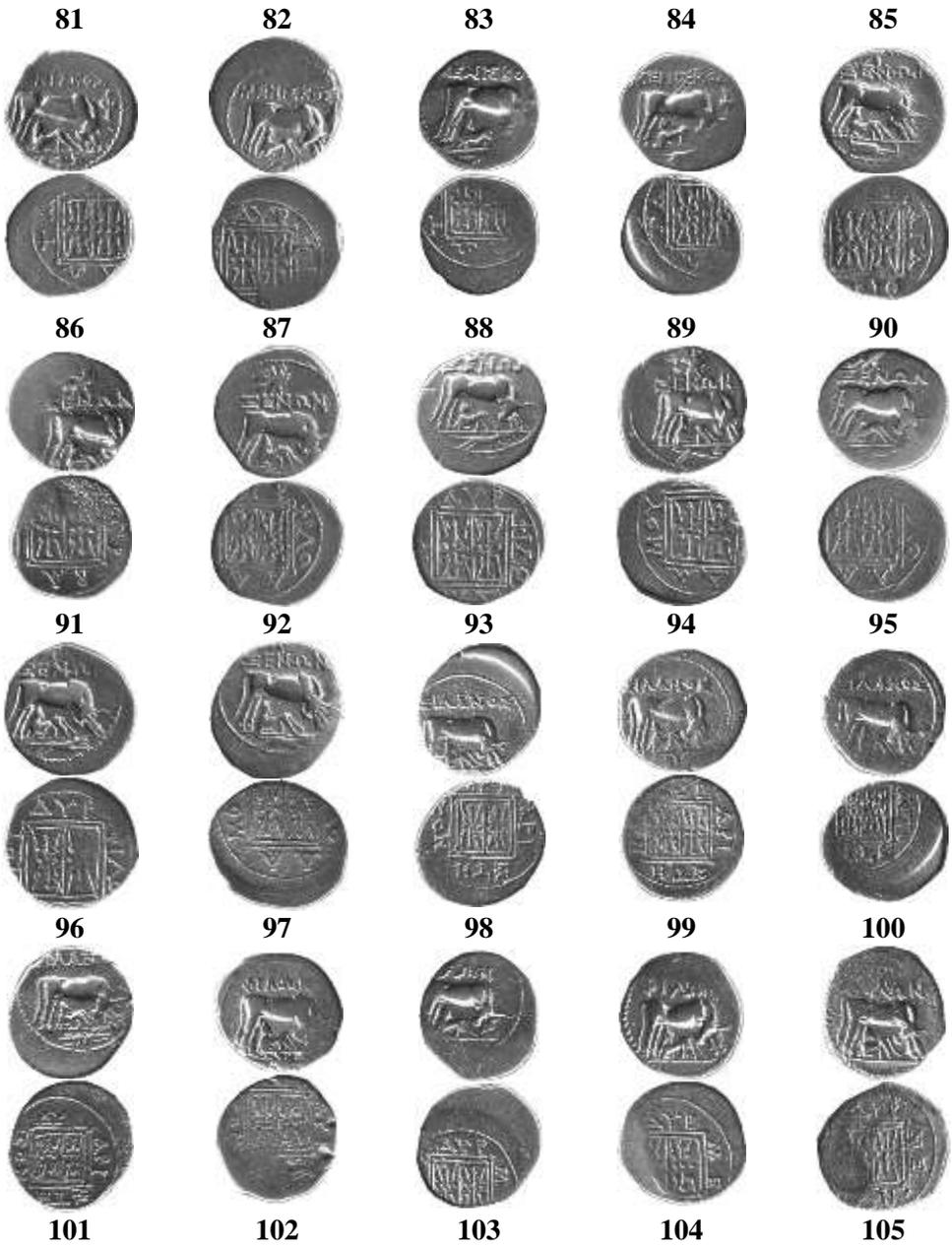
DYRRHACHIAN DRACHMS FROM THE TĂLMĂCEL HOARD













106



107



108



109



110

**MICHAEL CSAKI
AND THE COMMISSION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS***

Ioan OPRIS

Valahia University from Târgoviște, Romania

ioanopris42@gmail.com

***Abstract:** Michael Csaki represents a generation of valuable Saxon intellectuals animated by a real interest towards the state of historical monuments from Transylvania. As a member of the Commission of Historical Monuments from Cluj he was a part of the well-articulated intercession of evaluation of the preserve and protection of the built cultural heritage, but also of the mobile one, inside the province, being focused, first of all to the one owed to the Saxons. In this direction he was noticed by an amazing mobility and promptitude in reaction towards the administrative authorities. His solid formation as a museographer and his precise knowledge in the conservation field recommended him as an expert of whose remarks the Commission could make decisions and to manifest its authority in favor of the historical monuments. His prestige as director for Brukenthal Museum mattered, of course, for the success of these interventions. The preventive preservation and the immediate protection of the cultural values are marked as applied ideas in his path, leading to measures that saved important patrimonial values. Precise and clear in evaluations, Michael Csaki proved to be a remarkable member of the group of specialists of the great Commission of Historical Monuments, contributing to the configuration and affirming of the preservation and restauration thesis of the historical heritage of Romania.*

Key words: Michael Csaki, Transylvania, historical monument, heritage, Brukenthal Museum

Michael Csaki can be presented both as an art historian and curator, a specialist with a reputation among the Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals from Transylvania, but also well known in humanist circles from Bucharest, especially the German and Austrian ones. A good Latin language teacher, then custodian, and afterwards director of the Brukenthal Museum, with a consistent but limited opera, in this way the lexicon recommends him.⁴

* I have presented this topic in the communication sustained on November 4, 1995 in the Symposium Romanian-German "Cultural connections. Transylvanian art in the context of European art" (Sibiu, 3-5 November 1995), organized by the Brukenthal Museum and Cultural Council Saxon Gündelshiem. Here we give wider coverage and documentary support.

His connections and professional prestige recommended him in 1922 to be appointed member of the Historical Monuments Commission - Department for Transylvania (located in Cluj), led by Alexandru Lapedatu. He was elected in this position along with other Saxon fellows: Carol Seraphim and Carol Haldenwang (Sighișoara), Ernest Kühlbrandt, Henri Schrodler and Julius Teutsch (Brașov) and dr. Victor Roth (Sebeș), to support the movement for the protection of cultural heritage from Transylvania.⁵ And especially to the one resulting from the Saxons endeavour in architectural artistic, historical forms. His direct contributions, honest and systematic implemented, inclined to turn a professional work up interest with a visible pragmatic note: *The inventory of monuments and historical and artistic objects Transylvanian Saxon* (Cluj, 1923) or *The catalogue of Brukenthal Art Gallery* (1901-1902). These are capital works without which we cannot initiate politics to protect cultural heritage, and have brought great advantages to the knowledge of the state of conservation of immovable cultural values or museography. Moreover, this practical approach was also recommended by the Commission of Historical Monuments from Romania since the early decades of the twentieth century (Lapedatu 1908, p. 86).⁶ So, for Michael Csaki not only that he knows this approach but also was in good relations with foreign scholars who supported him, for example he knew very well Mr. Lapedatu, the historian, but also his brother, Ion, bank director in Sibiu. So, his appointment as a member of CHMR seems to be a natural one, associating it with the prestigious learned over a period of historical recovery, enthusiastic, of revenge, as for the morality win over immorality caused by the first major world conflagration. Enjoying recognition and understanding to serve without discrimination the monuments, Csaki was noted as a genuine specialist, with a modern vision and a modern understanding of his exemplary mission (Petreanu 1928, p.71).⁷ Among the responsibilities that it has assumed priority was the one of periodic inspections and written reporting regarding the state of preservation for the historic monuments, assuming a dynamic of the periodic movements by train and carriage – most of them – and accompanied by

⁴ V. Michael Csaki (1857-1927). Among Romanian scholars from the Old Kingdom, Grigore Tocilescu, Nicolae Iorga, Grigore Antipa, Vasile Pârvan Alexandru Busuioceanu, G.T. Kirileanu so on, they have known and appreciated especially as museologist before 1918.

⁵ Appearing as such in the positions between the 76 correspondent members of the Commission for Historical Monuments - Department for Transylvania (CHMT).

⁶ The department is certified by Alexandru Lapedatu, the secretary of Commission and the editor of its bulletin, in his article from *Noi monumente istorice. Mănăstirea Clincea*, in "Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice", nr. 2, 1908, p. 86, where the general inventory of historic monuments was seen as an obligation was imposed by the progress of field research and with the publication of new architectural goals with invaluable value as historical monuments quality.

⁷ Recognizes by another colleague, Coriolan Petranu regretting his premature death, in *Michael Csaki*, in "Transilvania", no. 59, 1 ianuarie 1928, p. 71.

fatigue and numerous inconveniences. Looking back, this romantic way, even adventurous, of having difficult travels, we can analyse more accurately the enthusiasm of the generation of specialist that Michael Csaki belongs to, but from different motivations historical research has not yet given enough attention to the philosophy of the intellectuals which dedicated time, energy and talent in the field research and thus managed to highlight the situation of the historic dowry in confrontation with time and with the people. Among these intellectuals devoted to the monuments appears Michael Csaki, as an exemplary figure, with the qualities of model that could be recommended even today (Oprîş 1988, p. 50-54, 61, 63, 65, 67-68, 116, 121, 136-138, 141-143).⁸

In the spring of 1924, responding to a letter from the priest of the evangelical church from Ungra, Csaki went to Galt in April, 22-23 to see a Roman stone with inscriptions, but also to also identify its place of discovery and “the need for further excavations”.⁹ The discovery was presented to the geologists H. Walchner and Dr. Koch, the last one being the author of a geological maps of the area Galt. Csaki’s opinion, after the documentation, was that the stone had not been found its the place of origin, primary, and that belonged to another piece, initially higher, a votive inscription (40-50 cm) of which is were retained only I.L.A.FID letters.¹⁰ The specialist believed that the fragment might be from a camp located near Olt River, near the fragment some Roman tiles were discovered (20x40 cm); at that time the fort ruins were still visible, being awarded to the Legion XIII Gemina. Much of stone masons camp was excavated by the inhabitants, but the traces were visible so it could be reconstituted over a length of 150 m. From the same area, Brukenthal Museum held a gilded silver shield, a very rare piece, and a bronze hand, knowing that Theodor Mommsen attribute it to a Roman officer who was part of Legion XIII Gemina, which Csaki knew, from studied biography.

At the Romanesque church from Galt – which he researched also in 1922 – the walls degradation had advanced: the North side was flushed, a part of the fortified wall had collapsed and the interior of vault was painted with strident colour. On June 26, together with his colleague Emil Sigerius, has travelled to Sibiu train station, researching the monuments around it. The surprises were great: they found a rich and extremely valuable inventory - a crucifix made of stone (dated 1417) from the Dominican church, which stood *in situ* until 1755, when it was moved inside the

⁸ Were caught, (scholar evolutions) in Oprîş 1988, see especially p. 50-54, 61, 63, 65, 67- 68, 116, 121, 136-138, 141-143, but the suggestion of a thorough dedicate study stand, here we only limiting its efforts during the year 1924, valorising archive documents from CHMT Archive, held by the National Museum of Transylvania History, Cluj-Napoca.

⁹ Quoting from the report of Csaki content in German (like the other reports sent from him to Cluj) and translated by his good friend, Iulian Martian, full member of the CHMT.

¹⁰ The fragment in question was discovered by a peasant, Geory Way, who lived at the foot of “the church hill”, in house no. 9, and that he presented to the priest.

chapel (refurbished successively in 1822, 1878 1924). Sometime, within the last renovation - Csaki avoids on purpose the use of the word *restoration* - the crucifix was painted in *gris* oil. The two researched the Elizabeth gate state - affected during the Rákóczi campaigns - which also required repairs. In his report, Csaki recommended for crucifix a speedy removal of paint and restoration of the piece. In the same summer, between July, 11-14 he travelled to Bistrița, researching monuments from the city and the surrounding area. He carefully studied the evangelical church from the city, at Commission announcing that here has asked for an investigation into stone statues kept in the parish, and presented as “figure and stone of a bishop”, being “Saint Nicolas”, which he date in the sixteenth century. He noted carefully the stone toss placed above the entrance to the courtyard of the parish, and the old houses in the area and their architectural and artistic components has proposed to be brought under protection of the Commission. These were: Kornmarket house no. 31, with stone pillars and dated in 1480; Dominican cloister (at that time hospital for the poor), with Gothic pillars; a griffon carved in stone - believed to have belonged to the guild of butchers - the house on the Hungarian street, no. 7, to no. 10 and another from Painters street no. 5. The conclusion of his displacement looked in particularly evangelical church, monuments which “expected restoration”, stating that “first of all must be removed the painting without taste (beautiful pilasters, tall - through a painting that imitate - more spoil their nice aspect), it must be noted that what is from stone and what is from brick, then the stone must be released by plaster and where is bricks must be plaster and have a suitable painting” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹¹ Announcing the Commission about the restoration projects belonging to dr. Flebst from Danzig (a Saxon) and to architect Müller from Munich, he hoped that restoration of evangelical church from Bistrița “will be executed soon in an appropriate manner”. In the “basement” he found 64 carpets – among it only a few worthless, however most of them old -, valuable and well-kept by curator Walter Gross, “a man very devoted to his office, he takes care of them very conscientiously and have been very well arranged and distributed”, and in the church, there were “numerous guild flags asked about the photos” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). Also in the church between the curtains covering the chairs, one by silk was dated 1688. Baroque altar (1701) was cleaned of “dust of secular dirt” and gave with “firnis”, considering it well preserved. And chairs – “in which the church from Bistrița is very rich” - were cleaned and gave with “firnis”, but “coming out old painting «intarsien» and chairs sculpture in a way [of] if just now would be executed” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). In the right of church tomb he saw the epitaph

¹¹ In his report to CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT. Following of the talks in Bistrița with arch. Dr. Flebst. He sent him on August 24 drawings for the restoration of the monument, which has given a positive opinion, recommended to the Commission.

dedicated to the Count Walf Bandissin von Zentendorf, died in 1849 at Baiersdorsff, and the stairs who leading to the shed, the emblem of Bistrița city, by stone but plastered and original doors, found in warehouse of church, fortified with others double, as to beware of cold. Csaki the indications given to the Bistrița authorities are accurate and relevant, showing a specialist in current with theory and practice of historical monuments conservation: the stones with inscriptions or decorations - usually tombstones - from floor to be removed and embedded in the side walls; a stone sculpture representing a knight wrapped in cloak, with sword and shield, sitting in the outer corner of the south-east, in a position too high that he could not see well, recommends that the piece to be lowered to be seen with the more so as there are still a sundial (1616) renovated in 1901. "Our canon of monuments of architecture and art" - wrote Csaki - demanded that the original paintings on stonemasonry (ribs, arches, door frames and windows, rosette, statues etc.) are release by plaster and oil, so he given tips to the curator of settlement, analysing the figure stone of St. Nicholas located in a niche of the last arcade to the parish courtyard, as a small church from the porch of the court, representing the sun, moon and stars accompanied by an inscription dated 1480. "Worthy of preservation" he seemed the Keinzel's house from central square (no. 31), with a frame door by stone from 1480, as the door, the house (with frames painted in yellow), as well as the house by Hungarian street no. 10, with the Gothic door vaults, dated in the fourteen century or that from the number 7 - with a splendid Baroque-style façade and an emblem of butchers. Another - fronted Renaissance painters from the actual street number 5, standing "close to crumble and needs urgent to be renovation", recommending to the owner, trader Müller, even from Committed, to "restore immediately" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). At the hospital house, called a house of the poor, own by minorities, with a Gothic stone door "worthy to be preserved", but plastered and it requires from it to be release of plaster.

At the time of the visit, the fortifications of small church which remained "only a very small part and only one tower that bad restored, «Pfaffeubuderturn», which is also worthy to be preserved" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). Curator Csaki presents the intent of the Lutheran High School from Bistrița "to build a place near the High School, a Museum", a work that would contribute different craftsmen under Professor Zintz, place he saw and appreciated "because it's very fit for purpose and according to the requirements of a modern small museum"(CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).

Knowing about the restoration of the evangelical church from Herina - enforced by the 80s of the nineteenth century by the Commission of Historical Monuments in Hungary -, Csaki travelled to spot inaccuracies in the restoration of towers (at roof, in particular), he critics the plaster applied in externally, applied a double Romanesque windows where none existed before. "Assessing old work not even as a

renovation appropriate”, recommended - also supported by a recent visit of King Ferdinand at Herina – to the CHMR written into the restoration program that “one of the great monuments of Romanesque architecture in our parts” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). Strengthened his recommendation with royal argument, but also by highlighting poverty of a small and helpless parishes to assume a major restoration.

Between the 23th and 23th of July Csaki visited monuments in Biertan, Dupuşdorf, Bratei, Dârlos, Saroşul Săsesc. In the last village found “the castle in a very bad preservation condition, one of the 5 bastions of all discovered, exposed to wind and weather and because of this situation it is close to collapse” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). The bastion served as a guard house, on the west there are paintings, and the east one was to be restored by the local community. He carefully noted the church portal - plastered -, Emporios Orge and original altar “but pulled out of shape by two wings with bad paintings (Moses and Aaron)”; choir chairs – “conspicuous” - worked as separate chairs, and the choir surrounded by mortar stone. In a word: many things wrong, additions, inaccuracies to a church dedicated to Saint Nicholas from 1422.

Dr. Victor Roth warned him that following the intervention of Nicolae Iorga was passed by the Commission of Historical Monuments by the amount of 50,000 lei to restore windows of evangelical churches from Sighisoara and Biertan, travelled accompanied by restorer painter, Professor Hans Hermann – “which has to construction some special knowledge and necessary skills” at Biertan (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). Biertan frescoes were in the so called Catholic tower of the castle, namely in the entrance room, where appeared scenes “Adoration of the 3 Kings”, to the right and the left “Mary’s announcement by the angel”, between this being a decorative motif with wheel shaped; noticed in the left wall, existence of a covered window, which should, in his opinion, released at the restoration. More traces of frescoes, fragments of Jesus Christ representations, St. George in the fighting with the dragon, and up, into a circle, God father surrounded by angels; Maria with the angel was represented on the wall door, near Jesus and a saint pulling with the bow. In several places, the ground tomb motif separated the scenes. Carefully studying painting and architecture from Biertan, Csaki proposed consolidation and restoration in phase and cautiously approached, to the mural painting in particular. He retain the “mausoleum”, established in 1913 in one of the towers, where they were gathered several tombstones of Lutheran bishops who have resided in Biertan, until 1867, when it was moved to Sibiu. Csaki made careful note of the old Gothic altar (1525), which “would have restored”, inlaid chairs (dated 1514 and 1533) in the choir, iron door latch, reliefs from the pulpit – “Blessing of Mary by Simeon” and “Crucifixion of Christ” - covered with a layer of oil that was required to be removed. The three rows of wall lost with 5 towers, belonging “the

most distinguished architectural monuments of Transylvania”, he sees them in “a bearable storage state”, the village making efforts “to preserve this beautiful legacy from the past”, but provide that “will be less and less able to retain the slow demolition of the big monument” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹² At Dupuşdorf tower bells – from wood -, erected in 1902 on a built foundation, it appears as an appendix, was inside the surrounding wall inner circle, which was “almost everything carrying”; a door by stone dated 1610, plastered, from the church choir, old chairs crafted by the same craftsman as Biertan and the altar from the fourteenth century, renovated in 1721, and the painting was so damaged “that only an urgent restoration and [in]care may [a] help”; in the middle of the altar, a “Crucifixion”, he estimated “of a dubious value” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). In concerning to the pipe organ “in baroque stile it bears striking vivid colors”. Surrounded by a number of fruit trees, the church does not see, so he recommended thinning them as “the building will receive light and air” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). So, the landscape itself, the way in which visual display and receive the religious edifice are issues that have preoccupied Csaki.

In Bratei, surrounded by well preserved walls, the monument was “removed from the mold because of the relationship with a modern school building that stands in opposition to the old castle and it spoils the appearance of the entire monument”. Ceiling of the ships was torn down, and replaced with a simple one by wooden “so in the West part of the ship has columns, Gothic arches and beware, beware from the South parte was modern, recently made”, the result being considered “grotesque” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). In Dârlos “the support from the evangelical church leaves much to be desired”, only the western portal is valuable and in good state, and the painting was largely lost; buttresses from the South door was wicked, though partially lost, foresee the figure of a saint (Ladislaus or Christopher), “Flagellation” and “Crucifixion of Jesus”, sacristy offering in 1889, the construction material for a school in the neighbourhood. Inside the church, Csaki noted organ emporios by wooden, built in 1793, and if this case of unique monument “union of ribs in a head of Christ, on the left wall, flush holding out a large fresco depicting Jesus with the apostles”. The altar date from 1633, the wings covered with “a beautiful peasant painting (Flowers in pots), while in the middle, throne Jesus, picture painting later than two wings. It noted also “a credence for altar with beautiful masswerk but in part that’s broken” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).

¹² Restoration work after 1989 - boosted by the inclusion of the assembly in the World Heritage List - gave it a consistent aspect, but new quality requires constant maintenance and conservation to be careful, as far as its historical value.

From 30th July to 1st August, Csaki researched monuments from Jidvei, Tătărlăua, Boian, Cetatea de Baltă and Sona. At Jidvei seen a double wall surrounding the church, but in 1892 was “led” almost completely, as sacristy. As such, he believes that the church could not be declared architectural monument. Instead, at Tătărlăua, small Romanesque church (XVI century), called by Vincentius, keep more valuable painting. Predela of altar wear to her right and left the inscription: “Prefectum east preservus sculptorum opposite Simeon et Magistra per generum sum Vintentium Cibinium painter. Anno Domini millesimo quingentissimo vetvo”, and in the middle of the altar representation “ugly late” to “Crucifixion”, while on the right wing “Coronation of Mary”, and on the left “The Church of Jesus” and “Decapitation of St. Valentine”. Other interior scenes accounted saints, the top being the best preserved since 1715 a painter, Michael Hartman repainted, and in 1914, a colleague of his, Hans Hermann has removed one part, freeing the old ones, Csaki considering that “they belong without doubt the most valuable works of [them] Transylvanian painting from the sixteenth century and are worthy of being restored faithfully” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).

At Biertan, the monument and site wall were well-kept, the sacrament box “of a great beauty, but I regret it is plastered in white”; church arch was removed in 1882, but replaced with a simply ceiling and worthless, as well as the altar, which identified the inscription “Pinxit painter Adolf Walepagi Mediaensis anno 1772”; the artist he considered “a weak Transylvanian painter of the eighteenth century, that we met somewhere but not where I can think” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). Visiting Cetatea de Baltă and castle from here, noted good standing where it was, just some damage done in 1918 affected the library and archives, the concern being and caused the manuscripts stored there, which prompted him to recommend the owner, Count Haller, special care. In Sona he has researched church - new edifice, from 1830 - worthless, with wall surrounding renovated in 1910. His interest has increased and that in that year, the vineyard of Mathias Neubauer (house number 93), “Nieders Neuen”, at a depth of 50 cm, the owner discovered a stone monument with skeleton accompanied by a shell, 2 pieces of bronze, a blue glass beads “rugged” (gerippt) and more pearls with yellow dots (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹³

In his double quality, the curator and member of CHMR - Csaki was informed that in Cisnadioara, church on the hill was threatened, so on 5th August researched it: Romanesque building dated by him in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the church was in ruin, as the surrounding wall; its roof was recently affected, the tiles being

¹³ He asked to the discoverer bring them to the museum the skeleton, unable to reach the place of the discovery because of the weather. Csaki remembers that still there, in 1912, in the vineyard “Near-Halde”, were found arrowheads and a small ring, dated in “recent years of bronze period, but an iron axe from La Tène”, which indicating a settlement with continuity of habitation.

damaged. The tomb of Romanesque church and its main portal but retained traces of painting.

The church from Saxon Ibişdorful saw her on August 12 - also a fortified church in the south with a double wall -; considers that having “a nice aspect” ruined partly by a blue painting, which has ordered to be repaired. The roof bastion was less affected and would be repaired. A bulky tower with gallery was in the rest of the ship, this and the wall surrounding it with only a few breaks. A well-preserved Gothic portal leading this wonderful massive construction. Under tower was the organ emporium. He was considered the altar modern and worthless, but spotted to the right of choir a table altar and to the left sacramental place with the inscription of year 1491 and a Gothic door leading to the sacristy. The ribs were brought together in a tomb stone rosette and its arch - a wooden ceiling dating from 1735; the choir have double windows that in addition adorned with “grotesque”, one being clogged (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).

Sibiu and its monuments were, of course, a permanent field of monitoring and research, so in his report informed the CHMR that restore, by the care of the new owner, senator Dreghici, Moldovan house on the street Avram Iancu no. 9, “that’s in our canon of Historical Monuments”, the work was headed by Eng. Arch. Ernest Connert. So its Renaissance portal, plastering, will be released as the entrance doors and frames with the emblem of 1571, as the frames of the windows that overlooked to the inner courtyard.

On 19th August Csaki visited Buzd church, near Mediaş, finding very torn down the surrounding walls, especially eastern bastion being in a very bad condition. He noted mainly Gothic the church portal “who, though spectacular, was plastered, probably in 1845, when it was renovated”. The edifice choir dating from the fifteenth century were multi-stage and provided with openings for firearms. With concerned to the baroque altar “with vivid colour, striking”, it was dated to the end of the nineteenth century. And here a restoration of proportion, thorough, was excluded, because not funds were available, but little damages could be repaired (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). The next day we find him in Sighişoara to check frescoes from the church from Hill, which “at the urging of Mr. prof. Dr. Iorga from Bucharest”, were awarded 50,000 lei from CHM. A first observation makes to the “trees planted too close and take too much shadow”, so he asked their thinning. He recorded at the main entrance in the west, under the tower, an inscription of 1488 - is planned to install a cemetery chapel -, as well preserved tombstones. A first observation: “habit of hanging funeral crucifix in the church will be removed” (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT). In the choir finds “one of the most beautiful sacrament boxes from our country and a well-kept beautiful chair with reinforcements”. In “4 places are fresco partially released” and samples taken from choir led him to the conclusion “whole choir was painted. The paintings are

about 0.5 cm deep in flush. Because the release of all frescos and their restoration would require an amount far greater than foreseen, their artistic value but not so large as to be necessary to restore them to any such a price, I think that's enough if above mentioned paintings will be released and restored. They will give a proper sample of religious painting art from XV-XVI centuries" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹⁴

During the same visit found at "Klosterkirehe", 30 carpets well-kept but not correctly presented.

Informed by dr. Viktor Roth that owner of "kreutzgan" which linked the church with the Cluster monastery, wanted to demolish it because this have destroyed many parts, he showed hostile of this intention, unless it cannot be restore. Csaki took the opportunity to notice and the "appendix" of "Altschlösberg" Museum, located at the "kreutzgng" bridge. In August, 21-22 Csaki investigated the church from Codlea, renovated in the years 1687 and 1808. He considered the assembly to be in good condition. Coffered ceiling, simple painting but quality, Gothic altar, recently furniture he evaluated them considering "I regret that appearance of castle is broken with several buildings" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT)¹⁵ The days of September, 22-23 has reserved to research the churches Miercurea, Dobârca, Gârbova și Câlnic. In Miercurea, the assembly "is excellent well kept", but regretted the mixture with parasite construction, white plastered walls, inappropriate new columns, but just discovered an old chair painted and dated in 1679. To the neighbours from Dobârca, church (century XV), suffered greatly from the earthquake of 1916, showing large cracks and masonry bridge, but they were correctable. In Gârbova recorded three Gothic monuments: the so-called citadel, square plan, once surrounded by water ditches, walls and corner towers, three of them fell down; he thought was a Roman fortress located on the trail and in the entrance bastion ("The bacon tower") identified in wall a Roman sculpture (60 cm) depicting "Diana of Ephesus" and on the northeast corner, Romanian lion (40 cm) which "in evidence of Roman life in this region" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹⁶

¹⁴ In particular retained the painted scenes representing the "St. George" and "Mary - the queen of heaven". The restoration of the 90s of last century, partly funded by the Ministry of Culture and supported substantially the Messerschmitt Foundation have given mural painting at this time, with the whole urban assembly areas, in the World Heritage List.

¹⁵ But he failed to see the ruins of "Svartzburg", fortification near the settlement, where worked Eng. Walter Horvat, responsible for excavations by Brukenthal Museum, with results published in "Korespodenzblatt Siebenburgische des Vereins für Landeskunde", NFXLVIII, Jahrg. Nr. 6-8, pp. 69-79.

¹⁶ Recently reviewed, the two pieces embedded ask to be put in shelter, replacing them with possible replica.

Raising city hall next to the city and subsequently party's house (salon - casina) caused damage to its image, so that "through it would look the city completely ruined, which has already started to build the mentioned communal house. We cannot have because sinned already because build the communal house, sinned just the second time with the building of this party's house (casina), for those I make a proposal that from the Commission shall be our prohibiting the execution of this project in the site because there are other places suitable for this edifice in this village" (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹⁷

How concerned evangelical church - dated by the inscription in 1599, when it suffered a fire in the conflict with troops led by Michael the Brave, with reprisals against local people – he believed that it was the result of work hind after the date mentioned, being rebuilt using collective helps of 16 Saxon families from the village. Two tombstones from inside it, dated from 1569 and 1653 that would have come, after Csaki opinion, to the Romanesque church from the hill, being made after its fire in 1871. The church tomb, in question, should be dated from the time of Joseph II. The old church – "Bergkirche" – at the origin was "a basilica with Romanesque pillars, one of the oldest Romanesque churches from Transylvania, in the XIII century. Today missing roof and ceiling of middle vessel which was simple (horizontally), and the northern side of the vessel was dismantled, only the sacristy being renovated"; in chorus, a crypt would be connected by an underground corridor the church with the parish basement; Csaki date of visit, in choir stands a red episcopal crucifix and many names sgrafitate.¹⁸

At Călnic - edifice considered by Csaki, interesting, dated from XIII century – the curator reminds for disappearance of massive oak gate, with grille, which was sold on an unknown date, and about the surrounding wall note the appearance "menacing and ramshackle that I gave my accord to tear it down, but the other parts should be preserved as ruins". "Near the bell is the school that serving today as guardian home. Near the school is a chapel built in the XVth century, which has the roof and thereby ruin defend it, but it deserves urgent restoration"(CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).¹⁹ Csaki has the merit of being saved from extinction Cancela,

¹⁷ Unfortunately, the project was executed, bringing in the monuments area a volume foreign by monument.

¹⁸ The project of restore from the '90s, due arch. Fabinni Heimann, put under protection this monument expressive for Romanesque Transylvanian.

¹⁹ Restoration work initiated by the Department of Historical Monuments and led by arch. Stefan Balș saved the ensemble from destruction desired by local authorities; during post-December years, with the Ministry of Culture and the Saxon Cultural Council support, to which were added the contributions of county authorities, the ensemble was revived and restored to public circuit. The role of these factors and support of "Transylvania" Foundation, headed by Academician Marius Porumb, led to the inclusion the Călnic citadel in the World Heritage List. In the chapel of the citadel, on 5 March 1995, the Theophania

altar and emporium of organ (1533), but also discourage village community to build within the citadel “a party room”; he also cautioned that in Călnic, “the church from the hill” - renovated and modernized in 1869 -, plastered in white lime, could provide pleasant surprises connoisseurs, with an old stone tabernacle, and the citadel, in the exterior wall, toward the entrance bastion, a female figure, likely of Roman origin, indicates a thriving community of ancient habitation in the area (CHMT, annex no. 606, in the Archive of CHMT).²⁰

In just five months, from April to September 1924, Michael Csaki has travelled in 22 villages from Transylvania to carry out what the title of *correspondent* member of the Historical Monuments Commission asking them to designate. Do not forget that the scientist tasks fulfilled management of Brukenthal Museum, the cut is not as absurd rigor, formalized project management bulky, but deducted from professionalism, devotion and conscience. Nor that he was a repute specialist, with intellectual cooperation obligations, and in Sibiu an audience for a national community listened and consulted. Nor the roads made, the transport of those times, demanding patience, exercise, big inconvenience for a man of 67 years. What motivated him on this truly historic and museologist labours to take those roads? In no event rigors clerk or service obligations! Its insistence of the Commission shall be to provide a picture of the state of historical monuments from Transylvania could be explained by the historical legacy of love and confessing her expressions. But curiosity of scholar who knows the fragility of what time and people “forgive” on account of inheritance, keeping them as signs perennials. His report, concise and terse, showing he knew, knew those monuments, so not study them first time. Review them so compass their physical condition, calling threats from fellow careless, indifferent or malevolent. We also understand that his approach is subsumed by education of his contemporaries, who were encouraged by the historic signs can justify membership and cultural identity, to be proud and show they are worthy of the legacy of their forefathers. The consciousness of scholar that history legitimizes both individuals and communities has made him share in a cultural work that intellectual elite served gathered around the Historical Monuments Commission, championed the cause of Romanian cultural heritage. In this regard I found Michael Csaki between those who have expanded museum heritage, saving from destruction and oblivion, many values, and among those look that has enlightened peers by referring to comply components monumental, architectural and artistic of this treasure. Therefore it was associated with Iulian Martian - another romantic, collector, archaeologist and cultural animator with a wide reputation - to broaden

Choir from Cluj-Napoca gave a wonderful concert of Byzantine music, to the delight of the participants at the Symposium Cultural Connections.

²⁰ Excavations in the area of the settlement, those of “Albele” and Băile Miercurea Sibiului towards advocating the presence of a roman centre.

peers horizons through education. On 1924 April, 14th Martian wrote in this regard to the Transylvanian President of Commission, Alexandru Lapedatu, that “desire” of its to propagate “its interest in the development works of art of the past” have made him and Michael Csaki draw up a list of 40 symbolic and representative images of the heritage of Transylvania, which can be reproduced as postcard, thus popularizing historical monuments (Cf. address Iulian Martian signed by CHMT, 14.IV.1925, in Bistrița County Archives, Fond Șotropa, file 6 f. 9-11).

Active in his professional approach, Csaki strengthened its ties with the Commission and those, in Iași, Cernăuți, Chișinău, Timișoara, Craiova (polling of Commission) and in Bucharest, keeping watch on historical monuments. This can be demonstrated by his promptly reactions to these things happened – in Sebeș or Sighișoara, important cities with serious confrontation on account of the historical background built -, all advocating, balanced and professional by protection of cultural values and preserve them not only as passive witnesses of history, but as development factors, insurers at the expense of the future.

If in modern Romania the number of employees intellectuals in the cultural heritage would have been higher and the quality that it belonged Michael Csaki, “the conversion” of peers to correct and benevolent attitude towards values, and instilling a responsible and expeditious public administration to enforce them would, no doubt, to their better conservation and protection. Civic, asked always to the masses would now be much higher and the liability of increased threats that radical political changes bring his account. The Michael Csaki model recommended for those who *now* are responsible for cultural heritage, a direction to act because it is not just used by contemporaries, but also heritable, as inheritance empowers future generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Archive of CHMT
Arhivele Județene Bistrița
Horvat NFXLVIII
- Walter Horvat. In *Korespondenzblatt Siebenburgische des Vereins für Landeskunde*, NFXLVIII 6-8.
- Lapedatu 1908
- Alexandru Lapedatu, *Noi monumente istorice. Mănăstirea Clincea*. In *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 2 (1908).
- Opriș 1988
- Ioan Opriș, *Protejarea mărturiilor cultural-artistice din Transilvania și Banat după Marea Unire*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1988.

RECOLLECTIONS OF BRÂNCUȘI; OM MARE – A GREAT MAN

John NANDRIȘ ©

St Cross College, Oxford, United Kingdom

nandris@cantemir.u-net.com

<http://independent.academia.edu/JohnNandris/papers>

johnnandris@gmail.com

Abstract: *Some reflections arising from meetings in 1952 at his Paris atelier in the Impasse Ronsin with Constantin Brâncuși [1876-1957]. His humanity and his values are contrasted with some other systems of thought. His forms are Platonic. His culture is European ; not simply by virtue of his friendships with major creative figures, but as an expression of the European identity of pre-communist and even prehistoric Romanian culture.*

Key words: *Brancusi / Brâncuși, Romania, Sculpture, Montpartnasse, Raschevskaya, Gate of the Kiss, Eternal Column, Maiastră, Isamu Noguchi, Max Ernst, Apollinaire, Maramureș, Grigore Nandriș, Paul Neagu, Pompidou Centre, Doina Lemny, Impasse Ronsin, Steichen, Jheronimus Bosch, Marxism, Nazism, Buchenwald, Vorkuta, Ain Sakhri, FTN, Dacians, European Culture.*



Fig 1. *Kiss; by John Nandriș ©.*

Constantin Brâncuși (1876–1957) is the greatest and most original European sculptor of the twentieth century, with little need for qualification. One hundred and forty years after his birth there is no call for another Art-Critical biography of the Romanian peasant boy from Oltenia who mostly walked across Europe to join, and then to transcend and abandon, the atelier of Rodin. There is a mass of material, easily available in print and on the internet to illustrate his creativity. I can only offer some personal impressions of the man, arising from my visits to him in his atelier. I would like to place the work of this Master of Ideal Forms in context as an archetype *sub specie eternitatis* of the category of *Oameni Mari*²¹ recognised in Romanian culture.

Near the boundary wall of the great national Pantheon of the Montparnasse cemetery in Paris stands the tomb of a young Russian girl, Tania Raschevskaya. Her tomb is crowned by an early sculpture of the embracing couple which came to lie at the very focus of the creative achievements of Brâncuși. She is relegated to the margins of the cemetery²², because she killed herself in 1908, her heart broken by a hopeless love. It is moving to recall that the entwined couple on the grave in Montparnasse cemetery was created as a memorial to this young woman, who had taken her own life in despair. The desire to universalise the passions such as those which drove young Tania to her death, and not merely to represent them, pervades Brâncuși's work. In reference to this *Kissing Couple* [for he created many more], Brâncuși stated : "*In effect, I wished to create a work which would express not merely the idea of a*



Fig. 2. Tania Raschevskaya.

21 Great Men.

22 The tomb lies in Division 22 of the cemetery, Section 22 towards Bd.Raspail.

particular couple; but to say something about all those couples who have ever loved each other and walked upon this earth²³, until they were driven to forsake it" ... like young Tania whose pale anxious face speaks to us from the enamel on her grave.

In the long-term perspective of human development Brâncuși does not stand alone. It is possible to point to echoes, from earlier millennia, of this highly-developed human capacity expressed in art for *coherent concentration on the general concept, rather than on the particular percept*. This does not mean that his art is to be defined as “conceptual”, any more than it is “abstract”. His pupil Isamu Noguchi [1904 -1988] said of him (Apostolos-Cappadona, Altshuler 1994, 114) that :“*he brought with him something more than learning*” derived from the momentous precepts of his upbringing in a Romanian village; it was “*the difficulty of making, and the limits imposed by the medium to which his concepts in turn must fit*” which were important to him.

The topic of his influence upon such important disciples as Isamo Noguchi, and upon the whole course of development of twentieth century sculpture, is too great a venture to examine here. Nor should we forget that Brâncuși was an accomplished photographer, and a capable engineer. We shall examine something of his tremendous capacity for the generalisation of ideal forms, and look at its long-term antecedents.

The ploughed fields of Brâncuși’s ancient homeland still yield the wonderfully stylised female figurines of clay fashioned by his Neolithic forebears. Under what imperative did they do so? At a very early stage mankind acting in and for society, developed an extraordinary aptitude, in no way inferior to our own, for expressing concepts and perceptions artistically. For example the copper or gold discs which are found in the Neolithic culture of Cucuteni, during the 5th Mbc and later, are the continuation of an imperative to express concepts iconographically through the human form, which is present in humanity far back in time.

Such symbols enabled what was significant to be made more concrete. Symbolic realism in the representation of ideal forms already characterises Palaeolithic artefacts of the later Glacial periods. The well-known cave paintings of Lascaux are now usually dated c.19,000 years ago. Newly-discovered paintings from a cave in the Ardèche are scientifically dated much earlier, to 34,000 years ago. There is extraordinarily expressive mobiliary art from Germany dating to 36,000 years ago, both symbolic and realistic. The tradition continues with female and animal figurines made by Gravettian mammoth-hunters ten thousand years later, whose creations are unsurpassed in quality and ability to express emotion; and then with numerous figurines of the Neolithic. One should not forget such stylised master-

²³ Author’s italics.

pieces as the Cycladic figurines of the third millennium BC. The expression of ideas in cave art and small-scale mobiliary objects, extended over a time-span of some 40,000 years, which is not easy to grasp. As the eighteenth century art historian Winckelmann observed, "*Not everything is possible at any one time*". Archaeology itself, and the history of art, are encapsulated in this rather powerful principle. Neanderthalers had no use for oil wells.

In prehistoric and traditional societies we are often effectively dealing with people who, while every man or woman was an artist, had no *Art* as such. Their creativity was embedded in their beliefs, and *vice versa*. Everything which they undertook was done as well as they possibly could. One could say the same of Brâncuși.

The "artists" of Classical Greece, or of Song China, were often ordinary craftsmen, even commercial; sustained by emulation and competition. They could do no wrong, and were apparently incapable of creating an ugly or unworthy thing, in part because it would have been impossible for them to meet with social approbation for any insensitivity. They conformed to the unenforceable social limits of their culture. They could not approve poor quality work in themselves or others. The Song Dynasty potters, like the Swordsmiths of Japan, were not "artists" in our sense, but they created objects out of common iron and clay which have become, to us at least, works of art worth their weight in gold. They were craftsmen operating under quasi-commercial constraints, and embedded within a well-defined cultural and religious framework.

Such embedded values were strong in the society from which Brâncuși emanated. When a Romanian peasant demonstrates the finer points of making and decorating any object to you, for example an embroidery pattern or a humble bark salt-cellar, he or she may say "*Făcut așa este frumos*": "Done this way it is beautiful". Another way is not so acceptable, not socially consistent. Cultural integrity is a completely different matter to "political correctness". It was creative transmission and social acceptance which, along with social emulation, ensured the quality of classical Greek art.

Together with my father, Professor Grigore Nandriș, I visited Brâncuși at his Paris studio in the Impasse Ronsin, in the quartier of the Institut Pasteur and the Boulevard Montparnasse, on 27th August 1952 and subsequently. It was five years before he died, and I was fourteen years old. Brâncuși bequeathed the studio and all his works to the French state, after rejection by the Romanian authorities. In accordance with the conditions of his will, the studio still exists as a museum piece, although it has more than once been moved and re-assembled.



Fig 3. Bark Salt Cellar by Daniil of Sarmizegetusa: "*Făcut așa este frumos*".

At his *atelier* in the Impasse Ronsin Brâncuși filed his papers in an old cardboard box which he kept under his bed. There are various opinions on his date of birth. His Birth Certificate indicated to us at least that he was born in the *cătun* of Hobița, in the commune of Peștișani and the *județ* of Gorj, on the 21st February [4th March new style] 1876. In 2016 the Romanian Government designated the 19th March as a national Brâncuși Day. He died in Paris on the 19th March 1957 aged 81. Grigorescu [1980] gives his dates of birth as 19th February = 2nd March 1876. Peering into this cardboard box during our visit Prof. Grigore Nandriș, as a philologist, was struck by the fact that the final "i" of "Brâncuși" is present in the Romanian documents. The name "Brâncuși" can equally be written "Brâncuș" in Romanian, and is in any case pronounced as two syllables.

For practical reasons Brâncuși gallicised his name after coming to live in France. "Bran-cu-si" with three syllables is a concession to the absence of "ș" in European languages other than Romanian. It is as "Bran-cu-si" that he has become known in the history of art. The old orthography of "Brâncuș" is quite attractive and its re-animation would be perfectly acceptable. The Ancient Europe from which he came was not a standardized place.

Brâncuși was an archetypal sculptor, one who wrestled obsessively and physically with the properties of primary materials. Art is hard work. But ever since prehistoric man became aware, there has been no great art without intellection, and he rose to this. Art is also perhaps the most difficult branch of philosophy, and certainly not about the expression of inchoate feelings. In person he was gnomic and his utterances were often shrewd and thought-provoking. For example :

“Împrejurul nostru operează alte sfere ale existenței de care suntem separați doar prin cele mai subțiri fire”... “Trupul omului nu este diferit de structura universului”.

“We are surrounded by other realms of existence, from which we are separated by the thinnest of threads” ... “The human body is no different from the structure of the Universe” [cited by Petre Pandrea, 2009].

Even today it is fashionable to talk of “*Thin Places*”, external or internal, through which we may experience intimations of the transcendent.

He could be dismissive, but was not pretentious. He knew well enough how to present himself, and this has sometimes been held against him ; as if naivety were a virtue. He continued to project an impression of solid integrity which is not easy to fake, reminiscent of a certain kind of Romanian peasant who even now has not wholly vanished, although it may have become as rare a phenomenon as the English Gentleman.

As a boy I was not in a position to record the these occasions verbatim; but the clarity of my recollections from sixty-four years ago is a testimony to the force of Brâncuși’s character, which made a deep impression. This was one of several visits to Brâncuși in the early 1950's of which which Prof Grigore Nandriș has published an account (Nandriș 1963). The personal details which he recorded seem to me to contribute something to our overall picture of the sculptor. The 1963 paper contains some details of Brâncuși 's life, of which there are now many systematic accounts, with observations upon his work.

I thought to recapitulate some of them briefly here, but from another perspective with some comments and modifications.

Both the man and his *atelier* were very much as they appear in the photographs which have come down to us. The floor was covered in marble chips and other debris, and the high but dusty main studio was full of looming presences of metal, wood and stone. Many of these certainly echoed the culture of the Romanian peasant within which Brâncuși originated. It was a culture which had evolved in much the same way as the great prehistoric civilizations which were its forerunners; that is to say through slight successive favourable variations in the operation of human choice, without benefit of social theorists.

The studio itself was such an evolved work. It was the deliberate artefact of a freely creating personality. If it was indeed designed to create an impression, as some art critics assert, then in this it was like any other human artefact; not excluding the writings of the critics. It is refreshing, in an age of much Criticism, to recall Brâncuși's matter-of-fact exegesis of his own works, his acceptance of his own creativity and his lack, not of any theoretical framework, but of naïve pretensions to theoretical interpretation.

This is not to say that he was not incredibly shrewd. He was certainly one of the greatest initiators of modern "abstract" art; but he himself said quite clearly that only a fool could call his sculptures abstract. It would be more accurate to describe his capacity to generalize as a power of coherent universalisation. He possessed this to just as remarkable a degree as Picasso did his powers of visual comprehension based on the after-image.

These faculties stand opposed to the incoherent anti-figurative disintegration, and the rejection of craftsmanship, to be found in the twentieth-century creative intelligence. "Conceptual Art" yearns to pass for abstract thought; too often it ends up as an unmade bed. As for Art which is Progressive, it is best avoided. Art, unlike science, is not progressive. It does not make cumulative advances in disclosure of the inevitable. The discoveries of the sciences are ultimately inevitable, because they are there ; and not least they can avoid the difficult question "Why?".

If one scientist does not make a given scientific discovery, then another will inevitably do so. But without Brâncuși or Michelangelo their very art would not exist, whatever the economic or political circumstances within which they operated. Without good and bad there can be no excellence. Their creative excellence is theirs alone. It is elite. What a man²⁴ puts into his work is not attributable to any economic base or set of political circumstances however permissive, or perhaps more often obstructive. It seems all the more necessary today to reflect on the significance of the millennial echoes to be found in the art of Brâncuși. They signify a perspective on humanity.

In his *atelier* the sculptor wore the floppy hat and loose clothes which have become his familiar image. He did not so much explain his work as lead one to see it, either figuratively but sometimes also literally, by the hand. We conversed in Romanian, not in English or French.

To illustrate his gnomic disposition, I recall that he took hold of my hand and looked at it carefully, turning the fingers over and examining especially the pads and the nails. Finally he grunted to his diffident fourteen year old visitor : "*Ai putea fi fost mare*": "*You could have been great*". The fact is that we all might have been great; just as in their humanity our prehistoric ancestors were great. Perhaps what he meant was that I have large hands suitable for making things, and that this was simply a quality of which he approved. With this typically cryptic utterance Brâncuși was in a wider sense intimating that it is open to all of us as human beings to become great, within our own parameters, given a sufficient degree of application, and a certain amount of luck.

It is much to the credit of Brâncuși as a Great Man that he paid as much attention as he did to a boy of my age. I thought that worth recalling here because it

²⁴ *In legal terms, man embraces woman.*

seems to say more about his character than about mine. I in no way resented my relegation to normality, in which he was perfectly correct.

I later recalled a passage which Brâncuși himself wrote, about the "*Piramida Fatală*" of life: "*Men conceive the world in the image of a deadly pyramid, over which they swarm, trying to elevate themselves as far as possible towards the summit. To this end they tear each other to pieces, and make themselves altogether miserable. Whereas on the contrary, if they would only develop and fulfil themselves naturally, ripening like an ear of wheat in the fields, each would become what he must or what he is able to become.*"



Fig 4. The vanity of social aspiration; Jheronimus Bosch, *The Hay Wain*.

Never seek to clamber too far up this deadly pyramid. There are plenty of free places lower down. Few arrive at the summit, and all too soon they are thrown down and dashed against the ground. That is where life truly runs its course, down on Earth".

Put more simply : "*Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui tous veulent arriver au sommet de la pyramide [fatale de la vie]. Une fois là-haut, on tombe fatalement de l'autre côté.*"

Brâncuși here precisely recapitulates the values of the post-mediaeval European mind expressed by Jheronimus Bosch in his painting of The Hay Wain [c.1500-1515]; or the “Waggon of Nothingness” (Fischer 2016, 259). Deluded by the glint of the hay, men scramble and grasp for the Fools’ Gold of social aspiration and material things. Brâncuși and Bosch were equally great men who captured the Eternal Forms in very different media.

Brâncuși was indeed fond of aphorisms, but he avoided un-necessary exposition. His art has been saved from devaluation by the concern of his heirs to control vulgar replication. They cannot always hope to succeed; as is shown for example by the political rather than artistic exploitation of his work by Lucy Skaer²⁵, who reduces the shining spirituality and individuality of the brilliant *Bird in Space* to dull black mass-produced replicas of compressed coal dust. These she marshals into an oppressive, collectivised, offensive, trivial, openly disdainful travesty of the spiritual nature of the original ; in spirit more like something North Korean. Her superficially leftist ideology is dignified as „*irony ... foregoing the spiritual transcendence of Brancusi’s originals for a potent materiality*”. Her work is, by self-definition: „*loaded with political and cultural baggage*”²⁶. If Brâncuși really has such importance for her she should perhaps acknowledge the fact more liberally. Work such as her “*98 pieces of ballast in the form of Brancusi’s Newborn, reduced in size and cast in aluminum*” betrays an astonishing contempt for sense or beauty in favour of ideology, so that she has to rely on verbose explanations. Precisely what Brâncuși avoided.

If we listen instead to Brâncuși: “*When one is immersed in beauty, there is no need for explanations*”.

Brâncuși has sometimes quite wrongly been characterised as lacking political conviction. So much the better. But in his impartial inequality he is the true egalitarian, transcending the inadequate world where what professional egalitarians really want is to feel superior. He strips away the inessential differences between human beings without categorizing them, just as his sculpture purges form to reveal true individuality without destroying it.

The contrast with the Marxism which had decimated his country could hardly be greater, although apparently this still needs to be spelled out. Marxism exactly like its *doppelgänger* National Socialism, or Nazism, sought to categorize and demonise whole classes of humanity: “*Bourgeois, Fascist, Upper Class, Lower Class, Kulak, Warmonger, Capitalist, Imperialist*” ... like a child counting prune stones on his plate.

²⁵ Cf., eg., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lagtoDaDyIA>

²⁶ Her commercial galleries seem to share her compulsion for verbosity.

Those who feel themselves inferior are helplessly attracted to professions of equality... "*I'm as good as you are*". The religion of hatred symbolized by the Marxist clenched fist was the very anti-thesis of humane equality, indeed impeded it. Its facile catchphrases were disastrous in their actual application.

The Marxist plausibly mouthing "... *to each according to his needs* ..." stands without apparent embarrassment under the cynical slogan of the Nazis hanging above the gate of Buchenwald: "*Jedem das Seine*". Indeed in their world of mirrors, after the Red Army had raped its way across northern Europe the Soviet Russians continued to make good use both of the Nazi death camps, and the slogan. Marx, a part-time economic journalist, supplied their pyramidal serf society not with a reputable political philosophy, but with *a vocabulary*, designed to reinforce a newly professional sense of grievance and ensure conformity²⁷. Political correctness survives today, to inhibit freedom of speech and reinforce political control. It was apparent early on that the shibboleth of class having failed to unite the left, it would be replaced with issues of race and gender.

Something Brâncuși said of these people during our visit to his studio has remained with me: "*Ce-au facut din țara noastră !*" ... "What have they done to our country!". To quote his nobler vision of humanity once again: "*Dans mon monde à moi, il n'y a plus de lutte pour une place plus haute - la pyramide est démolie, le champ est infini - ici chacun est avec ce qu'il est venu - a sa place, il n'est ni plus grand, ni plus petit, il n'a plus de mérite, ni plus de défaut - il est ce qu'il est.*"

Brâncuși's mature works number about seventy, excluding variants, and one might distinguish some seventeen thematic pre-occupations. There are *eg.*, some eighteen versions of the Bird in Space. There is a large collection of his work in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The burnished bronze edition of the *Maiastră* in the Tate Gallery in London [T.1751] is mounted on a pillar so that, like the Winged *Nike* of Samothrace, it should be viewed from below as originally intended.

The American photographer Edward Steichen saw the shining bird at the Salon des Indépendants in 1910 or 1911, and purchased it after the exhibition. Brâncuși helped Steichen find a square-section baulk of timber in a lumber yard, and they set the *Maiastră* three metres high on this pillar in his garden at Voulangis. The golden bronze gleaming against the sky came to be known around Paris as "*l'Oiseau d'Or*". The surface may indeed originally have been gilded, like the surface treatment of the Unending Column at Târgu Jiu. For Brâncuși, eternity shone like the background of an ikon. Steichen's garden also saw the erection of a first version of

²⁷ Sartre made great play with the absurd ; but the contortions of many French intellectuals after the war outdid him in their absurd anxiety to conform to Russian communism. This is soberly documented by Antony Beevor and Artemis Cooper 2007.

the eternal column in wood. Grigore Nandriș made a note of some of the sculptures which were present in 1952 during our visit to the *atelier*. They included:

Lebădă		The Swan
Peștele		The Fish
Pasărea Maiastră	Maiastră	The Mythological Bird
Stâlp de Hotar		Boundary Pillar
Coloana Nesfârșită		The Unending Column
Poartă de Lemn		Wooden Gate
Capul Muzei Adormite		Sleeping Muse
Rugăciune		Prayer
Noul Născut		The Newborn
Oul		The Egg

If memory can be trusted, looming among the white dust of the studio I also saw dark versions of other figures, including *Cocoșul*, the Cockerel; and a wooden King figure incorporating the great carved wooden helix which may derive its inspiration from the massive wooden oil and fruit presses used by Romanian peasants. Brâncuși had shown himself decisively immune to the powerful contemporary influence of Rodin, while the facile idea that African sculpture had any significant influence on him may be easy to understand, but is difficult to believe. At least I never saw any in his studio.

Comparing his *Cup*, or the *soclu* [base] of his Socrates, to the *căuc* [the wooden drinking cup carried by the Romanian shepherd] the resemblance is clear. It was to the image of the likeness of the Platonic form of a *căuc* that Brâncuși addressed his gaze.



Fig 5. Căuc; Shepherd's drinking cup. Collection JGN.

In the ethnoarchaeology of Oltenia and the Maramureş, or in the remote highland villages of Romania, and higher still among the shepherds at their *stâne* [sheepfolds] on the summits of the Carpathians, one finds forms which compelled Brâncuşi. It may be in small portable wooden artefacts such as the *căuc* ; or in the larger structures, the water mills, oil presses, barns, and gateways; or in the carved post called a *stâlp* which is used to support the typical wooden balconies.

One function of the *stâlp* is as a marker for the graves of the dead; perhaps in the cemetery, but endearingly also in orchard, forest, or mountainside²⁸. An unmarried youth or maiden was given a slender white bird to surmount their burial *stâlp* and to symbolize the partner whom they never found in life. These are not the tribal carvings of African *juju*, but the image of a likeness of a conception of a Platonic eternity which was finally resolved in the Eternal Column of Târgu Jiu, and supremely in the *Bird in Space*.



Fig 6. Stâlp, by John Nandriş ©.

²⁸ If the *Baciu* or head shepherd should die during the summer, he would not be carried down [‘over the flowers’ - *trecut peste flori*] but would be buried upon the mountain, under a cairn ; lest the wildflowers and the pastures should wither. (Latiş, 1993).

They fulfil the crying need which Brâncuși so compassionately supplied for poor Tania Raschevskaya, and referenced in his *Bird in Space*. An image of the likeness of the bereft soul that says: “*I am that I am*”.

The grave marker of the tragic young Tania Raschevskaya was no less central to Brâncuși's cultural perceptions than the *Maiastră*, the magic *Oiseau d'Or* set high on its *stâlp* in Edward Steichen's garden. This in its turn relates to the slender wooden birds on *stâlpi* which mourn for celibacy in the rural cemeteries of his homeland. They culminate in the blinding perfection of his *Oiseau dans l'Espace*.

An extensive mechanization of rural industrial processes based on water power existed in Romania and other eastern and northern European countries. Romania's water-powered industrial revolution anticipated the steam-driven one of western Europe. Water-power was used not just for milling corn, but was essential for *vâltoare* [whirlpools] to finish, fluff out, and felt the heavy woollen textiles such as *pănura*, which are essential in peasant dress. The great water-powered hammers, carved into steps, which turn over the textiles as they compress them in water, are echoed in the figure of Brâncuși's Cockerel - *Cocoșul*.

The *Gateway of the Kiss* by Brâncuși at Tîrgu Jiu leads the mind into the courtyards of homesteads in the Maramureș, the dignity of whose entrance is proclaimed by a massive wooden gateway, a repository for apotropaic carvings. The great central double gate is for carts, and the small side door is for humankind. It was the smaller door which most often bore apotropaic carvings such as snakes or human figures. These are guardians of the threshold, a numinous and liminal place which was treated with caution, in Classical Antiquity and in the Pythagorean philosophy to which the Iron Age Dacians reputedly adhered. The sophisticated modern couple involuntarily subscribe to it when, all unthinking, they carry the bride across the threshold.

The rope-like reliefs are found on the main gate in regions where the raw material is oak, rather than pine. They refer us to the explicit bisected circle motif of Brâncuși in the Gate of the Kiss, or the decoration on wedding bread [the *colac*] of the Maramureș.

In the Maramureș, Transylvania [the Land across the Forests], or Bucovina [the Land of Beech Trees] there existed until recently villages based overwhelmingly on wood, each making use of their local species. A single plank could be twenty or thirty centimetres thick, a metre or more wide, and ten metres long. The use of wood in his native Oltenia, as in the Maramureș, was on a massive scale, reflecting the availability of great timbers from the parklands of the Carpathian foothills in Oltenia, or from the Transylvanian forests.



Fig 7. Spinning flax at the Gate of the Woodworker.
Maramureş. Photo JGN ©.

In my own lifetime and in the ordinary course of my fieldwork, elderly couples were still to be found inhabiting a house which they had themselves built, working in clothing which they had themselves made and embroidered, and using artefacts which they had also made. Homes garlanded with suspended plants and artefacts symbolic of the culture, decorated with carefully graded clusters of garlic or onions, threaded with strings of sun-dried mushrooms or beans, were scattered among their own gardens and orchards, like those of the Iron Age Dacians. With these signs the dwelling and the old couple are transformed into an *eikon* of a way of life, as telling as any Neolithic house model; and just as lost in Time.

A directness of spirit lamentably foreign to sophisticated western experience is lent to this culture by the integrity of such lives. The old couple are fading fast, if indeed they are not already dissipated by change, like the smoke which filters

through their high-thatched or shingled roof, and hangs in wisps among the boughs about their house.



Fig 8. The Home as *eikon* of Antiquity. *Atque in Arcadia ego.*
Călinești, Maramureș. Photo JGN.

To give due recognition to this organically-based and antique culture of ancient Europe is not an exercise in sentimentality. It is a functional expression of modes of behaviour of fundamental historical importance which were once more widespread in Europe. The Mediaeval village was founded ultimately on the innovations of the Neolithic, and this underpinned European civilisation. It was no Utopia, which after all means an impossibly perfect place which does not exist; it was an Arcadia, or place which may never exist again. *Atque in Arcadia ego.*

The strengths which Brâncuși derived from it are incalculable, but they demand an effort of understanding from the sophisticated. Romanian peasant culture was the humble embodiment of phenomena which extend even unto prehistory. We can still see the vestiges, but not for long. It is not necessary to idealize it, but it is necessary to understand it. Its unassuming decency long ago resolved some of our own problems of social interaction.

Precisely because it is unassertive it is important to understand this culture for its own sake. The Romanians have never subjugated other peoples. The Dacians

indeed made a half-hearted attempt in the Iron Age to conquer Vienna, found that it did not yet exist, and went home. It is no accident that recent studies show the children of Romania to be now among the very happiest in the world. The orphanages of Romania were the outcome not of Romanian culture but of a Soviet socialist system. The echoes of millennia of human development formed part of the inner consciousness of Brâncuși, and we are now able to appreciate what he made of them. Perhaps he is himself an echo from antiquity. Brâncuși said to us that *Oul* [The Egg] was the most highly evolved of his forms, the beginning and end of all things. Grigore Nandriș, thinking again like a philologist, responded to this that "*oon*" is almost universally related to the verb "*to be, to exist*", whether in Sanskrit or in Indo-European languages.

Brâncuși went on to say that he had worked for forty years on the mystical bird of Romanian mythology, to whom Stravinsky quite properly pays homage to the miraculous *Firebird*, none other than the *Pasărea Maiastră*. One day in a New York art gallery, Brâncuși recounted that he came across a woman weeping and praying on her knees before his *Maiastră*. He said that this had been one of the most rewarding moments of his life, and that he passed quietly by so as not to disturb her.

Brâncuși was far from unsophisticated, but he did seem truly indifferent to some forms of publicity. He did not seem to know the names we mentioned of various Americans, let alone any British, who had written books about him. 1952 was the time of the great Festival of Britain Exhibition on the south bank in London, one of whose most striking symbols was the Skylon, a cigar-like shape suspended vertically in the air on tensioned steel wires. To a comment by Grigore Nandriș that this seemed to be derived from Brâncuși's *Bird in Flight*, he replied "Let them imitate; they will not succeed".

Like every great artist Brâncuși knew his antecedents and his place. He was not arrogant, but equally without false humility. He was like that most renowned of Japanese swordsmiths Masamune who, unusually for thirteenth century Japan, never signed his blades because he knew that no one could possibly mistake his work for that of anyone else. The unsurpassed blade of the Japanese Sword can be decoded as a functional sculpture, and an object of contemplation transcending utility. In that sense it was a perfect form derived from the very same Platonic heaven as Brâncuși's *Bird in Flight*. They stand comparison side by side.

Brâncuși was emphatic that it was in the *cătun* of Hobița that he spent his childhood. This is now a small village some twenty kilometres from Tismana, the oldest Oltenian monastic foundation. Seen in ethnoarchaeological perspective, *cătun* sites (Nandriș 1985) such as Hobița were one of the most ancient forms of settlement in the Balkans, provisional and effectively Mesolithic in composition, pre-Neolithic. During their seasonal movements the Aromâni and related Sarakatsani still inhabited

such ephemeral hut sites last century. The *cățun* comprised whole families and their animals; as opposed to the great stone-built houses in the high Pindus, or the monocultural *mandras* of the shepherds.



Fig 9. The porch of the restored home of Brâncuși in Hoboita. Photo Caroline Juler.

These sites form part of a hierarchy of specifically European seasonalities, ranging from the intermediary horticultural *sălaș*, to the all-male pastoral hut settlements and *stîne* of transhumant shepherds at high altitude. The form is more ephemeral than the Neolithic village, perhaps even more ancient, but no less important (Nandriș 1985). Brâncuși did return to Hoboita, in the company of Eileen Lane [whom he judiciously presented to the village as a relative]. She was an extraordinarily beautiful Irish girl who had forsaken Ireland for Romania following an unhappy love affair; exactly as did my own mother, with the indeterminable consequences of which I still happily exist. On the *lunca*, among the crystal pools and idyllic trees of the water-meadows, near the water mill which is still there, they walked together: “*Like all those couples who have ever loved each other and walked upon this earth*”.

From Hoboita in his youth he initially reached Craiova where he worked for a poor cooper [*dogar*], and where he often went hungry. At Craft School significantly

enough he made a violin, which like the Japanese Sword is a functional sculpture. His own violin is preserved in the reconstruction of his studio at the Pompidou Centre, focus of the Brâncuși scholarship of Doina Lemny [2009, 2012]. It must be remembered that he had a formal art training in representational sculpture, culminating in an *écorché* figure. He was enabled by the head of the school and its inspector to go to Bucharest. His father died before Brâncuși set out largely on foot across Europe from Romania in May 1904 aged twenty-eight, arriving via a train from Munich, Zurich, and Bâle, in Paris two months later, after hunger and great hardship.

The career of Brâncuși graphically illustrates the high degree of cultural integration of Romania within Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Romanian culture was in no way out of touch with the European experience, until the comradely theories of an Asiatic model of Socialism put a stop to human contacts, and to European culture. Romania did not need the Russian Empire [which was remarkable for the fact that the conquerors stood at a lower cultural level than the conquered] to introduce her to European culture. There are innumerable examples of the interconnections which serve to demonstrate that, like Brâncuși himself, Romanian culture was not merely receptive but engaged in a creative exchange within the European context, until it was stifled by Russian Imperialism. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was accepted practice for Romanian artists and scholars to travel and study in the great capitals and universities of Europe. Men such as Brâncuși, Mircea Eliade, Georghe Enescu, Tristan Țara, Eugen Ionescu, illustrate what it means to be one of Romania's *Great Men*. To them should be added another very great Romania sculptor who lived in London, Paul Neagu; with whom I shared a birthday and a friendship, as with the egregious creative genius Horea Bernea, Director of the Muzeul Țaranului. *Oameni Mari*.

These men did not merely assimilate but made affirmative contributions to European culture, just as did the cosmopolitan Aromâni from within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We may recall how promptly the Manaki brothers of Bitolj, travelled to Paris the moment the Lumière brothers invented cinematography. They may even have been present for the *Première* in Brussels in March 1896, at the *Café Meert* in the *Galerie St Hubert*. They hastened to bring the new technique back to their Balkan communities (Nandriș 2001), where they recorded the entry of the Sultan into Bitolj and many domestic scenes from Aromân life.

In the early 1920s Prof Grigore Nandriș, "*pui de țaran*"²⁹ from a Romanian peasant family, attended university in Vienna, along with Lucian Blaga, Al. Busuioceanu, and so many other well-dressed³⁰ young Romanians. He also took a

²⁹ A peasant child [a 'chick'].

³⁰ Who could fault the half centimetre of shirt cuff on display?

PhD at the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, and went on to the Sorbonne. His sister, my aunt Anița Nandriș, had no formal education beyond three terms at school [“*trei clase*”]³¹. She perfected her ‘education’ at the hands of the Russians ; deported with the family to the Arctic Ocean, at the mouth of the Ob, among the Nenets of northern Siberia, not far from the *gulag* of Vorkuta where more souls died than in Auschwitz. Her Homeric book, *20 de Ani în Siberia* (Nandriș A. 1998) a masterwork of clemency, wholly devoid of resentment, a proclamation of Christian European values, set in an asiatic Soviet wasteland.



Fig 10. Left to Right; Grigore Nandriș, Al. Busuioceanu, and other “*Young Romanian*”[‘*Romania June*’] Postgraduates at Vienna University in 1922³²

The art of Brâncuși came finally to transcend the external veneer of percepts, the outward beauty of human and natural forms, in its quest to express eternal concepts. An understanding of the beauty of the human form as a vehicle for more than percepts would have been familiar to the post-Byzantine painters of the monasteries of Athos and Bucovina. These were sophisticated painters, who knew

³¹ This was because she had to remain at home to tend her mother Maria, who had been beaten to paralysis by Russian soldiers wielding the knout.

³² The group included Lucian Blaga, who is not in the photo.

eg., that the shadows of the human face are greenish in tinge. The affinities of Brâncuși's art recall that of Romanian peasant craftsmen, powerfully abstracted and generalized, consistently devoid of an interest in literalism or figurative representation; and distanced by geometry from much other "folk art" with its pretty painted flowers – *cu flori*. This very concrete quality is equally true of the Neolithic or the Dacians. There is no need to appeal to African sculpture, even if this seems to have influenced some Parisian artists, driven by the meretricious lure of the exotic to seek out more expressive traditions.



Fig 11. The Inner Gaze; Portrait of Tamara Poniatowska, by John Nandriș.©

Brâncuși knew many important personages in Paris, including Max Ernst. As he says, “*La Paris, am fost prieten cu Matisse, cu Erik Satie, cu Modigliani și, în special, cu Guillaume Apollinaire ...*” (Pandrea, 2009). A few words which Max

Ernst himself has recorded on film are instructive. He was, he said, accustomed to close his eyes and look deep into himself. He would then open them and look at the external world; but during the creative process he advocated keeping one eye open and one closed. The Inner Gaze hints at the synthesis between inner and outer reality, conformable to what we now know of the left and right brain.³³

Brâncuși was not in any culturally disadvantaged position. His creative relationships embody solutions founded on innate reference to Platonic universals more clearly than they demonstrate direct external “influences”, even those of Romania. Eric Shanes [1989, Introduction & *passim*] gives a cogent and balanced refutation of spurious influences on his work.

The genius of Brâncuși lay not in abstraction but in a capacity for referencing solid Platonic forms, as Picasso in two-dimensions seized the after-image. Grasping the divine essence of things he produced a rich repertory of allusion to created facts. While his surfaces were perfect, he looked beneath the surface.

The fact that his mysterious bird may have one eye bigger or asymmetrical from the other is one of the hidden subtleties of Brâncuși's *Maiastră*. It is in fact difficult to see both eyes at the same time, but “*one eye of the Maiastră looks toward the sun, the other to the moon*”, recalling the dual vision of Max Ernst; and the Sun and Moon on left and right of the *stema Moldovei*³⁴.

To consider the implications for the development of humanity and for Brâncuși, let us look briefly at some prehistoric masters of abstraction. In the 1930's a small prehistoric figure of an embracing couple carved in calcite was found in Palestine (Boyd, Cook 1993; illustrated below). It is said to come from 'Ain Sakhri, a small cave in the Wadi Khareitoun in the Judean Desert, where Neuville claimed to have found Natufian artefacts. It may equally have been acquired by the Abbé Henri Breuil from a Bedouin in Bethlehem. It is assigned to the Natufian, an epi-Palaeolithic hunting culture of the Levant which dates from about 10,000 bc. A perhaps just credible alternative could be the "Pre-Pottery Neolithic A" of the eighth millennium bc. The figure is now in the British Museum [*Regn.No.*1958, 10-7,1]. The conceptual and formal resemblance between 'Ain Sakhri and the kissing couple which Brâncuși had created much earlier, in 1907, is quite striking, especially in the version of 1908 in the Cemetery of Montparnasse.

It appears that quite independently of one another, millennia apart and three decades before the discovery of the Natufian figures, Brâncuși felt the need to generalize the expression of a human relationship, groping towards a solution similar to that of the Natufian sculptor. The solution found by Brâncuși and by the Natufian

³³ Of which McGilchrist 2012 is the most brilliant and original recent summary.

³⁴ The fifteenth century coat of arms of Moldavia, with the head of an aurochs, and the Sun, Moon, and a Star. See endpiece.

carver for expressing the close erotic relationship between two figures is so similar that the literalist would surely hasten to imply a “connection” or “influence”. However Brâncuși had created his Kissing Couple a generation before the discovery of 'Ain Sakhri, and ultimately took the idea much further in several versions. There is indeed a nexus but it lies in the realm of human creativity. What is remarkable is how far his vision was shared by a remote anonymous Natufian living more than ten thousand years before.

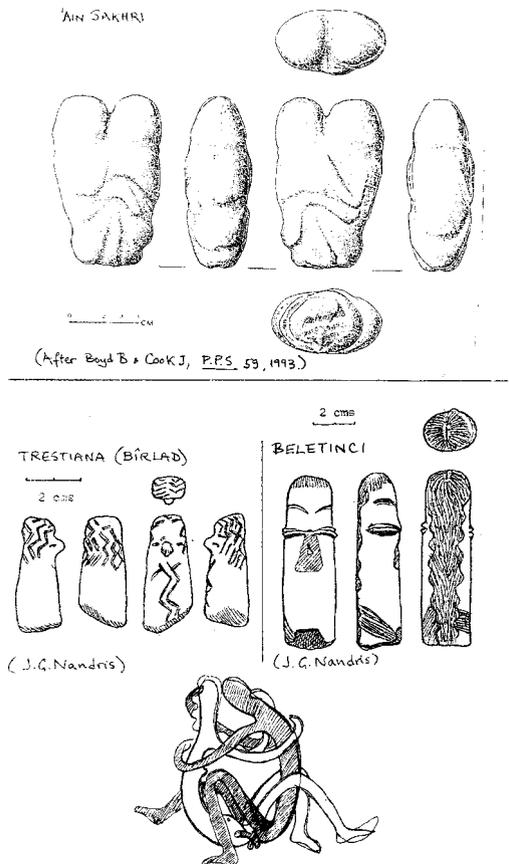


Fig 12. The Ain Sakhri position, with Rod Head figurines of the FTN Early Neolithic. JGN del. ©.

Lacking a secure archaeological context for 'Ain Sakhri we cannot say whether the figure falls into the same context of love and death as the grave of Tania

Raschevskaya. One thing is certain; like Brâncuși himself it deals not merely in percepts but in concepts. This is where Brâncuși swiftly parted company from Rodin, whose art he privately characterised as "*biftek*"³⁵. Considered in prehistoric perspective Brâncuși enables us to transcend the superficiality of "influences" and the vulgarity of the "progressive".

What we are really dealing with is the miracle of long-term developments in our common human consciousness. If indeed Prehistoric peoples had no Art, and simply made everything as well as they possibly could, the same might be said of Brâncuși, or in some instances of the Romanian peasant.

Brâncuși's embracing couples usually have long wavy and by definition fine hair which cascades down the back. The earliest Neolithic farming culture of temperate south-east Europe is the First Temperate Neolithic or FTN³⁶, which dates to the fifth millennium bc. In Romania this is represented by the Criș culture, with painted pottery of high quality and decorated figurines. From their "Rod Head" figurines we know that the Criș people had long wavy hair, falling down the back, and braided in a very specific way at the side of the neck. It was parted in the middle, and they wore a fringe. The eyes are represented by "coffee beans" of clay, slashed with a fingernail across the middle. Intriguingly they are often clearly represented as double eyes. The coffee bean not only recalls the *phi* motif of the Târgu Jiu Gate but was the original form of eye in many versions of Brâncuși's *Kiss*. The Rod Head figurines (Nandriș 1970, 192-213) of the FTN are often found broken off, perhaps symbolically destroyed.

When, as from Endrőd on the Tisza, a complete FTN figure exceptionally survives, it becomes an explicitly ambiguous symbolic expression of the male and female principles. The column of the neck becomes the phallus, and the buttocks metamorphose into testicles, or breasts. The braids which cross the neck of the figure even replicate the way the seminal vesicles cross the phallus near the base on their way from the testicles. The figurines' double eyes are indeed mysterious, but they hint at a synthesis between inner and outer reality, much like Max Ernst when he kept one eye open and one closed; or the asymmetrical eyes of the *Oiseau d'Or*.

It may be that these ideas were not consciously present to the figurine makers, but it is always dangerous to attribute ignorance to our ancestors. The ambiguities of human consciousness extend deep into the Palaeolithic. In the obscurity of a Neolithic hut the ambiguities of their figurines could easily be invoked; for example during initiation or coming-of-age ceremonies. The phallus too has a coffee bean eye at its tip, like a little mouth, or lips, a *phi*, or an eye; but only one eye. He is only interested in one reality.

³⁵ I am told that he actually referred to Michelangelo in this way, but it is truer of Rodin.

³⁶ This fully-formed temperate European Neolithic transcends modern national boundaries.

These ancient figures, with those of the 5th-4th millennia bc Cucuteni culture of Moldavia, or the Gumelnița and Vinča cultures, represent a body of concepts, now largely inaccessible to us, but in part perhaps functionally connected with *eg.*, initiation into adulthood. They were certainly not just a casual depiction of percepts. The figurine-makers and copper-smiths of Cucuteni in the later Neolithic were driven to create abstractions which can stand beside the work of Max Ernst or Brâncuși, or the Cycladic figurines, in whom they find common elements of generalization. This is no question of analogy or influence or relationship but of creative solutions to artistic problems. Artistic problems are demanding religious and philosophical problems. They speak alike over the long term to the common humanity of the creators of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, the First Temperate Neolithic, or Cucuteni, and through Brâncuși to ourselves.

We can see how the eyes of Brâncuși's figures, like those of the FTN, are originally represented as little coffee beans. They evolve ultimately into those great divided circles [the female *phi* motif] on the jambs of the Târgu Jiu Gate. This motif is so overpowering, so ambiguous, so expressive, so loaded with multiple significance, symbolic of femininity, that it draws our attention away from the little linear figures lightly incised as a frieze around the top of the Gate. These are the ultimate echoes of 'Ain Sakhri and the FTN, and of the embracing lovers in the Montparnasse cemetery, and the many versions of The Kiss.

The highly resolved schemata which make up the incised frieze on the lintel of the Gate of the Kiss, which Brâncuși installed in 1937 and 1938 at Târgu Jiu, are the ultimate resolution of that early embrace created in 1907 and dedicated a year or two later to Tania Raschevskaya. In their sparse coherence they may also be seen as the culmination of an anonymous Natufian hunter's vision twelve thousand years earlier. In the Kiss of eternity the couple are mutually engrossed in one another, eye pressed to eye, her wavy hair falls over her shoulders, their arms reach around one another. What seems at first to be merely a decorative arcading beneath the frieze of the Gate represents their eyes and folded legs pressing against each other. But our brains govern this behaviour, and in the entire universe these are the most complex things of which we know. The complex language of the body gently expressed in a kiss is the most powerful statement of our humanity.

A Kiss is not just a Kiss.

A resolution of dualities between Sun and Moon, the left and right brain, is captured by the ambiguous and richly emblematic split circle, redolent of femininity itself, which Brâncuși engraved on the Gate of the Kiss at Târgu Jiu. It emerges directly from the depths of rural consciousness on the portals of the Maramureș. The incised frieze above the gate took its origins in his stone carvings of the "Embracing Couple". It is a solution, even more forceful than that embodied in the embrace of

the Natufian sculptor, to the problem of expressing the conjunction of disparate, the resolution of the unity between man and woman. Brâncuși himself harnessed the sequential rationalities of the Left Brain to the richly holistic landscapes of the Right Brain; a reconciliation of deep thought and profound feeling.



Fig 13. Maquette of the Gate of the Kiss. Photo JGN ©.

It became evident in conversation, during our visit to Brâncuși in April 1952, how closely the sculptor had been involved with the great Eternal Column, the *stîlp* of Târgu Jiu, from the original theoretical calculations to its final erection. We should recognize what a considerable technical feat it was. The free-standing column is 29.33 metres high, or 96.23 feet. It supports its immense height independently, by means of deep foundations and an internal steel structure. It stood like Shakespeare's Man at Arms, gilded like the sun, and Brâncuși supervised the whole project. This mastery of construction evokes the builders of the wooden churches in the Maramureș, who working by eye like a mediaeval cathedral builder, raise their spires on an internal lattice of massive beams which directs the thrust not down to the ground but into diagonal struts, like the framework of massive timbers which supports the many tons of bells in the towers of *Notre Dame* in Paris. That Surdești reaches 54 metres [177 feet], and this is being surpassed by the new

monastery church at Bârsana. These Romanian craftsmen who still work from plans in their heads, or in other words embedded in their culture, are the living heirs of the master masons who built the European Gothic cathedrals.



Fig 14. The Union of Left and Right Brain, by John Nandriș. ©

The power of Romanian sculpture and the equivalent achievements of its architecture seem to derive from ancient talents of a spatial nature. There is an embedded capacity for concrete generalisation which is already present in the unremitting abstraction of Dacian Iron Age art, and the predilection of the Romanians for sculpture. Within the European frame of reference it is a very individuated talent, even under the slow recovery of Romanian culture from reactionary authoritarian socialism. It is expressed in the sculptures which loom in the spacious sculpture park of Sighet Museum, and in the creative mastery of wood and textiles which is embedded in traditional Romanian life.

Another of the concrete qualities of Romanian culture is its musicality, which produced the conductor, composer gentleman, and violinist Georges Enesco: "*The greatest all-round musician of the century*" (Menuhin 1976, 212). *Om mare.*



Fig 15. Maquettes from Hobița of the Column and the Table of Silence.©

It was no Romanian but Yehudi Menuhin who described the Romanians in his autobiography as “the most musical people in Europe”. Too many of the creative talents of the Romanians go un-noticed in Europe. Perhaps greater care should be taken over their presentation. The strongly philological Romanian sense of humour is sadly difficult to convey in translation.

The enduring originality of the Romanian peasantry and their³⁷ mindfulness of their own artistic traditions, is illustrated by some maquettes of the Column and the Table of Silence, turned in bronze and rendered in perfect proportion, by a peasant of Hobița, living on the *lunca*. These were made entirely for his own satisfaction, and like the gates of the Maramureș exemplify the innate creativity of the Romanian spirit ; which is something they have in common with so many of

the peoples of Europe.

Brâncuși seems to have made use of the Golden Section in establishing relationships between the segments of his column, and indeed in creating the whole remarkable vision of the sculptural landscape which was inaugurated at Târgu Jiu in 1938. We would all be greatly enriched if he had finished this, and if he had created his proposed Indian *Temple of Deliverance*. We must be grateful for what we have.

Brâncuși's *Column* is made of cast iron plates, which have been given a very refined and individual surface treatment. The column was originally brightly burnished, and Brâncuși intended it to shine eternally on its hilltoplike the *Maiastră*. In bequeathing us this timeless Column of Eternity Brâncuși supplied a more powerful symbol than he could have imagined; of what was done under communism to his country. An attempt in 1953 by the department of Gorj failed to demolish the great Eternal Column with a tractor, but left it damaged; as communism left Romanian society damaged. Both were in fact deceptively well-engineered and survived to undergo restoration. The *Great Stâlp of Târgu Jiu* can equally be envisioned as a

³⁷ For it is women who are the strongest transmitters of social values.

Column of Infinite Freedom, which could well still be re-integrated with the sculptural landscape of Târgu Jiu, as Brâncuși conceived it, on an axis running for kilometres down to the Gate of the Kiss, the Table of Silence and the banks of the river Jiu.

Like its creator the column exhibits the characteristics of greatness; it repays continual re-examination, inspires new interpretations, and leads us to new conclusions. The profound change from the aesthetic of Rodin, which was the aesthetic of a past century, led Brâncuși towards a new dimension in art, that of the coming century. This imposed on him its own severe technical requirements of direct carving, solitude and concentration, chiselling wood and marble and polishing bronze until the light he needed came out of them; just as in his Thracian homeland Orpheus had made the rocks and trees to sing. The advantage of the sculptor's way over that of Orpheus and Euridyce lay in the fact that Brâncuși was not moved to look back. After a long period of incomprehension, the stature of Constantin Brâncuși as the most original and influential of twentieth century sculptors no longer requires vindication.

© John Nandriș FSA., St Cross College, Oxford



Fig 16. *The Kiss* by Anne Hathaway;
Alexi Lubomirski for *Harpers Bazaar US*, November 2014.

SELECTED REFERENCES

- Apostolos-Cappadona, Altschuler 1994
Beevor, Cooper 2007
Brezianu 1974
Bogdan-Marteescu 1995
Boyd, Cook 1993
Chave 1994
Fischer 2016
Grigorescu 1980
Hulten, Dumitresco, Istrati 1995
Latiş 1993
Lemny 2009
Lemny 2012
Lemny 2012a
Lemny 2015
McGilchrist 2012
Menuhin 1976
Nandriş G. 1963
- D. Apostolos-Cappadona, B. Altschuler (eds.), *Isamu Noguchi; Essays and Conversations*, New York, 1994.
- A. Beevor, A. Cooper, *Paris after the Liberation 1944-1949*. Penguin Books, Penguin Books, 1994 revied 2007.
- B. Brezianu, *Brâncuși; Opere lui Constantin Brâncuși în România*, Editura Academiei, 1974.
- C. Bogdan-Mateescu, *Brâncuși's Târgu Jiu Monument*, Bucharest, 1995.
- B. Bojd, J. Cook, *A reconsideration of the 'Ain Sakhri figurine*. In *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 59, 1993, p. 399-405.
- A. C. Chave, *Constantin Brâncuși; shifting the basis of Art*, Yale U.P., 1994.
- Ş. Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch, The Complete Works*, Taschen GmbH, 2016.
- D. Grigorescu, *Brâncuși*, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti, 1980.
- P. Hulten, N. Dumitresco, A. Istrati, *Brâncuși*, Flammarion, 1995.
- Vasile Latiş, *Pastoritul în Munții Maramureşului; Spațiu și Timp*. Marco & Condor SRL. Maramureş, 1995.
- Doina Lemny, *Brancusi & Gaudier-Brzeska : points de convergence*, Fage, 2009.
- Doina Lemny, *Brancusi, au-delà de toutes les frontières*, Lyon, Fage, 2012.
- Doina Lemny, *Brancusi, Monographies'*, Paris, éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2012.
- Doina Lemny, *Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, un sculpteur "mort pour la France"*, Lyon, Fage, 2015.
- Iain McGilchrist, *The Master and his Emissary : The Divided Brain and the making of the Western World*. Yale University Press, 2012.
- Y. Menuhin, *Unfinished Journey*, London, 1976.
- G. Nandriş, *Intâlniri cu Brâncuși*. In *Ființa Româneasca* No.1, 1963, p. 9-20.

- Nandriș 1970 J. G. Nandriș, *The Development and Relationships of the Earlier Greek Neolithic. Man*. In *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1970, p. 192-213.
- Nandriș 1985 J. G. Nandriș, *The Stîna and the Cătun*. In *World Archaeology* Vol. 17, No. 2, 1985, p. 256-68.
- Nandriș A. 1998 Anița Nandriș, *Twenty years in Siberia*. English translation by Mabel Nandriș. București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998.
- Nandriș 2011 J. G. Nandriș, *The Social Being of the Aromâni; the Vlachs of the Balkans and their predilection for the Book*. In *Memoriam for Costas Tahikas of Samarina*, Bibliothèque Métropolitaine Bucarest. Travaux de Symposium International, Le Livre : La Roumanie - L'Europe. Tome IV La quatrième section – Latinité Orientale. Éditeur Bibliothèque de Bucarest, 2011.
- Nandriș 2015 J. G. Nandriș, *The Social Being of the Aromâni or Balkan Vlachs*. In *Țara Gugulanilor; Studii de etnoarheologie, etnografie și etnoistorie*, vol 1, Acta Musei Caransebesiensis, Editura Mega, Cluj Napoca, 2015.
- Nandriș-Cudla 1991-2013 Anița Nandriș-Cudla, *20 ans en Sibérie, Souvenirs d'une vie*. L'Harmattan, Paris, 2011.
- Nandriș-Cudla 2013 Anița Nandriș-Cudla, *20 de ani în Siberia. Amintiri din viață* (ed. a V-a), București: Editura Humanitas, 2013.
- Pandrea 2009 P. Pandrea, *Brâncuși; Amintiri si exegeze*, Editura Vremea, Colecția: Fapte, Idei, Documente, 2009, <http://www.edituravremea.ro/brancusi.-amintiri-si-exegeze>.
- Shanes 1988 Shanes E, *Constantin Brâncuși*, Abbeville Press, 1988.



Stema Moldovei. The arms of Ștefan cel Mare [*Om Mare*] Prince of Moldavia [1457 – 1504] ; with the Aurochs, Sun, Moon and Star, and the symbolic designation IGĐ. {JGN del.} ©