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**BURIAL CUSTOMS AND THE QUESTION OF 10TH CENTURY POPULATIONS
IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN**

ABSTRACT

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Burial customs are considered the most important feature in the definition of the cultural horizon of the 10th century. The first important feature of the burial customs in Transylvanian Basin during the is that during this period only inhumation burials are known from the studied region. The cremation rite, known from preceding centuries, probably had disappeared during the 9th century or, at least, it cannot be detected due to the poor furnishing of these graves.

In Northern Transylvania (the region around Cluj) classic horse-and-weapon burials are documented for the first two thirds of the 10th century, in Southern Transylvania, they appeared later. The cemeteries near Cluj show that Hungarians had already conquered Northern Transylvania during early 10th century and had set up a military centre there.

Thus, the question of whether the Hungarians had extended their sway over Southern Transylvania immediately after 896 cannot be answered by examining the archaeological finds. The large and middle-sized cemeteries excavated in the Middle Mureş region were in use only starting from the second third or the middle of the 9th century, but according to burial customs discussed above, were used by different groups of population. The Brânduşei street cemetery was probably used by people other than the Hungarians. The question to ask is: who were they?

If we examine the geographical range of biritual cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin we find that a great number occurs east of the river Mureş and that they are also present in the valley of the Little Someş and in the middle Mureş region around Alba Iulia. It is important to note that in the middle Mureş region cemeteries from the late Avar or Bulgarian era are also known. So, basing on the abundant finds discussed above, these customs, so different from those of the Hungarian Conquest, were practiced by a population which may be regarded as direct descendants of the population of these cemeteries. The cemeteries in Alba Iulia Brânduşei street and Stația de Salvare must have belonged to a people who had been conquered and were living in the area of Alba Iulia, where Hungarian elements also appear.

Key words: Transylvanian Basin; Early Middle Ages; 10th century; Hungarian conquerors; burial customs; cemeteries with weapon-horse burials; cemeteries with differently oriented graves

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The research on the age of the Hungarian conquest has concentrated mainly on the excavations of cemeteries. This is generally in the Carpathian Basin, but even more particularly in the Transylvanian Basin¹. The research on 10th century burial customs in the Transylvanian Basin has had a short history, with the only study addressed on burial customs published just a few years ago (Gáll 2004–2005, 335–454.). We propose to report on the current status of this research, noting that owing to the chronological features of individual cemeteries our focus is on two centuries (the 10th and 11th centuries; *cf.* Fig. 1).

CURRENT STATUS OF RESEARCH

In the Transylvanian Basin the first excavation of a site dated to the 10th century was carried out in 1895 at Gâmbaş. A considerable quantity of finds found their way to a number of museums and collections thanks to the activity of Béla Pósta's archeological school in Cluj², by 1920, finds from 24 excavated sites had passed to museums in Cluj, Aiud, Alba-Iulia, and Budapest (*cf.* Fig. 2). The entire set is made up of seven cemetery sites, 19 single finds and two hoards. We need to note here that no complete cemetery was excavated, so one can only talk about parts of cemeteries. In the seven cemetery sites 142 graves have been excavated, out of which 115 are dated from the 11th century and they are of high importance in the history of science: the graves of the populations of the county centres in the early Árpád period were first documented in the Transylvanian Basin in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, and the finds from the Cluj-Zápolya street cemetery made it clear that the Hungarian groups had moved into the Transylvanian Basin at the time of the Hungarian conquest.

¹ Geographically, the Transylvanian Basin is completely separated from the Carpathian Basin. The Transylvanian Basin ranges between the South-East Carpathians and the Transylvanian Carpathians. It extends from the Bukovina Alps, from the Alps of Maramureş, from the valley of the Upper Tisza and from the river-head of river Suceava to the valley of the Danube at the Iron Gate. It spreads in a semicircular arch. In the western region of this vast geographical unit rises the Transylvanian Mountain Range (its Romanian name is Western Alps), and to the south the mountains of Banat are to be found. The region is open to the west at two locations: through a narrow passage along the river Mureş and a wider passage along the river Someş. Moreover the Carpathian range is dissected by saddles and gorges in the north-east and in the south (e.g.: Radna and Bârgău saddle, Tulgheş, Bicaz, Ghimeş, Bodza gorges, Tatar saddle, Predeal gorge, Bran saddle, Turnu Roşu gorge). The Eastern Carpathians decrease in width towards the south: in the north it is 170 km, at Deda it is 100 km, at Târgu Secuiesc it is 90 km. Areas at the altitude of 500–1000 m are dominated by beech woods, at higher altitude, by pine woods, in the lower hills, mainly by oak-woods. Tracts of wooded steppe are found only in a small area on the Transylvanian Plain (in Hungarian: *Mezőség*; north of Cluj) — and this is important when examining the 10th century. The basin is rich in rivers, its soil is rich in precious metal and salt.

² On the role of Béla Pósta's school, see Langó 2007, 99–104.

Due to the political changes which followed World War I we have information only on a single grave identified between 1920 and 1940 at 28 Heltai Street in Cluj, which contained a lockring with an S-shaped terminal.

From the period 1940–1946 despite the world war regular and rescue excavations identified two new sites with four graves as well as three single finds. With the advent of planned economy and state-controlled industrialization major excavations were carried out which, unfortunately, were affected by political circumstances. Although the research policy in Romania neglected investigating the period of the Great Migrations and the early Middle Ages (in an era marked by the name of Vasile Pârvan, focus was on Roman and Dacian research) the situation took a radical turn after 1945 and, even more so, after 1957: there was an upturn in the research on the archeological evidence on Romanian presence during the Migration Period. The basic concept was that it was not enough to document the Roman and Dacian settlement on the territory of Romania, there was need to discovered a link with the 4th century population and the population of the medieval Romanian voivdoships³. Therefore, it is understandable that major excavations took place, as opposed to the period between 1920 and 1940: 21 new sites can be added to our database altogether, out of which 9 are cemeteries, 4 are hoards and 8 are stray finds, and no complete cemetery was excavated in this period either. In the nine fragments of cemeteries 1456 graves were excavated, 50 of which can be dated to the 10th century, 199 to the 11th century; 1207 unpublished graves cannot be dated, therefore they have been labelled as dating from the 10th or 11th centuries.

The first years following the political transition of 1989 were not favourable for research, let alone for the study of the 10th and 11th centuries. In the period which came in the wake of the nationalist-communist regime which was marked by the name of Ion Iliescu the number of archeological excavations declined during the first half of the 1990s, their number only increased again towards the end of the decade due to better economic conditions and larger investment, when some rescue excavations were carried out. The excavations of seven fragments of cemetery sites can be recorded in the region of Alba Iulia but it is worth noting that in one of these cases it was the first time that in the Transylvanian Basin a whole cemetery was excavated (Orăștie-X2). A considerable number of graves was identified of which 308 are dated to the 10th century, 20 to the 10th or 11th centuries, and 141 graves to the 11th century (*cf.* Fig. 2–3).

All things considered, 2068 graves have been documented since 1892, most of them (1456 graves) from the four decades of the nationalist-communist regime.

In the following part of the article, the quantity and the quality of the publications will be examined, where it is impossible to find such favourable statistics.

³ On this problem extensively, with literature references, see Gáll 2007b. Voivodships were state-like entities on the territory of present day Romania in the regions east and south of Transylvania.

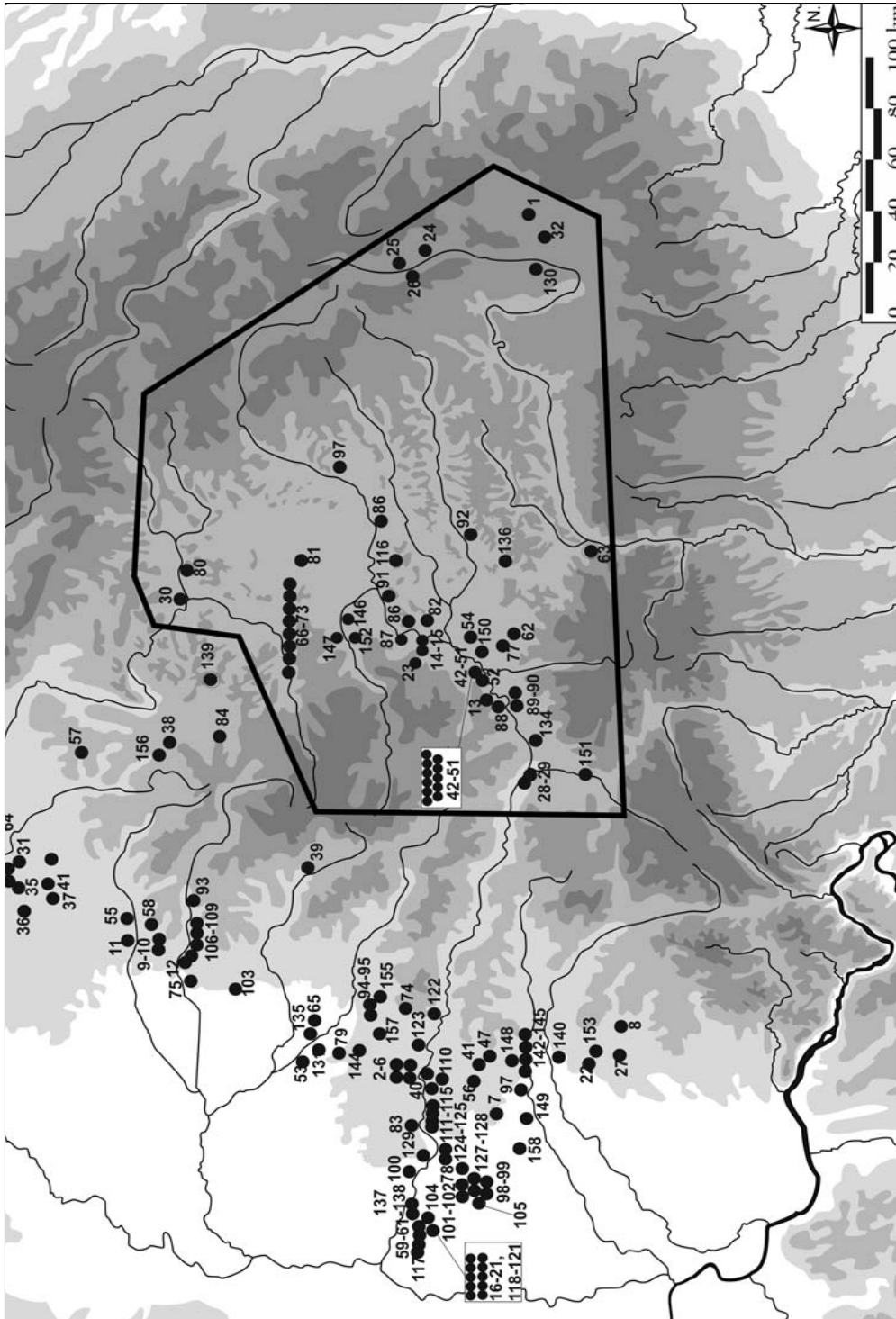


Fig. 1. Transylvanian Basin, Partium and Banat 10–11th century: cemeteries, single graves, stray finds and treasures; drawn by E. Gáll. a — Transylvanian Basin geographically boundaries.

1. Cernatu de Jos (Alsócernáton)-Bokor András's garden, județul Covasna; 2. Arad (Arad)-Ceala, județul Arad; 3. Arad (Arad)-Gai, județul Arad; 4. Arad (Arad)-Aradu Nou, județul Arad; 5. Arad (Arad)-stray find, județul Arad; 6. Museum of Arad-stray find, județul Arad; 7. Banat-stray find, județul Timiș; 8. Berecuța (Berekutca), județul Timiș; 9. Biharea (Bihar)-Somlyóhegy, județul Bihor; 10. Bihar-Cetate, județul Bihor; 11. Fileghihaz (Biharfélegyháza), județul Bihor; 12. Sântandrei (Biharszentandrás), județul Bihor; 13. Vurpăr (Borberek), județul Alba; 14. Benic (Borosbenedek), județul Alba; 15. Benic (Borosbenedek), județul Alba; 16. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound II, județul Timiș; 17. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound III, județul Timiș; 18. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound IV, județul Timiș; 19. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound V, județul Timiș; 20. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound VIII, județul Timiș; 21. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound IX, județul Timiș; 22. Ciacova (Csák), județul Timiș; 23. Cetea (Csáklya), județul Alba; 24. Ciucsângeorgiu (Csíkszentgyörgy), județul Harghita; 25. Frumușeni (Csíkszépvíz), județul Harghita; 26. Miercurea Ciuc-Jigodin (Csíkszögöd), județul Harghita; 27. Deta (Detta), județul Timiș; 28. Deva (Diemrich/Schlossberg/Déva)-Mikro 15, județul Hunedoara; 29. Déva- south-east part of the town, județul Hunedoara; 30. Dej (Dézs)-stray find, județul Cluj; 31. Dindeleag (Érdengeleg), județul Satu Mare; 32. Eresteghin (Eresztevény), județul Covasna; 33. Curtuiușeni (Érkörtvélyes), județul Satu Mare; 34. Curtuiușeni (Érkörtvélyes), județul Satu Mare; 35. Valea lui Mihai (Érmihályfalva), județul Bihor; 36. Simiam (Érsenjén), județul Satu Mare; 37. Tarcea (Értarcsa)-Siralomhegy, județul Bihor; 38. Stâna (Felsőnyárló), județul Sălaj; 39. Poenii de Sus (Felső-Poény), județul Bihor; 40. Felnac (Fönlak), județul Arad; 41. Galoșpetreu (Gálospetri)-Malomoldal, județul Bihor; 42. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Brândușei street, județul Alba; 43. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Izvorul Împăratului, județul Alba; 44. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Stația de Salvare, județul Alba; 45. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Orange station, județul Alba; 46. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-south-east part of the castle (graves I–III), județul Alba; 47. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Vânătorilor street, județul Alba; 48. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Apor castle, județul Alba; 49. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-stray find, județul Alba; 50. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-arroundings of the town-stray find, județul Alba; 51. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Triesti András's collection, județul Alba; 52. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehehérvár/Karlsburg)-Pâclișa (Poklisa), județul Alba; 53. Vârșand (Gyulavarsánd)-Laposhalom, județul Arad; 54. Heria (Hari)-stray find, județul Alba; 55. Sântimreu (Hegyközszentimre)-stray find, județul Bihor; 56. Hodoni (Hodony)-Pocioroane, județul Timiș; 57. Irineu (Irinny)-stray find, județul Sălaj; 58. Ianca (Jankafalva)-a vineyard, județul Bihor; 59. Cheglevici (Keglevichháza)-Fuchs's collection, județul Timiș; 60. Cheglevici (Keglevichháza)-stray find, județul Timiș; 61. Cheglevici (Keglevichháza)-stray find, județul Timiș; 62. Călnic (Kelling/Kellnek)-near the Răcătău road, județul Sibiu; 63. Țara Craiului (Királyföld/Königsboden)-stray finds, județul Sibiu; 64. Moftinu Mic (Kismajtény)-Messzelátó domb, județul Satu Mare; 65. Chișineu-Criș (Kisjenő)-Dohăngie, județul Arad; 66. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Farkas street nr. 23, județul Cluj; 67. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Fluturilor street, județul Cluj; 68. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Heltai street, județul Cluj; 69. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Kalevala street nr. 4 site I, județul Cluj; 70. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Kalevala street site II, județul Cluj; 71. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Szántó street, județul Cluj; 72. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Zápolya street No. 76 and 78, județul Cluj; 73. Cluj-Napoca — Mănăstur (Kolozsmonostor)-Rákóczi György's statue-stray find, județul Cluj; 74. Covasânt (Kovászinc)-stray find, județul Arad; 75. Tărian (Köröstarján)-Csordásdomb, județul Bihor; 76. Curtici (Kürtös)-arroundings of the town-stray find, județul Arad; 77. Lancrăm (Lámkerék/Langendorf), județul Alba; 78. Lovrin (Lovrin)-stray find, județul Timiș; 79. Macea (Mácsé)-stray find, județul Arad; 80. Cireșoaia (Magyardécs)-stray find, județul Cluj; 81. Frata (Magyarfráta)-La Fântânița, județul Cluj; 82. Lopadea Ungurească (Magyarlapád)-Gorgány, județul Alba; 83. Pecica (Magyarpécska)-Nagysánc, județul Arad; 84. Brăișoru (Malomszeg)-stray find, județul Sălaj; 85. Sighetul Marmăției (Maramureshszigeth/Máramarossziget), județul Maramureș; 86. Cipău (Maroscsapó)-stray find, județul Mureș; 87. Gâmbaș (Marosgombás)-Măgura, județul Alba; 88. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach)-Cemetery „B”, județul Alba; 89. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach) site „C” — single grave, județul Alba; 90. Blandiana

(Maroskarna/Stumpach)-stray finds, județul Alba; 91. Noșlac (Marosnagy lak)-Pompa de apă, județul Alba; 92. Mediaș (Medgyes/Mediasch)-stray finds, județul Sibiu; 93. Tileagd (Mezőtelegd)-stray find, județul Bihor; 94. Mâsca (Muszka)-site I, județul Arad; 95. Mâsca (Muszka)-site II, județul Arad; 96. Aiud (Nagyenyed/Straßburg am Mieresch)-stray find, județul Alba; 97. Ernei (Nagyernye)-stray find, județul Mureș; 98. Comloșu Mare (Nagykomlós/Grosskomlosch)-Község Északi Oldala, județul Timiș; 99. Comloșu Mare (Nagykomlós/Grosskomlosch)-stray find, județul Timiș; 100. Nădlac (Nagylak)-Cemetery, județul Arad; 101. Tomnatic (Nagyósz/Triebswetter)-Klein Hügel, județul Timiș; 102. Tomnatic (Nagyósz/Triebswetter)-Nagyósz south part of the village, județul Timiș; 103. Salonta (Nagyszalonta/Großsalontha)-Halom Domb, județul Bihor; 104. Sânnicolau Mare (Nagyszentmiklós/Großsanktnikolaus)-arroundings of the town, județul Timiș; 105. Teremia Mare (Nagyteremia/Marienfeld), județul Timiș; 106. Oradea (Nagyvárad/Grosswardein)-Szálka terasz, județul Bihor; 107. Oradea (Nagyvárad/Grosswardein)-Franz Joseph's barrack, județul Bihor; 108. Oradea (Nagyvárad/Grosswardein)-Nagy Lajos's brickyard, județul Bihor; 109. Oradea (Nagyvárad/Grosswardein)-stray find, județul Bihor; 110. Șagu-Cruceni (Németség)-motorway line, județul Arad; 111. Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-G.A.S., județul Arad; 112. Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-Hamerák donation, județul Arad; 113. Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-Bovine boil, județul Arad; 114. Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-Roman Fortification, județul Arad; 115. Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-stray find, județul Arad; 116. Poiana Aiudului (Nyírmező)-stray find, județul Alba; 117. Beba Veche (Óbéb)-stray find, județul Timiș; 118. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-mound I, județul Timiș; 119. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-mound V, județul Timiș; 120. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-mound VI, județul Timiș; 121. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-Dragomir's mound, județul Timiș; 122. Păuliș (Ópálos/Alt-Paulisch)-stray find, județul Arad; 123. Vladimirescu (Öthalom)-Die Schanzen, județul Arad; 124. Periam (Perjámos/Perjamosch)-Régi Pósta street, județul Arad; 125. Periam (Perjámos/Perjamosch)-Sánchalom, județul Arad; 126. Chereștur (Pusztakeresztúr)-stray find, județul Timiș; 127. Vizejdia (Vizézs/Wiseschdia)-III. 2. dűlő, județul Timiș; 128. Vizejdia (Vizézs/Wiseschdia)-mound X, județul Timiș; 129. Șeitin (Sajtény)-south-east part of the village, județul Arad; 130. Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sankt Georgen)-Epreștető, județul Covasna; 131. Șiclău (Sikló)-Gropoiaie, județul Arad; 132. Săcălaz (Szakálháza)-stray find, județul Timiș; 133. Sălacea (Szalacs)-Vida's mound, județul Bihor; 134. Orăștie (Szászváros/Broos)-Dealul Pemilor X2, județul Hunedoara; 135. Socodor (Székudvar), județul Arad; 136. Slimnic (Szelindek/Stolzenburg), județul Sibiu; 137. Cenadul Sârbesc (Szerbcsanád)-Görög keleti szerb hitközség földje, județul Timiș; 138. Cenadul Sârbesc (Szerbcsanád)-Pojána III. dűlő, județul Timiș; 139. Szolnok-Doboka county-1907-stray finds, actually județul Cluj; 140. Pădureni (Temesliget)-Templomdomb, județul Timiș; 141. Murani (Temesmurány)-motorway line-stray find, județul Timiș; 142. Timișoara (Temesvár/Temeschwar)-Béga partja-stray find, județul Timiș; 143. Timișoara (Temesvár/Temeschwar)-Csóka erdő, județul Timiș; 144. Timișoara (Temesvár/Temeschwar)-Dumbarton collection, județul Timiș; 145. Temesvár-Cemetery of the Heroes-stray find, județul Timiș; 146. Turda (Torda)-salt lakes, județul Cluj; 147. Cheile Turzii (Tordai hasadék)-stray find, județul Cluj; 148. Dumbrăvița (Újszentes)-Eltérő, județul Timiș; 149. Uivar (Újvár)-Gomila, județul Timiș; 150. Oiejdea (Vajasd)-stray find, județul Alba; 151. Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad/Eisenmarkt)-Kincseshegy, județul Hunedoara; 152. Várfalva-Jósika Gábor's garden, județul Cluj; 153. Voiteg (Vejte)-south-west part of the village, județul Timiș; 154. Vetiș (Vetés)-stray find, județul Satu Mare; 155. Șiria (Világos/Wilagoch), județul Arad; 156. Zalău (Zilah/Zillenmarkt)-Pálvár, județul Sălaj; 157. Zimandinu Nou (Zimándújfalu) Földvárpuszta, județul Arad; 158. Jimbolia (Zsombolya)-stray find, județul Timiș.

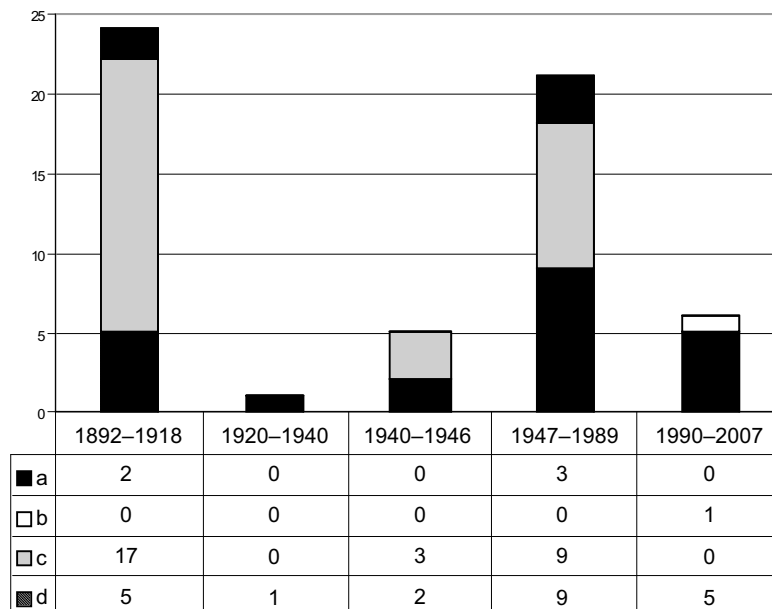


Fig. 2. Transylvanian Basin. Excavated sites and the quantity of finds between 1892 and 2007. a — treasure; b — cemeteries; c — stray finds; d — parts of the cemeteries

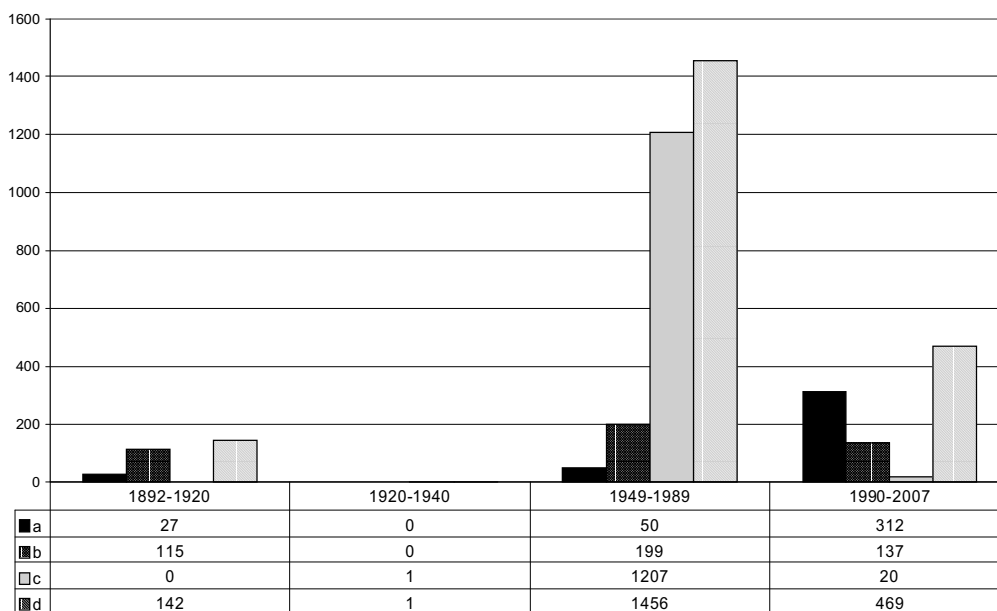


Fig. 3. Transylvanian Basin. The quantity of graves in cemeteries excavated in different periods, broken down into centuries. a — 10th century; b — 11th century; c — 10-11th centuries; d — in all

In the Transylvanian Basin the quantity of the published finds, and within these the present stage of the publication of single graves which form the basic unit of the cemeteries, is scanty and very poor. The exact number of the graves that were excavated in the four periods is 2068, but only 17.21% of them were published, mostly at the beginning of the 20th century (127 graves) using techniques acceptable at the scientific level of that era, but today considered outdated.

Apart from the 127 graves published in the period between 1892 and 1920, graves 5–9, which were discovered at Gâmbaş in 1905, remained unpublished along with the seven graves discovered in Zlatna street in Alba Iulia. Unfortunately, even the documentation of these graves was lost until now, and apart from a few objects found in them, nothing is known about them.

The finds and the documentation of the only grave that was discovered between 1920 and 1940 have been found recently⁴. Each of the four graves discovered between 1940 and 1946 was published but their level of publication differed greatly⁵.

Between 1946 and 1990 about 18 of the 1456 graves discovered in that period were published (i.e., 1.23%)⁶. The truth is that 1200 graves belong to a single cemetery at Alba Iulia Stația de Salvare, but the above mentioned percentage is still telling.

After 1990 considerable changes can be observed: out of the 469 newly discovered graves 250 have been published⁷, this means 53.11% of the total number of the graves discovered, which is a major progress as compared to the preceding period (*cf.* Fig. 4).

Anthropological research is much less advanced. Based on the above mentioned units, anthropological research has been divided into five periods.

Archaeologists of the Cluj school led by Béla Pósta, were mainly interested in archeology, there was no close relationship between the Joseph Ferencz University from Cluj and the Budapest Institute of Anthropology, which was established in 1881. As a result the graves of the well documented and published cemeteries were not examined anthropologically.

Béla Pósta's school ceased to exist in the turmoil following the Trianon Peace Treaty but there was no upturn in the research of the 10–11th centuries and this situation is still characteristic of the research of that historical era.

Between 1947 and 1990 out of the 1456 discovered graves, 18 were published with archeological documentation, but there were far more anthropological

⁴ Cluj-Heltai street No. 28 (*cf.* Gáll 2008, vol. II, 72).

⁵ Cluj-Zâpolya street graves No. 9–11; Sfântu Gheorghe-Epreștető.

⁶ Deva-Micro 15: 1 grave; the southeast side of Alba Iulia castle: 1 grave; Cluj-Kalevala street: 1 grave; Blandiana "B" necropolis: 15 graves.

⁷ Alba Iulia Brândușei street: 229 graves; Alba Iulia Pâclișa: 8 graves; Orăștie X2: 11 graves; southeast side of Alba-Iulia castle: 2 graves.

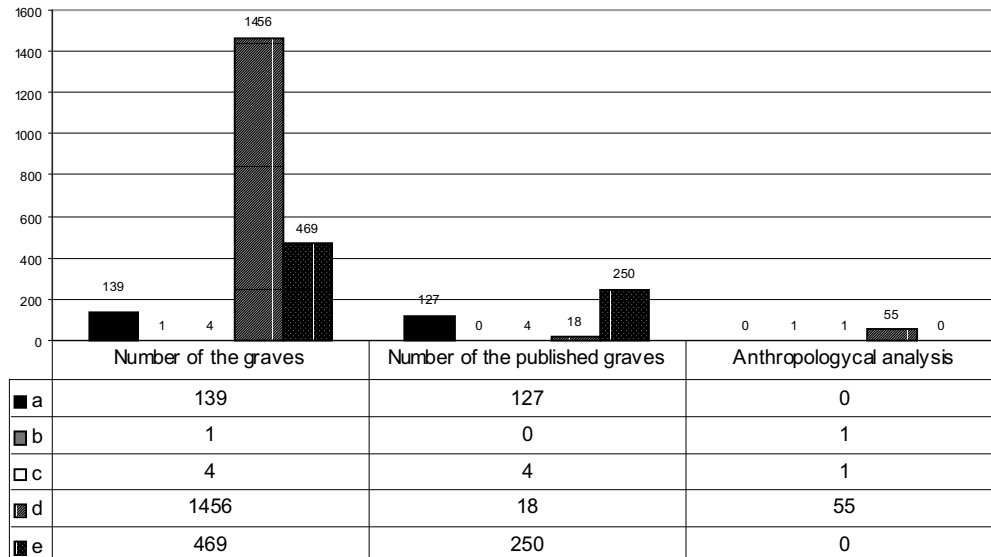


Fig. 4. Transylvanian Basin. Statistics for the quantity of graves, published graves and the anthropological analyses. a — 1892–1920; b — 1920–1940; c — 1940–1946; d — 1947–1989; e — 1990–2007.

analyses: 53 graves were analysed. It is also worth mentioning that 51 of the 55 anthropological analyses were made after 1990⁸.

The situation did not change after 1990, only the anthropological analyses of previous excavations were made (in the case of 51 graves, to be more accurate) there has been no breakthrough concerning the new excavations: neither the published nor the unpublished anthropological materials have been analysed⁹.

Although the level of the anthropological research is quite low in the Transylvanian Basin (only 2.76% of 1987 discovered and documented graves!!), perhaps the new generation will manage to conduct anthropological research according to European standards. The anthropological research lags behind at least two generations as compared to the one in Hungary, for reasons which are rather complicated (*cf.* Fig. 5).

Similarly to the problems of anthropology, the animal bones found in the graves did not raise much interest either. It is known that the bones from the horse burial in Zápolya street were put on stock in the museum. A hundred years passed by until the first professional zoological analysis was conducted by Mátyás Vremir, who analysed the horse bones from grave number 10, and the

⁸ In an absurd situation the anthropological analysis of a part of a cemetery was published, whereas the archaeological material was not.

⁹ Out of the anthropological material analysed so far, one grave was identified in 1913 (Hunedoara, grave 11) one in 1942 (Cluj-Zápolya street, grave 10), four graves in 1962 (Blândiana "B" graves 1, 4, 5 and 11), 23 graves were found in 1979–80 (Alba Iulia-Vânătorilor street), 26 in 1985–86 (Cluj-Plugarilor street).

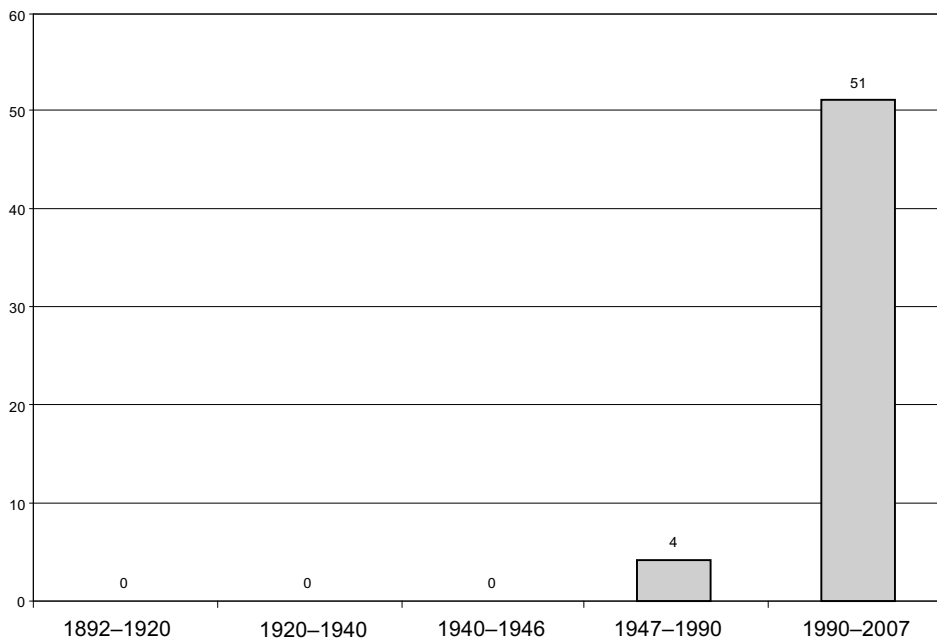


Fig. 5. Transylvanian Basin. Chronological statistics for the anthropological analyses

only sheep femur bone — which was put alongside as food supplement (Gáll et al. 2010, 135–154). The animal bones from graves number 3 and 4 were identified as pig and poultry (Kovács 1942, 91–92.). Besides these, no other accounts of similar analyses are available from the Transylvanian Basin.

The need for more complex interdisciplinary research has not been expressed by the Romanian archaeologists dealing with the early Middle Ages or, if it has (we refer to the interdisciplinary research of the 7–12th centuries in the Little Someş region, which was to be conducted by Ioan Stanciu), then it has had no concrete results.

ON BURIAL CUSTOMS IN GENERAL

The burial customs are considered to be the most important features in the definition of the cultural horizon of the 10th century. The burial customs mainly reflect the emotional reactions of the family members, relatives and the community when someone passes away, and the most important condition that played a role in the quality and the quantity of the grave furnishings was the wealth of the individual, the family or the community, certainly in most cases it was closely related to the social status of the deceased (Härke 2000; Parker Pearson 2001). This is manifested clearly by the quality and quantity of the ritual offerings, weapons, clothes and jewellery placed in the

grave. We have to bear in mind that the quantity of the objects and sacrifices largely depends on the political or economic situation in a region, the significance of the roads crossing it, or whether it is in a central or peripheral situation, and to all these the occasional foreign presents or imports should be added, which are palpable in some cases and might indicate the political significance of a person or a family.

The archeologically excavated grave contains the remains of a deceased person or people, but the furnishings discovered in the grave may be the representations of the prestige of the deceased person by the mourners and they can emphasize the importance of the family (too). It is quite understandable that the mourning community or family wished the deceased person to appear in shining glory when they escorted him/her on their last journey. So the grave goods deposited with the buried individual were to indicate the economic potential, welfare, prestige, influence and power of the mourners and their legitimacy (Parker Pearson 2001, 196) and consequently, the social position or rank of the deceased person. Therefore it might be risky to see them as the concrete reflections of the mobile, frequently changing or stagnating social positions of individuals from different social groups, but it is undeniable that there must have been a close relationship between them, although, at least in theory, it might not have prevailed into modern times.

At the same time we need to pay attention to another threat, namely, that in the early Middle Ages graves without furnishings may not reflect a true picture of a whole civilization, they may represent a dynamically changing view on the afterworld in a society. For instance, the Christian egalitarian conception of the afterlife, which led to unfurnished graves, did not mean that the Christian societies were poorer than their predecessors (Rush 1941).

The first important feature of the burial customs in the 10th century Transylvanian Basin is that from this time only inhumation burials are known from the studied region¹⁰. The cremation rite known in previous centuries probably disappeared in the 9th century, or at least it cannot be detected due to the poor furnishing of these graves.

POPULATIONS IN 10TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA

The population of the Carpathian Basin and the Transylvanian Basin of the 10th century must have been quite mixed in terms of origin and language. The relationship of the term *ethnos*, which found its way into the focus point of the research in the 20th century (Curta 2004, 5), with archaeology poses an

¹⁰ Certainly this is doubtful, as the time limits of the cremation burials in the Transylvanian Basin are not known because the scarcity of their finds prevents us from dating them exactly. In other regions of Central-East Europe burials of this kind can be documented until the beginning of the 11th century (Jażdżewski 1951, 91–191; Miśkiewicz 1969, 241–302).

impossible problem to the researchers because the names of peoples which appear in the written sources, which may correspond to different political-military structures, are almost impossible to connect to any archaeological culture and in many cases this is quite precarious. The question arises: in which graves can we find the people who appear as Hungarians in the 10th century sources, and which graves are interments of a different peoples?¹¹ Where do we draw the line between the two, and where do we draw the line in case of a cemetery that was used by people of different origins? Can these populations be told apart? Can we track down the enculturation and/or assimilation of a population, and did it mean assimilation when some elements of the material culture were adapted? What powers may have generated this process/these processes in the early Middle Ages? These are quite precarious questions and if one tends to see them from the point of view of the 18–20th centuries, when these processes were generated on purpose by the nation states through public education, which did not exist in the early Middle Ages, then some phenomena may be misunderstood or misinterpreted.

In some cases the written sources record rather rapid enculturation and/or assimilation processes¹², but in these cases a question may arise along with a doubt.

Question: to what extent is this information true historically?

Doubt: How and to what extent can the information be connected to the archaeological sources?

We have to draw a conclusion that we have reached the limits of archaeology and the only possibility may be that we should draw interdisciplinary research into this research.

The situation is the same in case of the Transylvanian Basin. The question may arise how the finds can be interpreted. Knowing the finds from the Carpathian Basin and how they compare with the former, we can assert that

¹¹ The archaeology inheritance of the «conquering Hungarians» should not be regarded as ethnospecific but as a regional culture which was characteristic of the Carpathian Basin in the 10th century. In this aspect it is worth quoting the 1996 catalogue: „The ethnic makeup and the lifeway of the ancient Hungarians of the Conquest period were extremely heterogeneous and this diversity is reflected in the archaeological record.” (Révész 1996a, 37). The archaeological finds that have been left for us from the 10th century Carpathian Basin, mainly finds from cemeteries, are not the relics of a community with a uniform identity, and definitely, not the relics of an ethnic group. The very subjective narrative sources themselves speak of a population in the 10th century that spoke at least two languages, but there are several sources which report the rapid assimilation of the Slavonic population (Bálint 2006, 277–347; Brather 2004; Révész 1996a; Langó 2007, 13).

¹² From the name of «*Bugat Rex*» Bugát (Bogat) mentioned by Liutprand we might think (bogat= rich) that Slavonic units led by Slavonic chiefs also took part in the western military expeditions. This word has been retained in the Romanian language in this form, which was under the strong influence of Slavonic languages in the Middle Ages. We can find similar information in the letter of Theotmar, a Salzburg abbot and in the Chronicles of Regino, the abbot of Prüm (Langó 2007, 13, footnote 13).

in the 10th century the burial customs and material culture which appeared are connected to the Hungarians of the era of the Hungarian Conquest¹³. We have to mention again what we have already emphasized, that the archaeological culture of the time of the Hungarian Conquest is not an *ethnic culture*, but a macro-regional one that was characteristic of a substantial part of the Carpathian Basin (Bálint 2006, 277–347).

The only remaining question is whether, broken down into micro-regions, it is possible to detect another culture or population in the Transylvanian Basin or not. Which are those elements (burial customs, material culture) that differ from the culture of conquering Hungarians and which elements are similar to them? We have tried to separate these elements and in the following they will be dealt with:

Group 1 (horse and weapon burials)

The finds from the time of the Hungarian Conquest have been classified in the first group. The most characteristic feature of the graves from the time of the Hungarian Conquest are the parts of a horse (head and the four legs) buried along with the deceased person, who was oriented in an east-west direction (together with the harness) and they are provided with different categories of weapons in the male type graves. In the 10th century cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin a considerable proportion of the graves was oriented east to west, graves oriented in another direction have only been found in a small number of cemeteries. More than a hundred years ago Géza Nagy already stated that “the Hungarian graves both from the pagan times and from the 11–13th centuries were oriented east to west with the face of the deceased turned to the rising sun.” (Nagy 1893, 229). This suggests quite a consistent view on the afterworld.

Our opinion is that the core of the typical Hungarian culture was the horse weapon burial and that was completed with grave pottery¹⁴, coffins (Gáll 2004–2005, 347–350), etc., but in the case of the Transylvanian finds, even these aspects raise some questions which cannot be answered. Without discussing this in detail, it may be said that even after a century of research no better element can be found to distinguish the typical Hungarian culture. At the moment the following sites seem to be connected to this group of finds: the south-east part of the castle from Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia-Apor castle — a strange find from 1943, Blandiana “B” and “C”, Cluj-Zăpolya street, Plugarilor street, Kalevala street, site I, Deva-Micro 15, Gâmbaş, Orăştie X2, Sfântu Gheorghe-Epreştető (*cf.* the *List of the Cemeteries* at the end of the paper).

In each site mentioned above either a horse burial or weapons were documented, both of which are characteristic of the Hungarians and can be

¹³ Historians in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century thought that the Transylvanian Basin was not occupied by the conquering Hungarians, but by Stephen I (Borovszky 1894; Karácsonyi 1896, 456–483).

considered ethnospecific, therefore we shall try to represent them in more detail. In these statistic analyses the horse burial found on Stația de Salvare in Alba Iulia was also mentioned but this will be given a separate discussion because of the special character of this site. The main feature of the horse burials that were recorded in the Transylvanian Basin is that they concentrate in a just a few sites, especially, in southern Transylvania and around Cluj. Northern Transylvania is represented only by graves discovered in Cluj, south-east Transylvania, by only a handful of single or ransacked graves. The remains or possible remains of 30 horse burials are known from 13 sites. Nine of them can be classified as *symbolic horse burials* (Group Bálint I)¹⁵, ten fall into the category of *horse burials with the hide deposited at the feet* (Group Bálint II)¹⁶. Two graves interpreted as burials containing *stuffed horsehide* (Group Bálint III)¹⁷, and the burials with *folded horsehides* (Group Bálint IV)¹⁸ are characteristic of the Transylvanian Basin. The horse skull(s) and leg bones discovered in grave 2 in the Alba Iulia castle were published with such scanty documentation that they cannot be made use of. Unfortunately, similarly to the other two regions (Banat, Partium), here are also some finds that have been documented unsatisfactorily, exactly 13 cases have been registered: in the cases of 5 single graves¹⁹ and 8 other burials the graves were ransacked or not properly excavated so there is scant data or no information about them at our disposal (*cf.* Fig. 6–7)²⁰.

In the Transylvanian Basin horse burials have been documented both in middle-sized cemeteries (with 10–80 graves) and in cemeteries with hundreds of graves, but until now they have been found only in male graves. We have to note that anthropological research was made in just two cases: in Cluj-Plugarilor street, grave 25 — the skeleton of a male aged 60–65, and in Cluj-Zápolya street, grave 10 — the remains of a male aged 35–40 (*cf.* Fig. 8–10).

¹⁴ One aspect of the 10th–11th century burial customs is the presence of ceramics which contained food and drink which accompanied the burial. The main characteristic of the tombs from the 10th century with ceramics is the presence of a solitary pottery vessel. In contrast, in case of the burial customs of Lower-Danubian cultures of the 9th and 10th centuries (Blandiana “A”; Alba Iulia-Stația de Salvare-II cemetery) very often we find pairs of pottery vessels in the graves. According to the archaeological circumstances of the tombs we can say that one evidence of food and drink offerings which were intended for the afterworld was revealed from burials with poor grave furniture; but this cannot be considered as a general rule in connection with the unbelievably rich tomb from Teremia Mare (Kiss 1969, 175–182).

¹⁵ Deva, grave 4; Alba Iulia-Stația de Salvare, trench VI, grave 6; Orăștie X2, grave 6, 7, 18, 26, 41, 43 and 48.

¹⁶ Alba Iulia trench VIII, grave 1, trench IV, grave 1, trench IX, grave 3 and 19, trench X, grave 57 and 60, trench XXXIII, grave 15; Cluj-Zápolya street, graves 1 and 6; Blandiana “C” a single grave.

¹⁷ Cluj-Zápolya street, grave 10.

¹⁸ Cluj-Zápolya street, grave 9 and Cluj-Plugarilor street, grave 25.

¹⁹ Jigodin; Ciucsângeorgiu; Eresteghin; Cluj-Zápolya street grave 8; Cipău.

²⁰ The south-western side of the Alba Iulia-Cetate, graves I–III; Alba Iulia — Stația de Salvare, trench XV, grave 42; Cluj-Zápolya street, grave 4 — 11; Cluj-Kalevala site 1; Sfântu Gheorghe-Epreștetó.

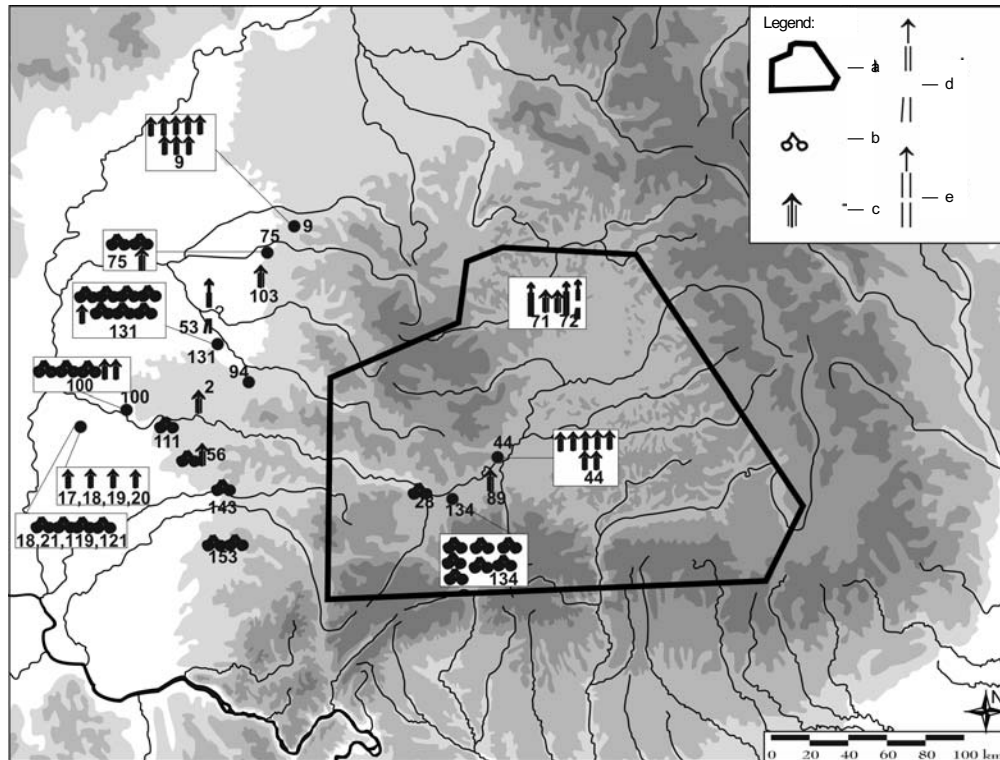


Fig. 6. Transylvanian Basin, Partium and Banat. The types of horse burials; drawn by E. Gáll (numbers as in Figure 1). a — Transylvanian Basin geographical boundaries; b — symbolic horse burials (Group Bálint I); c — horse-hide burials at the legs (Group Bálint II); d — stuffed horse-hide burials (Group Bálint III); e — folded horse-hide burials (Group Bálint IV). 2. Arad (Arad)-Ceala, județul Arad, grave X; 9. Biharea (Bihar)-Somlyóhegy graves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, județul Bihor; 17. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound III single grave, județul Timiș; 18. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound IV graves 2 and 3, județul Timiș; 19. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound V grave 3, județul Timiș; 20. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound VIII grave X, județul Timiș; 21. Pusta Bucova (Bukovapuszta)-mound IX single grave, județul Timiș; 28. Deva (Déva/Diemrich/Schlossberg)-Mikro 15, județul Hunedoara; 44. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg)-Stația de Salvare trench No. IV, grave 1, trench No. VI, grave 6, trench No. VIII, grave 1, trench No. IX, grave 3, trench No. IX, grave 19, trench No. X, grave 57, trench No. X, grave 60, trench No. XV, grave 42, trench No. XXXIII, grave 15, județul Alba; 53. Vârșand (Gyulavarsánd)-Laposhalom, județul Arad, grave 33; 56. Hodoni (Hodony)-Pocioroane, județul Timiș; 71. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Plugarilor street grave 26; județul Cluj; 72. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Zápolya street No. 76 and 78 graves 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, județul Cluj; 75. Tărian (Köröstarján)-Csordásdomb, graves 21 and 28, județul Bihor; 89. Blandiana (Maroskarna- Stumpach) site „C”-single grave, județul Alba; 94. Mâsca (Muszka)-site I cca. three graves; județul Arad; 100. Nădlac (Nagylak)-Cemetery graves I, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, județul Arad; 103. Salonta (Nagyszalonta/Großsalontha)- Halom Domb, județul Bihor, grave 2; 111; Sânpetru Gherman (Németszentpéter)-G.A.S., județul Arad, single grave; 119. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-mound V, județul Timiș; 121. Dudeștii Vechi (Óbesenyő/Altbeschenowa)-Dragomir's mound, județul Timiș; 131. Șiclău (Sikló)-Gropoai graves 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, județul Arad; 134. Orăștie (Szászváros/Broos)-Dealul Pemilor X2 graves 6, 7, 18, 26, județul Hunedoara; 143. Timișoara (Temesvár/Temeschwar)-Csóka erdő grave “A”, județul Timiș; 153. Voiteg (Vejte)-south-west part of the village, județul Timiș, graves 3 and 6.

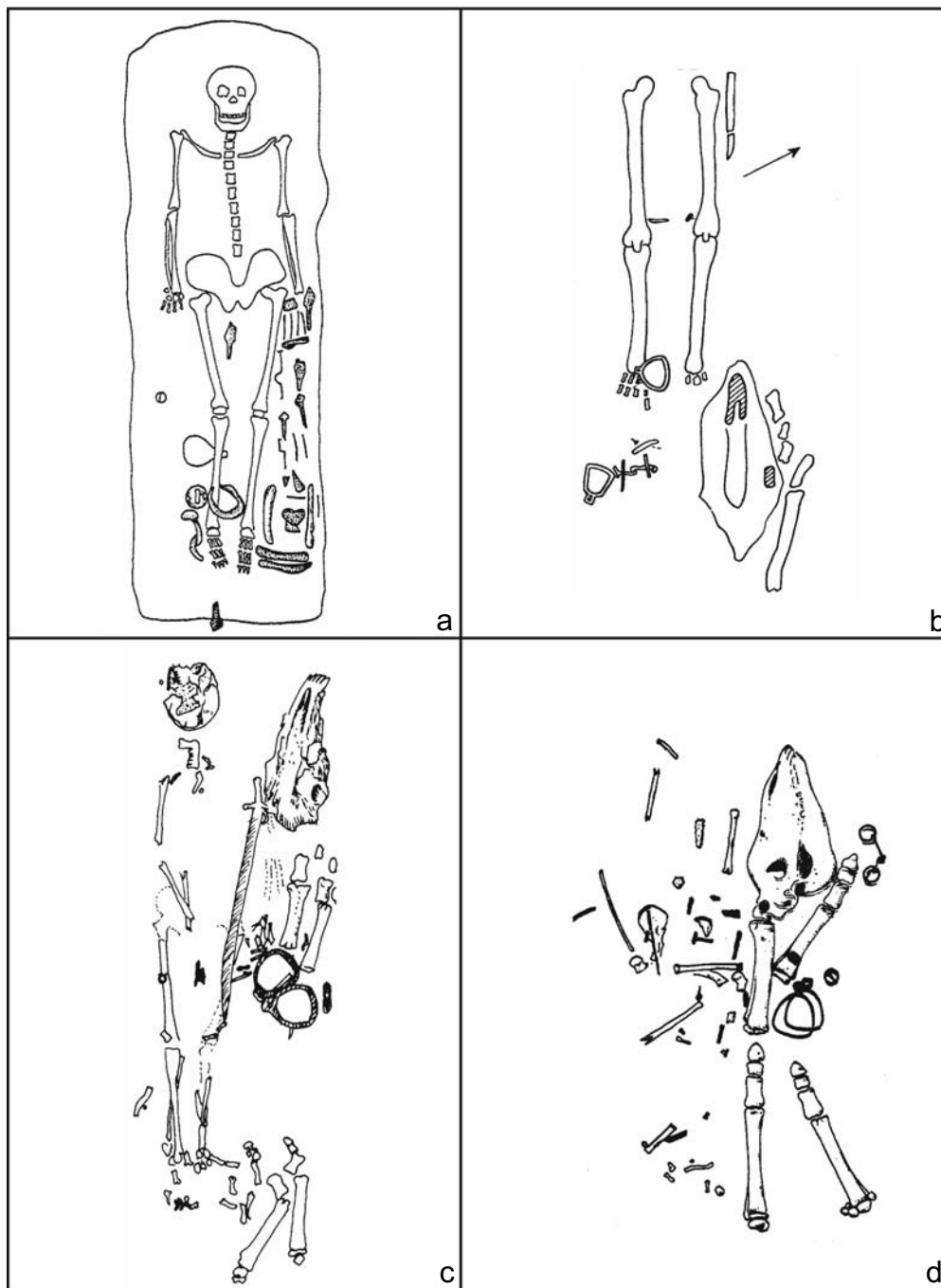


Fig. 7. Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat. Types of horse burials; drawn by E. Gáll. a — type I: Voiteg (Vejte)-south-west part of the village, județul Timiș; b — type II: Arad (Arad)-Ceala, județul Arad; c — type III: Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Zápolya street, județul Cluj; d — type IV: Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg)-Zápolya street, județul Cluj

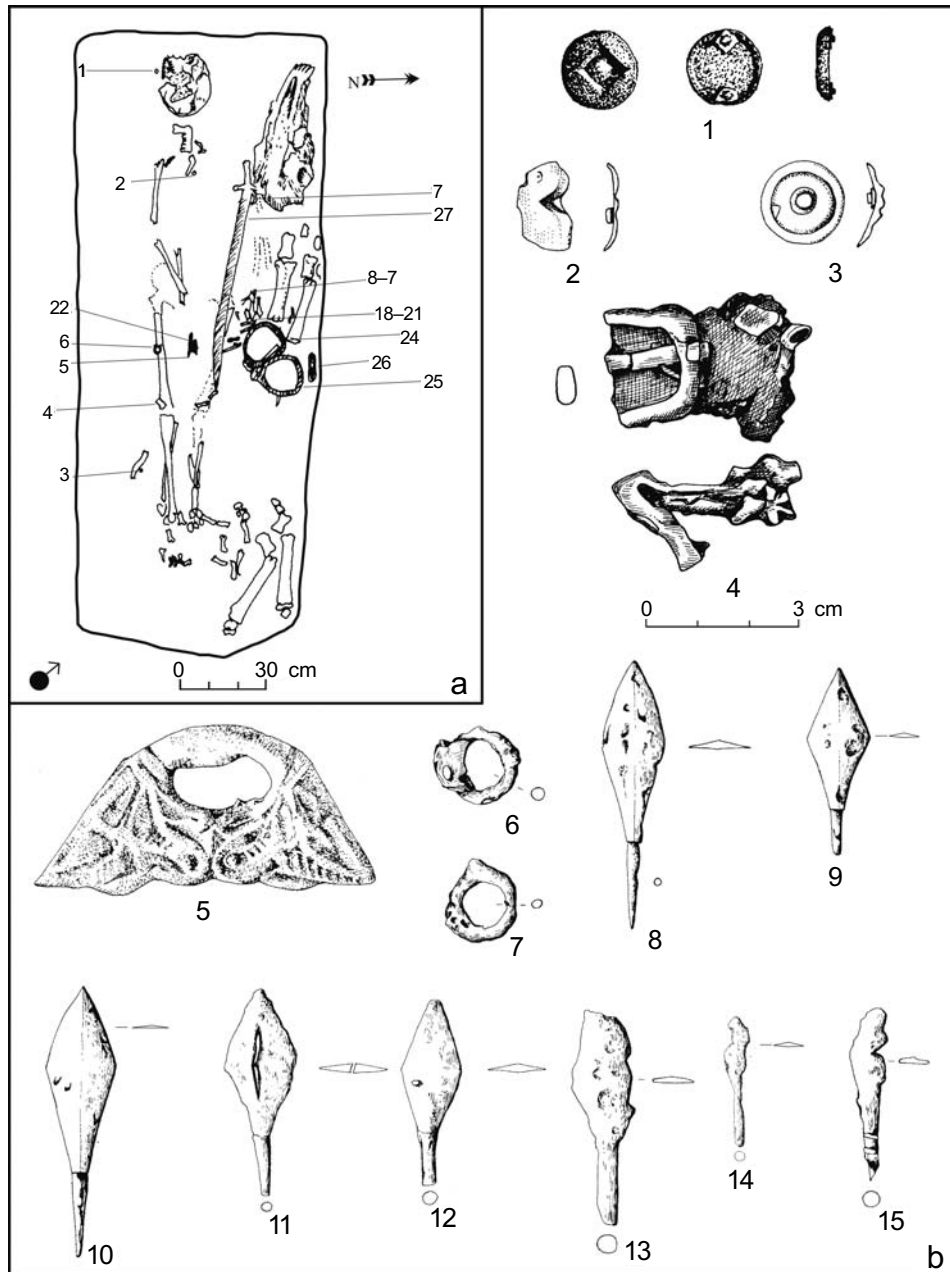


Fig. 8. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvar/Klausenburg)-Zápolya street, județul Cluj, grave 10; drawn by E. Gáll and A. Diaconescu. a — horizontal layout (the numbers correspond with numbers on Fig. 8:b, 9, 10); b — grave inventory.

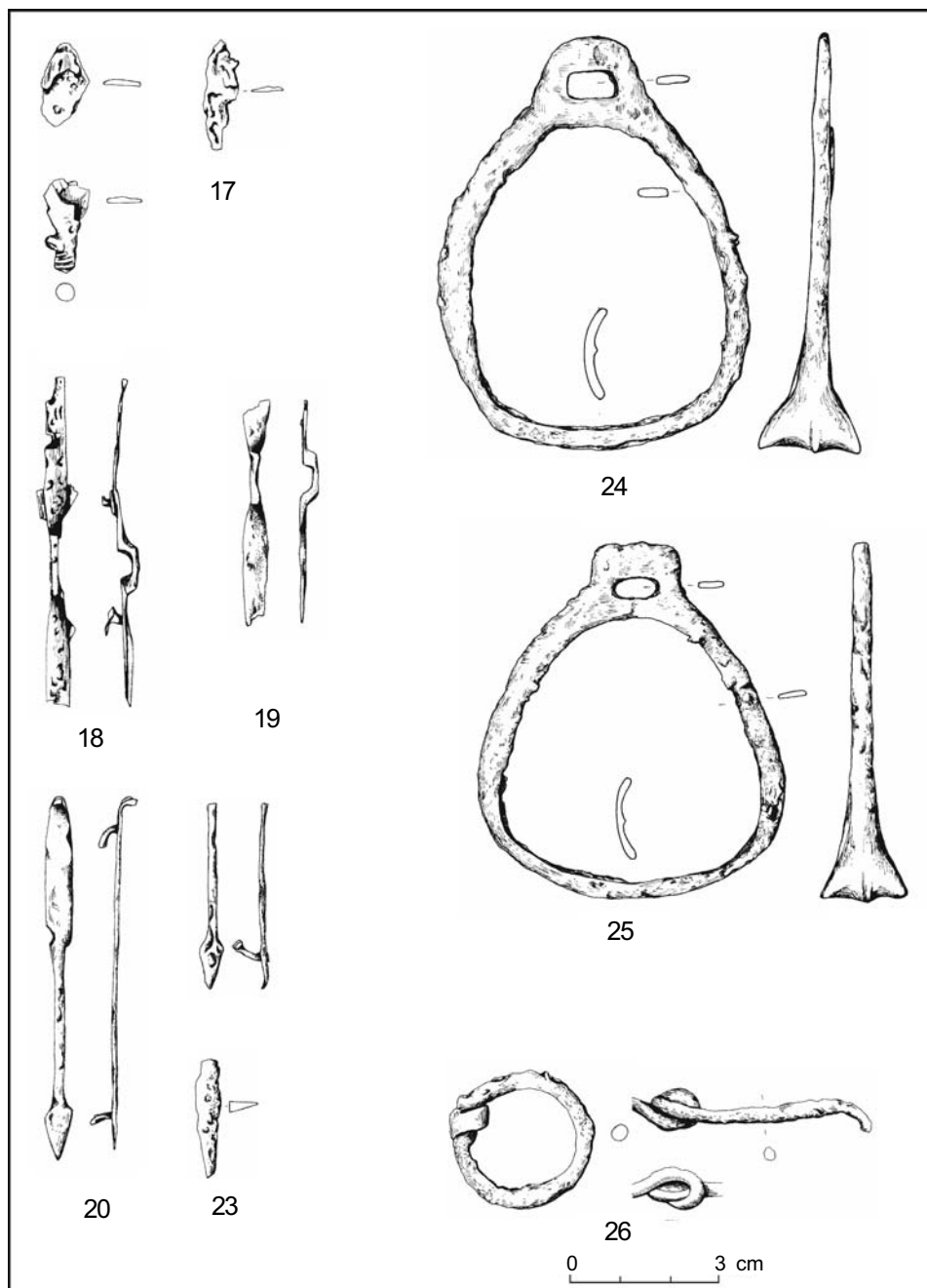


Fig. 9. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvar/Klausenburg)-Zapolya street, judetul Cluj, grave 10; drawn by A. Diaconescu

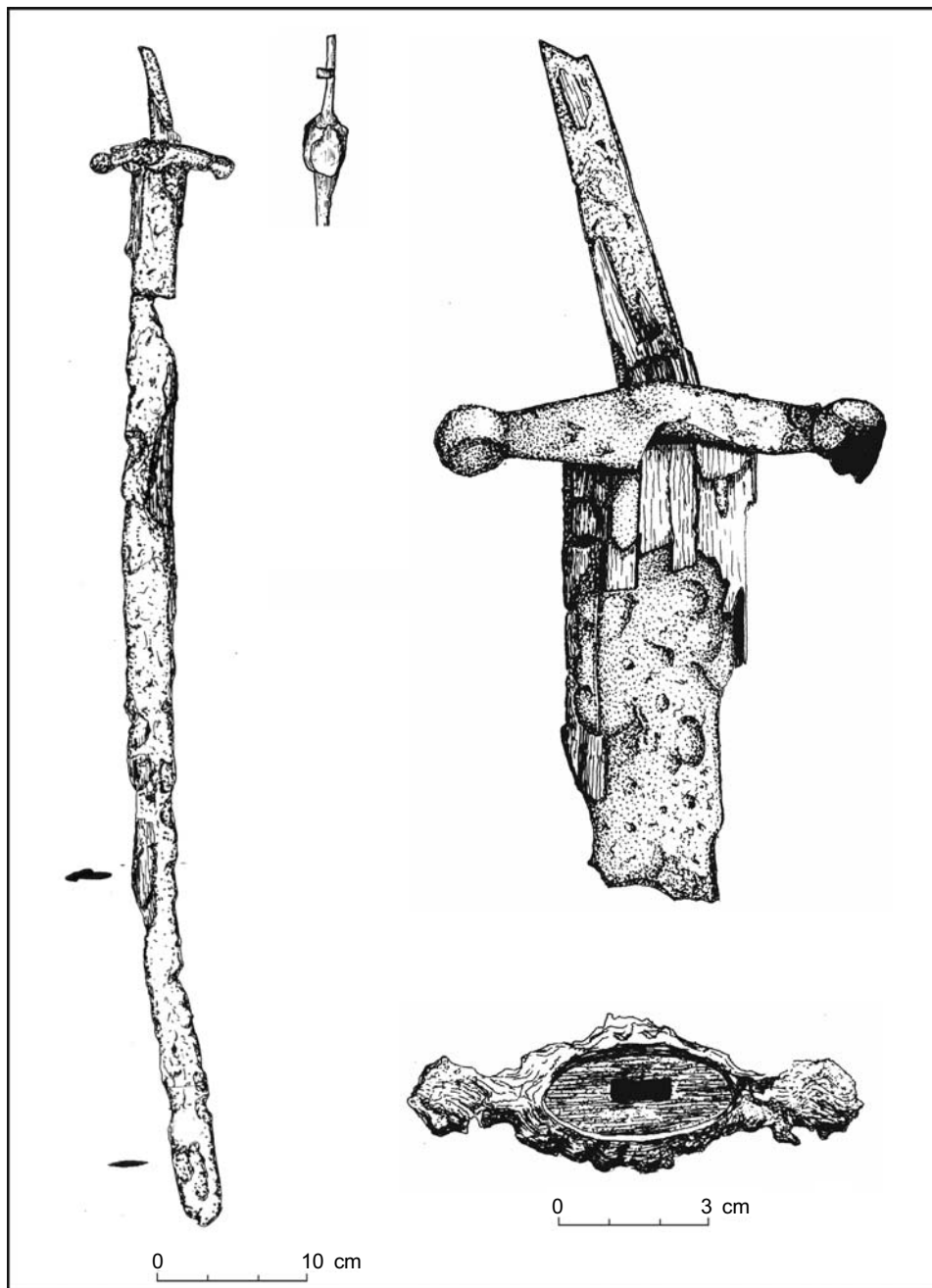


Fig. 10. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvar/Klausenburg)-Zapolya street, judetul Cluj, grave 10; drawn by B. Gergely

In some cases the parts of the horse were not put in the grave, only the weapon (Blandiana “B”, grave 11 and Gâmbaş, grave 1, 3, 4; *cf.* Fig. 11). How can we account for this phenomenon? The lack of a burial custom may refer to the economic conditions of a community or a population of other origin that might have been influenced by acculturation? We have to admit that, once again, we have reached the limits of archaeology, noting that such cases when the parts of the horse were not found in a burial with sabre, are known from other sites of the Carpathian Basin too²¹.

Sometimes the products of the material culture may refer to a population of a different origin, as in the case of unipartite bits which are known to occur only in the region east of the river Tisza and in the Transylvanian Basin, and in literature are referred to as Pecheneg type bits. These forms are known from Orăștie, graves 6 and 26, and occurred among the finds from Alba Iulia, discussed later (Fig. 12; *cf.* also Pinter-Luca 1995, 19, Fig. VIII).

The finds from the Transylvanian graves of the classic Conquest Period are similar to objects known from other cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, but much poorer. They include dress accessories worn throughout the 10th century (lockrings, hairpins, earrings, neckrings, braid ornaments, pendants, amulets, caftan mounts and belt ornaments, bracelets, finger-rings, buttons, rattles, beads, ankle rings, sheet metal, twisted- and wire bracelets, rings and buttons), also, weapons (sabres²², swords²³, quivers, arrowheads, parts of the bow²⁴), everyday objects (knives, fire flints and flint stones, puncheons), horse fittings (the bit, as part of the bridle, bridle ornaments, saddle ornaments, fragments of saddles, girth buckles, bits, harness mounts; *cf.* 2008, vol. I., 118–369; see also Fig. 13).

It is important to emphasize a chronological observation here, which we do not discuss now: the classic horse-weapon burials dating from the first half of the 10th century appear mainly in the western areas of present day Romania (for geographical reasons), mainly, in the Bihar region, the area of the Criș and Lower Mureș, and sporadically, in northern Partium, and northern Transylvania. Their dating from the first half of the century, perhaps as a sign of an eastern migration, is supported by reliably dated exchange with the Upper Tisza region

²¹ For example: Kál-Legelő, graves 2 and 61; Püspökladány, grave 22; Sárretudvari-Hizóföld, grave 66; Szob-Kiserdő grave 61 (*cf.* Révész 2008, 238, Pl. 51, Fig. 174. 1–2, 175. 1–2; Bakay 1978).

²² Examining the sabre finds we found that around Cluj their concentration is the highest in the Carpathian Basin (40 graves — 10 sabres); a similar concentration is not known from southern Transylvania; and there is almost none in Banat. A similar concentration of this weapon form can be seen in the Upper Tisza region (Gáll 2008, vol. I, 401–405).

²³ The geographical dissemination of the swords covers a much larger area in our regions. This may be explained by chronology and other than that, there is also a political-historical result (Gáll 2007a).

²⁴ The distribution range of other weapon categories (bow, arrow, axe) is more even, except for a few weapons. A parallel to a bowcase suspension mount from Cluj is known from the Upper Tisza, and its identical analogy from Tabaevka (Gáll 2007a).

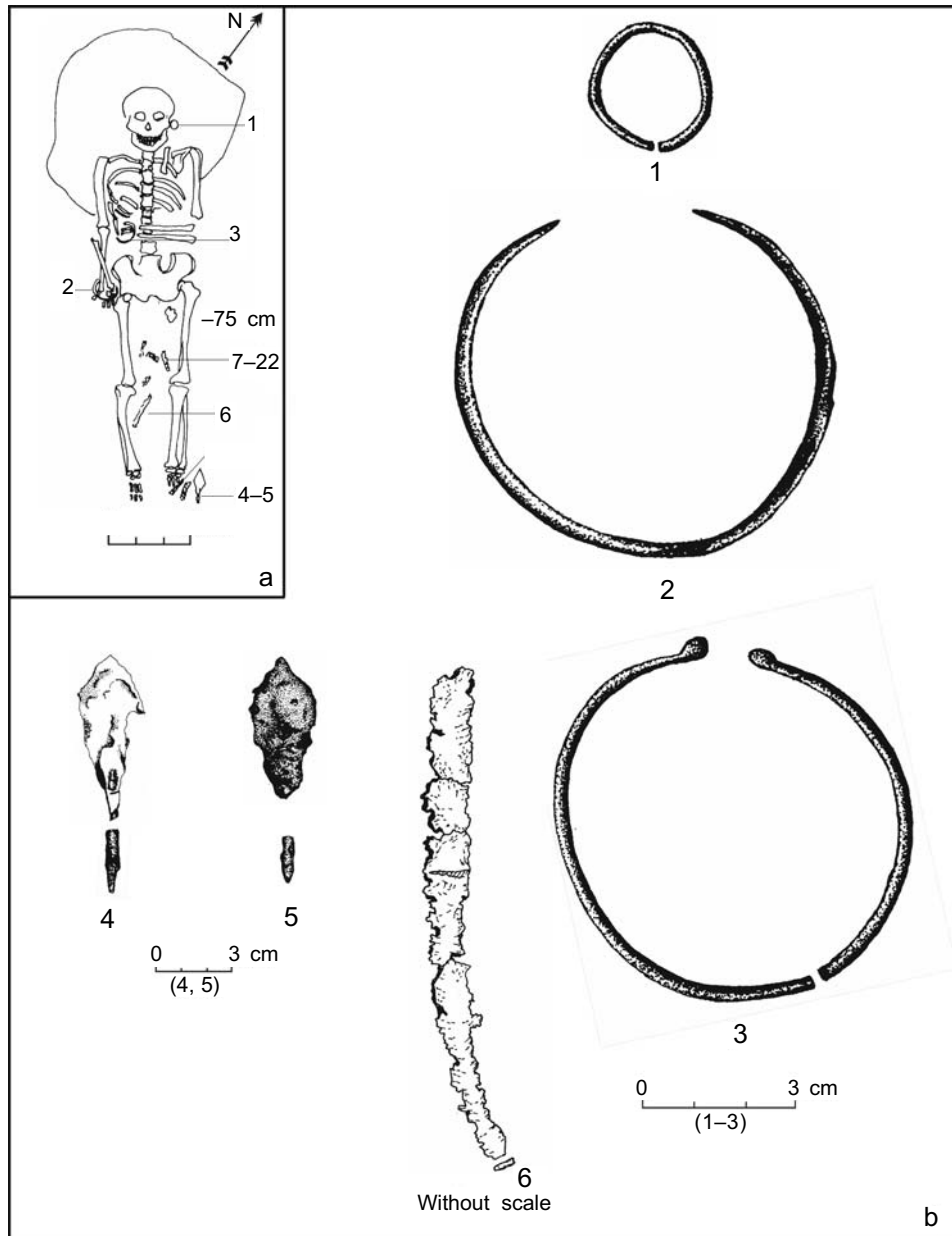


Fig. 11. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach)-Cemetery „B”, județul Alba, grave 11;
drawn by E. Gáll.

a — horizontal layout (the numbers correspond with numbers on Fig. 11:b); b — grave inventory

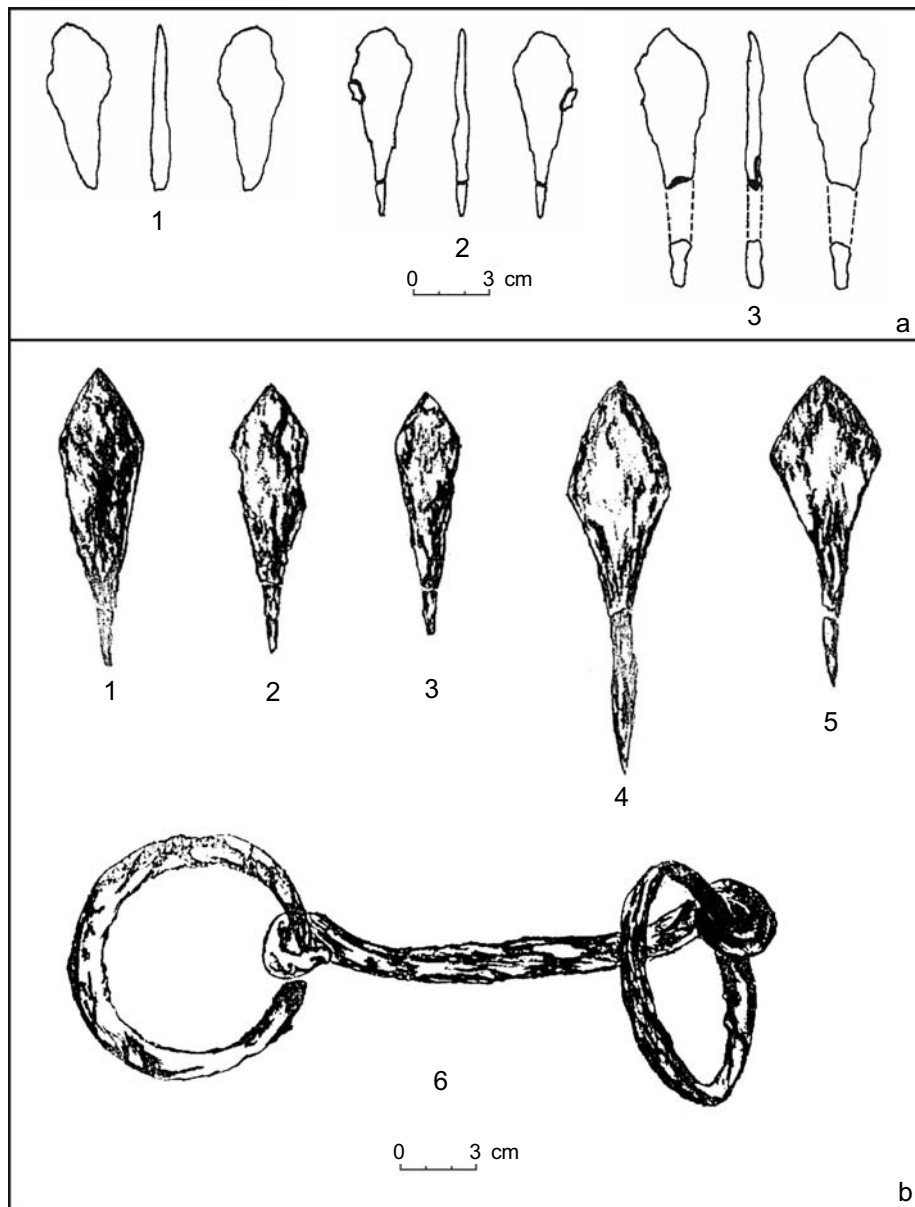


Fig. 12. Orăștie (Szászváros/Broos)-Dealul Pemilor X2, județul Hunedoara;
 drawn by E. Gáll after K. Z. Pinter, S. A. Luca (1995, 19, Fig. VI).
 a — grave No 5; b — grave No 6

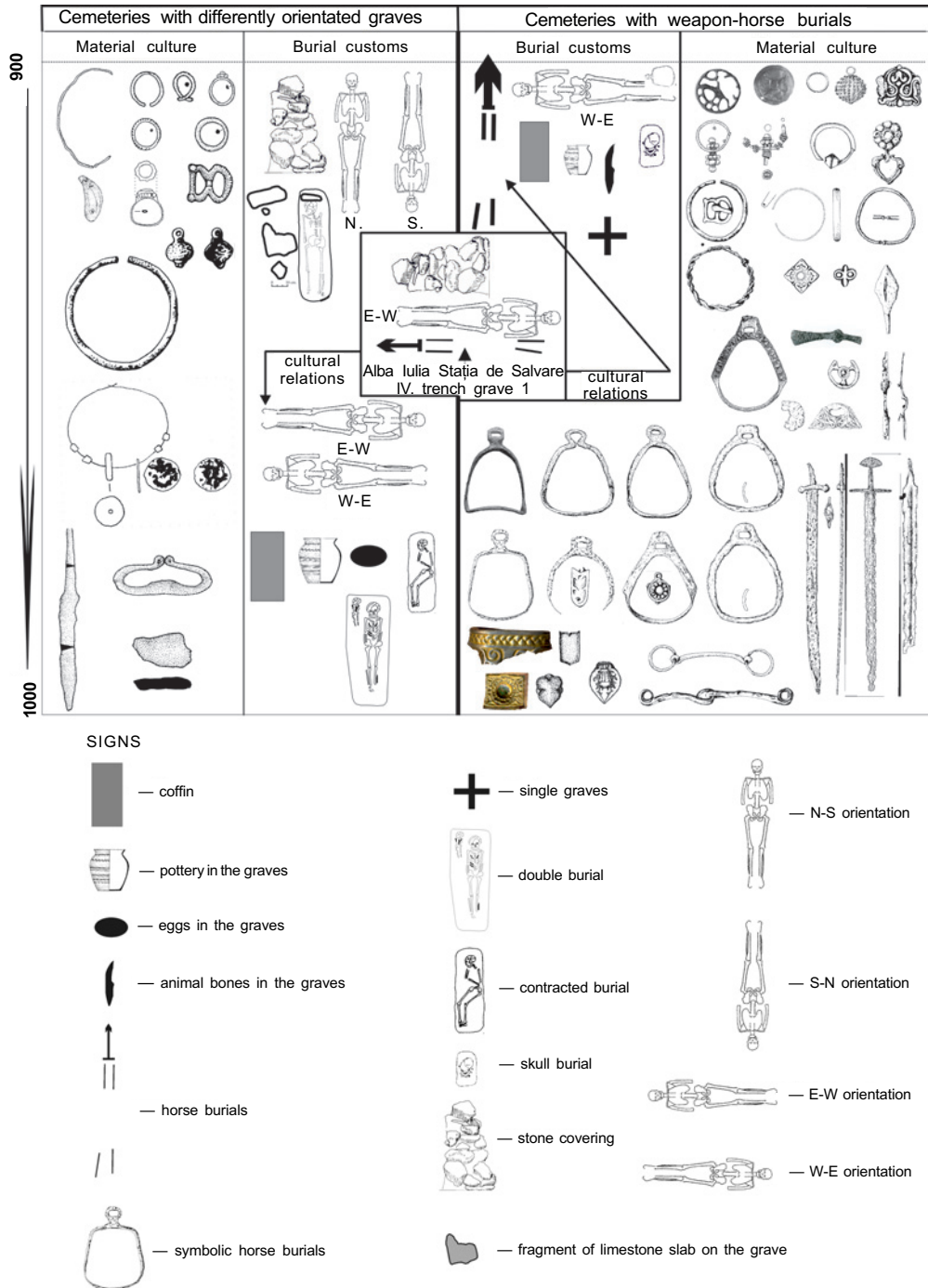


Fig. 13. Similarities and differences between the burial customs and the material culture in the Transylvanian Basin in the 10th century; drawn by E. Gáll

and with Kievan Rus' (Biharea-Somlyóhegy; Cluj-Zápolya street; Cluj-Plugarilor street; in detail this is discussed in Gáll 2008, vol. I, 370–407).

In the area of southern Transylvania Hungarian Conqueror horse burials appear from a later age, starting from the middle third of the 10th century, to infer from the burial customs, side by side of other groups or together with them (especially, the symbolic horse burial). Perhaps in this region, if anywhere, the existence of people of different origins could be researched, provided that the key cemeteries of the period are published (for more details on the subject see: Gáll 2008, vol. I, 401–407).

After looking through the finds we noticed the following: the finds from cemeteries in northern Transylvania show connection mainly with the finds on the Upper Tisza and/or Kievan Rus', or, they have no parallels among the finds of the 10th century²⁵. In contrast, the finds from central and southern Transylvania have analogy in 10th century finds from Mureş-Criş-Tisza²⁶.

The typical female finds (earrings with cast-beadrow pendant, pressed braid ornaments, harness ornaments with rosettes) of the Early Hungarian steppe culture, and the following male finds, bezelled finger-rings, are unknown from the Transylvanian Basin. This may suggest differences in clothing or/and cultural differences between the Early Magyar moving into the Transylvanian Basin and those who occupied the Hungarian Plain.

Group 2 (burials with different orientations and stone slabs)

Burial practices observed in cemeteries near Alba Iulia are not related to customs documented in typical graves from the Conquest Period, 10th–11th centuries, in the Carpathian Basin. As opposed to the W-E orientation, a large percentage of graves oriented E-W can be documented (with some graves oriented N-S and S-N), along with another characteristic feature, presence of stone coverings. These rites were documented in cemeteries excavated in the later political and religious centre of the Transylvanian Basin and differ completely from rites apparent in other cemeteries of the region under research. This is why we propose to analyse the findings from Alba Iulia-Brândușei street, the only well documented one.

Basing on 231 skeletons from 229 graves excavated between 1997 and 2008, the axis of the 10th century cemetery (106 graves) lay in a north-south direction, whereas the 11th century necropolis seems to have been oriented west to east. Unfortunately, at the moment it is impossible to estimate the exact size of these cemeteries (*cf.* Fig. 14). Needless to say, the full excavation of the cemeteries could not be aimed at as today in the area of the cemeteries there are urban properties and houses with different proprietors. According to the interpretation of our map of the cemetery, only 20% of the burials could have been excavated

²⁵ On the Upper Tisza region, see: the studies of L. Révész (1996b, 178–200) and K. Mesterházy (1989–90).

²⁶ On the Mureş-Criş-Tisza, see Bálint 1991.

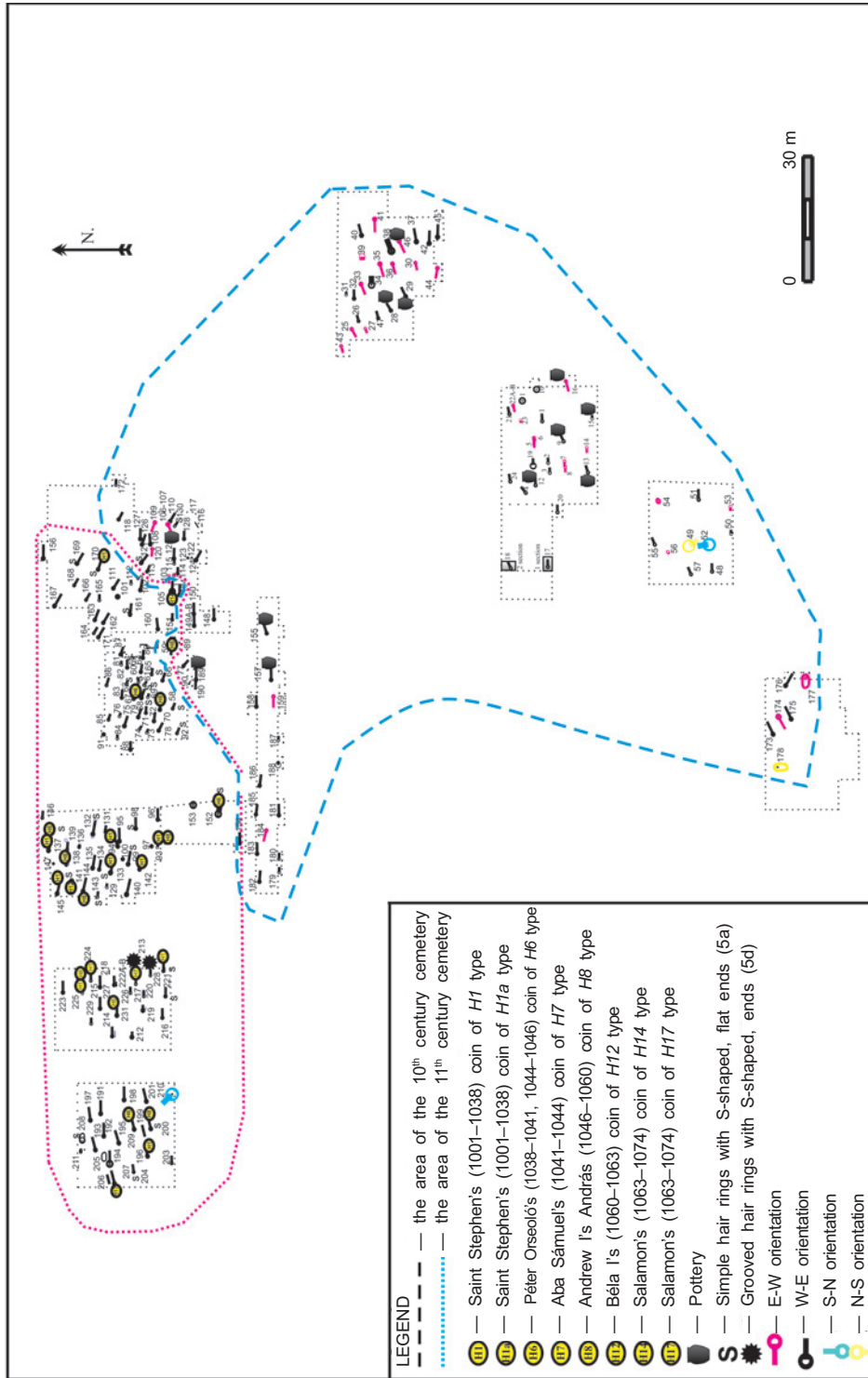


Fig. 14. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg)-Brândusei street, județul Alba, Cemeteries I–II. The chronology of inverse orientations, graves with coins and parts of cemeteries; drawn by E. Gáll

at most, but it is important that to the north the edge of the 11th century cemetery was reached. Upon examination of the excavated parts of the necropolis it can be stated that the two cemeteries could have lain 200 metres long in a north-south direction.

The Brândușei street necropolis, which originally was thought to be a single cemetery, actually consists of two cemeteries, as the earliest burials from the 11th century part of the cemetery cannot be considered the continuation of the 10th century graves, and in areas where the graves of the two cemeteries overlap or their superposition can be observed, some coins from a much later age were found, dating from the mid- or late 11th century (e.g., grave 105, which is dated by a coin of King Salamon). The graves considered to form the core of the 11th century cemetery were excavated more than 60 metres away from the graves dated to the 10th/11th centuries (Fig. 14).

The concentration of graves excavated in different parts of the Brândușei street cemeteries shows significant differences: the layout of graves in the 10th century cemetery is rather loose (graves 1–24, 25–47, 48–57, 77, 89–90, 103, 106–110, 113–118, 120–128, 148–150, 155, 157–159, 172, 179–190), whereas the graves in the 11th century cemetery are densely concentrated (graves 58–88, 91–92, 93–100, 101–102, 104–105, 111–112, 119, 129–147, 151–153, 156, 160–171, 192–211, 212–231).

The most significant feature of the 10th century cemetery excavated in Alba Iulia-Brândușei street is a high proportion of the graves oriented east to west. In the southernmost part, two out of six burials were oriented east to west, one was aligned south to north, and only three were oriented west to east (graves 173–178), out of the 10 burials excavated north of these (graves 48–57), four were oriented west to east (graves 48, 50–51, 55.), two — east to west (graves 53 and 56), one — north to south (grave 49), and one — south to north (grave 52).

The parts of the cemeteries excavated in 1997 and 1999 are more consistent and very interesting. Out of graves 1–24, 14 were oriented west to east (graves 1–4, 9, 12–13, 15, 17–19, 20, 21 and 24), 8 of them were oriented inversely, east to west (graves 5–8, 14, 22–23), and in two cases the exact position of the skeletons could not be observed correctly (graves 10–11).

The picture of the cemetery section excavated in 1999 is even more balanced: out of the 23 graves, 12 were oriented west to east (graves 26, 28–29, 31–32, 34, 37–38, 40, 42, 45, 47) and 11 — east to west (graves 25, 27, 30, 33, 35–36, 39, 41, 43–44 and 46; *cf.* Fig. 15).

The groups of graves excavated in 2004–2008, dated to the early 11th century by coins from the Early Árpád Age, are oriented almost exclusively west to east, some graves dating from the 10th century oriented east to west were discovered only in the eastern and southern parts of the 2006 excavation (grave 105, 106, 109 and 120). In the sections farther to the west, which were certainly used by the 11th century community, these types of burials are missing. So, in cemetery II, which was excavated between 2004 and 2008, dated by the coins

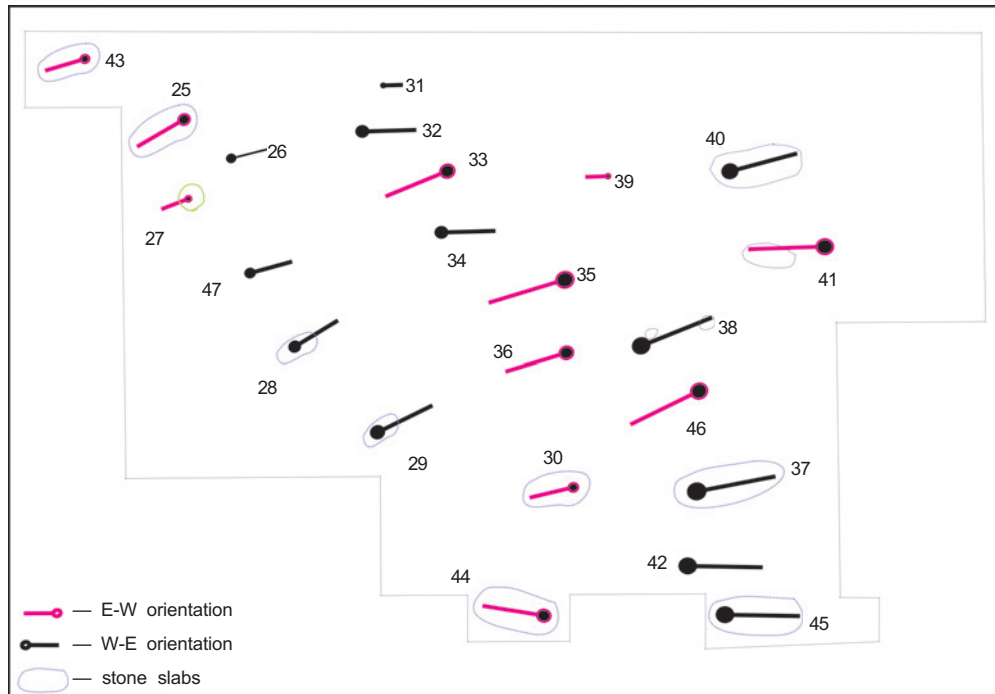


Fig. 15. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg)-Brândușei street, județul Alba. Part of cemetery excavated in 1998. Graves with inverse orientation and stone covering; drawn by E. Gáll.

of Stephen I (1001–1038), Péter Orseoló (1038–1041, 1044–1046), Aba Samuel (1041–1044), Andrew I (1046–1060), Bela I (1060–1063), Salamon (1063–1074), all the excavated graves were oriented west to east.

The majority of the graves oriented east to west were found in the 10th century sections of the cemetery, which were excavated in 1997, 1999 and 2001. On the whole, 22 of the 57 burials are oriented east to west (38, 59%), one — south to north, and one — north to south. In the phase of the cemetery that dates from 10th/11th century, 6 graves are still oriented east to west (graves 103, 106–107, 109 and 120, 159 and 184), in the graves dating from the 11th century this custom is not to be observed.

The 31 skeletons from 29 graves with E-W orientation discovered in the 10th century cemetery in Alba Iulia, represent a distinct cultural group. A present we do not know of any other group of graves of similar size from 10th century Hungarian territory.

The graves with limestone slabs, stone and brick coverings are another characteristic of the Alba Iulia cemetery. It is important to note that stones put in the grave on a ritual purpose can only be documented from the 11th century cemetery whereas the custom of stone coverings can be observed in cemeteries from either centuries (more details on this: Gáll 2004–2005, 352–361; 2008, vol. II, 63–73).

It can be seen that these two rites are very different from the burial rites of the Hungarian Conquest. So, the question arises as to where similar burial rites can be found. A high percentage of graves with E-W orientation within one cemetery is known from the cemeteries of the late Avar period in the region east of the Tisza (Lőrinczy 2001, 161–172), but their parallels, both in age and in characteristic features, may be found in Transylvanian cemeteries from the 8th–9th centuries and in the cemeteries in the Lower Danube region from the 8–10th centuries. Not only the E-W orientation can be observed in these cemeteries but also, different orientations like in the cemetery in Alba Iulia.

In the Transylvanian Basin three of the 12 inhumation graves were oriented east to west, at Mediaş (25%), at Ocna Sibiului 14 of the 15 graves were oriented NE-SW, or NNE-SSW (93, 33%), at Ghirbom the male grave 6 was oriented SE-NW, and in Juc E-W orientations were documented (Protase 2004, 153–159; Horedt 1965, 7–23; information from Ioan Stanciu). Unfortunately, the orientation of the skeletons in cemeteries at Berghin and Alba Iulia, Stația de Salvare, is not known but even in these cases, some E-W, N-S and S-N orientations were recorded²⁷.

We have a lot more information from the northern regions of the Carpathian Basin: the last phase of the biritual cemetery in Nagygyurab was dated to the first half of the 10th century by the presence of rhomboid arrowheads, and the graves were oriented in all the four main directions, at Bešenova some irregularities were observed in the southern group of the graves, in the cemetery in Devin za kostolom, only graves with skeletons are documented with different orientations (Chropovsky 1957; Kraskovska 1958, 423; Plachá, Hlavíčová, Keller 1990, 70). In Bélapátfalva the S-N orientation is not known but there are graves with E-W, W-E and N-S orientation (Szabó 1987, 83–98). In Čakajovce, where the conquering Hungarians intermingled with the Slavonic people, a similar high proportion of the graves with E-W and N-S orientation can be observed and the relative proportion of the E-W and N-S orientations is similar to that of Alba Iulia (Reiholcová 1995, Plate CXXXIII:3, 6; CXXXVI:4–5; CXXXVIII:5; CXLII:4–5; CXLIII:1–2; CXLV:1; CXLVI:1; CXXXIV:5; CXXXV:1; CXLIV:5).

Graves with E-W orientation from the 10–11th centuries are known from several sites, but in a larger concentration they were found in Ibrány-Esbóhalom and Zalavár, where they form groups made up of several graves (Istvánovits 2003, 378; Tettamanti 1971). In Nyíregyháza-Kállai hill, 5 or 6 skeletons are known with an inversed orientation. In 13 cemeteries examined by Sarolta Tettamanti only one skeleton was oriented inversely, in four cases two, in one case four and in another case three skeletons were oriented E-W. One inversely

²⁷ About the connections between Blandiana cemetery “A” and the Bulgarians of the Lower Danube region, Stanko Stancev wrote the following: “Ich bin der Ansicht, dass die Ganze in Blândiana gefundene Gefässgruppe einer protobulgarischen Bevölkerung ange hört.” (quoted by Horedt 1958, 120, 2 notes; Bóna 1988, 575).

oriented grave is known both among the grave 7 in Eperjes-Takács tábla and the grave 30 in Tiszabercel-Ráctemető (Bálint 1991, Fig. 17; Istvánovits 2003, 190, Fig. 114; Tettamanti 1975, 92, Tab. 1). The grave of a 28–30 year old woman with NE-SW orientation is also remarkable in Kunszentmárton (Dienes 1972, Fig. 54), also grave 1 from Dudeștii Vechi mound II (Gáll 2008, vol. II, 26–27) or the north-south oriented male tomb with a sword from Szeghalom (Darnay 1905, 66–70).

Graves with E-W, N-S and S-N orientation represent a huge proportion of the excavated 11th century cemeteries in the Lower Danube region. It is also an important observation that inverse orientations often appear together with a stone or a brick covering the graves oriented east to west from Alba Iulia. At Histria-Capul Viilor the main type of orientation was N-S and E-W. In the biritual cemetery at Frățești, of the 8 inhumation burials were oriented east to west, in the biritual cemetery at Izvoru one of the 444 graves (344 with skeletons, 100 cremation burials) 188 graves without furnishing were oriented east to west, and this type of orientation can be observed in 25 out of 95 graves in the biritual cemetery excavated near Obârșia Nouă, and grave 134 was also oriented east to west in the cemetery at Sultana (Dolinescu-Ferche, Ionescu 1970, 419–430; Mitrea 1988; 1989; Toropu-Stoica 1972).

In cemeteries farther to the south, in Bulgaria, 4 skeletons from 3 graves at Devnja-cemetery 1 are oriented E-W, in the Kjulevca cemetery, grave 84 is oriented E-W. A large number of graves with E-W orientation is known from the 10–11th century cemetery at Pliska (Dimitrov 1995).

The area of Poland and Lithuania is special. On the territory of Poland cremation burials were customary until the end of the 10th century, from the late 10th–early 11th centuries there was a shift to inhumation, but the W-E orientation did not become common, they show a varied pattern. In some of the cemeteries orientations follow a certain rule: in the cemetery at Lutomiensk male burials are oriented E-W, female burials have a W-E orientation. A similar case is seen in the cemetery at Końskie, with 170 graves, where all the male graves were oriented E-W or NE-SW, and all the female graves, W-E or NW-SE. In the cemetery at Sandomierz orientation cannot be connected to sex (Jażdżewski 1951, 179; Gąssowski 1950, 176; Marciniak 1960; Miśkiewicz 1969, 300)²⁸.

Similarly, graves with an inverse orientation are documented in eastern Lithuania, with the difference that men were buried aligned NW, the women aligned SE (Luchtanas 2000, 202).

In the Alba Iulia cemetery there is a grave with a N-S alignment and two graves with an S-N orientation²⁹, which is much more common in the 10th century

²⁸ Generall picture of burial customs in Poland in Early Middle Age, see Zoll-Adamikowa 1979; 1998.

²⁹ The N-S orientation is known in greater number from the cemeteries in the Lower Danube region. In the cemetery in Histria-Capul Viilor 14 graves were oriented N-S. There is a group of graves with N-S orientation in the cemetery at *Izvoru*, which is considered regular

cemetery at Moftinu Mic: here, 9 out of 13 graves were oriented N-S or NNW-SSE, so the N-S orientation was the main type (Gáll 2008, vol. II, 76–78).

Basing on this data we can thus conclude with confidence that graves with an inverse E-W orientation were the results of a lack of rule in the orientation of the interred: this is one of the most significant cultural characteristics of a population which switched from cremation to skeleton burial in the 7th–9th centuries (along with the older, Avar burial type) therefore, it is to be interpreted as an ethno-cultural feature which distinguishes them from the Hungarian Conquerors.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Parallels for the great irregularity of orientation (W-E, E-W, N-S) found in this cemetery are to be seen in Transylvanian biritual cemeteries, and those in the Lower Danube region, as well as in the biritual cemeteries in the northern area of the Carpathian Basin and in Western Hungary. The varied orientation in biritual Transylvanian cemeteries may offer a solution to this problem (*cf.* Fig. 16).

2. Unfortunately, for want of anthropological analyses we cannot trace back whether the burials with an inverse orientation could have indicated a separation of the genders as they did in the 9th–12th century cemeteries in Poland and Lithuania. It is important to note that E-W orientation can also be documented in child or adolescent graves in Brândușei street-graves 5, 22B, 26, 27, 28, 30, 54, but the question of their sex has not been answered.

3. The largest concentration of graves with an inverse orientation in space and time occurred in the 8th–9th centuries. With Christianity spreading during the 11th century, W-E orientation became common in the Transylvanian Basin, from that time on, E-W orientation cannot be documented. Therefore, the groups of graves with E-W orientation from the 10th century are supposed to belong to a transitional period.

If we want to put it in a straightforward way one can see a population moving away from cremation burial to skeleton burial in the graves of Brândușei street-cemetery.

This statement is emphasized by the fact that the height of many skeletons from the Brândușei street-graves was between 180–190 centimetres, which is not typical for the horse-weapon burials from the age of the Hungarian Conquest.

Let me write a few words about the finds from the cemetery at Alba Iulia, which, in contrast to the differing rites, does not show much difference from

in this aspect. The graves excavated at Obârșia Nouă were mainly oriented N-S, but this orientation is not rare among the 134 graves at Sultana. In Bulgaria, in the cemetery at Devnja 1, 40 of the 53 skeleton burials were oriented this way. In Varna 100% of the 17 graves are oriented in this direction. At Devnja 1, two graves are known, at Devnja 3, six with S-N orientation. At Histria-Capul Viilor there is only a single grave, at Izvoru 234 with S-N orientation. This orientation is known from the graves in Zalakomár-Lesvári dűlő, which date from the 8th–9th centuries and from Moldova, e.g. Molești; *cf.* Mitrea 1988; 1989; Toropu-Stoica 1972, 163–175; Szóke, Vándor 1983; Tentiuc 2004).

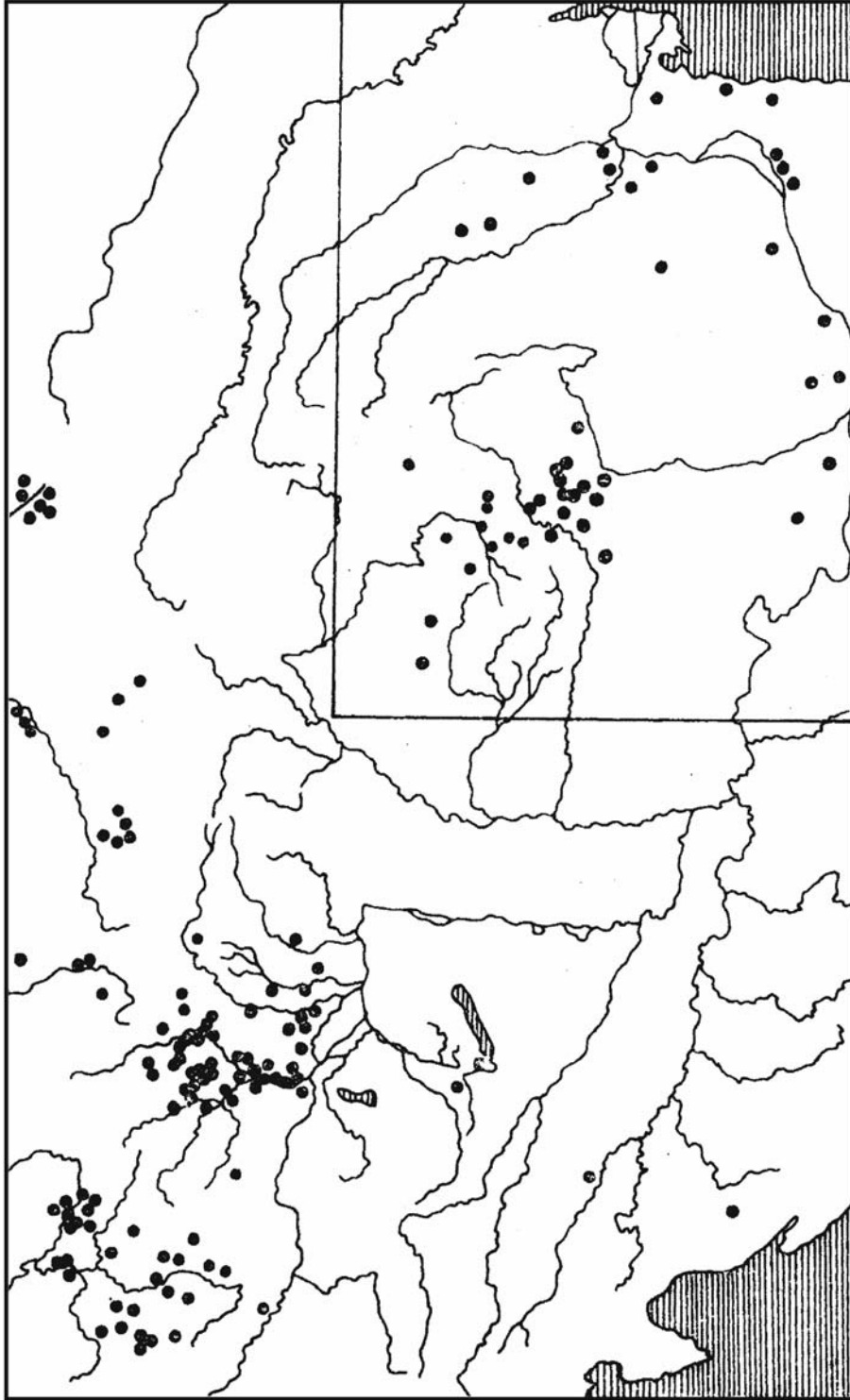


Fig. 16. Cremation and biritual cemeteries in Central and Eastern Europe, after K. Horedt (1978, Fig. 4)

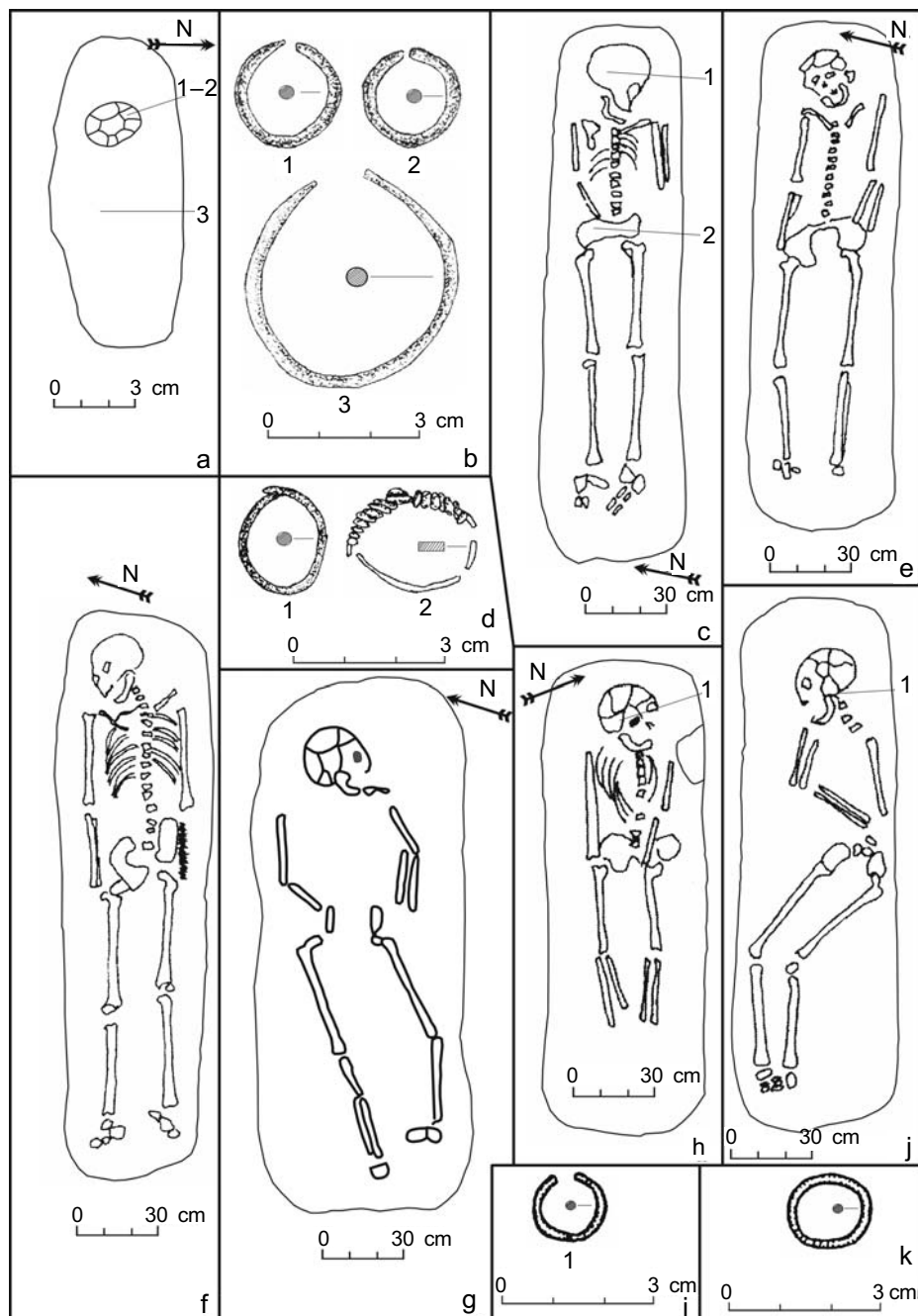


Fig. 17. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg)-Brândușei street, județul Alba; drawn by A. Dragotă and E. Gáll. Grave No 31, horizontal layout (a) and grave inventory (b); Grave No 33, horizontal layout (c) and grave inventory (d); Grave No 36, horizontal layout (e); Grave No 35, horizontal layout (f); Grave No 43, horizontal layout (g); Grave No 40, horizontal layout (h) and grave inventory (i); Grave No 38, horizontal layout (j) and grave inventory (k)

the finds in other 10th century cemeteries, they are only much poorer. The horse-weapon burials are completely missing from this cemetery as is their furnishing. The dress accessories from the 10th century cemetery at Alba Iulia (lockrings, assorted finger-rings, a lyre-shaped buckle, a pendant, bracelets, buttons, a string of beads, a Gordianus coin from the 3rd century), and the everyday tools (knives, fire flints and flint stones) date from the mid-10th century to the end of the same century (more details in: Gáll 2008, vol. I, 118–369; *cf.* Fig. 17).

One of the characteristics of the 10th century Alba Iulia cemetery is that pottery was placed in the graves (16.03% of the burials), this is completely unknown in the 11th century cemetery.

Group 3 (cemeteries with varied rites)

The cemetery at Stația de Salvare, also situated in Alba Iulia, includes 1194 graves dating from the 10th–11th centuries. Most graves are oriented W-E, but a few graves with an inverse orientation (E-W) can also be found. Unfortunately, their proportion has remained unknown up to now. In the cemetery excavated at the ambulance station, 35% of the graves are with a stone or a brick covering or with a frame. This means 420 graves with stone or brick coverings or a setting from a total number of 1183 in one of the largest cemeteries from the early medieval period in the Transylvanian Basin (Ciugudeanu 1996, 8).

The quantity of horse burials and weapon burials is similarly important. Nine horse burials were found in 1183 graves from 10th–11th centuries at Stația de Salvare cemetery, and different types of weapons were discovered in 26 graves (parts of the bow, quivers, axes).

The conclusion would be that among the graves from Stația de Salvare cemetery the customs of both above mentioned archeological groups (Group I and group II) can be found, but these two customs (E-W orientation, stone covering and horse burial) cannot be seen in the same grave except in one case.

The best example of this is the inhumation in grave 1, ditch 4, in Stația de Salvare cemetery: in this partial horse burial the burial was placed in the grave in an E-W orientation and the grave was covered with a stone slab (data from Szilárd Gáll). The following diagram shows the concentration of different burial customs in this grave (*cf.* Fig. 18).

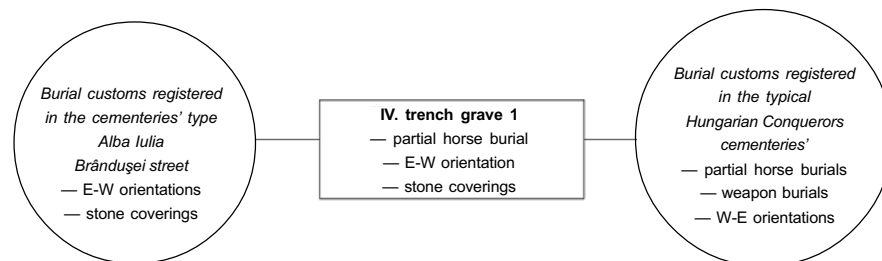


Fig. 18. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg), Stația de Salvare cemetery II, județul Alba. Analyse of the burial customs

How can we account for this case, when two different customs (inverse orientation and horse burial) appear in the same grave? Can we see this as a sign of acculturation or assimilation? Earlier, symbolic horse burials were interpreted from an economic aspect, but the possibility cannot be excluded that the expansion of the custom of horse burial in the Carpathian Basin may be a cultural-anthropological problem, which can be in close connection with the acculturation/integration of the conquering Hungarians and the conquered population, or those people who were brought in as they were melting into one. In our opinion this can be a historical parallel to the assimilation of Gepids by the Avar, and the case of other Germanic tribes assimilated by the Huns. The only remaining question is: how deeply and to what extent did it affect the conquered people? Therefore it is supposed that the population of the Alba Iulia cemetery, who were not conquering Hungarians but of other origin, became acculturated quickly and adopted the customs of the newcomers, but it would be also important to know the proportion of the conquering Hungarians and the conquered population, who were found here, but we only will know more after the publication of cemeteries 2 and 3.

CAREFUL DEDUCTIONS

In northern Transylvania (the territory around Cluj) classic horse-weapon burials can be documented in the first two thirds of the 10th century, in southern Transylvania they appeared later. The cemeteries near Cluj in northern Transylvania with connections to the Upper Tisza region and Kievan Rus' show that the Magyar already conquered northern Transylvania at the beginning of the 10th century and they set up a military centre. This military centre could have served as a defence against the attacks from the east and it could control the mining and transport of salt. It has to be mentioned that the cemeteries of the military retinues in Cluj were found along the Roman road, which might lead us to the conclusion that these roads were still used in the 10th century.

So, the question of whether the Hungarians extended their sway over southern Transylvania immediately after 896 cannot be answered by examining the archaeological finds. Basing on small finds recovered from the grave sites, the large and middle-sized cemeteries excavated in region on the Middle Mureş came into use only from the second third or the middle of the century (Alba Iulia-Brândușei street, Császár forrása, Stația de Salvare cemetery III, Gâmbaș, Lopadea Ungurească, Orăștie-X2), but according to burial customs discussed above, together with other ethnic groups (Alba Iulia- Izvorul Împăratului, Stația de Salvare, cemetery III). These people were not *destroyed* but *integrated* after the Magyar conquest. The Brândușei street-cemetery was used probably by a population that was different from the conquering Hungarians. We can raise the question: who were they?

If we wish to examine the geographical occurrence of biritual cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin, it is clear that a great number of them were found in the region east of the Mureş, but they are also present in the valley of the Little Someş, and in the middle Mureş region around Alba Iulia. It is important to note that in the middle Mureş region cemeteries from the late Avar or Bulgarian era are also known (*cf.* Fig. 19). So, based upon the abundant

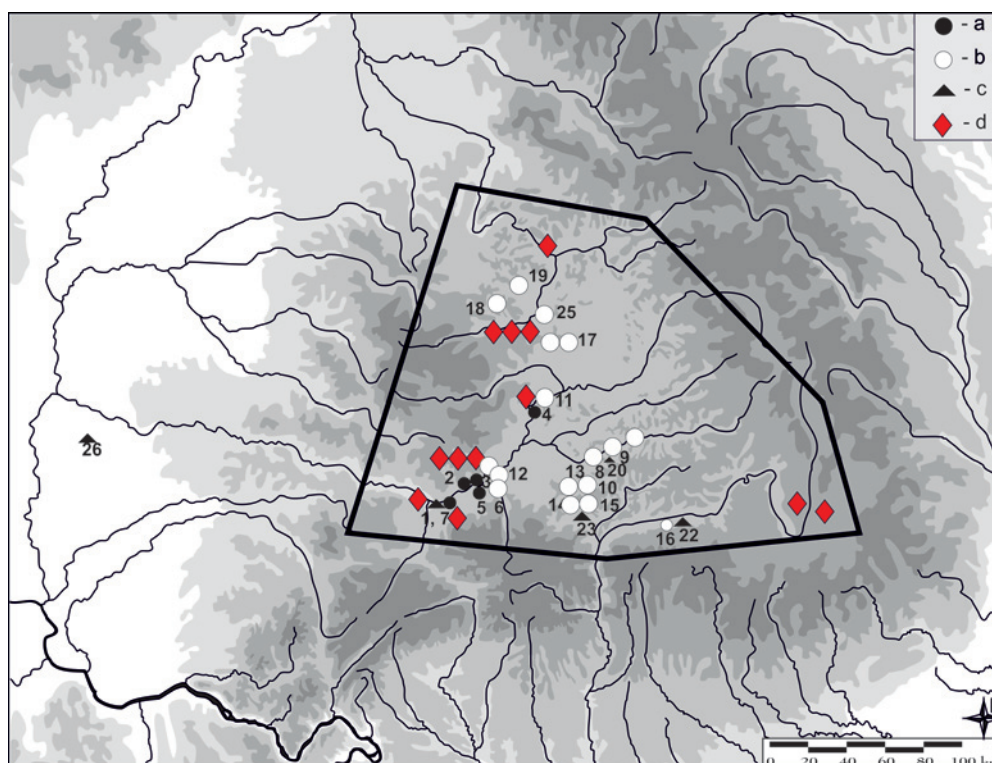


Fig. 19. Transylvanian Basin: cemeteries and single grave finds dating from the 7th-9th centuries and the cemeteries of the class of warriors in the period of the Hungarian Conquest; drawn by E. Gáll. a — 9th century with skeleton burials; b — biritual cemetery dating from the 7th-9th centuries; c — 9th century stray finds; d — cemeteries of the class of warriors in the 10th century. 1. Orăştie (Szászváros/Broos) X8, judeţul Hunedoara; 2. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach) cemetery "A", judeţul Alba; 3. Alba Iulia (Gyulaféhérvár/Karlsburg), Staţia de Salvare cemetery II, judeţul Alba; 4. Ciumbrud (Csombord), judeţul Alba; 5. Sebeş (Szászszebes/Mühlbach), judeţul Alba; 6. Ghirbom (Oláhgorbó/Birnbaum), judeţul Alba; 7. Orăştie (Szászváros/Broos)-museum-stray find, judeţul Hunedoara; 8. Mediaş (Medgyes/Mediasch), judeţul Sibiu; 9. Bratei (Baráthely/Pretai), judeţul Sibiu; 10. Boarta (Mihályfalva/Michelsdorf), judeţul Sibiu; 11. Ocna Mureş (Uioara, Miereschhall, Marosújvár), judeţul Alba; 12. Berghin (Berghiu, Blutried, Berve), judeţul Alba; 13. Şeica Mică (Kisselyk/Kleinschelken), judeţul Sibiu; 14. Ocna Sibiului (Vizocna, Salzburg, Vizakna), judeţul Sibiu; 15. Guşteriţa (Szenterzsébet/Hammersdorf), judeţul Sibiu; 16. Toarcia (Prázsmár/Tarteln), judeţul Braşov; 17. Sopor de Câmpie (Mezőszopor), judeţul Cluj; 18. Someşeni (Szamosfalva/Mikelsdorf), judeţul Cluj; 19. Dăbâca (Doboka), judeţul Cluj; 20. Aţel (Ecel/Hetzeldorf), judeţul Sibiu; 21. Tărtăria (Tatárlaka), judeţul Alba; 22. Breaza (Breáza), judeţul Braşov; 23. Şura Mică (Kiscsúr/Kleinscheuern), judeţul Sibiu; 24. Jucu (Zsuk), judeţul Cluj; 25. Bucovapusta (Dudeştii Vechi/Óbesenyő-Bukovapuzsta)-mound IV, judeţul Timiş.

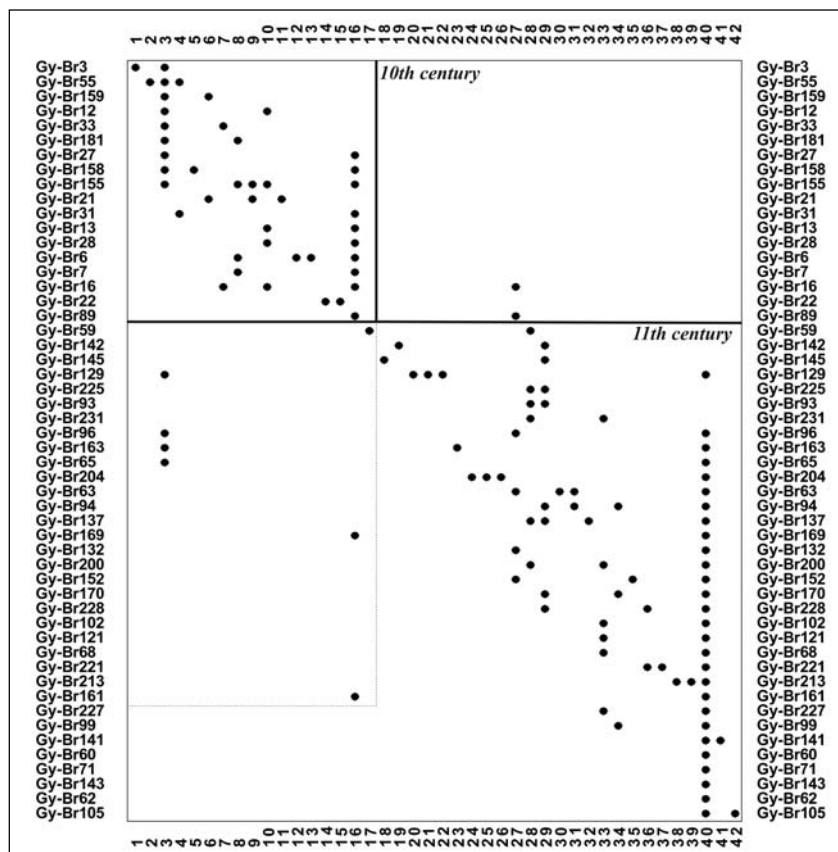


Fig. 20. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg)-Brândușei street, județul Alba, Cemeteries I–II. Continuity and discontinuity between the elements of the material culture; drawn by E. Gáll. Gy-Br — Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg) Brândușei street; 1 — String necklets made from one string, thin; 2 — Simple round button with ears and a handle at the end; 3 — simple lockring with its ends opposite each other (1); 4 — Simple string bracelet (2a); 5 — sickle; 6 — Closed, simple finger ring with circular cross-section (4a); 7 — Knobbed ring, twisted in a spiral (3b); 8 — knife; 9 — lyre-shaped buckle; 10 — clay pot; 11 — pear-shaped and oval lockring; 12 — strike-a-light; 13 — flint stone; 14 — Cast, closed wire finger ring forming a pseudo-granulation ornament (3a); 15 — Finger ring cast in braids (4a); 16 — Simple lockring with its ends bent on each other (2); 17 — round clothes mount (1); 18 — caftan mounts without the pendant (1); 19 — String necklets made from one string, thick; 20 — String necklace with rhomboid cross-section (3); 21 — drop shape mount (2); 22 — belt ornament used for the second time — pentagonal form (3); 23 — Widened strap ring with a knob (4g); 24 — Ornament buttons (2); 25 — shift mounts without the pendant (4); 26 — Lockrings with rectangular cross-section, with S-shaped ends (5a2); 27 — open wire ring (1a1); 28 — Andrew I's (1046–1060) coin of H8 type; 29 — Saint Stephen's (1001–1038) coin of H1 type; 30 — simple strap ring without ornaments with its ends bent on each other (5a); 31 — twisted necklets (2); 32 — braided string finger ring with hammered ends (1b); 33 — braided open finger ring (1c); 34 — wire finger ring with rectangular cross-section (2a); 35 — Péter Orseoló's (1038–1041, 1044–1046) coin of H6 type; 36 — open wire ring (1a2); 37 — Wire cast bracelet with rectangular cross-section (2d); 38 — grooved hair-rings with S-shaped ends (5c); 39 — rattle; 40 — Simple hair rings with S-shaped, flat ends (5a); 41 — Béla I's (1060–1063) coin of H12 type; 42 — Salamon's (1063–1074) coin of H14 type

finds discussed above, these customs that are so different from those of the Hungarian Conquest were practiced by a population that can be regarded the direct descendants of the population of these cemeteries. Without intending to become involved in the problematic «*gemischte Argumentation*» we make mention of the substantial number of Slavonic toponyms around Alba Iulia. We should also count on the presence of an Avar population, the result of earlier settlement, and a proto-Bulgarian population which is well represented in the burial rites of the 8th–9th century cemetery at Stația de Salvare. The question of whether there was a genetic link between the populations of the 8th–9th and 10th–11th century cemeteries could only be decided by DNA tests. According to the burial customs both *a cultural continuity* and *a discontinuity* can be detected.

The cemeteries in Alba Iulia Brândușei street and Stația de Salvare must have belonged to the people who had been conquered and who had settled down around Alba Iulia, where Magyar elements also appear.

So, at the moment it is likely that at the beginning of the 10th century during the political and military conquest the Hungarians did not eradicate the original inhabitants of southern Transylvania, but integrated them. The characteristic finds recorded in the Transylvanian Basin allow us to ask the question whether it is possible that another eastern migration took place in the 10th century.

In the end, the problems of continuity and discontinuity between the 10th and 11th century cemeteries must be mentioned, which can be best studied in the cemetery in Brândușei street.

The material culture and the burial customs in the 11th century Alba Iulia Brândușei street-cemetery differ from those observed in the 10th century cemetery to a great extent. In contrast to the 10th century graves, in the 11th century cemetery orientation became uniform, the W-E orientation became universal and hardly any graves are known with E-W, N-S or S-N orientation, neither did they contain offerings of food or drink. Apart from some common items (lockrings, finger-rings) completely new items of the material culture appeared in the 11th century. Supported by this data, we can talk about a *cultural break* (more details on this: Gáll 2010, in press). The question of whether this means the appearance of a new population in the cemetery or just a change in fashion or that the question of ethnic identity cannot be answered reliably using archaeological evidence, it can only be answered after the DNA tests (*cf.* Fig. 20).

Parallel to this development, horse-weapon burials of Group 1 are vanishing, as horse-weapon burials with food or drink offerings cannot be documented in the Transylvanian Basin starting from the onset of the 11th century (more details on this: Gáll 2008, vol. I, 106–109).

Change at the beginning of the 11th century is indicated by the large sized cemeteries such as the newly established graveyards in county centres in Alba Iulia Vânătorilor street, Alba Iulia-Pâclișa, Hunedoara, Cluj-Mănăștur, Moldo-

venești, which are the archeological symbol of a new age and can be dated quite accurately by coins of the Hungarian kings³⁰.

The organising activities of King Stephen I, who aimed to establish a western type state, based upon existing structures. As a result of his activity the Carpathian Basin began to be united into a political entity under the banner of western Christianity. An archaeological expression of the policy of Stephen I are *castles* and *castle necropolises* and *village cemeteries* which accompany the formation of the *village system*³¹.

³⁰ It is difficult to decide whether the coins that were discovered in different positions are to be interpreted as Charon's obols or as dress accessories, in other words, whether they can be seen as part of the burial customs or part of the clothing. Presumably, coins discovered on the chest, in the mouth or in the hand can be interpreted as obols. This was a widespread practice in the 11th century, but the existence of the custom in the 10th century can be proved by the large quantity of finds from this period, 56 cases have been registered in the Carpathian Basin. Referring to László Kovács's theory, the Magyar conquerors had brought this custom from the East, probably, it developed under a Byzantine influence, but not under the influence of the Byzantine church. His suggestion that the tradition of the death obol appeared with the Magyar conquerors can be only partly accepted in the light of the burial containing an obol in Ujvar having a north-south orientation, and the finds from the Lower-Danube (e.g.: graves with obols at Sultana). However, we rather suggest a possibility of a custom that came from two directions: east (Hungarian conquerors), south-east (cultural influence of Lower-Danube; cf. Gáll 2004–2005, 368–372; Kovács 2004).

³¹ This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU 89/1.5/S/61104.

ANNEX

LIST OF THE CEMETERIES AND STRAY FINDS
IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN FROM THE 10TH CENTURY

I. Group

1. Alba Iulia (Bălgrad/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg), județul Alba, south-east part of the castle.
Lit. Heitel 1986.
- 2.1. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg), județul Cluj, Kalevala street site I.
Lit. Gáll 2008, vol. II, 65–67, vol. III. Pl. 104–106.
- 2.2. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg), județul Cluj, Plugarilor street.
Lit. Gáll 2008, vol. II, 67–70.
- 2.3. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg), județul Cluj, Zápolya street.
Lit. Kovács 1942; László 1942; Gáll 2008, vol. III, Pl. 107–137.
- 2.4. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg), județul Cluj, Heltai street single grave.
Lit. Gáll 2008, vol. II, 64.
3. Gâmbaş (Marosgombás), județul Alba, Măgura.
Lit. Herepey 1896; Roska 1936, 164–166.
- 4.1. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach), județul Alba, “B” cemetery.
Lit. Horedt 1966, 276–283.
- 4.2. Blandiana (Maroskarna/Stumpach), județul Alba, “C” single grave.
Lit. Gáll 2008, vol. II, 98.
5. Orăștie (Szászváros/Broos), județul Hunedoara, X2.
Lit. Pinter-Luca 1995.
7. Deva (Diemrich/Schlossberg/Déva), județul Hunedoara, Micro 15.
Lit. Horedt 1986, Fig. 39; Pinter 1994–96; *Catalogul expoziției...*, 2006, 87–88.
8. Brășoru (Malomszeg), județul Cluj.
Lit. Vlassa 1967.
9. Dej (Dézs), județul Alba.
Lit. Nagy 1906, 134–135; Hampel 1907, 222.
10. Sfântu Gheorghe (Sankt George/Sepsiszentgyörgy), județul Covasna Epreștető.
Lit. Székely 1945, 1–15.
11. Eresteghin (Eresztevény)-Zádogostető, județul Covasna.
Lit. László 1943, 82, Pl. XV. 3–4.
- 12.1. Alba Iulia (Bălgrad/Karlsburg/Gyulafehérvár), județul Alba, Apor castle.
Lit. not registered.
- 12.2. Alba Iulia (Bălgrad/Karlsburg/Gyulafehérvár), județul Alba, stray find (1944).
Lit. Roska 1944. 104–108.

13. Heria (Hari)-stray find, județul Alba.
Lit. Roska M., 1944. 97. 1. kép. 3.
14. Oiejdea (Vajasd)-stray find, județul Alba.
Lit. Horedt K., 1958. 144.
15. Lopadea Ungurească (Magyarlapád)-few disturbed graves, județul Alba.
Lit. Nagy G., 1913. 271; Bodrogi J., 18–25; Gáll 2008, II. 102–103.
16. Benic? (Borosbenedek), județul Alba.
Lit. Gáll 2008, II. 14.
17. Cheile Turzii (Tordai hasadék)-stray find, județul Cluj.
Lit. Horedt K., 1958. 144.
18. Cetea (Csáklya), județul Alba.
Lit. Roska M., 1936. 161.
19. Cireșoiaia (Magyardécs)-stray find, județul Cluj (Cluj county).
Lit. László Gy., 1943. 82: note 241, PL. XV. 5.
20. Poiana Aiudului (Nyírmező)-stray find, județul Alba (Alba county).
Lit. Nagy G., 1913. 272.

II. Group

21. Alba Iulia (Bâlgrad/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg), județul Alba, Brândușei street.
Lit. Drâmbăreanu et al. 1998; Dragotă, Brânda 2001; Dragotă et al. 2005; *Catalogul expoziției...* 2006, 33–38.

III. Group

- 22.1. Alba Iulia (Bâlgrad/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg), județul Alba, Stația de Salvare.
Lit. Blăjan, Popa 1983; Ciugudeanu 1996; *Catalogul expoziției...* 2002, 8–12; *Catalogul expoziției...* 2006, 12–18.
- 22.2. Alba Iulia (Bâlgrad/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg), județul Alba, Izvorul Împăratului.
Lit. *Cronica...* 2002, 2003, 2007.

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