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The ‘westernisation’ of the Transylvanian Basin: Migration and/or acculturation?: Wearing hairpins in the 12th century Transylvanian Basin

»Pozapadnjivanje« Transilvanske kotline: migracija ili
akulturacija?: Nošenje ukosnica u Transilvanskoj kotlini
u 12. stoljeću

UDC: 739.8:904(498)”10/12”

Original scientific paper/Izvorni znanstveni rad

In our research, we tried to reconstruct the hairdress of this period based on the archaeological artefacts that were found in the Arpadian age churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin. These hairpins, which were in use throughout the 5–9th centuries in Western Europe in the Anglo-Saxon speech-area, were part of a hairdress fashion trend that, later in the 12th century, spread throughout all of Christian Europe. Taking in account the Transylvanian artefacts and their context, we can notice that copper alloy hairpins with a gilded globular head often appear with S-ending lock rings. Their appearance is in strong rela-

Ovim smo radom željeli rekonstruirati nakit za kosu iz navedenog razdoblja na temelju arheoloških artefakata pronađenih na crkvenim grobljima arpadovskog razdoblja u Transilvanskoj kotlini. Ukosnice koje su se nosile između 5. i 9. stoljeća na anglosaksonskom govornom području zapadne Europe predstavljale su aspekt modnoga trenda koji se kasnije, u 12. stoljeću, proširio diljem kršćanske Europe. Ako u obzir uzmemo transilvanske artefakte i njihov kontekst, možemo primijetiti kako se ukosnice od bakrene slitine s okruglim glavama često pojavljuju zajedno s prstenastim zatvaračima sa S završetkom. Izgled ovih ukosnica

tion with the Christian mentality and the western fashions of this period, which are obviously connected with the 'westernisation' of the Hungarian state institutions.

Going into a thorough and in-depth analysis of the archaeological artefacts yields a number of questions, some of which we have found the answers to only after other conducting (especially anthropological) research work. We can announce with certainty that artefacts of this type are not the heritage of any group of foreign people. The expanding of this study and the excavation of the earliest cemeteries should complete our knowledge on this topic in the future.

In the 12th century, the archaeological signs of 'westernisation' appear in all segments of life in the Transylvanian Basin. This can only mean one thing: besides the migrations mentioned by the written sources, the eastern half of the Hungarian Kingdom was integrated into western culture.

Key words: Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvanian Basin, 11–13th centuries, 'westernisation', hairpins, anthropomorphic grave

1. Introduction. Notes on 'westernisation': (personal, in small groups) phenomena of migrations and acculturation on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom

It is common-place knowledge that, in the second half of the 10th century, with the ascension of Géza and the coronation of King Stephen I, the institutionalised westernisation of the Carpathian Basin was started. But what does this expression exactly mean?

The Carolingian Empire under Charles the Great, king of the Franks (768–814) was the first to spread the influence of its political, economic and military power across Western Europe and towards the eastern part of the continent, reaching the borders of the Avar Khaganate in the late 8th and early 9th centuries. In close connection with this, we can refer to the Carolingian renaissance, which meant the establishment of an edu-

usko je vezan uz kršćanski mentalitet i zapadnu modu tog razdoblja koji su očito povezani s »pozapadnjivanjem« mađarskih državnih institucija.

Iz pomno provedene i detaljne analize arheoloških artefakata rađaju se brojna pitanja, a odgovore na neke od njih našli smo tek nakon niza provedenih (posebice arheoloških) istraživanja. Sa sigurnošću možemo ustvrditi da artefakti ovog tipa nisu naslijeđe jedne grupe doseljenika. Buduća iskopavanja najranijih grobalja i opsežnija istraživanja trebala bi proširiti naša saznanja o ovoj temi.

Arheološki znakovi »pozapadnjivanja« u 12. se stoljeću pojavljuju u svim segmentima života u Transilvanskoj kotlini. To nas dovodi do zaključka da je unatoč migracijama koje spominju pisani izvori, istočna polovina Ugarskog Kraljevstva bila integrirana u zapadnu kulturu.

Ključne riječi: Ugarsko Kraljevstvo, Transilvanska kotlina, 11.–13. stoljeće, »pozapadnjivanje«, ukosnice, antropomorfna grobnica

ational system operated by the church and the spread of the Carolingian culture. Christian Western Europe began to boost its political, cultural, religious and economic influence under the banner of Christian religion and the vested system of values based upon the philosophy of Augustinus. On the other hand, concerning the political divisions of the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century, the Carolingian initiative was not successful.¹

This western advancement towards the east played an important role in the formation of the Hungarian Kingdom, among other things. The es-

¹ The initial step of 'westernisation' in the Carpathian Basin was the time period following the disintegration of the Avar Khaganate. The works of Miklós Béla Szöke are indispensable for discussing this issue (Szöke 2000, 133–135; Szöke 2011, 265–294; Szöke 2014). On the survival of the people of the Avar era and the political entities of this region see also Szádeczky-Kardoss 1993, 227–236; Tomka 1997, 68–75; Olaus 2004; Szentpéteri 2006, 455–496; Szentpéteri 2008, 325–346; Katona-Kiss 2010, 168–214; Szabados 2012, 219–235.

tablishment of the Christian Hungarian state was also influenced by the holy Roman emperor and the pope and was a result of the spread of the *imperium christianum*, or the western institutional system (not underestimating the earlier local forerunners).² This process can be called *system integration*, and it aimed to fit together and organise the mutual relations of institutions and communities (both politically and structurally). The integration requires a forced adaptation and a capacity, which in turn modifies the cultural characteristics of the particular entity,³ however, in our opinion, it is closely connected to acculturation. This relation can be interpreted within the frames of *asymmetric dependence*, which is characterised by defencelessness, which cannot be stopped by the suffering community (or mainly their elite) in an uneven power structure. One characteristic feature of asymmetric dependence is *threat* and *obedience* as its result, through this result has a clearly negative effect on the self-view of the community as 'we'. As a result of the political developments in Europe in the second half of the 10th century, the Christian western world continuously brought the leaders of the Hungarian Principality in a situation where they were forced to come closer to the western powers, i.e. the emperor and the pope. This process of defining the future of the Carpathian Basin was completed after 997. 'Westernisation' was a one-way transformation: one-way because the political and cultural effects coming from the west were not met by counter-effects from the east, and it was a transformation and as a result of it, the 'steppe imperial' system of institutions of eastern origin brought and planted in the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarian Principality for a short period of 100 years, disappeared.⁴

The first phase of 'westernisation' mainly affected the institutional systems, meaning a forced switch from the eastern, Asian type structure. In view of foreign and internal affairs, the most important aspect of the westernisation of the power structure was the assuming of the *royal* title as opposed to

the old title of the (*Great*) *Prince (künde)*,⁵ which was the biggest diplomatic achievement of Vajk/Stephen I (997/1001–1038).⁶ These changes, as are reflected by the laws of King Stephen I and, subsequently, those of King Ladislaus and King Coloman,⁷ affected the value system and clothing of the elite who retained their power.

Certainly, the western political institutions could not have been adopted in the Carpathian Basin without importing western human resources (clerical staff promoting Christian interests and the army defending them)⁸ and western political philosophy.⁹

In connection with western human resources, we are aware of a whole series of migratory phenomena on the territory of Saint Stephen's Hungarian Kingdom (as can be observed continuously in the army and the church in the 11th century),¹⁰ as is known from the first Hungarian treatise on the theory of state. However, these are not group or mass migrations in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, but the settlement of newly-arrived persons and families in the new Christian kingdom. Therefore, the process known as acculturation or change of culture is a combination of cultural interactions when two or more traditions meet and, as a result of their assimilation or mingling, a new reality is created. This holds to a greater extent for the Hungarian Kingdom in the 11th and 12th centuries, because the western foreigners (though not only them) brought about many changes that brought a new culture into this country, and at the same time they were successfully integrated into the new system established by King Stephen. It

⁵ Márton 1994, 389 (with bibliography).

⁶ Since, according to the conception of the period, the archbishop of Rome appeared as Christ's worldly representative (*vicarius Christi*), as a result of the fact that the crown was sent by the pope, his royal power was defined as deriving from God in his first book of laws (Székely 1984, 908; Makk 2000, 323).

⁷ Závodszy 1904; ÍF 2006.

⁸ The violent reign of Prince Géza and his favouring Christian newcomers are recorded in a similar way by both Hungarian and foreign sources (ÁKÍF 1999, 112–113, 271–275, 362).

⁹ The most recent critical edition of Saint Stephen's theory of state and an in-depth study of the wide European cultural and historical background were written by László Havas (Intelmek 2004; Havas 2012, 363–379).

¹⁰ Székely 1984, 905–949.

² To mention some of the innumerable works on the topic, see Deér 1938; Hóman 1938; SZIE 1938; Györffy 1977; Görich 1993; Kristó 1995; Riché 1999; Szabados 2011; Havas 2013, 9–46.

³ AEKK 2010, 182.

⁴ Pohl 2003, 572–573; Stepanov 2010; Szabados 2011.

is important to note that this integration was expressed by a sovereign royal will. According to the introduction of the royal law, 'since all the people use their own laws, therefore we, governing our state by God's will, like the emperors of old and new, have prescribed likewise, after this reasoning has taken the shape of law, our people how to lead a respectful and peaceful life...' ¹¹ King Stephen's key point in integrating foreigners can be found in Article VI of *Admonitions*. 'As the guests are coming from all parts and provinces of the world, they bring various languages and traditions and different educational writings and weapons. These serve as decorations for all Kingdoms, making the Court glamorous, daunting foreigners who act in a challenging way.' ¹²

Apparently, the great pagan movements (1046, 1060) are testimony to the fact that the integration and acceptance of the people and small groups who mainly arrived from the west was not successful. On the other hand, the 'westernisation' of the country could only have affected the elite or some parts of them in the first half of the 11th century. According to some, the uprising led by Vata may have terminated a major part of both the higher and the lower ranked priests, who were substituted with similar clerical staff from the west by Andrew I (mainly from Vallon regions, due to the bad Hungarian-German relations). ¹³ The foreign groups continued to settle down in the second half of the 11th century and in the 12th century.

At the same time, 'westernisation' also involved acculturation. It was not only the political institutions of the kingdom that were altered – everyday life, mentality and traditions (such the burial customs, as can be gleaned by archaeological means) and fashions were also affected. This is clearly shown by the spreading of churchyard cemeteries. Laws were written by Ladislaus I (1077–1095) and Coloman (1095–1116) that required the deceased to be buried in a Christian way, with the ceremony controlled and performed by priests. ¹⁴ Based upon coin finds, archaeologi-

cal studies concluded that, by the early 12th century, churchyard graves outnumbered pagan style final rites. ¹⁵ In fact, this is the phenomenon that changed the kingdom, making it 'western type'. Political and religious centres, clerical staff and the clerical infrastructure were the 'importers' of these phenomena of acculturation, whose appearance was later imitated by the lower segments of society handing down these values. This can be observed geographically, as well, as the various fashions spread from the political centres towards the political and geographical peripheries. It has already been observed by Gabriel Tarde that fashion always advances from the centre of a society (both geographically and socially) towards its periphery, ¹⁶ so that is what must have happened within this *acculturation*. Nevertheless, from the aspect of the archaeology of cemeteries, one can hardly talk about any 'westernisation' in the case of the various segments of society – this is clearly proven by the analyses of the various regions. ¹⁷

Our paper shall attempt to analyse a very narrow segment of this issue, namely a fashion element that obviously comes from the western culture. In our opinion, it would be a mistake to study the spread of the elements of material culture on a macro scale or on the level of the Carpathian Basin, therefore our paper only analyses the finds excavated in the Transylvanian Basin, which was situated in the eastern part of the kingdom. Based upon the finds excavated in the cemeteries, the question may arise whether we can talk about a 'westernisation' on an everyday level in the eastern part of the kingdom, and if so since when and to what extent. Can it be detected together with the adopted institutions in the different layers of society or, in the case of fashion which can be detected by archaeological means, did the assimilation to western fashion only affect the elite or did it also catch on in regions far from the cen-

of penitence on water and bread. The first decree of King Coloman provides that Christians may only be buried in the graveyard (I/73.), and the first Esztergom Synod held under his rule generally prohibits pagan practices (Article 7) (ÍF 2004, 155, 189, 220; Makk 2011, 135–136).

¹⁵ Bálint 1976, 230; Révész 2003, 338–343; Gáll 2013a, 135–250.

¹⁶ Tarde 1902, 13–15.

¹⁷ Kiss 1983; Kiss 2000; Istvánovits 2003; Révész 2008; Demo 2009; Gáll 2013, Vol. I–II; Tóth 2014; Horváth 2014.

¹¹ ÁKÍF 1999, 48.

¹² Intelmek 2004, 37.

¹³ Makk 2000, 343.

¹⁴ Article I/25 of Saint Ladislaus provides that all who do not bury their dead near a church are subject to twelve days

tres? We shall attempt to analyse this matter on the example of a well-defined geographical and cultural area.

First of all, it should be noted that the early Hungarian Kingdom covered the Carpathian Basin at the level of power, and not in terms of its population or settlements. As has been indicated in other papers,¹⁸ in the first half of the 11th century the eastern or Transylvanian border of the Hungarian Kingdom was a little further to the east of the valleys of the Rivers Mureş and the Someşul Mic, at least according to the relative archaeological data (cemeteries and castles),¹⁹ therefore we might suppose that the 'westernisation' of the eastern parts of the Transylvanian Basin at an institutional level cannot be dated earlier than the middle or the second half of the 11th century. Concerning the remains of everyday life which can be observed in the cemeteries and graves, the situation is even more obvious, as this type of artefact and the fashion connected to it is completely unknown in the Transylvanian Basin in the 10th–11th centuries.

Secondly, when discussing the issues of acculturation and the western migrations towards the Hungarian Kingdom, we think it is necessary to analyse this type of object since archaeologists in Romania (and elsewhere) tend to connect every western tradition (constructed or dug grave pits with head alcoves) or fashion to a migration, namely the immigration of German-speaking (?) people (as the ancestors of the Saxons), whereas several social phenomena (various fashions of any kind) are not necessarily connected to waves of mass migrations.²⁰ We are far from stating that such migrations did not take place, and would only like to advocate a more critical approach towards archaeological sources, which should by no means should be interpreted mechanically (e. g. *anthropomorphic graves* = German-speaking). By interpreting the wearing of hairpins, we wish to both indicate this strange problem in interpretation, but first we wish to provide a short introduction on the Western European fashion of hairpins.

¹⁸ Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 826–837.

¹⁹ Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 826–842, 905–922.

²⁰ A similar criticism on this: Benkő 2012, Vol. I., 63.

2. Western European hairpin fashions (Pl. 1.)

Western and south-western European female attire during the early Middle Ages was mostly influenced by the Romanesque spirit, which still bore many traces of antiquity, but mostly emphasised transcendence subordinate to the church's view of the world. Women in this period wore long dresses, long and wide shirts that covered the hands, while the robe worn above these also completely covered the feet.²¹ Hair styles also fitted this same spirit. During this period, hair styles were also strongly influenced by religious spirituality. Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians is remarkable in this respect,²² as it forbids women to pray or to enter a church with their heads uncovered.²³ As such, early Christian women covered their heads, or at least this is how they are depicted in frescoes found on the walls of Roman catacombs, dating back to the period between 100–300 AD.²⁴

By the 10th – 11th centuries, a distinct type of hood called a *wimple* had developed in England. This typically English headgear spread across all of Christian Europe by the 12th century, and it remained fashionable up until the 14th century.²⁵ This hood was a piece of linen or hemp cloth, which was wrapped around the head. It also covered the neck and was fastened under the veil.²⁶ Women wore the veil in several different ways, and it was made of light materials such as silk, batiste, or fine linen cloth. The veils were normally elongated, rectangular shaped, with a hole cut out in the middle for the head to be slid through.²⁷ (Pl. 1: 1–3)

²¹ Snyder 2002, 85–101.

²² Edwards 1979, 272; Barclay 1956, 108.

²³ 'Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonours his head. But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonours her head. For it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. For if a woman is not veiled, let her also be shorn. But if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled. For a man indeed ought not to have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man.' (Saint Paul: First Epistle to the Corinthians 11.5–11.7).

²⁴ Schaff 1885, 132.

²⁵ Houston 1996, 40, 226.

²⁶ Payne 1965, 168, 175.

²⁷ Laver 1969, 52–67.

During the 11th century, the round veil was the most popular. This kind of veil had a hole cut through the middle for the face, with a circle worn on top and a rectangular veil tucked underneath its back. According to a different style, a rectangular veil would be fastened on the left side of the head and left loose to flow down to the chin.

The headgear of young adolescents was considerably different from that worn by married women, and this also served to distinguish them from each other. While young girls wore their shoulder-length hair uncovered, married women could only appear in public with their hair covered. The hair styles of young women also indicated if they were ready for marriage.²⁸ Female hairstyles also indicated different life stages and particularities. As such, in Christian Europe, only unmarried women could wear their hair uncovered (the Hungarian word for this, *hajadonfő*, is used today meaning a person who is single), women acknowledged their subordination toward their husbands and openly displayed their marital status by covering their heads.

The 11th century hood was later completed with several other elements. One of these was the *barbette*, which was made fashionable by Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), queen of England. (Pl. 1: 4) It consisted of two parts: the rigid canvas forehead band and a strip of canvas, which was worn wrapped underneath the chin and fastened on top of the head.²⁹ Its top had an oval or round veil, covered by an approximately 60 cm high, round, fabric cover: this covered the head like a hat. Initially, only royalty wore this with a circlet or a diadem, but this was later adopted by every social strata.

The *fillet* was another headgear accessory, which was a rigid canvas or silk band worn around the head, on top of the *barbette*. During the 13th century, women could have one or the other with a round veil on top, which was folded in two and fastened by its edges to the front of the *fillet*. (Pl. 1: 5)

This style later led to the canvas hat, as the height of the forehead band was increased and stiff-

ened in such a way that it would rise a bit above the head. The hood, however, instead of hanging down from it, was sewed on from the inside, and when worn, it was slid over the top of the head. Later on, the hat was sewn in a wrinkled pattern.

The *barbette* and the *fillet* were both worn by young girls with their hair loose though, in most cases, their hair was braided. Gradually, the *barbette* and the *fillet* became narrower and both of them remained fashionable until the 14th century.³⁰ The richer, noble ladies used hair nets from the 13th century on, which were worn fastened to the *barbette* and the *fillet*, and this was called a *crespine* or a *crepinette*. In many cases, it was made of silk and decorated with jewels and ornaments.

During this period, a woman's hair would be prepared prior to putting on the hood. This began with the combing of the hair, after which it was split in two, braided, folded around the top of the head and fastened above the forehead. After this, the hair was arranged so as to clearly reveal the forehead, and the canvas band was folded under the chin, brought over the head and fastened on the top. After this, another band was placed across the head and fastened in the back. The headband was a piece of white canvas which was fastened around the neck. Its ends were folded up in order to reach a couple of locks of hair above the ears and were fastened to these, framing the face.³¹ A fine linen cloth was placed on top of it in such a way that it would cover the forehead and flow down on the shoulders. This last item was fastened to the chin and forehead band with the help of pins.³²

The history of women's hair decorations stretches back several thousands of years. We know of several types used in ancient Egypt and we find traces of hairpins being used by ancient Etruscans, Greeks as well as Romans. During the 12th century, short bone or bronze pins were used for fastening hair, while longer ones were used to fasten veils and clothes.³³ Similar short pins were found in England in Norwich, Winchester and York.³⁴

²⁸ Gilchrist 2012, 124–134.

²⁹ Schultz 1965, 237–240.

³⁰ Cunnington, Cunnington 1973, 40, 74.

³¹ Davenport 1948, 151.

³² Gilchrist 2012, 84–85.

³³ Margeson 1993, 9–10.

³⁴ Gilchrist 2012, 85.

Bronze pins tipped with flat endings were often used to fasten veils, some versions of which also turned up in finds dating back several centuries before the discussed period and in certain cases these were made of gold or silver. Some of these were found in France in the very rich tomb of Aregonde – 49 (dating back to 584),³⁵ and Brécláv-Pohánsko – 131, dating back to the 9th century.³⁶ Another example, also dating back to the 9th century, which was recovered from the Thames, can be found in the collection of the *British Museum*. This has a gilded, slightly dented, ball-end tip, with a diameter of 1.6 cm, with three holes observable in it, and decorated with an S-shaped spiralled filigree in the middle. The stem of the pin is roughly polished and has a length of 10.8 cm.³⁷

2–3% of the excavated graves in medieval cemeteries in England contain some information indicating clothing,³⁸ and because of this we have very few archaeological artefacts at our disposal to shed more light on hair styles. In almost every case, the only items preserved are hairpins. These often had round and sometimes ball-end tips, and only very rarely, in cases dating back to the 14th century, were their endings decorated.³⁹ One such example was excavated between 1966–1979 and can be found in the collection of the *British Museum*. Its ball-end was made of green glass, its diameter is 0.6 cm and its full length is 4.2 cm, and it dates back to the period between 940–1070.⁴⁰

In most cases, the graves contained one or two hairpins, but there are a few exceptions such as the case of the St. James and St. Mary Magdalene leper hospital, where the 12th century stone crypt contained the remains of an elderly woman. Eight hairpins were documented around her skull. The woman had presumably been the hospital's

patron.⁴¹ In another such case, one of the graves of St. Bartholomew's almshouse contained a female skeleton along with five hairpins with rolled up endings.⁴²

Ball-end hairpins were also found in this manner in France, as accompanying artefacts, during the excavations of the churches Saint-Romain and Saint-Denis.⁴³ Besides these, we also know of similar finds recovered from the Lot-et-Garonne area.⁴⁴

Western hairstyles came to the Hungarian Kingdom through the Holy Roman Empire, as these were already widely spread during the 12th century.⁴⁵ They already appear in 1152, in a Hungarian document, when a woman named Margit mentioned a hood in her will.⁴⁶ In 1231, the wife of *comes (ispán)* Bors already mentions two hoods in her will.⁴⁷ The wife of Demeter (1236–1269), son of Bezter, in her will, mentions a gilded hood decorated with pearls as well as a corolla, also gilded and decorated with pearls.⁴⁸

A couple of ragged fragments from archaeological excavation sites are also known, such as the ones discovered in 1931 in Kunkerekegyháza and Bocsán, where the remains of hoods woven with golden wire were identified in 12th–13th century graves.⁴⁹ However, one of the most outstanding artefacts was recovered from the grave of Agnes of Antioch, the wife of Béla III, King of the Hungarian Kingdom (1172–1196). Three thin undu-

⁴¹ Magilton, Lee, Boylston 2008, 128, 264.

⁴² Gilchrist 2012, 85.

⁴³ Meyer, Bourgeau, Coxall 1980, 271–308.

⁴⁴ Fages 1995, 263.

⁴⁵ Weinhold 1897, 295–300. It is necessary to mention the fact that this influence was initially of French origin because, during the reign of King Géza II of Hungary (1141–1162), from 1146 onward, Hungarian–German relations were hostile, while in 1147 Louis VII of France (1131–1180), while passing through Hungary on his way to the Holy Land, befriended Géza II, who continued his anti-German policies. About this see Makk 1996, 184–197. However, considering the fact that, during the middle of the 12th century, German crusaders – for example bishop Otto of Freising, the uncle of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190) – also passed through Hungary, the theory that the style was introduced due to German cultural influence, also holds its ground.

⁴⁶ Árpádkori okmánytár I. 1860, 62–63.

⁴⁷ Kormos 2010, 19.

⁴⁸ Nemes, Nagy 1900, 219.

⁴⁹ Szabó 1938, 35.

³⁵ Périn, Calligaro 2005, 190, Fig. 17.

³⁶ Kalousek 1971, 87, 133. Table 1.

³⁷ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=750388&objectId=85083&partId=1 (29.10.2015.)

³⁸ Gilchrist 2012, 70.

³⁹ Gilchrist 2012, 85.

⁴⁰ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3139522&partId=1&searchText=glass+pin&sortBy=imageName&page=2 (29.10.2015.)

lating hems hid the remains of the queen's veil, and these small fragments with edging hems were presumably part of a hairnet, thus representing the earliest example of this kind of style found in Hungary.⁵⁰

By the 13th century, garments in the Hungarian Kingdom had become entirely 'westernised', but in some cases we can also find traces of Byzantine fashion. This also implies a significant difference in hairstyles. The hairstyle of Gertrude of Merania is an interesting example, as her head was adorned with a wide hoop diadem decorated with jewels, which had strings of pearls flowing down from it, the hair itself being covered by a light, net-like hood made of red cloth.⁵¹

Starting with the 14th century, heavy hoods started being replaced by lighter, thinner veils, with their edges decorated with numerous rows of braided or sewn ruffles. This signalled the beginning of a new age.

3. Hairpins in Transylvania

During our analyses, we tried to determine the scope of use: the sex and age of the individuals from the graves containing hairpins, their use, position and quantity in the graves. Finally, we tried to make a possible reconstruction of the hairpin fashions using the archaeological evidence (Fig. 1–2) (Pl. 2–10) (map 1)

The appearance of the type of hairpin made by fitting together two hemispheres shows us the gradual instalment of western fashion in Transylvania. As we already mentioned, during this period, women in the western part of Europe would wear their hair split in two and coiled up, wrapped around with a hood, which was fastened in the back. After this they would place a fine canvas kerchief of top of this, in such a way that it would cover the forehead and flow down to the shoulders. For fastening this canvas to the chin and the forehead band, they would use hairpins. Among the cemeteries excavated in Transylvania, we have not discovered any cases where small, short pins were used for the prior adjustment of the hair.

Based on the hairpins found in 27 graves at 13 funerary sites⁵² we can conclude that the graves containing the hairpins belonged mainly to adults, but we can also find this tradition in the case of four *infans* and *juvenis* aged skeletons. Anthropological analyses would be required in order to clarify distribution by age.

Among the examples found in Transylvania, we only have a single case of its use for secondary function. The disk head hairpin found in Grave 172 in Dăbâca did not get there with its originally intended function. As seen in the grave sketch (Pl. 3), the hairpin was found on the right side, near the upper lateral rib, so it could not have been part of the corolla. The use of a jewel is connected with psychological and social, not to mention with funerary rituals, and because of this it is important to observe the position of artefacts in the archaeological excavation area. The hairpin found in this unusual position became bent or was deliberately bent at an angle of almost 90°, so in this case it is imaginable that it was used to decorate the outerwear of a woven shirt.

In contrast with the previous one, there is no question about the purpose of the simple hairpin recovered from Grave 322 (Pl. 3), from near the edge of the cemetery: a lock ring with an S-shaped ending was found on the left side of the skull with a simple bronze hairpin (Pl. 3) on its exact opposite side. In this case, it was certainly pinned in the hair or on the textile material in which the hair was wrapped. Based on its position within the cemetery (Grave 39 was found not topographically far from here and can be dated with the help of a coin of type *H91*) it dates back to the first half of the 12th century.⁵³

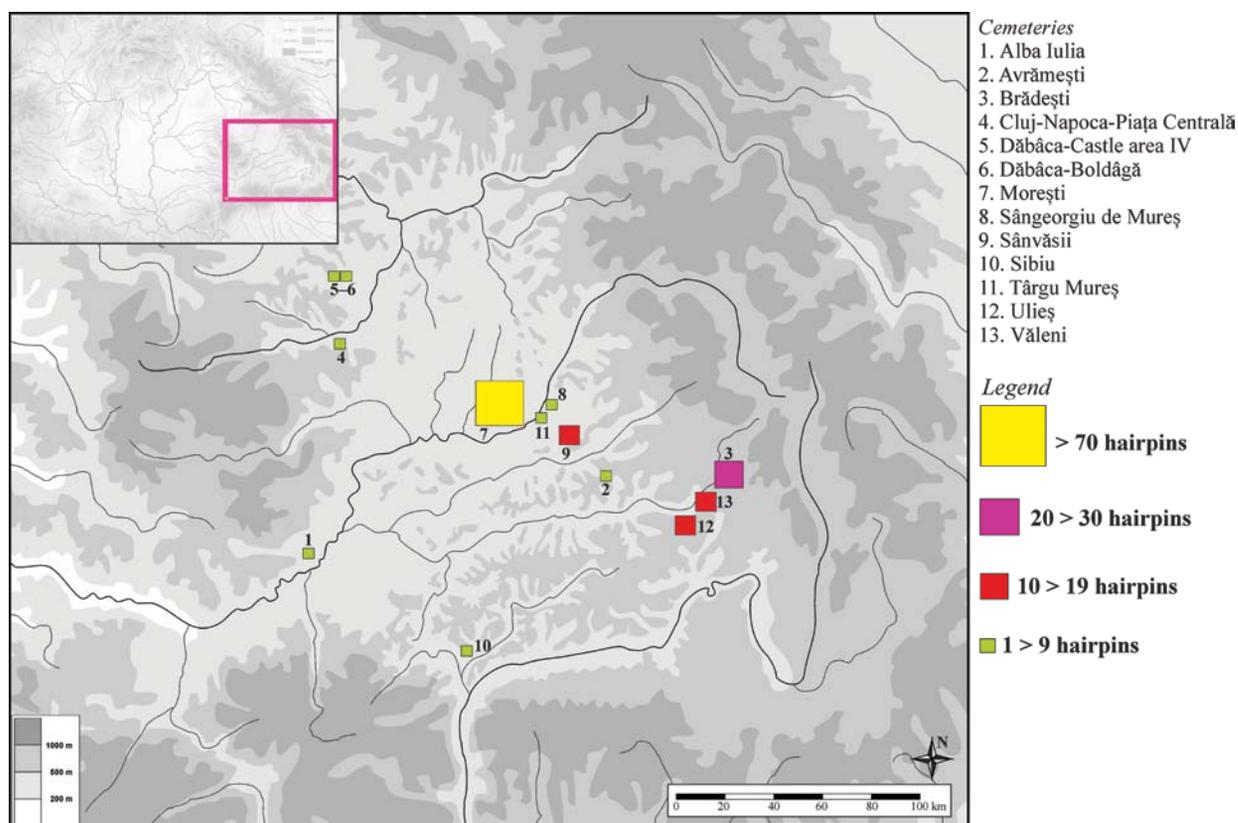
The hairpins found in the four graves in the cemetery in Brădești are characterised by a high degree of diversity both in terms of their function and use, as well as their number. This indicates that the use of hairpins was not strictly regulated by tradition. Graves 4 and 37 contained all but one example, while Grave 5 of a *iuvenis* yielded 6 examples and

⁵⁰ Sipos 1999, 64.

⁵¹ Nemes, Nagy 1900, 75.

⁵² If we also count the artefacts found in secondary positions, recovered from the cemetery in Morești, which were found together, we most likely have 30 graves.

⁵³ Chronological dating of 10–11th century simple hairpins from the Transylvanian Basin, Partium and Banat (Gáll 2013, vol. I, 661).



Map 1: The changes of the quantitative variables of the hairpins per site of the Transylvanian Basin

Grave S-40 yielded 20 examples. (Pl. 4; Pl. 5: 1–4; Pl. 6: 1–2) Some of the pins recovered from Grave 5 had traces of light woven linen, some small fragments of which we have managed to restore. (Pl. 5: 2; Pl. 6: 3–4) The examples discovered in Grave 40 in Brădești also had visible marks of several manufacturing techniques. The contact surface of the hemispheres had traces of some type of glue in several cases, running in a circle around the inner ridge of the contact surface, embedded in corrosion products. The pin was fastened in the lower hemisphere by flattening its end.

In order to additionally decorate hair styles, small glass beads were fixed to the ends of the pins in some cases. These cases were, however, quite rare. In Transylvania, only a single such case is known – in Ulieș, Grave 43, which yielded a hairpin with a dark blue glass bead, with a diameter of 0.5 cm, fixed to its end. (Pl. 5: 5; Pl. 6: 1–2; Pl. 7: 2/18) Similarly decorated pins were recovered during the excavation of the medieval church in Kaposvár, inside Grave 99, where 12 bronze hairpins

were found around the skull, which all had blue glass beads decorating their ends. A further 6 graves from inside the cemetery contained hairpins, but with just one or two per grave. Another element of hair decoration found in Grave 99 was two pins with lead beads in their ends, which were found on either side of the skull.⁵⁴ These lead beads are very similar to the decorations found in Grave 407 in Kaszaper.⁵⁵

In Morești, inside Grave 13 (*Fläche 31/B*), the skull was almost completely surrounded by such hairpins, but sadly, there exist no additional information offered by Kurt Horedt about other artefacts or their exact positions inside the grave (Pl. 9). Inside Grave 18, (Pl. 8) alongside the hairpins, an iron pin is also mentioned among the artefacts, but we sadly do not have any further information about its parameters.

⁵⁴ Bárdos 1978, 195.

⁵⁵ Bálint 1938, 139–184.

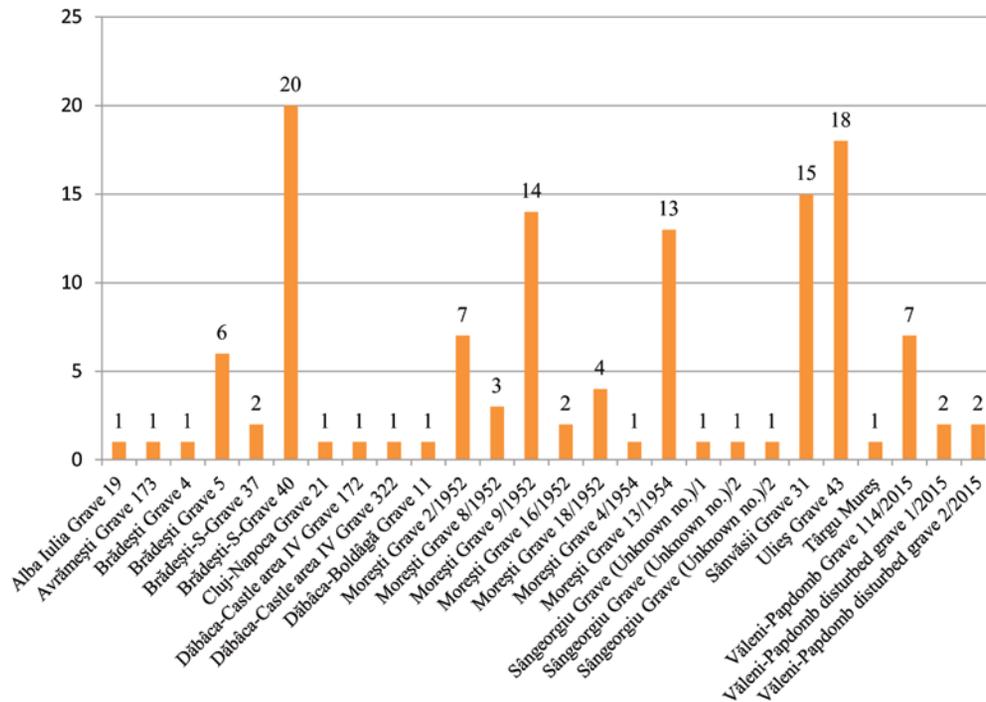


Fig. 1: The number of hairpins recovered from graves in the Transylvanian Basin

The single hairpin was found in Avrămești during the excavation of the church.⁵⁶

Sadly, we do not have any information about the positions of the artefacts found in Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca, Sângerșii de Mureș, Sânvășii or Văleni.

We have displayed the quantitative statistical situation of the hairpins discovered in the Transylvanian Basin in the following chart:

In Transylvania, there must have been numerous different versions of hair styles adopted from Western Europe. The scarce and incomplete archaeological remains only allow a partial reconstruction as of yet, but it is almost certain that increasingly thorough church and cemetery excavations will reveal new examples that will enrich the researched subject with further details.

Until then, we can confirm that hairpins, and especially ball-end hairpins, fulfilled a variety of functions. The number of hairpins recovered from the graves varied between just one and up to 18–

20, and this indicates the tradition or fashion in which kerchiefs were fastened. Hairpins could have already been used for fastening the hood strip. In this case, it was not only the two ends of the strip that were fastened but also the already prepared, curled-up hair, which was fastened to the head band. (Fig. 2: 2) The preparation of the third kerchief, which was left to flow down to the shoulders, was also done using hairpins in the headband. In this case, several hairpins could be placed in it for decorative purposes which, due to their ball-ends with diameters of 0.95–1 cm, gave the impression of a corolla (Fig. 2: 3). The size of the ball-end of the pin also indicated its place and role in decorating the hair. In the case of Grave 43 at the old church in Ulieș, we have found pins with small ball-ends (0.75–0.8 cm) alongside larger ones (0.95–1 cm). The smaller ones were also used for fastening the forehead band since it was completely covered. In most cases, however, there is no considerable difference between the sizes of the ball-ends of the pins discovered in one specific grave.

Based on these data, we illustrate possible reconstruction in the following figure:

⁵⁶ Benkő 1992, 220.

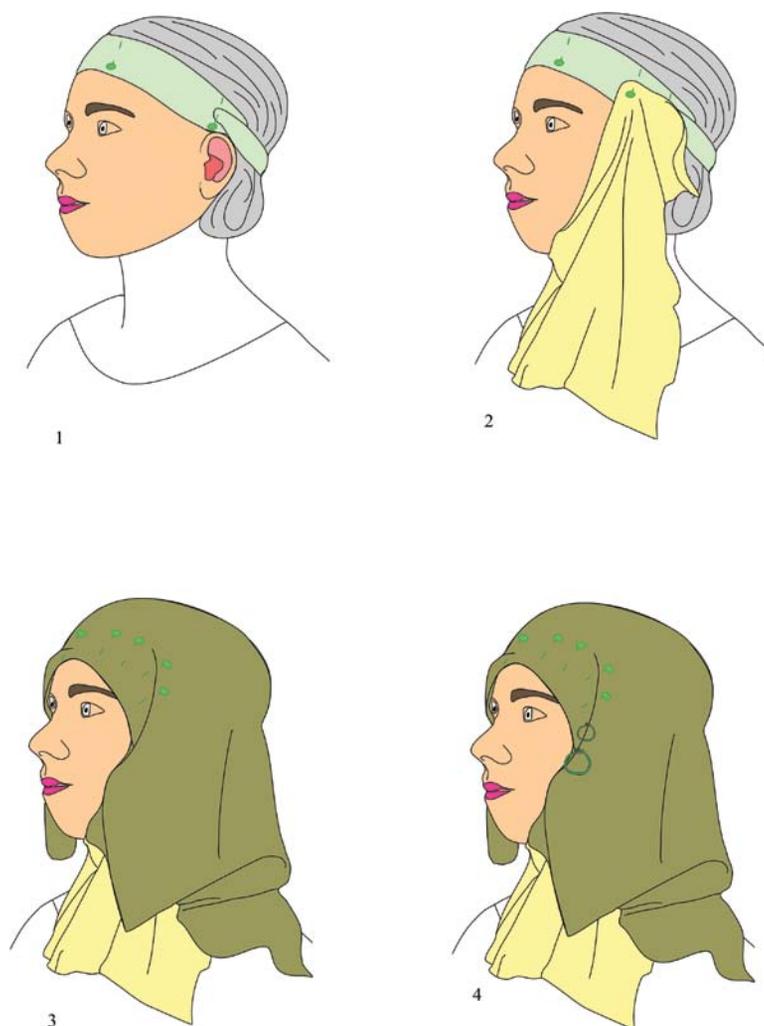


Fig. 2: Reconstruction of a Transylvanian hair style. 1. covering the hair and fastening it using a headband and hairpins; 2. fastening the canvas kerchief to the headband; 3. placing the shoulder-length kerchief and decorating it with ball-end hairpins; 4. fitting the lock rings

4. The analysis of the chronological context of the artefacts in the Transylvanian Basin (Fig. 3) (Pl. 2–10) (maps 1–4)

The first important feature regarding the discovered hairpins is the fact that each one of the approximately 25 artefacts collected from the graves from the 12 sites came from the cemetery surrounding the church, but no example was found in the so-called grouped or row cemetery. We cannot say anything more about this even after analysing the cemetery map, the result of the single significant excavation done in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. The three lock rings (plain, very large lock ring and a ribbed lock ring with an S-shaped

ending) found in Grave 172, belonging an adult of unconfirmed sex, were found in the middle of the cemetery. The middle layer containing the lock rings was disturbed by the pit of Grave 174, which in turn had also been disturbed by another grave. Sadly, no coins were found in any of the surrounding graves. In contrast, Grave 322 (a lock ring with an S-shaped ending was also found alongside the hairpin) was found in an area near the edge of the cemetery, where the necropolis had become single-layered. A grave containing a *H91* coin was found almost in its immediate vicinity. It is a fact, however, that both graves date back to the 12th century, same as the rest of the entire cemetery (its earliest coins are types *H41*

and *H42a*, minted under Coloman).⁵⁷ (Pl. 2; Pl. 3: Graves 172: 1–5, Graves 322: 1–2)

Sadly, nothing is known about the other site in Dăbâca. With regard to the example found in Boldăgă's Grave 11, we can only speculate that it was found in the earliest part of the cemetery.⁵⁸

With the excavation of the medieval church in Brădești, we managed to identify the traces of 52 graves. The cemetery was in use from the Árpádi-an age up until the middle of the 17th century. Due to modern age disturbances, soil slips and agricultural activity, most of the graves were found in very poor condition. According to the orientation of the graves, three categories are distinguishable. In addition, considering the depth of the graves, their filling, furnishing items and the state of the bones, the north-south oriented graves (between 192–218°) proved to date back to the Árpádi-an age, while most of the later graves (30 graves) date back to the 14th – 17th centuries. Four of the graves had east–west orientations and these date back to the 16th century. (Pl. 4)

We can distinguish two categories among the Árpádi-an age graves, the ones with earlier 11th–12th century furnishings and late Árpádi-an age graves without furnishing items, containing debris from earlier graves. A total of five graves belonged to the earlier group and in which, during the excavation of Grave 6, a fragment of a very corroded 12th century, anonymous silver denar (*H164*) was recovered. Besides this, fragments of ball-end hairpins were found in Graves 4 and 37, and lock rings with S-shaped endings were found along with ball-end hairpins in Graves 5 and 40. In order to achieve a more precise dating, we conducted a radio carbon analysis of the find from Grave 40,⁵⁹ and following the calibration the dating revealed that the grave dates back to the period between 1040–1160. (Pl. 4)

The earliest graves in Brădești were most likely buried in the vicinity of a church made of brick,

because the filling of Graves 4, 6, 37, 40 was slightly mixed with clay and contained chunks of mortar and brick. In spite of the fact that during the excavation (thanks to the very high degree in which the soil had been disturbed), the base of the walls of the early church could not be located, we can conclude from the archaeological finds that it was built of brick, similarly to the neighbouring church in Satu Mare, which had a foundation of rammed earth.⁶⁰ The first churches in Ulieș and Avrămești, where hairpins were also found, also had foundations of rammed earth. (Pl. 5: 1–4; Pl. 6: 1–4; Pl. 7: Grave 5 and 40)

We discovered the traces of the first church in Brădești in excavation trench 15, (Pl.4) where a locked layer (R-3) contained large quantities of brick debris (brick size: 25 × 4 × 17 cm), Árpádi-an age pottery fragments as well as a rhombus S-shaped arrow head.⁶¹ Similar bricks were also found in the walls of the later phase, as well as in later layers.

During the excavation of the medieval church in Ulieș, 56 graves were discovered, a significant number of which were placed around church 1, used up until the end of the Árpádi-an age. The earliest church had a semi-circular shaped foundation of rammed earth. It is important to mention that even this earliest foundation had already disturbed some graves.⁶² It is not clear whether Grave 43 (containing hairpins and lock rings),⁶³ was placed near the already existing church or if this was one of the graves predating the church. What is clear is that the grave's filling was clean, without any traces of construction debris and that it was found outside, east of the rammed earth foundation of the sanctuary. The grave was intersected by Graves 40 and 41, as well as the 2nd semi-circular sanctuary (Wall-5). (Pl. 5: 5; Pl. 6: 1–2; Pl. 7: Grave 43)

The state of the grave containing the example from Cluj-Napoca is unknown, as a single grave was excavated in 1958, found in a pit that was

⁵⁷ Gáll 2011, 41–42.

⁵⁸ Gáll, Laczkó 2013, 96–98, 6. kép.

⁵⁹ The samples were processed by Mihály Molnár from the Isotoptech Zrt. in Debrecen, the calibration was done with the help of the Calic 6.1.1, the number of the analysis register was I/839. For this see: Molnár *et al.* 2013, 338–344; Molnár *et al.* 2013a, 665–676.

⁶⁰ Demjén, Sófalvi 2009, 16–18.

⁶¹ The analysis of 10th–11th century arrowheads found in the Transylvanian Basin, see: Gáll 2013, vol. I., 725–731, 890, vol. II, Pl. 318.

⁶² Derzsi, Sófalvi 2008, 268.

⁶³ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 161.

meant for a light pole, between the public toilet and the parish church. (Pl. 3: 1–2) This cemetery had already been disturbed in several different locations in 1927, in 1943 as well as later in 1948, 1968 and in 2007. Excavations were carried out and some materials were recovered, but mostly the manner in which they were buried indicated a necropolis surrounding a church. However, something that went unnoticed by everyone, including us, was that there was no trace of grave clustering or graves appearing in different layers (none of the excavations made by Méri István, or Gyulai Pál, or Cosmin Rusu, found any trace of this), which means, based on observations made in other cemeteries surrounding churches (ex.: Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-A. Tâmaș's garden, etc.), that the church is not found near these excavated areas.⁶⁴ Based on the materials found so far, this piece of jewellery from the cemetery in Cluj-Napoca is most likely a product of the 12th century cultural sphere.

The cemetery surrounding the church in Morești enriches the literature on the subject with numerous questions, starting with the problem of its size,⁶⁵ and continuing with details such as orientation and the dating of the cemetery. Kurt Ho-

⁶⁴ Due to the lack of archaeological data, we currently have no idea about the whereabouts of the 12th–13th century church. Also, based on the relative great distances between the excavations (there is a 225 metre distance between the excavations made by I. Méri and S. Cociș), as well as the rarity of the grave excavated by Gyulai and based on the topographical situation of the graves saved in 1992 by Sorin Cociș, we can count two churches in early Cluj-Napoca (it may be a similar situation to that in Mănăștur or as proved in Dăbâca). Meanwhile, we must also consider another possible scenario, according to which the grave containing the ribbed hair ring with an S-shaped ending and square cross-section, discovered by S. Cociș, dates to a later period, the second half of the 13th century and that it is not linked in any way to the earlier cemetery. As such, it is very important that the so far excavated grave clusters that date back to the 12th century are single-layered, as typical for those found on the edges of cemeteries surrounding churches, so we cannot look for a church in their vicinity.

⁶⁵ *'...Der Friedhof reichte also von der Kirche nach Nordosten etwa 3035 m und erstreckte sich nicht über die Fläche A und den Hügel hinaus.'* (Horedt 1984, 60).

redt made excavations in two spots in the cemetery – supposedly its north-eastern and western sides – and first found 24 graves north-west of the later church, and then 31 graves north-east of it. While all five of the graves (2, 8, 9, 16, and 18) in the first area excavated were undisturbed and, based on their furnishing items, most likely date back to the 12th century (and this is also confirmed by a 12th century coin, which, according to Kurt Horedt, can be associated with Béla II), the other 31 graves discovered at the end of the so-called *Fläche 31/B* excavation trench were visibly layered. The result of this is that, with the exception of Grave 13, which had a west-east orientation (only the skull was left untouched),⁶⁶ the rest of the hairpins found here were discovered in secondary positions from disturbed graves. This also means that the individuals buried with the hairpins belong to an earlier phase of the cemetery. The dating of this phase is questionable, but the fact that the south-western corner of the area yielded a *H29* coin minted by Ladislaus I of Hungary (1077–1095), is thought-provoking.⁶⁷ Of course, this by itself cannot be considered sufficient proof of the earlier chronology of the hairpins, and especially cannot generalise the presumption on all the artefacts in the Transylvanian Basin, but overlooking this would also be a mistake. (Pl. 8–10)

If we take a look at the accompanying grave inventory items, with the exception of one, we will find a very rich diversity of different lock ring types. We find among them a very large sized plain lock ring (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172), a pear shaped silver lock ring (Ulieș Grave 43), the plain, large and small lock rings with S-shaped endings (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV – Graves 172 and 322, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21, Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952 and Grave 9/1952, Văleni-Papdomb Grave 114/2015 and the

⁶⁶ On the surface of *Fläche 31/B*, we can observe two types of orientation: west-east and south west – north east. Graves 3, 13, 17 and 24 had been placed with a west-east orientation, while Graves 1/A-C, 2, 7–12, 15, 21, 27, 28 and 29 (but we may also distinguish two separate categories among these) were placed with a south west – north east orientation.

⁶⁷ Kurt Horedt incorrectly mentions this a Ladislau II's coin (Horedt 1984, notes 62, 92).

destroyed grave 1/2015),⁶⁸ as well as the ribbed, small and medium size lock rings with S-shaped endings, dating back approximately to the second third/half of the 11th century (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172, Brădești-Grave 5, -S-Grave 40, Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952, -Grave 18/1952, Avrămești Grave 173).⁶⁹ The number of lock rings found in these graves also varies considerably. Generally, only a single lock ring would be discovered in graves containing hairpins (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 322, Brădești-S-Grave 40, Ulieș Grave 43, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21, Morești-Citfalău Grave 18/1952), but there are also cases known with 2 (Alba Iulia-Roman Catholic Cathedral Grave 19), 3 (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172), 4 (Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952) or even 5 lock rings (Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952). The new hair style fashion excludes the possibility that these types of artefacts were used as earrings since the ears were completely covered, and the possibility that they were attached to the hair is also unlikely as the hair was also entirely covered. Supposedly, these hair rings were attached to the headgear, which hung down decorating the temple area. (Pl. 3; Pl. 7; Pl. 10) These rather homogeneous finds include one single exceptional item, a ring with a square cross-section (Morești-Citfalău Grave 16/1952). Similarly, although with an imperfect square cross-section, a closed ring is also known from Grave 116 in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, which dates back to the 12th century.⁷⁰

In six cases, there no other furnishing items found beside the hairpins, which we attempted to illustrate in the following table:

Considering all the data, we can conclude that we do not know of a single case in the Transylvanian Basin which can be dated to the first half of the 11th century, which yet again confirms the fact that the appearance of this type of item in Transylvania occurs mainly in the 12th century, although in the cases of the Brădești (¹⁴C anal-

ysis) and Morești-Citfalău (based on the H29 coin type), it is possible to date it back to the end of the 11th century. This type of hair style was ranked among the typical features of the material culture of the 12th century Hungarian Kingdom by István Bóna,⁷¹ which is linked with the change of hair styles.⁷² However, during the 12th century, they are far from being present in every cemetery, which also indicates or may indicate that their use did not spread or was simply not reflected (the textile corolla was not left on the head) in burial rituals.

5. Their geographical range: migration and/or acculturation? Methodological questions (maps 1–4)

Classic archaeology based upon its 19th century foundation explained the change and dynamics of fashion and funerary customs with historical records, and adjusted explanations to these sources. In this, cultural changes were usually analysed as the archaeological indicators of new peoples and migrations, which practically corresponds to 'historic' Level 3 of event history set up by Sebastian Brather.⁷³

As can be seen on our maps showing their geographical range (maps 1–4), only a relatively small amount of these hairpins is known from the graves dating from the 12th century in the Transylvanian Basin, but what is more important, the places where the hairpins of this kind have been excavated are clustered like islands where the hills along the Mureș and the Târnava meet the fore posts of the Carpathians, practically in two micro-regions (map 4). It is an important fact that Ulieș, where hairpins were found in a significant number in Grave S-43, is situated in a side valley of the Great Târnava, indicating that the settlement area also covered the areas of the side rivers in the 12th century.

And then the question arises concerning how this concentration of finds can be interpreted in Central-Eastern Transylvania (95.31% of the Transylvanian finds were excavated here, see Fig. 1),

⁶⁸ Similar examples are also known from the cemetery in the Castle Area IV in Dăbâca, which have been dated with reasonable certainty to the 12th–13th centuries (Gáll 2011, 40).

⁶⁹ Szőke, Vándor 1987, 51–52; Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 657–658.

⁷⁰ Gáll 2011, 43.

⁷¹ Bóna 1978, 140–141.

⁷² Bárdos 1978, 194.

⁷³ Brather 2006, 27, 1. ábra.

Grave	Sex	Age	Inventories of the graves
Alba Iulia-Roman Catholic Cathedral Grave 19	?	?	1 bronze hairpin, 2 lock rings with S-shaped endings
Avrămești-Templomföld Grave 173	female	20–39 years old	1 bronze hairpin, ribbed silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 4	?	adultus	1 ball-end of a pin
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 5	?	juvenis	6 bronze ball-end hairpins, 1 small ribbed silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave S-37	?	adultus	1 bronze hairpin
Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave S-40	?		20 bronze hairpins, 1 large, ribbed, silver lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21	?	?	1 bronze hairpin, small bronze lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 172	?	adult?	1 bronze hairpin, 1 ribbed with an S-shaped ending, 1 medium sized lock ring with an S-shaped ending, 1 plain bronze very large lock ring
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 322	?	adult?	1 bronze hairpin, 1 plain small lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Dăbâca-Boldâgă/Boldogasszony Grave 11	?	?	?
Morești-Citfalău Grave 2/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	7 hairpins, 3 smaller lock rings with S-shaped endings, 1 large lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Morești-Citfalău Grave 8/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	3 hairpins
Morești-Citfalău Grave 9/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	14 bronze hairpins, 2 small lock rings with S-shaped endings, 1 large, ribbed, bronze lock ring with an S-shaped ending, 2 plain large lock rings with S-shaped endings
Morești-Citfalău Grave 16/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	2 hairpins, plain, square cross-sectioned, rounded finger ring
Morești-Citfalău Grave 18/1952	?	adultus-maturus?	3 bronze hairpins, 1 iron hairpin, 1 bronze, ribbed lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Morești-Citfalău Grave 4/1954	?	infans	1 bronze hairpin
Morești-Citfalău Grave 13/1954	?	?	13 bronze hairpins
Morești-Citfalău Grave 20/1954	?	?	Unknown number of hairpins
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/1	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/2	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sângeorgiu-Roman Catholic Church Unknown no. of the grave/3	?	?	1 bronze hairpin
Sânvășii-Reformat Church Grave 31	?	?	15 bronze hairpins, 3 lock rings with S-shaped endings
Ulieș-Régi templom Grave 43	female	20–59 years old	18 bronze hairpins, pear shaped lock ring
Târgu-Mureș	?	?	?
Văleni-Papdomb Grave 114/2015	?	?	6 or 7 hairpins, 1 small-lock ring with an S-shaped ending, anonym denar – <i>H139</i> type
Văleni-Papdomb disturbed grave 1/2015	?	?	1 or 2 hairpins, 1 small-lock ring with an S-shaped ending
Văleni-Papdomb disturbed grave 2/2015	?	?	2 hairpins

Fig. 3: Graves containing hairpins along with other inventories

(maps 1–2). In the vast number of churchyard cemeteries excavated in the big Transylvanian centres so far, only an insignificant number of hairpins have been found (e. g. in Dăbâca, three pieces were only found in three graves apiece among more than 800 graves). To put it in other words, how can the appearance of this type of object be interpreted in the case of a micro-region or area, as this clothing element can be considered 'alien' to the 12th century Transylvanian material culture? Older archaeological explanations usually interpreted them as indications of group or personal migrations but, in our opinion, the situation is somewhat more complicated.

First, the finds containing the 12th century hairpins that were excavated in the Pre-Carpathian sites in Eastern-Transylvania cannot be set parallel, so in this case we cannot talk about the members of a group immigrating in a given period of the 12th century, since the finds at our disposal only increase the probability of their use in the 12th century in general whereas, in the case of the graves in Morești-Citfalău, the first decades of the century seem to be probable. Consequently, as these finds can only be dated to a wider chronological era, in our view they cannot be interpreted as signs of group migrations.

Secondly, the following represents a methodological issue – what can be considered 'foreign' in a set of finds (in this case in a cemetery)? The position of this jewel in the grave begs the question whether we can see foreign people or foreign objects. Is it the result of migration or exchange?

Apart from the fact that this jewel can be found only in some clustered sites in the entire Transylvanian Basin (maps 1–4), in the cemeteries in the area next to the Carpathian range they cannot be considered 'foreign', as they are known from the cemetery in Morești-Citfalău (if it is included here) in as great a number as the hairpins with lock rings with S-shaped endings (in 14.81% of the graves including four stray finds excavated in graves), and they were found in almost all the graves, and also in the cemetery in Brădești (among the five graves dating from the 12th century there are only four in which hairpins were found!).

As a consequence, at the moment there is no evidence supporting the assumption that this type of jewellery was brought to Transylvania through a group migration, and it can be excluded once and

for all that this jewel belongs to the same chronological period (Grave S-40 in Brădești is dated to 1040–1160, while Grave 31 in Sânvășii is dated to the second half of the 12th century by the ¹⁴C analysis and the grave 114 in Văleni is similarly dated by a coin of Type *H139* to the second half of the 12th century)⁷⁴.

Certainly, it would be most interesting to carry out a comparative anthropological analysis of the skeletons in the graves with hairpins, broken down to micro-regions, but at the moment this cannot be done either due to the poor condition of the anthropological remains (in Brădești) or due to the lack of them (Morești).

How can we interpret this phenomenon? It has already been stated that the overwhelming majority of the finds in the Transylvanian Basin are concentrated in two micro-regions, elsewhere, in the centres of the western part of the Transylvanian Basin they seldom occur. One micro-region is the area surrounding Morești–Târgu Mureș where, based on the existence of a case-construction fortress, we can count with a centre of power from the second half of the 11th century.⁷⁵ The geographical-topographical connection of this micro-region with the upper reaches of the Târnavă Mare is quite obvious, so the presence of this jewel in this area can be connected to the area of Morești–Târgu Mureș. In general, a western workshop tradition can be assumed to have existed in Eastern-Transylvania and it could be traced back to many reasons. The spread of western fashion in this region seems to be the most logical explanation. (map 4)

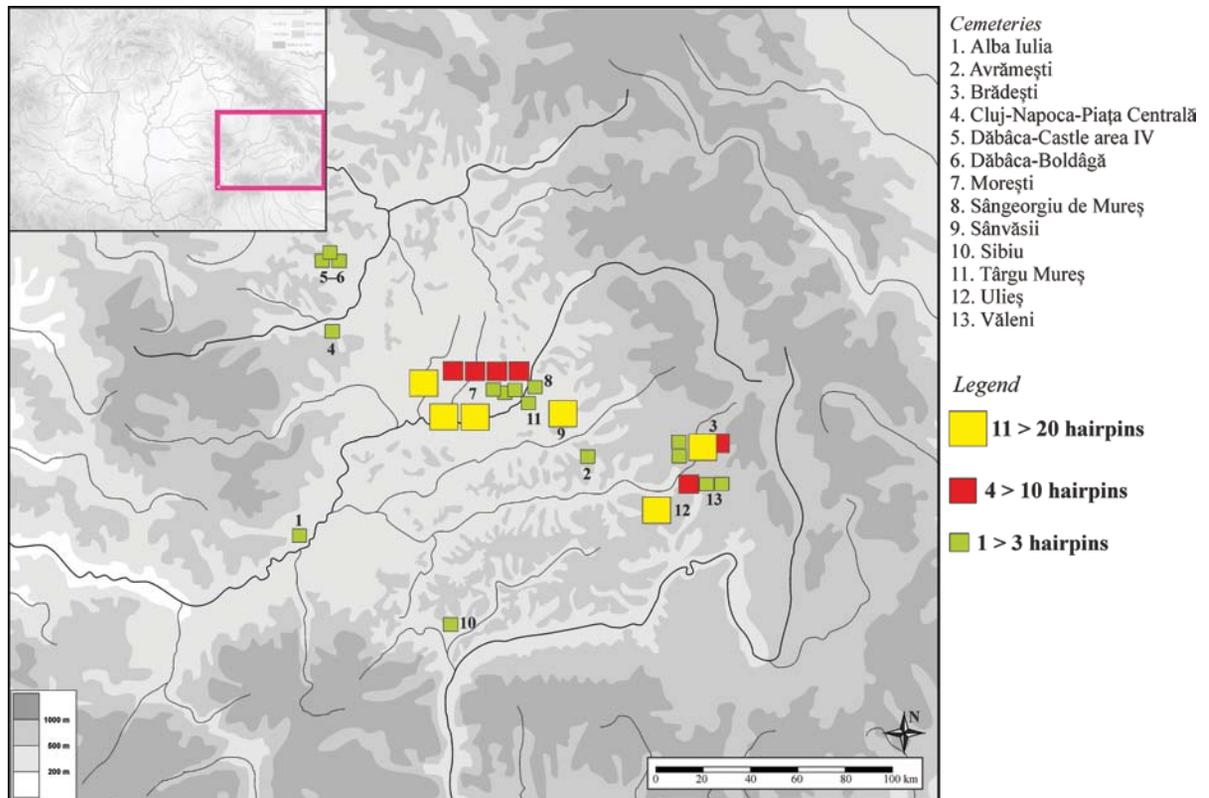
6. Consequences: hairpins and cultural factors in the Transylvanian Basin in the 12th century (Fig. 4) (map 3)

As has been mentioned, the hairpins with sphere-shaped ends turned out to have been characteristic fashion items of the 12th century, but they were new elements contrary to the material culture of earlier times,⁷⁶ coming to the territory of the

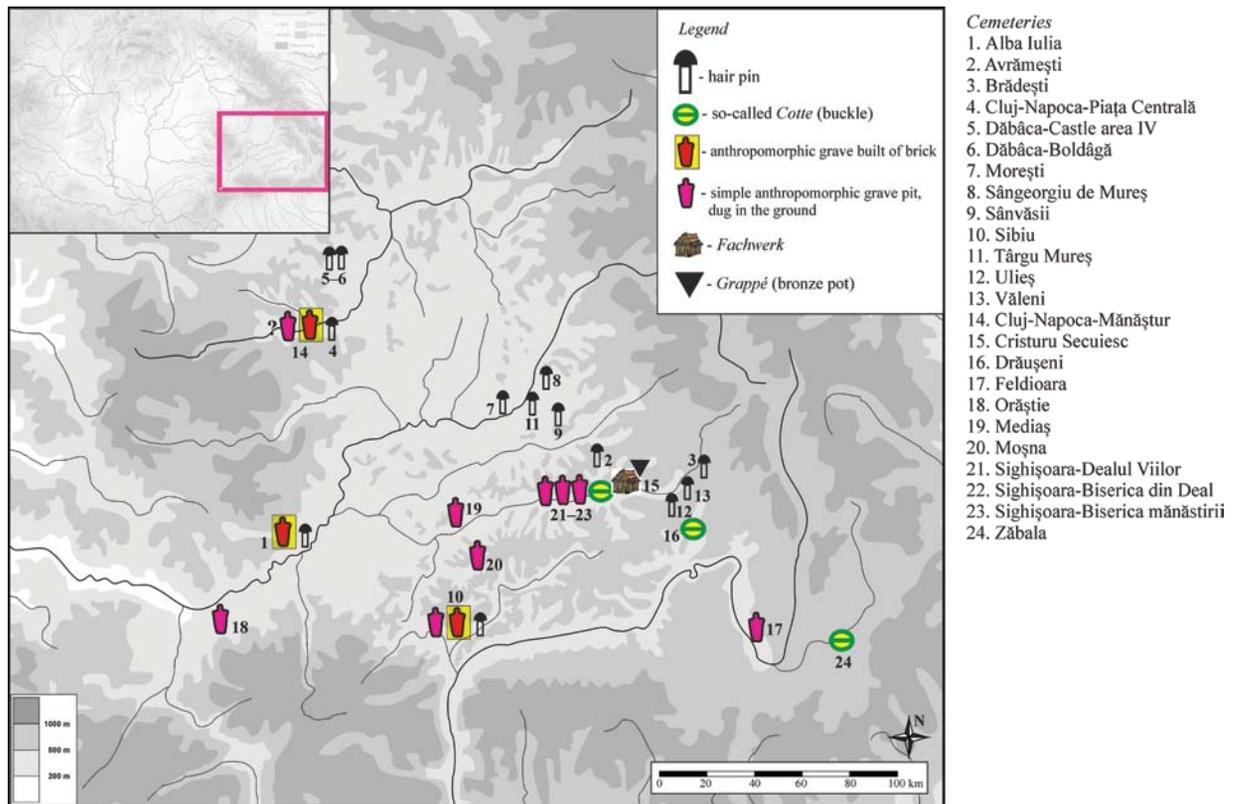
⁷⁴ The excavation of the cemetery is unfinished and it is unpublished.

⁷⁵ Bóna 1998, 47.

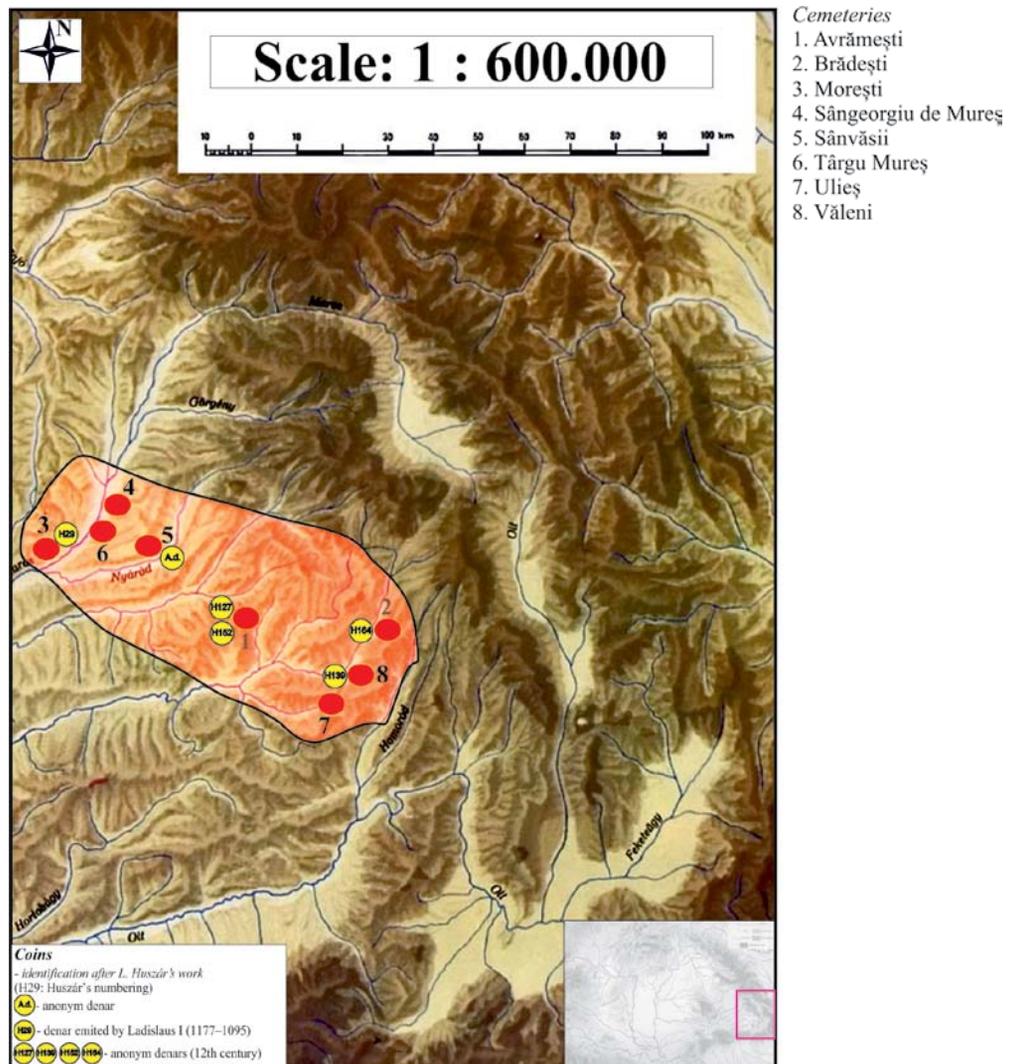
⁷⁶ Bóna 1978, 140–141; Protase 1956, 35.



Map 2: The changes of the quantity of hairpins in the graves of the Transylvanian Basin



Map 3: The spread of western fashion styles among material finds and in the burial traditions in the Transylvanian Basin during the 12th century



Map 4: Sites which yielded hairpins in the eastern half of the Transylvanian Basin

Hungarian Kingdom through cultural transfers. All this was closely connected to the more and more concrete western integration of the Hungarian Kingdom affecting everyday life, which is shown by other elements and traditions, as well.

As can be seen on Map 3, a series of archaeological phenomena dating from the 12th century can be detected in the Transylvanian Basin that had no precursor in the 11th century, ranging from material culture to funerary customs. Besides hairpins, there was the *cotte*, a long, straight-tailored shirt-like garment on which the neck slit was clamped by a metal buckle (Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor Grave 119/D (?), Zăbala Grave 130, Drăușeni).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 121–122, Fig. 28.

In Cristuru Secuiesc, Elek Benkő excavated the remains of a *Fachwerk*-like beam house dug in the ground, in which an imported western bronze pot (*grappé*) was found.⁷⁸

Apart from these, in the 12th century Transylvanian Basin a funerary custom can be registered unknown in the cemeteries of earlier eras,⁷⁹ which was connected to a 'Germanic' (Saxon⁸⁰) migration by some of the Romanian archaeological lit-

⁷⁸ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 93.

⁷⁹ The analysis of the 10th–11th century funerary customs, see: Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 593–640, 869–881.

⁸⁰ For example: Heitel 1985, 229; Ioniță *et al.* 2004, 46–59; Marcu Istrate 2008, 111–112; Ioniță 2010, 389–401; Crângaci Țiplic 2011, 121–135.



Fig. 4: Winchester-Saint Maria Magdalene's cemetery with numerous anthropomorphic grave pits (Roffey, Tucker 2012, Fig. 2)

erature, but it was rejected by Ágnes Ritoók and Elek Benkő,⁸¹ quoting international literature (too) but without elaborating the theoretical basis of this rejection.

One cannot reject completely the *migration theory* appearing in Romanian archaeology as one of the possible (but not the only) interpretations of these graves. However, we would like to draw attention to some problems and possibilities concerning their methodological interpretation:

1.1. The *migration* theory is methodologically questionable because it relies on *retrospective* and

mixed argumentation.⁸² The theory starts from the assumption that the origin of a person, based upon the grave furnishings or the funerary rites, is a reflection of the '*cultural processes*' in the grave.⁸³ It is also important that those who worked out this theory adjusted the archaeological material to the historical records (the western migration known from written sources) and proved this theory by these sources, following the pattern of a *typical mixed argumentation*.

1.2. Another methodological issue of great significance is that ethnic self-interpretation as the at-

⁸¹ Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 63.

⁸² As Sebastian Brather also warned the defects of research lead to results affected by preconceptions in many cases (Brather 2006, 42–43).

⁸³ Binnford 1962, 222.

titude towards others cannot be inferred from the way one treats their own deceased.⁸⁴ It is important to note that personal and group identifications and customs/fashions are very changeable, as the material culture and the cultural regions never coincide with groups of common identity and therefore never cover the same identification field.⁸⁵ In a cultural region, several identification field can be found.⁸⁶ Cultural areas are not homogeneous by any means, and their identification depends on the archaeological indicators chosen, so human subjectivity plays an important role in the classification. Another very important aspect is the fact that neighbouring communities are not radically different from one another in most cases, as they are connected by various complicated systems of multiple relations and trade contacts (both material and spiritual), so the closer two communities are to each other, the greater their chances of influencing each other are, therefore the neighbourhood enables and facilitates acculturation processes. It is quite logical that cultural relations are the most intensive between neighbours.

1.3. The spread of funerary fashions even on a continental scale (like burials with horses) could not mean deep changes; they appeared and vanished due to new impacts so they must have been adopted very quickly. The adoption of funerary customs or fashions could have been difficult only in those cases when there was a wide gap between the religious beliefs and traditions of these groups (such as the Christians and Jews or Muslims).

1.4. If a particular custom remained isolated, it means that it had an insignificant effect on society,⁸⁷ but this cannot be concluded in connection with graves with head alcoves. Therefore, there is no point in seeking ethnic differences in the case of anthropomorphic grave pits – instead, we should study the economic, social, cultural and mental background that helped propagate this funerary custom in this vast geographical area from Lisbon to Lund.

⁸⁴ Brather 2004, 519.

⁸⁵ 'Cultural field' as an explanation instead of 'tribal territory' is only advantageous methodologically if 'cultural area' is not considered homogeneous and they can be clearly separated (Brather 2004, 519).

⁸⁶ Brather 2004, 519.

⁸⁷ Brather 2006, 62.

1.5. In many cases, as Miklós Takács has also drawn attention to, spatial and economic factors may separate settlement communities that have been interpreted as 'ethnic communities' by the experts.⁸⁸

1.6. We have no information on whether the *hospes* communities lived according to the rules of endogamy in the second half of the 12th century, i.e. whether this funerary custom remained 'Germanic' as was supposed by those working out the theory.

2.1. This simplifying theory is also methodologically doubtful because the archaeological data base is quite scanty as no cemetery has been completely excavated: so the questions concerning when these cemeteries were started to be used and chronologically when this funerary custom appeared in the Transylvanian Basin cannot be answered. The anthropomorphic brick covered grave in the cemetery in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăștur seems to date from the first half of the 12th century (a skeleton with a braided ring was found beside it in Grave 86), which makes it possible to state that this custom was known in the Transylvanian Basin before the mass immigration of western, German and Neolatin, Vallon and French speaking people.⁸⁹

3.1. If we consider the written sources known to us, which were thoroughly analysed by Gyula Kristó, the fact cannot be neglected that there are 6 written sources mentioning *Székelys* in Southern Transyl-

⁸⁸ 'At the level of the topographic structure, the excavated finds are not so much apt to be used to register ethnic differences but the differences resulting from the natural environment such as in the 10th–11th century section of the excavations in Sárvár–Faképi-dűlők, Lébény–Bille-domb, Visegrád–várkert-dűlő, Vecsés, Kecskemét, Solt–Erdélyitanya, Nyíregyháza–Rozsrétszőlő or in Malomfalva/Morești, Transylvania, the differences cannot necessarily be explained by the different ethnic origin of the people but the micro-environment of the particular sites.' We agree with Takács, noting that the settlement in Morești should rather be dated to the 11th–12th centuries. Takács. http://www.btk.mta.hu/images/05_Tak%C3%A1cs_Mikl%C3%B3s.pdf. However, we would like to specify, that according to Sebastian Brather, archaeology cannot be used to identify 'ethnic' groups, which opinion the authors of these lines can only agree with (Brather 2002, 152–156).

⁸⁹ It was Gyula Kristó, who pointed out that some settlers sporadically came from Western Europe to the Transylvanian Basin already in the 11th century and in the first half of the 12th century. The best example of this is *Bayersdorf* in Bistrița county (Kristó 2002, 157).

vania in the second half of the 12th century.⁹⁰ On the other hand, according to the toponyms adopted by the German language, there were also Slavonic people, Hungarians and Pechenegs living here,⁹¹ so in this region we cannot talk about a *cultural homogeneity* which would allow us to interpret this funerary custom as *Germanic*. As has been mentioned, contacts are the most intensive between neighbours, so if a custom or fashion remained isolated, it soon disappeared, but in the case of this custom we can say the contrary.

3.2. Hospes communities settled down in other regions of the Carpathian Basin, as well, such as in the Transdanubian region and Spišská župa/Zips/Szepes. However, we do not know of a single anthropomorphic grave in Székesfehérvár (although the Germanic name of the town was mentioned back in the 11th century). It would be very interesting to research Spišská župa/Zips/Szepes (*comitatus Scepusiensis*) from this point of view, where mainly German-speaking people settled down, like in Transylvania.

Based on these mainly methodological observations, the following statements can be made:

A. According to the written sources, the western hospes were present in the Transylvanian Basin, but this does not necessarily mean that each anthropomorphic grave pit should be identified as 'Germanic' in the whole Carpathian or the Transylvanian Basin, since this funerary fashion can be considered as an identification element of *Christianity*. By this we do not want to mean that the *anthropomorphic* grave pits cannot be connected to the immigrant hospes too, but from a methodological point of view, it is not correct to use them as the only archaeological element (others were not mentioned) in defining the *western hospes with varied cultural origins*! As it has been proven by historical documents and toponyms alike, there were other groups of populations living in Transylvania in the 12th century (besides German-speaking people, Italians/Latins and Vallons who were also settled there⁹²). If we want to assume a migration based upon one element of the archaeological finds, then we should insist on the theory of *cultural homo-*

geneity. It cannot be supposed in connection with the appearance of *anthropomorphic* grave pits in South Transylvania as we do not see any problem with their popularity in Christian communities as this was a *Christian symbol*, so there could not have been a wide legal, cultural or religious gap between these *hospes* settlements and the other communities. As there is no sign indicating that the communities lived separately from one another in the 12th century, it is careless to bestow ethnicity on the cultural 'networks' in the Transylvanian Basin from a 21st century perspective.

B. The European rise of this fashion does not highlight migrations, but cultural (Christian) transfers. We could cite that the funerary fashion that became popular in Great Britain⁹³ and Scandinavia (in Denmark,⁹⁴ and in Sweden⁹⁵) has not been explained with migrations by anybody, and it also underscores the fact that the interpretation of the appearance of *anthropomorphic* grave pits in Transylvania was influenced by the written sources to a great extent.

C. In our opinion, in the future we should not focus our research on the issue of which anthropomorphic grave pit can be connected to the *hospes* and which cannot, but on what conditions and circumstances helped to propagate this custom, as (funerary) customs/fashions are (usually) not to be connected to 'ethnic' features or origins.

As can be seen in the 12th century, the archaeological signs of 'westernisation' appear in all segments of life in the Transylvanian Basin. This can only mean one thing: besides the migrations mentioned by the written sources, the eastern half of the Hungarian Kingdom was integrated into western culture, which can be best described with Erik Fügedi's words: '*..e folyamatban két partner vett részt: Magyarország és Nyugat-Európa. Európa kitágult, magához vonzotta a Kárpát-medencét* ('..there were two participants in this process: Hungary and Western Europe. Europe has expanded attracting the Carpathian Basin to itself..').⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Kristó 2002, 180–182.

⁹¹ Kristó 2002, 163–164, 195.

⁹² In more detail see Benkő 2012, Vol. I, 63; Kristó 2002, 157–172.

⁹³ Roffey, Tucker 2012, 170–180.

⁹⁴ Kieffer-Olsen 1997, 185–189.

⁹⁵ Cinthio 2002.

⁹⁶ Fügedi 1981, 401. On the history of the 12th century, see also Berend, Urbańczyk, Wiszewski 2014.

The current names used by the official Romanian administration followed by the German and Hungarian names of these sites mentioned in the text of the article

1. Alba Iulia (h.: Gyulafehérvár; g. Karlsburg, Weissenburg) (Alba county)
2. Avrâmeşti (h.: Szentábrahám) (Harghita county)
3. Brădeşti (h.: Fenyéd (r.: Brădeşti) (Harghita county)
4. Cluj-Napoca (g.: Klausenburg-Hauptplatz; h.: Kolozsvár) (Cluj county)
5. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur (g.: Klausenburg-Abtsdorf; h.: Kolozsvár-Kolozsmonostor) (Cluj county)
6. Cristuru Secuiesc (g.: Szeklerkreuz; h.: Székely-Keresztúr) (Harghita county)
7. Dăbâca (g.: Dobeschdorf; h.: Doboka) (Cluj county)
8. Drăuşeni (g.: Draas; h.: Homoróddaróc) (Braşov county)
9. Feldioara (g.: Marienburg; h.: Földvár) (Braşov county)
10. Mediaş (g.: Mediasch; h.: Medgyes) (Sibiu county)
11. Moreşti (g.: Mühlendorf; h.: Malomfalva) (Mureş county)
12. Moşna (g.: Meschen; h.: Szászmuzsna) (Sibiu county)
13. Orăştie (g.: Broos; h.: Szászváros) (Hunedoara county)
14. Sângeorgiu de Mureş (g.: Sankt Georgen; h.: Marosszentgyörgy) (Mureş county)
15. Sânvăsi (h.: Nyárádszentlászló) (Mureş county)
16. Sighişoara (g.: Schässburg; h.: Segesvár-Monostordomb) (Mureş county)
17. Sibiu (g.: Hermannstadt; h.: Nagyszeben) (Sibiu county)
18. Târgu Mureş (g.: Neumarkt-Burg; h.: Marosvásárhely) (Mureş county)
19. Ulieş (h.: Kányád-Régitemplom) (Harghita county)
20. Văleni (h.: Patakfalva) (Harghita county)
21. Zăbala (h.: Zabola) (Covasna county)

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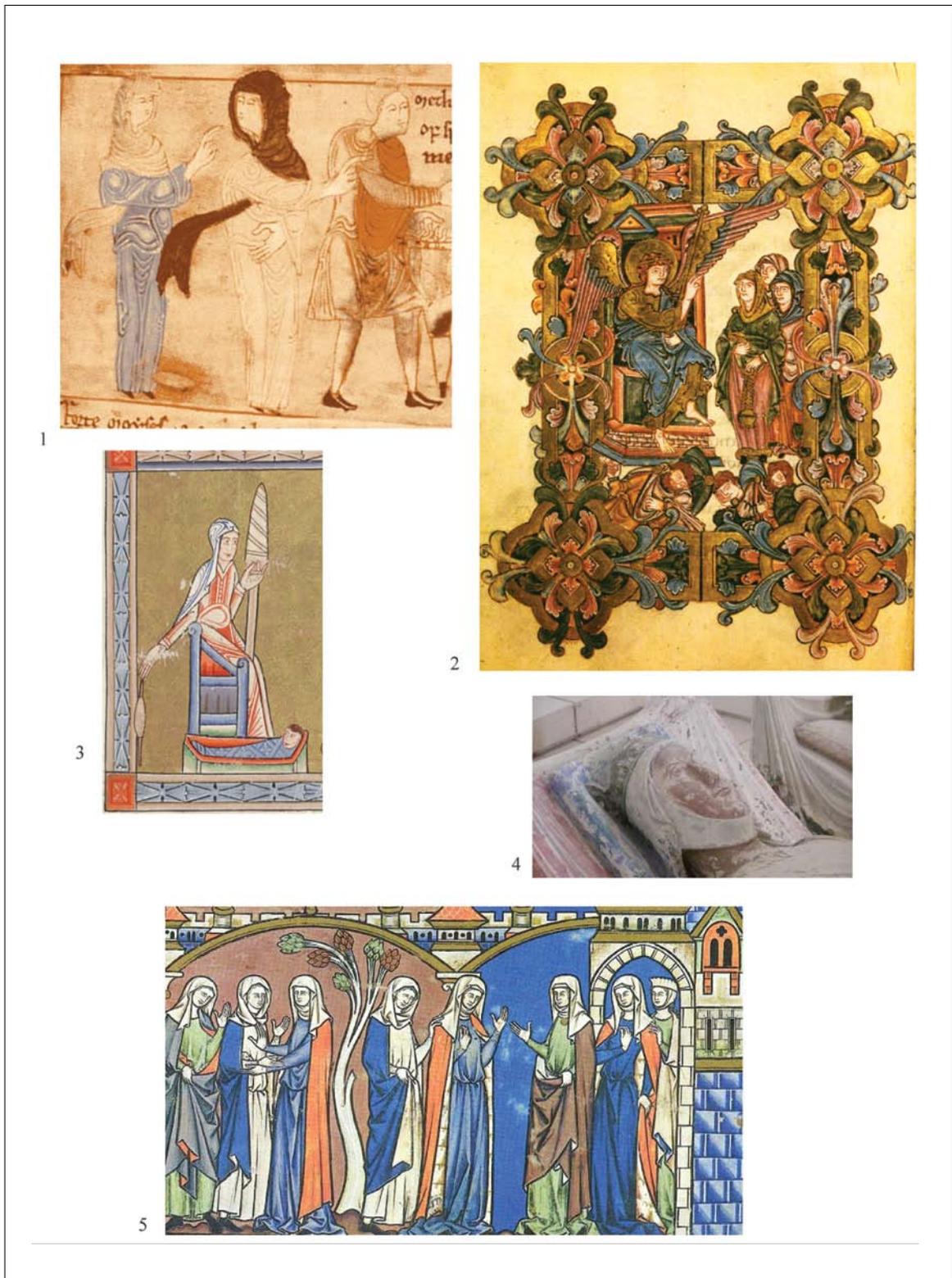


Plate 1: Western European hairstyles: 1. Female figures, Cotton Claudius B IV, folio 10, 11th century (Coatsworth, Pinder 2002, 196); 2. The anointing of bishop Robert, the end of the 10th century (Backhouse, Turner, Webster 1984, 60); 3. Hunterian psalter, folio 8, 12th century (Glasgow University Library, 229, U.3.2.); 4. The grave of Eleanor of Aquitaine, beginning of the 13th century (Frontevault Abbey, France); 5. Maciejowski's bible miniatures, 17 folio middle of the 13th century (Paris, France)

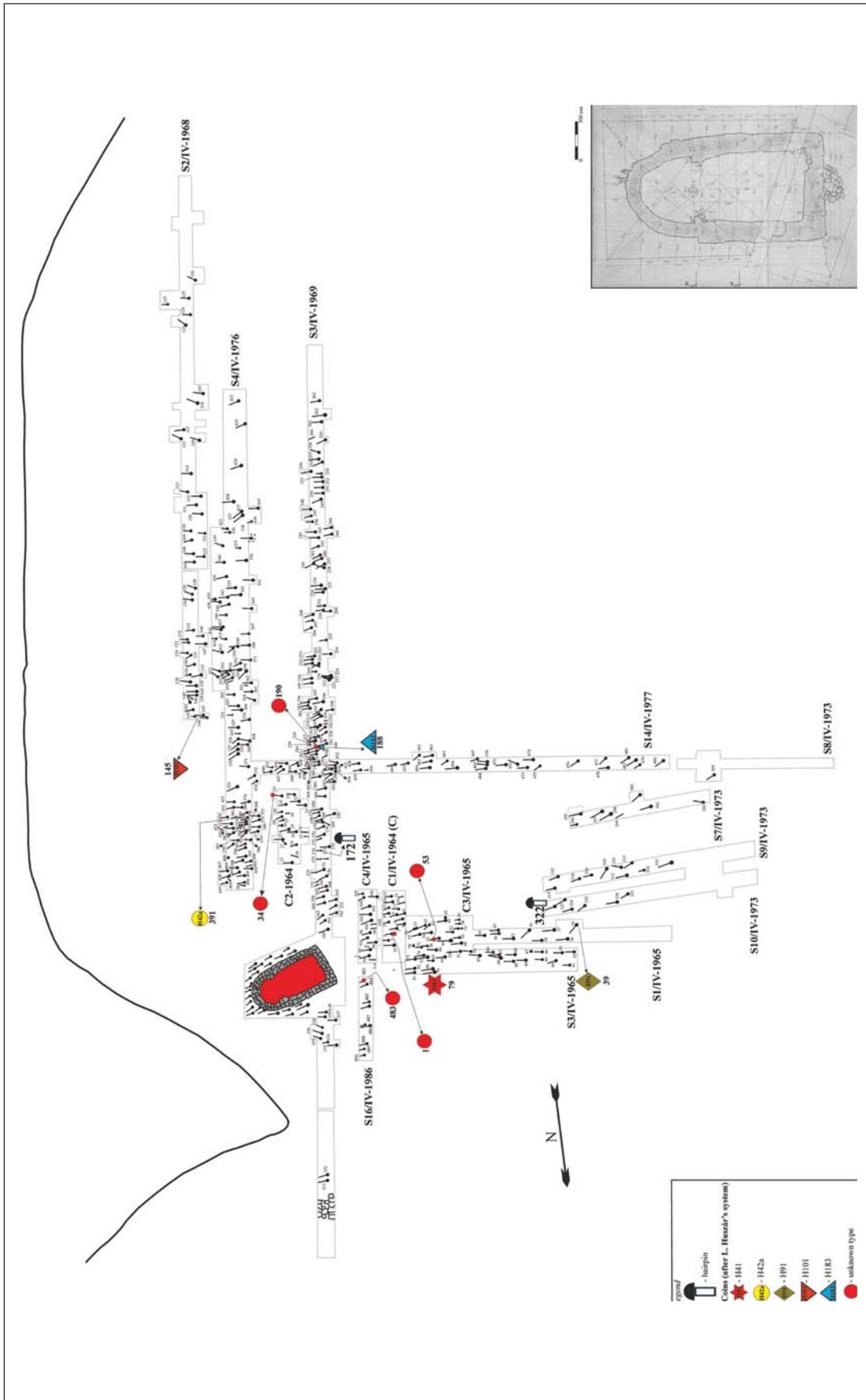


Plate 2: Dăbâca-Castle area IV, map of the cemetery found near the castle (Gáll 2011, Appendix)

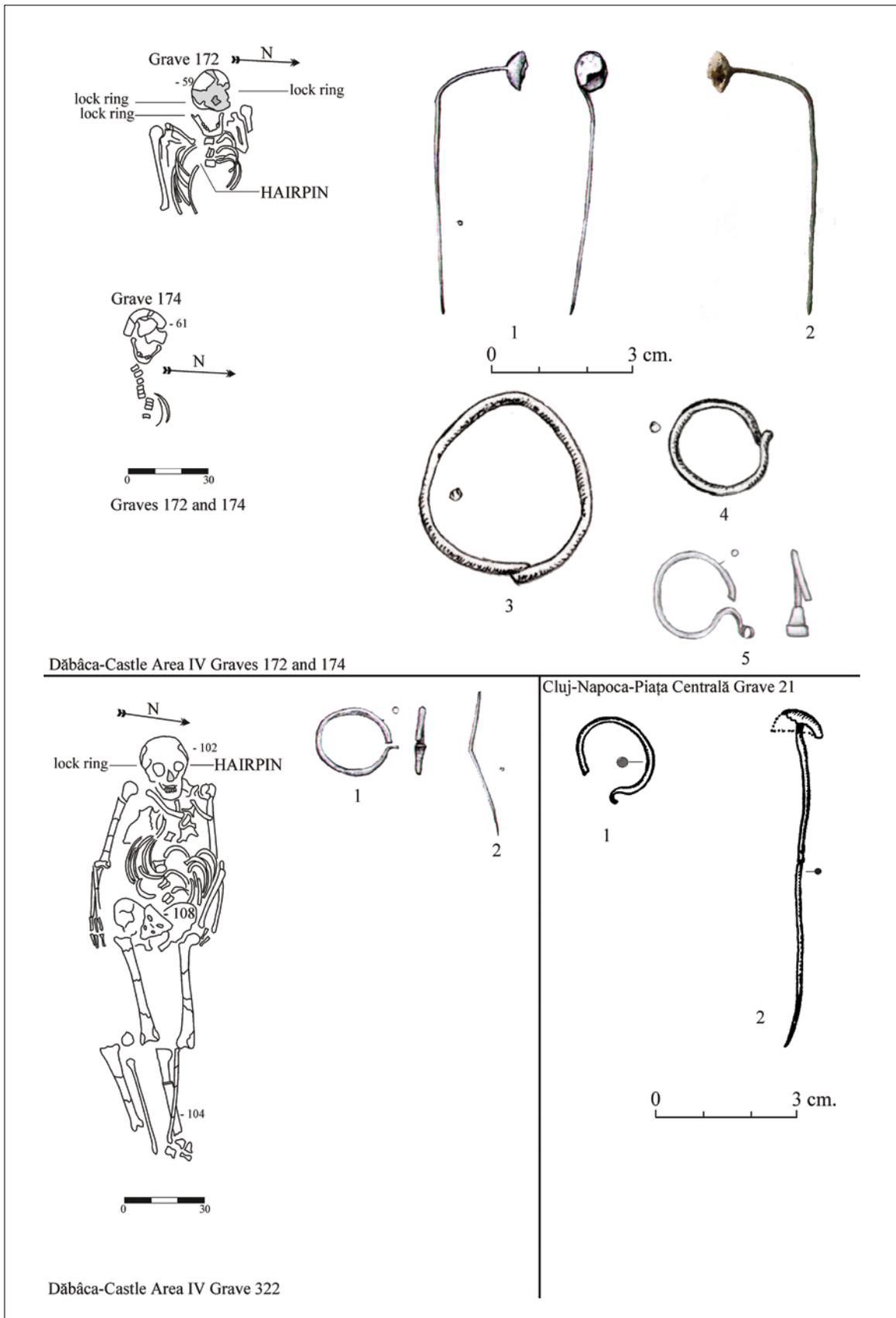


Plate 3: Dăbâca-Castle area IV Grave 172: 1-5; Dăbâca-Castle area IV Grave 322: 1-2; Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave 21: 1-2.

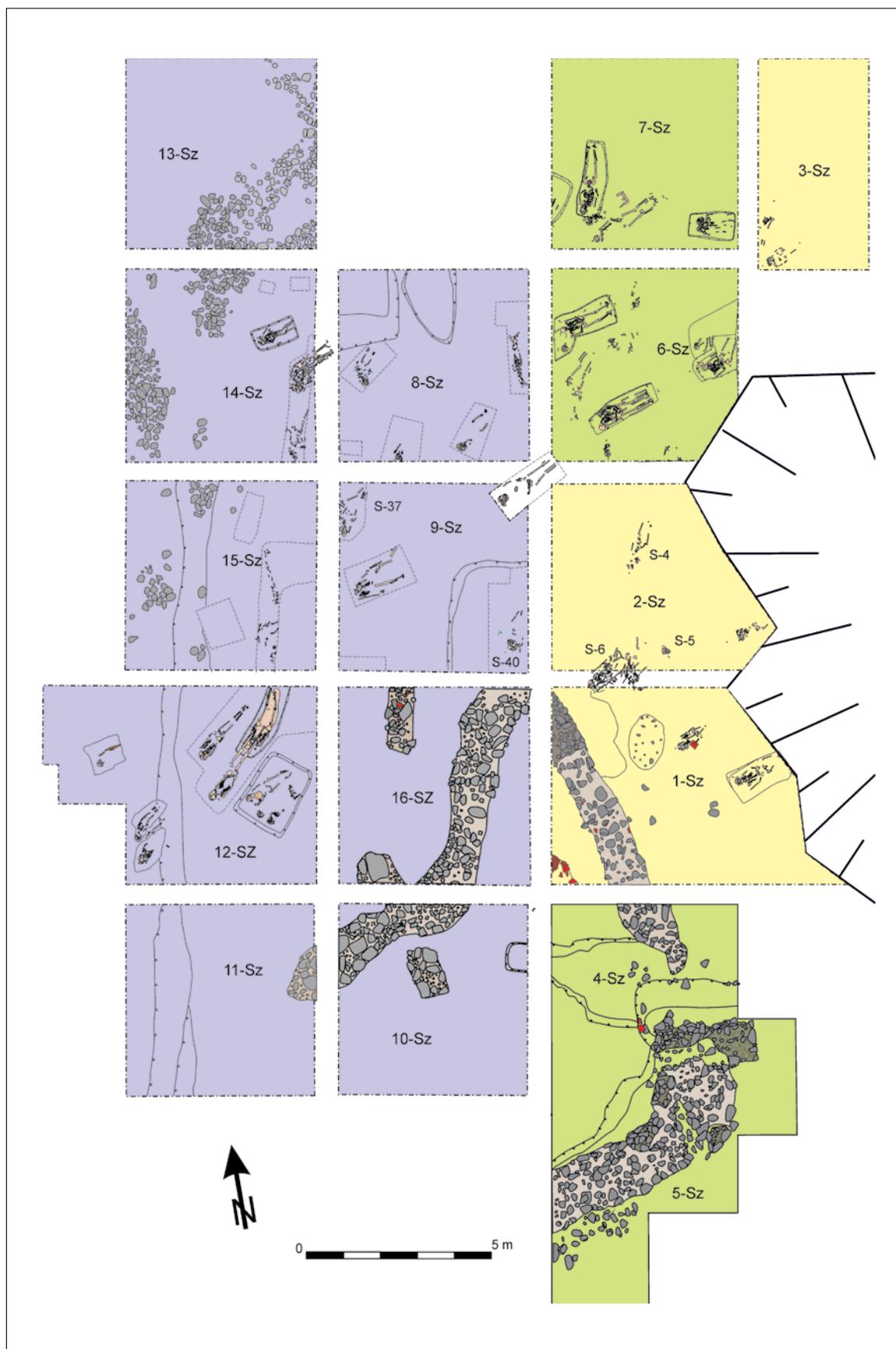


Plate 4: Brădești-Csonkatemplom, the surface sketch of the excavation and the cemetery

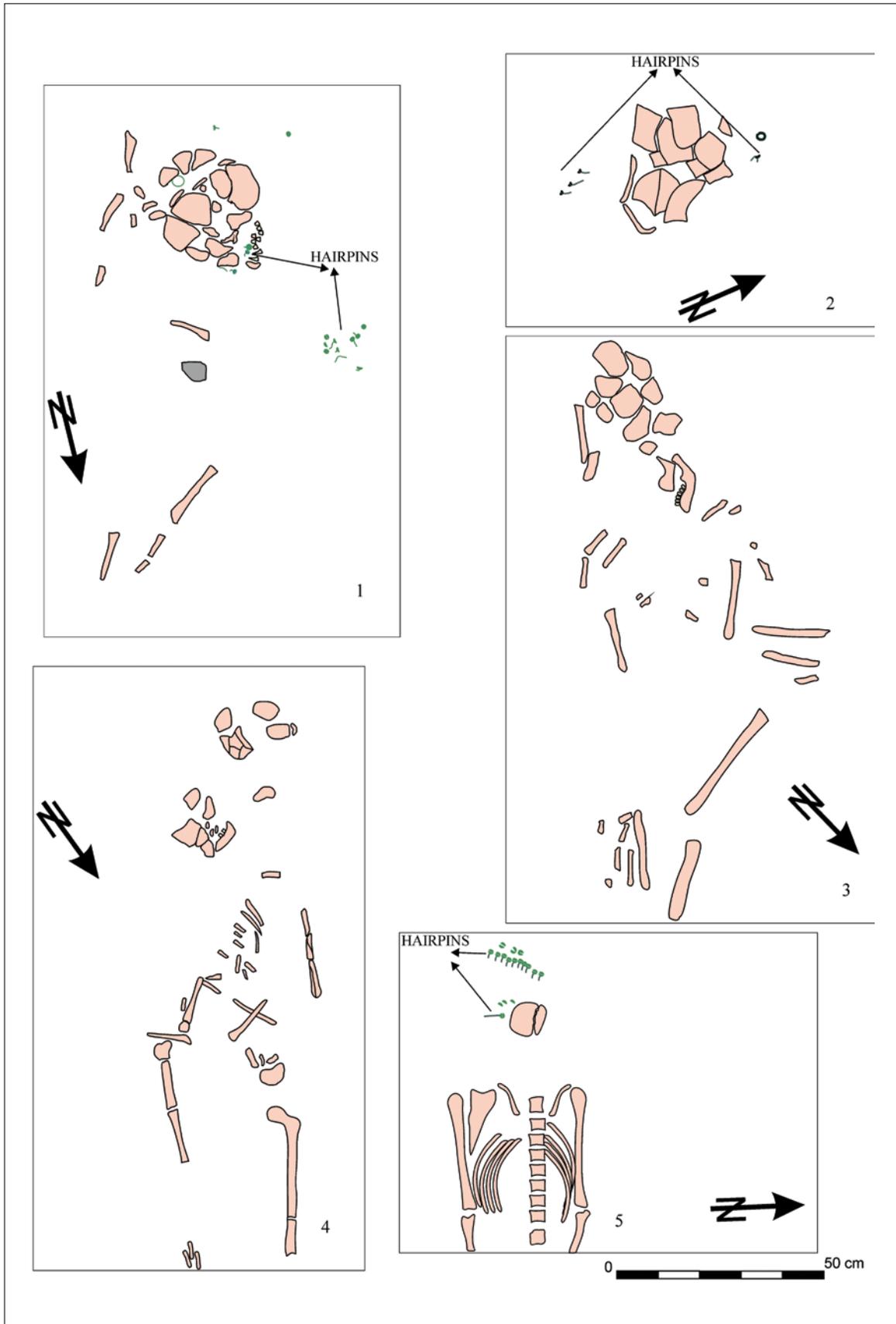


Plate 5: Brădești-Csonkatemplom: 1. Grave 40: 1; Grave 5: 2; Grave 37: 3; Grave 4: 4; Uliș-Régitemplom Grave 43: 5.



1

Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 40



2



3



4

Brădești-Csonkatemplom Grave 5



1

Ulies-Régi templom Grave 43



2

Plate 6: Graves containing hairpins during excavation, Brădești-Csonkatemplom: Grave 40: 1–2; Grave 5: 3–4; Ulies-Régi templom: Grave 43: 1–2.

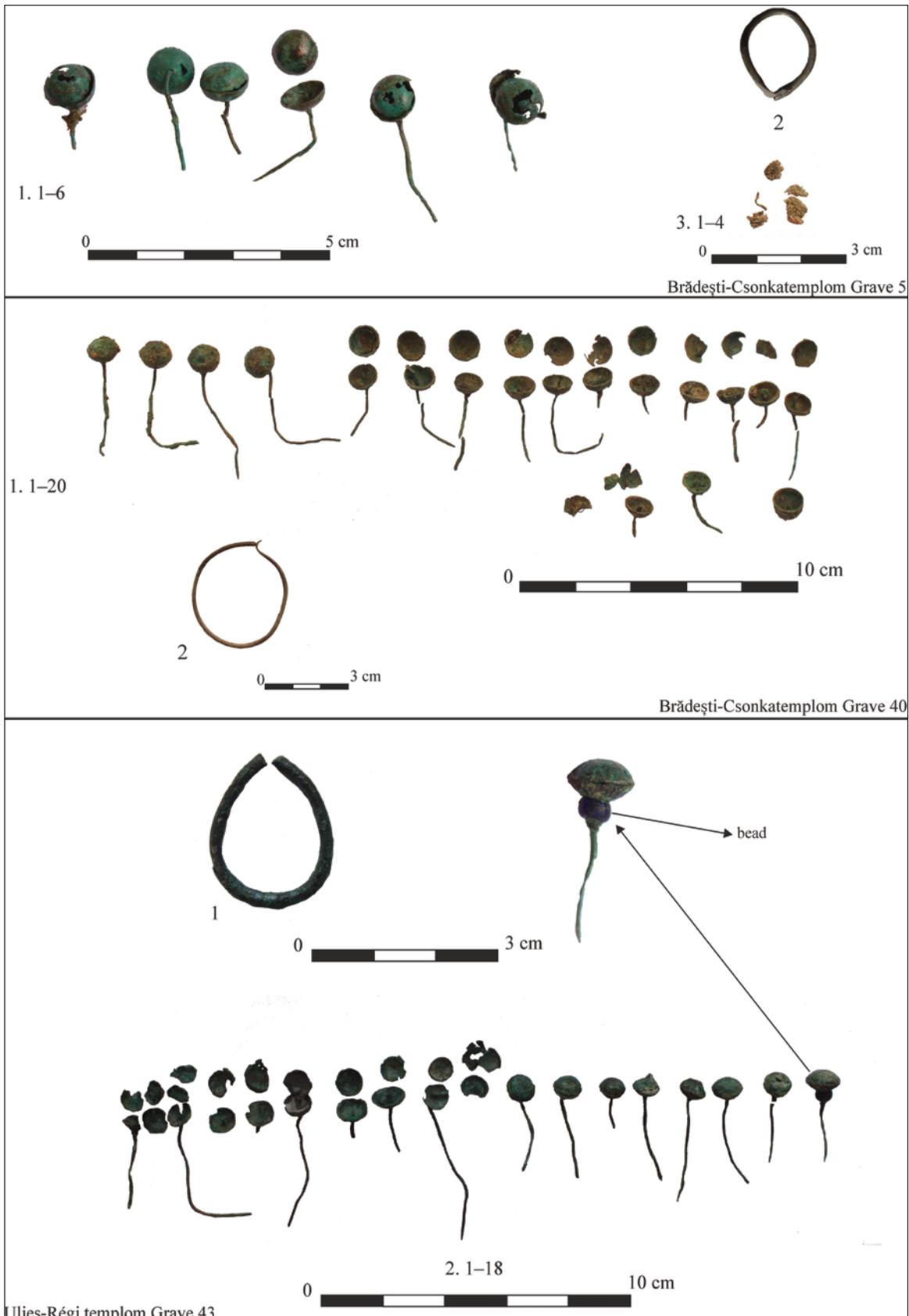


Plate 7: Brădești-Csonkatemplom: Grave 5: 1-3; Grave 40: 1-3; Ulies-Régi templom: 1-3.

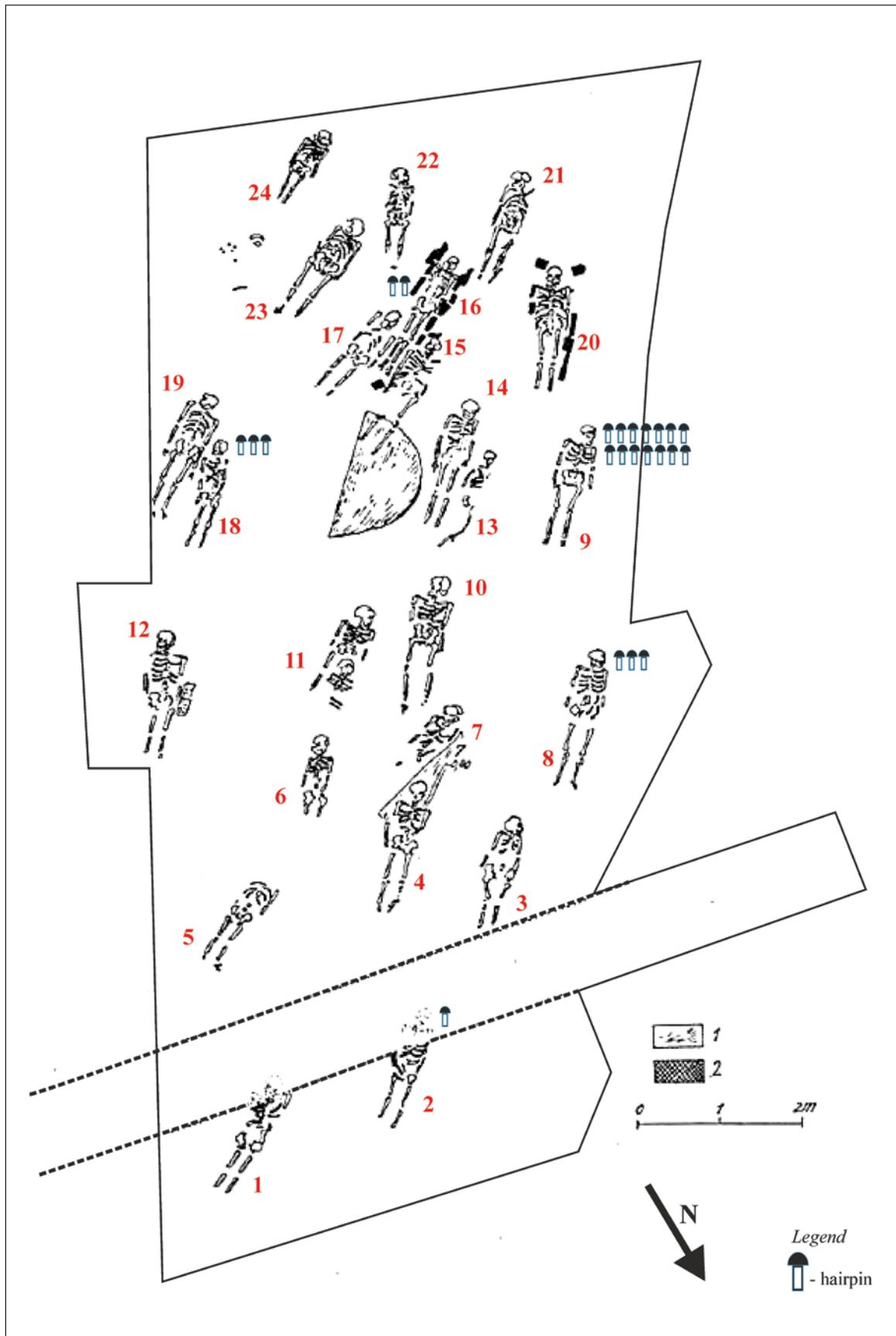


Plate 8: Surface map of the burials in Morești-Citfalău in 1952 (Horedt 1984, Abb. 31)

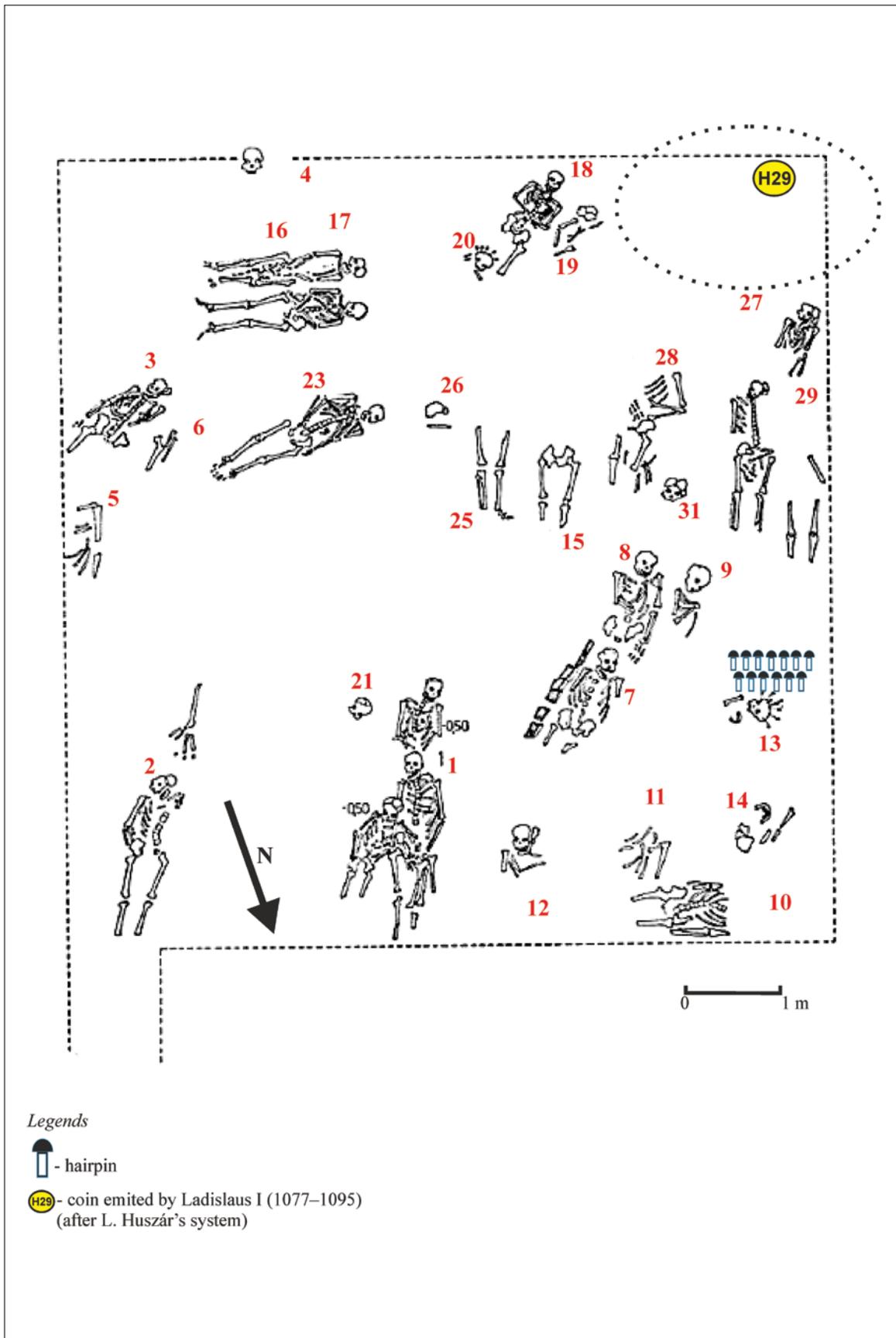


Plate 9: Surface map ('Fläche B') of the burials in Morești-Citfalău in 1954 (Horedt 1984, Abb. 32)



Plate 10: Morești-Cițfalău: hairpins that could not be connected to any specific graves, found in the Romanian National Museum in Bucharest