

THE DATE OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE S-ENDED LOCK-RINGS IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN*

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In the system of death-symbols jewellery played an important role in the case of women, while in the case of free men weapons had this symbolic role in the early Middle Ages. Examining it more thoroughly the problem seems to be more complicated. The occurrence of the weapons in the early Middle Ages' cemeteries is not surprising, since prestige, status and rank was expressed in burying in the same way than in everyday life. The question of jewellery is more complex. Although jewellery is known mainly from women's graves, the male or female character should be considered as cultural construction from the aspect of jewellery wearing. This explains the fact that they can also be found in men's grave as externally similar cultural items¹.

In connection with jewellery there is another special problem. The exact chronological limitation of the usage of an object is almost impossible. It definitely holds true for fashion-items, while in the case of weapons their spread or disappearance can be caused by more practical reasons. Whereas the spreading of fashion-items is rather a social psychological phenomenon. Therefore the chronological curve of jewellery usage can be drawn with difficulties.

This paper is about only one jewellery: a type of lock-rings, the S-terminal lock-ring². As Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor dealt with its wearing thoroughly in their work published in 1987, we can disregard the general discussion of it³. The question of this essay is about the possible date of the appearance of S-terminal lockring in the Transylvanian Basin⁴.

Firstly, it should be stated that in the research of the conquest it is a very important tendency to limit the chronological scale of the different objects between rigid chronological frames. It has had a significant effect on the research of the early Middle Ages, which is often influenced by minority frustration. As an example the following method can be mentioned: both the Romanian and Hungarian (from Romania) archeologists date the object from the Transylvanian Basin with parallels found in big distance. This method is absolutely wrong. When dating an object it is dangerous either to compare it with finds in big geographical distances. It would be better to examine the excavated grave and cemetery more thoroughly. For this it would be necessary to excavate the known cemeteries completely and publish the findings. Based on the latter the problems could be examined on microregional level.

In general, critiques about mechanically dating method of nowadays' archeology is legitimate. In many cases the researcher dates the object indirectly, based on another essay and

* Translated by Erika Manyasz.

¹ Some examples for this, see: GÁLL 2007, 397.

² SZŐKE 1962, 88.

³ SZŐKE/VÁNDOR 1987.

⁴ Béla Szőke's suggestion at the conference of Budapest (30. 05. 2007-06. 01. 2007)

not on the site of the object⁵. If we consider the complexity of everyday life, it is obvious that *the chronological scale of the usage of an everyday object (eg. jewellery) has never followed mechanical rules. As the date of the usage of an object is defined by complex social psychological phenomenon, it is either impossible to put it into a chronological order, or can be put only into a very relative one. It should not be forgotten that the usage of an object was absolutely person-dependent*, so every case should be examined separately.

It can be declared the reason why numerous studies were not able to set an obvious chronological scale is simply because it is not possible. None of the objects from this period can be placed between exact chronological limits. The best possibility can be to adumbrate the chronological and chorological scale of these objects.

It is also regrettable that researchers from Hungary also disregarded the conclusions that could be drawn from the finds in the eastern parts (Transylvanian Basin, Partium, Banat). For example it was a futile attempt to draw the attention to the fact that the S-ended lock-ring can not be documented in the Transylvanian Basin before the 11th century, and that the twisted-ended lock-rings can be documented at the end of that century, because these facts are not cited neither by the Hungarian conquest literature, nor by the Transylvanian Romanian early Middle Ages archaeology⁶.

1. Why is this paper? The state of research

Firstly I would like to give reasons why we emphasize the dating of the spread of such a small jewellery.

In 1969 Nicolae Chidioşan (archaeologist from Oradea) and 1983 Robert Radu Heitel, an archaeologist from Bucharest who knows the material culture of the 10th century very well, wrote in one of his articles that the S-ended lock-rings appeared in the 9th century in the Carpathian Basin⁷. After 1983 this question came to rest until 1994. Also Heitel, himself, gave up his point of view, and he did not deal with the question in his monograph⁸. However, practically on the basis of Heitel's work, though touching some other aspects as well, in 1994 Călin Cosma went back to this opinion, when dating the S-ended lock-ring, and the pseudo-granulated ornamented ring together with the *Köttlach* earring (found in the grave of Zalău) to the 9th century and connected them to the Carantan culture of Köttlach. He still upholds this opinion, as it is shown by the title of his article: *The items of the Köttlach-civilization from the western and north-western part of Romania*⁹. In our opinion Călin Cosma disregarded many facts:

1. *The items of the so called Köttlach-civilization* appears in more cemeteries of the conquest period in Transylvania, Partium and Bánság, but they can not be dated in the 9th century and not even in the first part of the 10th century¹⁰. These are the following:

1. 1. *The so called wire bracelet with knob ends*: Gâmbaş, 2nd grave; Blandiana, 11th grave; Orăştie, 11th grave.

⁵ László Révész has warned us to this danger.

⁶ TĂNASE/BEJAN/GĂLL/KALCIOV 2005, 32.

⁷ CHIDIOŞAN 1969, 611–616; HEITEL 1983, 93–115.

⁸ HEITEL 1994–1995, 389–439.

⁹ COSMA 1994, 323–330; COSMA 2001, 499–564; COSMA 2006, 857–883.

¹⁰ We cite results of Giesler's analysis from 2002. For example: "...*Das Archäologische Material lässt sich in drei Zeitgruppen aufteilen: vor-Köttlach (spätes 8. und erste Hälfte 9. Jahrhundert: Abb. 2, 1–13.), Köttlach I (zweite Hälfte 9. und erste Hälfte 10. Jahrhundert: Abb. 2, 14–26.) und Köttlach II (zweite Hälfte 10. und erste Hälfte 11. Jahrhundert: Abb. 2, 14–26). Die relative Chronologie beruht auf der Seriation geschlossener Grabfunde und der Rekonstruktion des Belegungsablaufes von Friedhöfen, die absolute auf dem Vergleich mit benachbarten Materialgruppen. Vor allem bei der Gruppe Köttlach II. steht man dabei auf sicherem Boden, weil man deren Frühphase mit jener der sog. "Bijelo-Brdo-Kultur" korrelieren kann, die ihrerseits durch Münzfunde gut datierbar ist...*" (GIESLER 1980, 95; GIESLER 2002, 402, Abb. 2, 40–42).

In the 2nd grave of Gâmbaş next to the wire bracelet with knob ends occurred a simple wire-bracelet and a pendant. Unfortunately the parallel of the pendant in the grave of Gâmbaş is known from a sporadic find that can not be connected to a context from Sárretudvar-Hízófold¹¹. In this case the animal's eyes were gilt, or a gold plate was hammered to the silver, as in the case of the find of Gâmbaş. A very similar parallel is the find of the 1st grave of Nagyszalonta¹², and the pendants of Gyula-Téglagyár, which are completely the same in shape and ornaments¹³. Naturally it should not be forgotten that these finds are the finds of the same region (the area of Körös River). The earring with a bead ended from the 10th grave of the cemetery of Gâmbaş (2/18) is the material remain of the *Balkan* relations. It can be shown from the 9th and 10th century, and can be found also in the 11th century, for example the Dridun of Havaselv. But these finds can also be found on the Balkan – actually this area is their place of production, for example *Baline* (Bosnia-Herzegovina) 154. (headed ring, S-ended lock-ring, closed wire ring), and in the 216th grave (closed wiring, and moulded versions of grape-pendants); *Gomjenica* (Bosnia-Herzegovina)-Polje/Baltine Bare: in the 141st grave of the 246-grave Slavic cemetery which is dated in the last decades of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century. Its excellent 10th century parallel is the gilded silver pendant from the 18th grave of Örménykút- Bodaszőlő, and the find in the 1st grave of Tardoskeddi-Paptag, which is dated by Nasr ibn Ahmed emir (914–943). The graveyard of Örménykút is dated from the second part of the 10th century, and this date is supported by the coin-finds in Tardoskeddi. Parallels from the Upper-Tisza area of the tiny quadratic mount can be found: its parallels are known as boots-mounts in the cemetery of Kenézlő-II (together with cloth-mounts, bit, peer-shaped stirrups, two pearls, silver bracelet), and as sporadic find from Balkány. The above mentioned finds from Kenézlő were ranged among the second generation of the conquerors by the analyzer K. Mesterházy¹⁴.

From the 11th grave of Blandiana a saber, arrows, 1a-type lock-ring and a normal lock-ring is known dated from the end of the 10th century, together with a Köttlach-type with knob ends wire bracelet. Three loose grave groups of the graveyard have been excavated. The first group includes the 1st and 2nd and 4–9th graves. From a chronological point of view the finds (twisted bracelet, grape-ornate granulated and filigree ornamented earring, pseudo-bezelled finger ring, bronze wire bracelet) are dated from the second part of the 10th century. The dating of the twisted bracelet is from the second third of the 10th century to the 11th century, and based on the analysis of the grape-pendant earrings it could be in fashion in this period. The exact parallel of the pseudo-bezelled finger ring is known from the 1st grave of Pécs-Somogy, though a similar example is known from the 83rd grave of Sultana, which can be dated from the 8–9th century. The second group includes the 11th and the 14–15th graves. Their finds (quiver, arrows, fragment of a saber, wire-bracelets, pearls, knife) can also be put in the second part of the century. A typical find of the second part and the end of the century is the spiral twisted band-ring, which is the only find of the third gravegroup. A similar ring from the 16th grave of Alba Iulia, which was excavated in 1997, can be dated from the second part of the century, while the ring from the 33rd grave can be dated earlier, from the second third of the century. The dating of the 2nd grave of Orăștie is similar: the grave with arrow and ring finds was found in such an environment, where in the 10th grave we can find a wire-bracelet with knob ends, arrows and in the 7th grave trapezium-shaped stirrup, arrows and a big coltbit,

¹¹ A HONFOGLALÓ MAGYARSÁG 1996, 276, fig. 47.

¹² LAKATOS 2005, Pl. I. 5.

¹³ BAKAY 1978, Pl. 45. 2.

¹⁴ We would like to thank to László Kovács for information about the unpublished finds of Örménykút. Bibl.: FETTICH 1931, Pl. 85. 27–30; HAMPEL 1900, Abb. LXIV. 41; IONIȚĂ 1996–1998, fig. 49. 2–3; MESTERHÁZY 1989–1990, Pl. 16.; VADAY/KOVÁCS 1999; TOČIK 1992, 166, Abb. 112.

so it is obvious that it can be dated from the second part of the century. Some parallels of this ring-type from the Carpathian Basin can also be dated from the second part of the century: Szered-II cemetery, Komáromszentpéter, Valkóvár (Vukovar); the international dating is similar: in the hoard of Spiljovka it was found together with the beltmounts, with four silver bracelets, with Constantinos II and Romanos' (948–959) *solidus* and a *dirhem* from 966/967. The gold version of the rings from the treasure finds of Gottland can also be dated from the middle of the century. Therefore this ring-type can be dated quite exactly from the second part of the 10th century¹⁵.

Only a part of the cemetery of Orăștie has been published, relying upon it the findings of this graveyard can be dated from the middle of the century: spiral twisted band-ring (2nd grave), simple band ring (3rd grave), bezelled ring (8th grave), square-shaped headed finger ring (9th grave), simple lock-rings (1st, 5th, 8–9th graves), buttons (4–5th, 9th graves), bells (9th grave), wire-bracelets (4th, 7–8th, 19th graves), simple torques (19th grave), ankle rings (19th grave), arrows (2nd, 6–7th, 19th graves), iron-bound quiver (18th grave), peer-shaped stirrups (26th grave), trapezium-shaped stirrups, but not from the “classical” group (7th, 26th, 48th graves), single, so called “Pecheneg” bit (7th, 26th graves), bit with bones cheekpiece (19th grave). Similar single bits can be found in Bucova Pusta-IX (“Hunca Mare”-hill)¹⁶, and Alba Iulia-Mentőállomás, 15th trial trench, 20th grave/1981. In Bucova Pusta it was found together with a trapezium-shaped stirrup.

It is obviously common in the three above introduced cemeteries that they can be dated from the second part or from the end of the century, the S-terminal lock-ring can not be found in any of them, on the other hand the bracelet with knob ends, which is a very typical jewellery of the so called Köttlach-civilization, can be found in each of them, similarly to the ring with knob end. We would like to mention that bracelet with knob ends is also known in the Carpathian Basin from the 130th grave in the graveyard of Ikervár-Virág street (Vas County), dated from the end of the 10th century¹⁷.

1.2. Köttlach-type earrings

The situation is the same with the earring in question. The one with enameled ornamentation is known in big number in the Carpathian Basin: Csepreg-Szentkirály 97th grave, Deta, Eger, Pétervására, 4B grave of Sălacea (Pl. 1. B./1–6), the fortification in Lutzsmanssburg/Locsmánd from the early Arpadian age and the 1st grave of the cemetery in Tápé-Lebő, 1st grave of Zaláu-Pálvár.

Examine them:

The semi-lunar, enameled earring from the 4B grave of the cemetery of Sălacea goes together with a pentagonal round lock-ring. A three-edged lethal arrow was found in the 6th grave, and S-ended lock-rings in the 17th grave. The pentagonal round lock-rings can be connected typologically with the square or polygonround finger rings, bracelets and *torques*, consequently their spread can be placed to the end of the 10th century and to the beginning of the 11th century.

From the 1st grave of Zaláu the above mentioned and analyzed bracelets with knob ends appeared. It should also be mentioned, that from the heavy earring in the infant grave its ring is missing so it can be possible – if it had not been broken down – that it is an item which occurred in a secondary situation. In the 3rd grave a pseudo-granulated ornamented, square-headed silver ring was found, its parallel is known from the 170th grave of the cemetery in

¹⁵ TOČIK 1968, 41–51; MESTERHÁZY 1993, 458; KORZUHINA 1954, 86, Pl. IX; STERNBERGER 1948, 99; SZŐKE 1962, 95; SZABÓ 1978–1979, 96–97; DOMBAY 1961, 77; MITREA 1988, Fig. 10, grave 83. 2.

¹⁶ GÁLL/TÁNASE 2008.

¹⁷ It was dated from the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century (KISS 2000, 63, Pl. 130/47).

Szabolcs, which was started to use in the 11th century, in the company of a twisted-ended lock-ring¹⁸. This item is granulated *and* filigree ornamented as opposed to the one from Zalău which is only pseudo-granulated. Similar, but round-headed granulated rings are known for example from the 4th grave in Hodony (Bánság) with an S-ended lock-ring and with a I. (Saint) Stephen's coin, so it can obviously dated from the first part of the 11th century¹⁹. From the 5th grave an S-ended lock-ring is known, while from the farther 6th grave a twisted lock-ring²⁰.

In spite of the jumbled conditions of the finds, the sporadic finds of the graveyard in Detta can be considered as an analogy. Here an S-ended lock-ring, molted grape-pendant earrings²¹, a Köttlach-type earring, bronze wheels, pendant mount²² and belt mount were found, but a "pre-Magyar", 9th century dating is also impossible, if these finds belong to the same cemetery at all. In the Northwest-Croatia such earrings were found with owl-headed mount pendant and they were dated from the second part of the 10th century (see Pl. 2./10–16.).²³ The cross from Detta can also be dated from the second part of the 10th century, as the two analogies (Ptuj, 66th grave and Tiszafüred-Nagykenderfölkdek) mentioned by Péter Langó and Attila Türk date them (Pl. 2/8–9)²⁴.

Also other similar finds of the Carpathian Basin can not be dated from the 9th century. The other parallel of the earring from Zalău can be known from the 97th grave of Csepreg-Szentkirály (West-Hungary, Vas county), where there are 5 more S-ended lock-rings and a closed bronze-ring, they were dated from the end of the century (Pl. 2/1–7)²⁵. A similar earring was found in the fortification from the early Arpadian age in Lutzsmanssburg/Locsmánd, dated from the 11th century²⁶. From Tápé-Lebő the enamelled earring is known together with stirrups of the conquest period and mount grape-pendant earrings, so the 9th century dating is not possible at all.²⁷ Károly Mesterházy mentions four Köttlach-type earrings (Eger, Pétervására, Hirics, Verpelét),²⁸ about which László Révész in his instructor's essay reported that the first two were found in 11–12th-centuries graveyards, similarly to the finds of the two graves in Hirics and Verpelét which are accessories of 11th-century burials. Therefore instead of three earrings we should count with twelve items. Their spread is almost steady, except the Transylvanian Basin where it is still unknown (see *1st map*).

The above listed are finds from the end of the 10th century or from the 11th century, and the two sites, Csepreg and Lutzsmanssburg/Locsmánd are known from the border of the

¹⁸ KOVÁCS 1994, Abb. 11. 2.

¹⁹ BEJAN/MOGA 1979, fig. 4, 16.

²⁰ I. Stephen's coin in the 4th grave of Hodony obviously indicates that the ring from Hodony can be dated from the first part of the 11th century. The other item of Banat is the lock-ring from the 2nd grave of "Dragomir" hill in Dudeștii Vechi. It turns out from the graveyard-map that the grave was found in the north part of the graveyard in an environment that shows pagan traditions: clay pottery was found in the I. and III. graves. In the 2nd grave there is a bezelled finger ring and a twisted *torques* was found next to the coiled ended lock-ring. According to this we would date our find from the end of the 10th century or from the first third of the 11th century. In the Transylvanian Basin we only know a find from the 11th century: 42. grave of Moldovenești. It has to be mentioned that the coiled lock-ring did not disappear at the beginning of the 11th century, as Hungarian literature says, but we have exact data only from this period. For example, twisted-ended lock-rings were found in the 71. and 84. graves of the cemetery of Cluj-Mănăștur, therefore it is obvious that these jewelry were in use when the S terminal lock-rings decorate with appeared and spread.

²¹ The rough, moulded, copied versions can be dated obviously from the second part/end of the century.

²² Similar pendant mounts are only known from the 11th-century finds (TĂNASE/GÁLL 1999, 555–576).

²³ Eg.: Šenkovec: pendant mount, bell, semicircular finger ring, lunular pendant, earring, semi-lunar shaped earring (SOKOL 1996, Pl. XI/1–7).

²⁴ The 5th type in Langó-Türk's typology (LANGÓ/TÜRK 2004, 391; KOROŠEC 1979, I. 56; A HONFOGLALÓ MAGYARSÁG 1996, 290–292).

²⁵ KISS 2000, Pl. 3. 97/1.

²⁶ KAUS 1987, 330–339, Fig. 7.

²⁷ BÁLINT 1991, Abb. 49. 1.

²⁸ MESTERHÁZY 1993, Fig. 5.

Köttlach-civilization and the 10th-century Carpathian Basin-civilization. It is important to mention Attila Kiss' work, who, after collecting the Karantan fibulae, pointed out the fact (based on the small amount of finds), that they can also be listed among the material culture of the second part of the 10th century in the Carpathian Basin (see 1st map).²⁹

In the light of the above mentioned facts, Călin Cosma's argumentation that the S-ended lock-ring should be dated from the 9th century because the earring of Zalău can only be dated from that century, can not be accepted. All the known finds proves evidence against the theory of the colleague from Cluj.

Before we start dealing with the question of the dating of this jewellery in the Transylvanian Basin, we are going to look over the appearance of the S-ended lock-ring in other regions of the Carpathian Basin.

2. The dating of the S-terminal lock-ring in other parts of the Carpathian Basin

According to Béla Szőke's paper many experts date the S-ended lock-rings in the Carpathian Basin from 960–970³⁰. It can not be true about the west-north and north part of the basin, as the jewellery appear in the late stage of the Avar cemetery of Halimba³¹, and also known from the same place a 10–12th century graveyard's early stage in a senilis woman's grave. This data could have been important for archaeology, if scientists had paid attention to the habit that (as it is proved by general sociological observations) in most cases elder women do not buy jewellery. On the basis of this, even if the grave is dated after 960 (as it is suggested by Károly Mesterházy), the object could be in use at the beginning of the century³². Raul of Burgundy's (925–936) coin was found together with an S-terminalled lock-ring in the 357th grave of Čakajovce, Slovakia³³. This type of jewellery can also be found in the Czech part dated from the 9–10th century but as a matter of fact these graves are from the second part of the 10th century.³⁴

These data warn us that the analysis of the S-ended lock-rings would be effective on a microregional level. That is the reason why we have analyzed separately the S-ended lock-rings of the Transylvanian Basin.

3. The dating of the S-ended lock-rings in the Transylvanian Basin (*see Pl. I. A. typological chart 5a-d; 2. Map*)

More exact dating of the S-ended lock-rings is only possible in bigger graveyards which include more object-categories. Unfortunately, the finds of cemeteries like Mentőállomás and Vadászok street of Alba Iulia have not been published yet. Because of this reason these finds are unusable and definitely deprive us of important data. In spite of this, according to the finds at our disposal the chronology of this type of lock-ring in the Transylvanian Basin can be enriched with important remarks.

In our analysis, as we are going to detail it, the finds are either sporadic (Alba Iulia-Roman Baths; Cluj-Helta street 28th grave – 1936), or *from parts of cemeteries that can be dated only from the 11th century*. Among the latter the "state's evidence" is the excavated finds of the cemetery of Alba Iulia-Brândușei Street, but there are also important information in the graveyards of Alba Iulia-Poclișa, Hunedoara-Kincseshegy, Várfalva-Gábor Jósika's garden.

²⁹ KISS 1983, 173, Abb. 84.

³⁰ For example Attila Kiss thought that the usage of the graveyard of Majs can be dated from the 960–970 on the basis of Béla Szőke's theory (KISS 1983, 113).

³¹ TÖRÖK 1969, 89.

³² MESTERHÁZY 1989–1990, note 33, 248. TÖRÖK 1962, Fig. 37.

³³ The finds in the grave: pearls, 1a-type lock-rings, kauri snails, S-ended lock-rings, Raul of Burgundy's coin (REJHOLCOVÁ 1995, 38, Abb. LVII. 1–8).

³⁴ OLMÉROVÁ's dating seems to be too early according to the finds (OLMÉROVÁ 1959, 227–245).

It should be stated that this type of lock-ring is unknown both in the graveyards dated from the first part of the 10th century (Cluj-Kalevala Street³⁵, Cluj-Plugarilor street³⁶, Cluj-Zápolya Street³⁷), and also in the graveyards dated from the second part of the 10th century (Deva, Gâmbaş, Blandiana “B” cemetery, Orăștie). It can be said, that according to the excavated finds this jewellery can not be found in the Transylvanian Basin in “classical”, mounted-armed graveyards of the conquest. It is known in two cases in Partium: one was found in a ransacked mounted burial, from the 28th grave of Köröstarján-Csordásdomb together with two bronze bracelets band, a knife, a pair of peer-shaped stirrup, and a closed round lock-ring³⁸, and one was found in the 15th grave of Vărșand-Laposhalom, together with a single, small and a peer-shaped, small lock-ring, two band bracelets, a bracelet with coiled terminals, a closed twisted bracelet, square round bronze ring (it was found on the sternum)³⁹. Dorin Popescu dated the grave (in our opinion graves) of Vărșand from the 11th century without offering an explanation. However, according to the above mentioned finds we can speak about a population burying in the second part of the 10th century. As we can see, here – as usually on the Plain – the S-ended lock-ring spread earlier than in the Transylvanian Basin⁴⁰.

Back to the Transylvanian Basin, firstly we have to speak about the sporadic finds of Cluj. As the silver, good-quality, big-sized S-ended lock-ring from the grave of Cluj-Heltai street is a sporadic find, its dating is impossible. It turned out from the sheet of paper which gives references of the find, that this ring was found in 1936, at a foundation, next to a skeleton's “ear”⁴¹. The unpublished 10th century graveyard (Plugarilor Street) is not far from here, so the question is given, if it belongs to the later stage of the mentioned grave. However, from the above mentioned graveyard we do not know any S-ended lock-rings, therefore it is not possible to state the age of this jewellery.

As it has been mentioned, the graveyard of Alba Iulia-Brândușei Street proves the most important data. Due to the horizontal stratigraphic analysis we can follow the appearance of this lock-ring and also the association of it with other kinds of objects.

From the cemetery-part that was excavated in 1997, 1999, 2001, and in 2006 we know the following lock-ring types: single *1a* (3, 12, 16, 26, 31, 40, 48, 55 grave), and some types of peer-shaped, 2a-b type lock-rings (6–7, 13, 27–28, 31, 52 grave), 4 type closed oval lock-ring (38 grave). The followings can be dated from the second part of the 10th century: spiral twisted band-ring (16, 33 grave), opened wire ring (16 grave), pseudo-granulated ornamented mount ring (22 grave), open round closed wedding ring (21 grave), mount ring (22 grave), wire-bracelet (33, 55 grave). Other items of this graveyard-part are characteristics of the pagan burial

³⁵ I. grave: saber; II. grave: clay pottery; III. grave: saber, quiver mounts, striker (GERGELY/GÁLL 2009)

³⁶ A graveyard with 26 graves. Unpublished. The excavated 26 graves can be grouped in three groups. In each group a soldier with a saber was buried (4., 22., 25. graves), the richest “soldier” can be found in the third group, as the corpse of the 25th grave was buried together with a saber (in the blade was hammered silver fibers), a golden lock-ring, a saber sheath, a bucket, a stirrup, a bit and horse-bones (Bálint IIInd type). The death person of the 4th grave was also buried together with mounted belt, saber, lock-rings, quiver, arrows, but without the horse-parts. The corpse of the 22nd grave was also buried together with a saber (II. group of graves). According to our information there are four more known graves with bows, and in all male graves there were arrows. We also know a wire *torques* made from one fiber, a pair of grape-pendant earring (8. and 19. grave), shift ornaments (7 pieces from the 5. grave), whetstone (15. grave), pearls (15. grave), buttons (2. grave), single axe (16. grave), knives (Kolozsvár-Szántó street 4, 7, 11, 14–16, 19–20, 22. graves), fire-lighting implements (14–15. graves), sickle (19. grave), wire-rings (19–20. grave), thin wire-bracelets and two object ornamented with palmetto (19. grave). Clay pottery was found in seven graves (more than 26% of the graves) (GÁLL 2004–2005, 334–380; GÁLL 2008, II, 80–83).

³⁷ KOVÁCS 1942, 85–118; LÁSZLÓ 1942, 578–584; LÁSZLÓ 1945, 1–15; GÁLL 2008, Pl. 108–129.

³⁸ LAKATOS 2003, 214.

³⁹ POPESCU 1956, 128, Fig. 83. 2–11.

⁴⁰ GÁLL 2008, 154–155.

⁴¹ Not inventoried – Transylvanian Historical Museum of Cluj-Napoca (GÁLL 2008, II., 84).

rituals: knives, strikers, whetstones (6–7, 124 and 128 grave), and pots that are signs of food-attachment (9, 12–16, 28–29, 46, 106 grave).

Other items of the material culture are known from the graveyard-part that was excavated in 2004 and in 2005: the S-terminal lock rings were found together with coins from the Arpadian-age (I. Andrew, Peter Orseolo), twisted and spun silver rings, twisted bracelet, bronze bracelet with rounded terminals, ornamented with dotted circles, they are dated from the 11th century.

During the excavation in 2006, the 130th grave with S-ended lock-rings was found next to the 106th grave with pots. The former can be dated (if it is not a subsequent digging in like in the case of the 105th grave dated with Salamon's coin) from the end of the 10th century or from the beginning of the 11th. Not far from these graves, graves with S-ended lock-rings can be found (102 and 121 grave): twisted, semi round closed ring and arm rings with rectangular section. All the above mentioned object-categories and types are the specific items of the 11th century's material culture⁴².

The cemetery-part which was excavated in 2004 is younger: the S-terminal lock rings were found in graves next to the graves with obolon from the age of Árpád or András I. To the east of it there is the 62nd grave with S-ended lock-rings, while to the east-south of this grave there is the 66th grave with 5a and 1a type lock-rings. There is also the 71st grave with an obolon from the Arpadian age next to the 59th grave. The graves with S-ended lock-rings excavated in 2004 can be dated from the middle or from the second part of the 11th century (see 3rd plate).

According to these facts, in the earlier periods of the graveyard of Alba Iulia only the single lock-ring types (*1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 4*) were used, while in the later graves we can find mainly or only S-ended lock-rings, together with coins from the Arpadian age, twisted rings and twisted bracelets (*5a*). It can be said that based on the above listed finds a demarcation line can be drawn between the two parts of the cemetery.

Unfortunately, not even the lock-rings from the excavated graveyard-part in Alba Iulia-Poklisa can provide us with more exact dating. Only the dating of the *5b* type lock-ring is obvious: based on the coins of Stephen I and András I found in the grave: the second part of the 11th century.

The S-ended lock-rings from Alba Iulia-Roman Bath can only be dated conditionally as they are sporadic finds, though Giesler dated the smaller and thicker ones from the second part of the 11th century⁴³. We usually consider the other object-type from this graveyard among the 11th century's finds⁴⁴.

We have more exact data in the case of the cemetery of Hunedoara-Kincseshegy⁴⁵. S-ended lock-ring is known from 9 graves out of the 54 graves. In this case we have to highlight that except one grave (30th) *coins and S-terminal lock-rings can not be found in the same grave*. In the cemetery-part which is dated on the basis of Stephen I, András I, Béla I, and Salamon's coins, the earliest S-ended lock-rings can be dated from the beginning of the century: the earliest lock-rings are from the following graves: 14., 34., 49. the lock-rings of the following graves belong to the second phase: 22., 28., 31. As in the graves next to them I. Stephen's H1 coins (23., 24., 29.) and I András H9 coins (33.) were found, they can be dated from the middle of the century. The lock-rings of the II. and 3. graves seem to be from later, as in their environment we know the graves of Salamon (1063–1064) and Béla I (1060–1063). (Salamon's

⁴² DRĂMBĂREANU/ET AL. 1998, 187–210; DRAGOTĂ/ET AL. 2005. 201–228; DRAGOTĂ-BRÂNDA, 2001, 289–318

⁴³ GIESLER 1981, Taf. 53.

⁴⁴ 28th grave: one 5a-type lock-ring, one 5d ribbed-ended lock-ring.

⁴⁵ ROSKA 1913, 166–198.

coin: III, 4. grave, Béla I: 6. grave). It has to be mentioned that in the graves dated from the middle of the century the S-ended lock-ring and the twisted silver ring can be often found together. In connection with the S-ended lock-rings of Hunedoara we have to say that in this graveyard-part we can not find I. László's coins, so the excavated graves were buried before the last decades of the century (though it is probable that the graveyard was larger).

We should also touch the question of the ribbed S-terminal version's dating. It is hardly known in the graveyards from the first third of the century. There is only one find from the 28th grave of Hunedoara, which was found together with a 5a-type lock-ring and a twisted silver-ring. However, in the neighboring graves Stephen I (29.) and András I's coins were found, so, as we mentioned earlier, these graves can be dated by this lock-ring from the second part of the century.

The finds of Várfalva can be dated from earlier.⁴⁶ A 5a-type item was found in a grave which dating is obviously from the first third of the 11th century. It was found in one of the central graves (41.), together with a finger ring with rectangular section and a molded, closed animal-snake headed bracelet. The 5a-type lock-ring of the 16th grave is later, it belongs to the II. round, together with bronze bracelet of a rectangular section, twisted silver ring, and right next to them there is the 18th grave dated with Aba Sámuel's (1041–1044) H7 coin. A bigger amount of S-ended lock-rings were found in the graves of the III. Round. Around these graves. András I's H8 coins were found together with Stephen I and Orseolo Péter's (1038–1041, 1044–1046) coins. Based on it the lock-rings can be dated from the middle of the century. In the 19th and 20th graves there are no other finds. Though a Stephen I's coin was found in the 23rd grave, but right next to it was found the 22nd grave which can be dated by András I's H8 coin, so the 23rd grave can not be dated from the first third of the 11th century. In the 31st grave, which is a bit farther, a bronze bracelet of rectangular section and a Andrew I's unidentified coin was found. From the IV. round of the cemeteries, which are dated by András I's H8 and H9 coins from the middle or the second part of the century (35. grave), S-ended lock-rings were found in more graves (2–3., 34–35. graves). The latest S-ended lock-ring was found in the 55th grave together with a László I's coin and a twisted ring. It can be dated from the end of the 11th century.

At the present stage of the research it seems to be obvious that the S-ended lock-rings appeared in the fashion, wear and consequently in burials of the Transylvanian Basin at the end of the 10th century or at the beginning of the 11th century. At present it seems that *the Transylvanian Basin is the region of the Carpathian Basin where the fashion of the S-ended lock-rings' spread was the latest, the dating can start from the beginning of the first Christian century, from 1010–1020*. I would like to mention that this remark can primarily refer to the political-military centres. There is no information about sites with S-ended lock-rings from the eastern part of the Transylvanian Basin that can be dated from the beginning of the 11th century.

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⁴⁶ ROSKA 1914, 125–187.

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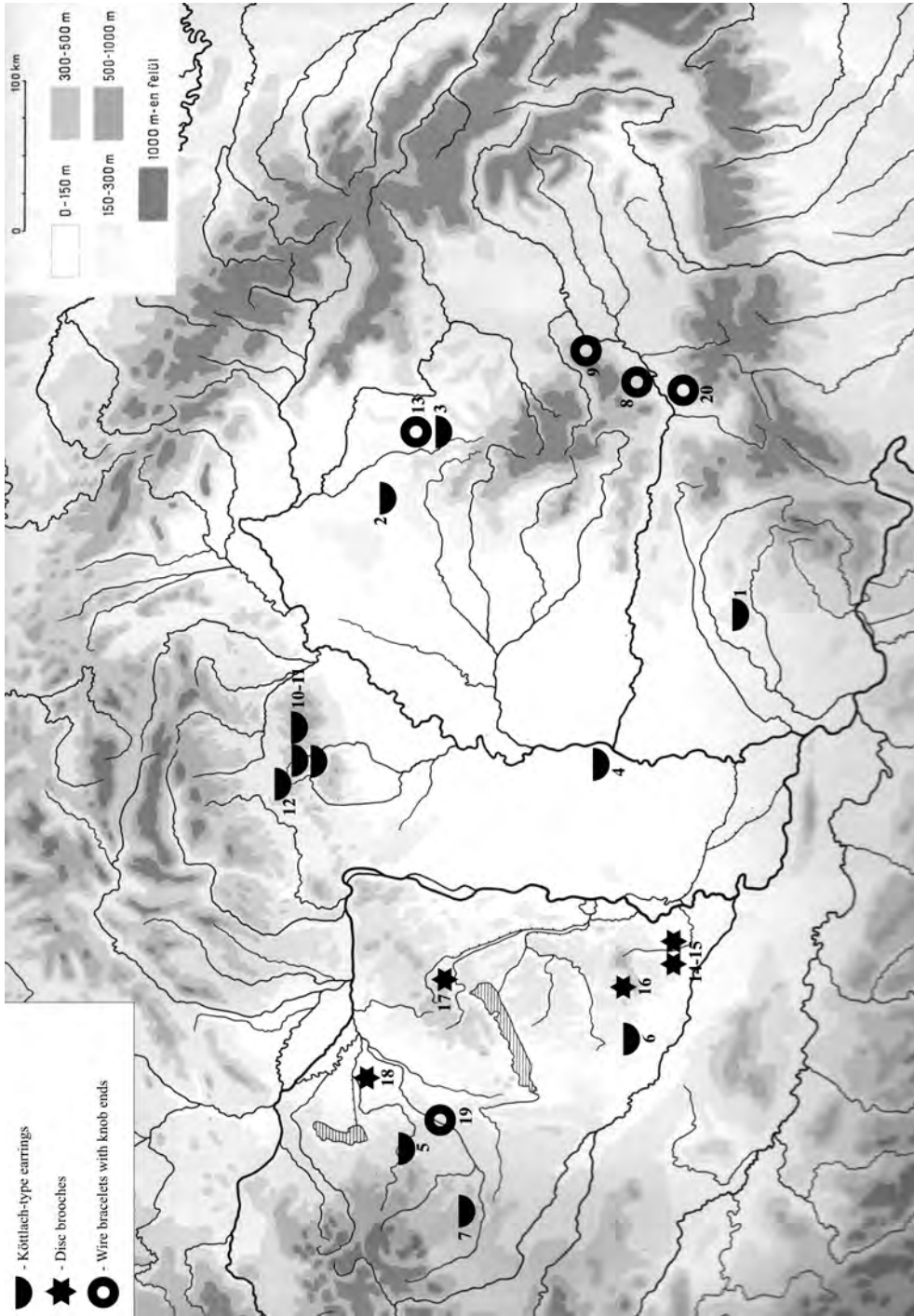
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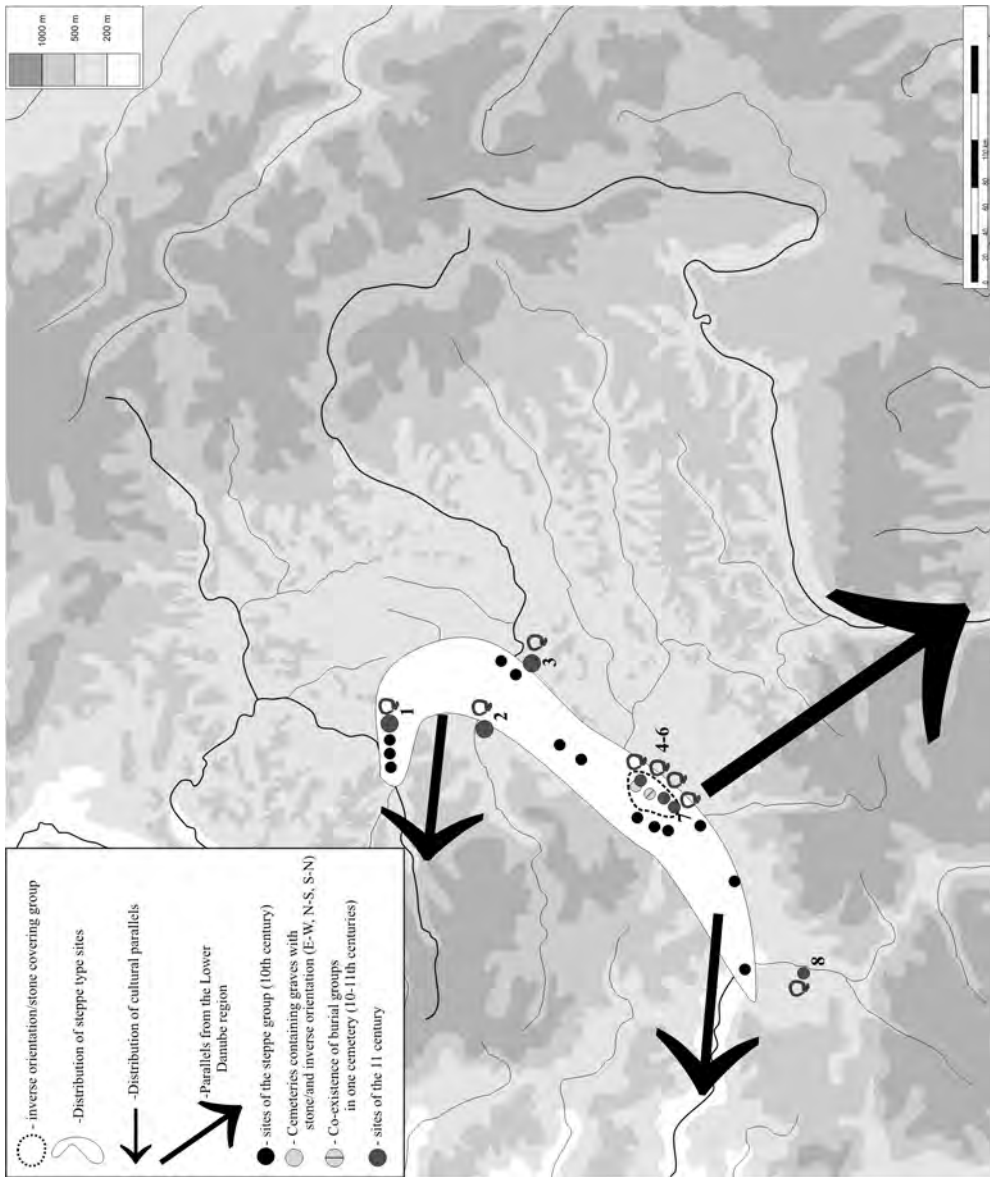
List of the cemetery and finds, which contains S-terminal lock-ring (after 2 map)

1. Cluj-Napoca-Heltei street (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg)(Cluj county)
1 grave (GÁLL/GERGELY 2004–2007, 10, Pl. V; GÁLL 2008, Pl. II, 85).
2. Moldovenești-Gábor Jósika's garden (Várfalva) (Cluj county)
57 graves (ROSKA 1914, 121–144).
3. Noșlac-Pompa de apă (Marosnagylak) (Alba county)
18 graves. Unpublished.
4. Alba-Iulia-Vânătorilor street (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg) (Alba county)
180 graves. Unpublished. Some informations: BLĂJAN/STOICOVICI/BOTEZATU 1990–1993, 273–290.
5. Alba-Iulia-str. Brândușei (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg) (Alba county)
145 graves excavated in 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2005 and 2006 (DRĂMBĂREANU/ET AL. 1998, 187–210; DRAGOTĂ/BRÂNDA 2001, 289–318; DRAGOTĂ/ET AL. 2005, 201–228).
6. Alba-Iulia-Baia Romană (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg) (Alba county)
35 graves. Unpublished.
7. Alba-Iulia-Păclișa (Poklisa)(Alba county)
17 graves was discovered to H. Ciugudean and A. Dragotă (CIUGUDEAN/DRAGOTĂ 2001; 269–280; CIUGUDEAN/PINTER/RUSTOIU 2006, 60–66).
8. Hunedoara-Kincseshegy (Vajdahunyad) (Hunedoara county)
54 graves (ROSKA 1913, 166–198).



Map 1.

1. Deta; 2. Sálacea grave 4B.; 3. Zaláu-Pálvár grave 1.; 4. Tápé-Lebő; 5. Csepreg-grave 97.; 6. Hircs; 7. Locsmánd; 8. Blandiana cemetery "B" grave 11.; 9. Gámbaș grave 2.; 10. Eger; 11. Verpelét; 12. Pétervására; 13. Zaláu-Pálvár grave 1; 14-15. Majs graves 385 and 685; 16. Pécs-Somogy grave 30; 17. Székesfehérvár-grave 5.; 18. Oroszvár-grave 2; 19. Ikervár-grave 130; 20. Orăștie-grave 11.



2. Map Cultural links of burial customs of the 10th and 11th centuries and spread of the S-terminated lockring from the Transylvanian Basin: 1. Cluj-Helrai street 28.; 2. Moldovenești; 3. Noșlac; 4. Alba-Iulia Straja de Salvare n. III.; 5. Alba-Iulia-Vânătorilor street; 6. Alba-Iulia-Brândușei street; 7. Alba-Iulia-Pâclișa; 8. Hunedoara-Kincseshegy. 2; 19. Ikervár-grave 130; 20. Orăștie-grave 11.

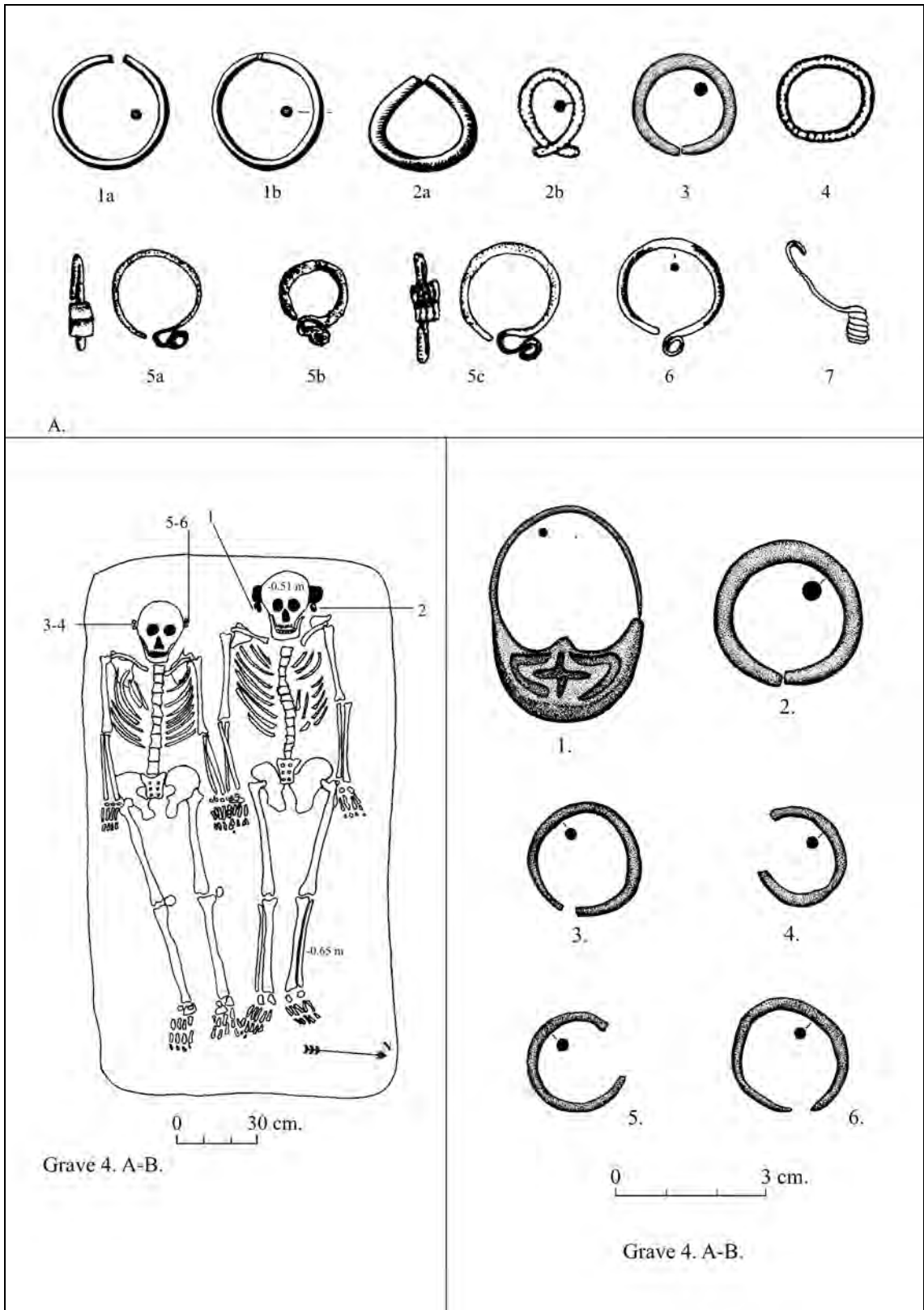


Plate 1. A. Lockring types in the Transilvanian Basin, Partium and Banat: 1-7;
 B. Sălcea-Grave 4. A-b: 1-6.

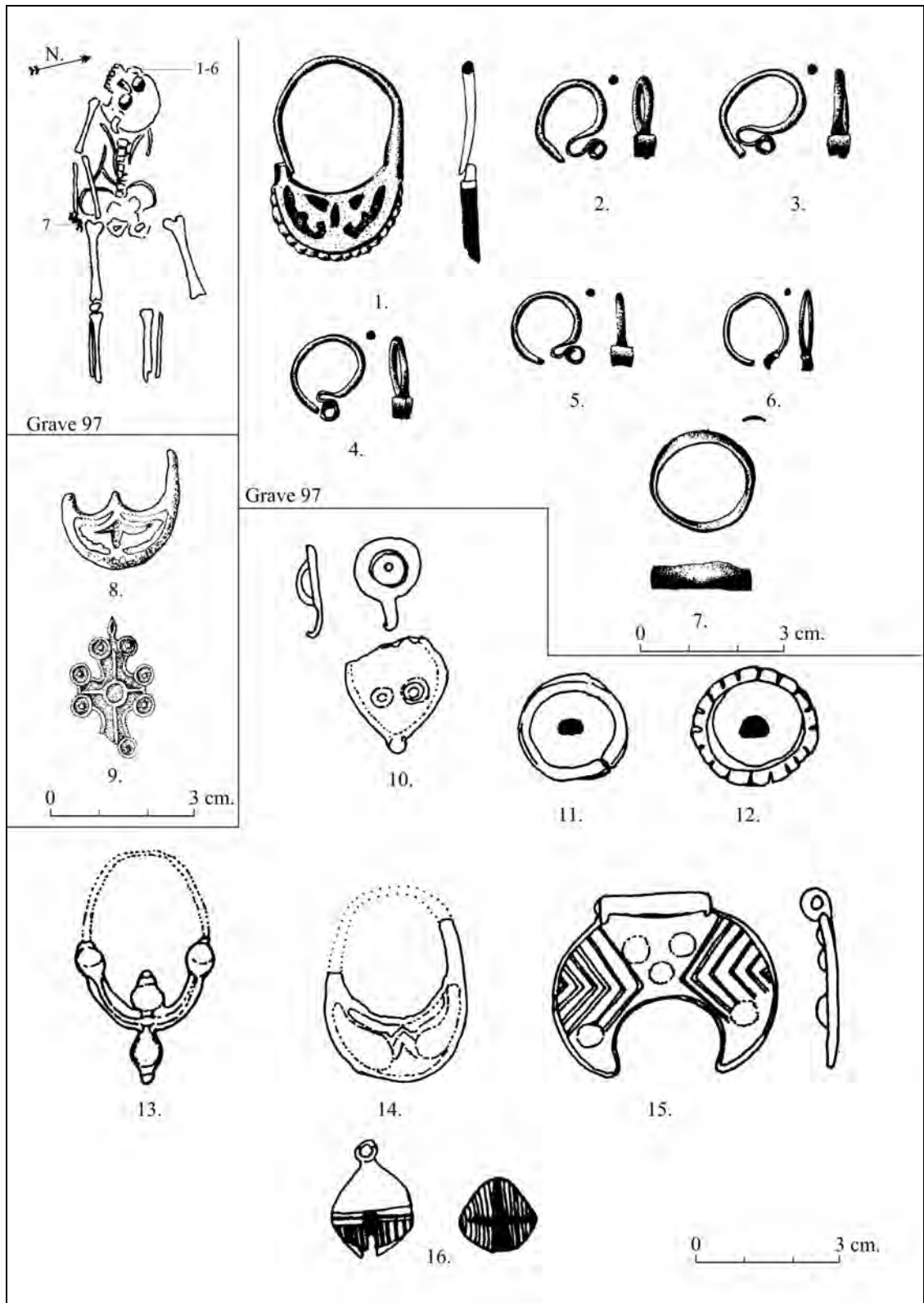


Plate. 2. 1–7: Csepreg-Szentkirály grave 97; 8-9: Deta; 10–16: Šenkovec.

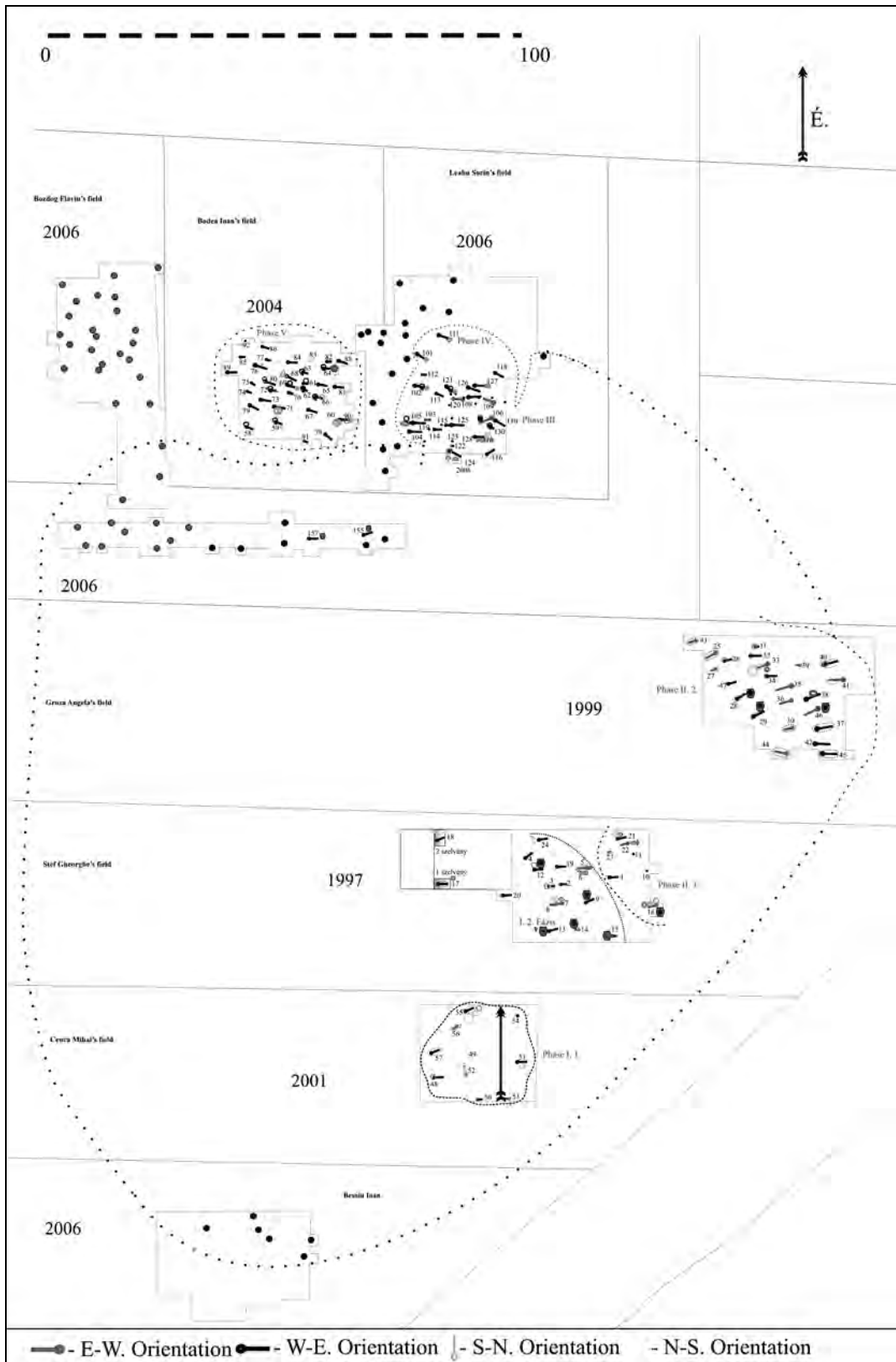


Plate. 2. Alba-Iulia – Brândușei Street.

-  - Simple lockring 1a-type
-  - Simple lockring 1b-type
-  - lockrings of pear-shaped (2a)
-  - lock-rings of pear-shaped (2b)
-  - Rounded sectional closed lockring (4)
-  - S-terminalled lockring (5a)
-  - coiled lockring (6)
-  - Coin of Peter Orseolo I (1038-1041, 1044-1046)
-  - Coin of Andrew I (1046-1060)
-  - Coin of Solomon (1063-1074)
-  - Knife
-  - fire-lighting implement
-  - Whetstone
-  - Opened, wire finger ring (1a)
-  - Twisted finger ring type 1b
-  - Spun finger ring type 1c
-  - closed, round lock-ring (4a1)
-  - Finger ring with square sectional (2d)
-  - Finger ring with polygon sectional (2e)
-  - pseudo-granulated ornamented mount ring (2f)
-  - spiral twisted band-ring (3i)
-  - mount ring (4a)
-  - Simple, closed band ring (5d)
-  - Simple, open band ring (3i)
-  - Semicircle sectional, closed ring (4a2)
-  - Wire bracelet
-  - lyre-shaped buckle
-  - Twisted neckring
-  - pottery
-  - pottery, type I. A.
-  - pottery, type I. B.
-  - pottery, type II. B.
-  - pottery, type III.
-  - pottery, type IV. C.
-  - pottery, type V. B.
-  - pottery, type V. C.
-  - animal tooth amulet