

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

The Mortuary Archaeology of the Medieval Banat (10th - 14th Centuries)



Silviu Oța



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Florin Curta

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By

Silviu Oța



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5. *Banatski Brestovac*, Pančevo District
6. *Banatski Despotovac*, Zrenjanin District
7. *Banatski Karlovac*, Alibunar District
8. *Banatsko Arandjelovo*, Novi Kneževac District
9. *Bašaid*, Kikinda District
10. *Baziaș*, comm. of Socol, Caraș-Severin County
11. *Beba Veche*, comm. of Beba Veche, Timiș County
12. *Becicherecul Mare*, Zrenjanin District
13. *Belobreșca*, comm. of Pojejena, Caraș-Severin County
14. *Beregșău Mare*, comm. of Săcălaz, Timiș County
15. *Berzovia*, comm. of Berzovia, Caraș-Severin County
16. *Bočar*, Novi Bečej District
17. *Botoș*, Zrenjanin District
18. *Broșteni* (territory of Oravița), Caraș-Severin County
19. *Bucova Puszta*, Timiș County
20. *Bucova*, comm. of Băuțar, Caraș-Severin County
21. *Caransebeș*, Caraș-Severin County
22. *Cârnecea*, comm. of Ticvanu Mare, Caraș-Severin County
23. *Cenad*, Timiș County
24. *Čestereg*, Zrenjanin District
25. *Cheglevici*, comm. of Dudeștii Vechi, Timiș County
26. *Ciacova*, comm. of Ciacova, Timiș County
27. *Ciclova Română*, comm. of Ciclova Română, Caraș-Severin County
28. *Comloșu Mare*, comm. of Comloșu Mare, Timiș County
29. *Cuptoare*, comm. of Cornea, Caraș-Severin County
30. *Cuvin*, Cuvin District
31. *Denta*, comm. of Denta, Timiș County
32. *Deszk*, Csongrád County
33. *Deta*, Timiș County
34. *Divici*, comm. of Pojejena, Caraș-Severin County
35. *Domașnea*, comm. of Domașnea, Caraș-Severin County
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38. *Duleu*, comm. of Fârliug, Caraş-Severin County
39. *Dumbrăviţa*, comm. of Dumbrăviţa, Timiş County
40. *Duplijaja*, Bela Crkva District
41. *Ersig*, comm. of Vermeş, Caraş-Severin County
42. *Făget*, Timiş County
43. *Felnac*, comm. of Felnac, Arad County
44. *Foeni*, comm. of Foeni, Timiş County
45. *Frumuşeni*, comm. of Fântânele, Arad County
46. *Gârbovăţ*, comm. of Bănia, Caraş-Severin County
47. *Gherman*, comm. of Jamu Mare, Timiş County
48. *Gornea*, comm. of Sicheviţa, Caraş-Severin County
49. *Hodoni*, comm. of Satchinez, Timiş County
50. *Idjoş*, Kikinda District
51. *Idvor*, Pančevo District
52. *Ilidia*, comm. of Ciclova Română, Caraş-Severin County
53. *Jazovo*, Čoka District
54. *Jimbolia*, Timiş County
55. *Jupa* (Caransebeş town), Caraş-Severin County
56. *Kikinda*, Kikinda District
57. *Kiszombor*, Csongrád County
58. *Kláralfalva*, Csongrád County
59. *Kübekháza*, Csongrád County
60. *Lighed* (today *Pădureni*), comm. of Jebel, Timiş County
61. *Lokve*, Bela Crkva District
62. *Lugoj*, Timiş County
63. *Majdan*, Novi Kneževac District
64. *Mehadia*, comm. of Mehadia, Caraş-Severin County
65. *Mokrin*, Kikinda District
66. *Moldova Veche* (Moldova Nouă town), Caraş-Severin County
67. *Nerău*, comm. of Teremia Mare, Timiş County
68. *Nicolinţ*, comm. of Ciuchici, Caraş-Severin County
69. *Nikolinci*, Alibunar District
70. *Novi Bečej*, Novi Bečej District
71. *Novi Kneževac*, Novi Kneževac District
72. *Novo Miloševo*, Novi Bečej District
73. *Obreja*, comm. of Obreja, Caraş-Severin County
74. *Omolice*, Pančevo District
75. *Orešac*, Vršac District
76. *Orşova*, Mehedinţi County
77. *Ostojićevo*, Čoka District

78. *Pančevo*, Pančevo District
79. *Partoș*, comm. of Banloc, Timiș County
80. *Pavliš*, Vrșac District
81. *Periam*, comm. of Periam, Timiș County
82. *Pescari* (today *Coronini*), comm. of Pescari (Coronini), Caraș-Severin County
83. *Petnic*, comm. of Iablanița, Caraș-Severin County
84. *Piatra Ilișovei*, Caraș-Severin County
85. *Măru* or *Poiana Mărului*, comm. of Zăvoi, Caraș-Severin County
86. *Pojejena*, comm. of Pojejena, Caraș-Severin County
87. *Rábé*, Novi Kneževac District
88. *Răcășdia*, comm. of Răcășdia, Caraș-Severin County
89. *Remetea Mare*, comm. of Remetea Mare, Timiș County
90. *Reșița*, Caraș-Severin County
91. *Sasca Montană*, comm. of Sasca Montană, Caraș-Severin County
92. *Sat Bătrân*, comm. of Armeniș, Caraș-Severin County
93. *Satchinez*, comm. of Satchinez, Timiș County
94. *Săcălaz*, comm. of Săcălaz, Timiș County
95. *Sânnicolau Mare*, Timiș County
96. *Sânpetru German*, comm. of Secusigiu, Arad County
97. *Sečanj*, Sečanj District
98. *Sichevița*, comm. of Sichevița, Caraș-Severin County
99. *Socol*, comm. of Socol, Caraș-Severin County
100. *Starčevo*, Pančevo District
101. *Stenca*, comm. of Sichevița, Caraș-Severin County
102. *Svinița*, comm. of Svinița, Mehedinți County
103. *Szóreg*, Csongrád County
104. *Șopotu Vechi*, comm. of Dalboșeț, Caraș-Severin County
105. *Taraș*, Zrenjanin District
106. *Teremia Mare*, comm. of Teremia Mare, Timiș County
107. *Timișoara*, Timiș County
108. *Tiszaszentmiklós*, Csongrád County
109. *Tiszasziget* (Ószentivanon), Csongrád County
110. *Tomaševac*, Zrenjanin District
111. *Tomnatic*, comm. of Lovrin, Timiș County
112. *Crna Bara*, Čoka District
113. *Uivar*, comm. of Uivar, Timiș County
114. *Valea Bolvașnița*, comm. of Mehadia, Caraș-Severin County
115. *Valea Ravenska* or *Cracu Almăj*, comm. of Sichevița, Caraș-Severin County

116. *Vatin*, Vršac District
117. *Vărădia*, comm. of Vărădia, Caraș-Severin County
118. *Vizejdia*, comm. of Lovrin, Timiș County
119. *Voiteni (Voiteg)*, comm. of Voiteni (Voiteg), Timiș County
120. *Vojlovica*, Pančevo District
121. *Vrani*, comm. of Vrani, Caraș-Severin County
122. *Vrăniuț*, comm. of Răcășdia, Caraș-Severin County
123. *Vrșac*, Vrșac District
124. Unspecified location, from Banat

Abbreviations

| | |
|------------------|---|
| ActaArchHung. | Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest |
| ActaMN | Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj |
| ActaMP | Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău |
| Alba Regia | Alba Regia, Székesfehérvár |
| AM | Arheologia Medievală, Reșița |
| AnB | Analele Banatului, Timișoara |
| Antaeus | Antaeus, Budapest |
| Apulum | Apulum, Alba Iulia |
| ArchÉrt. | Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest |
| ArchHung | Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest |
| ArheologijaSofia | Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia |
| A.S.M.B. | Arheologia satului medieval din Banat, Reșița, 1996 |
| Balcanoslavica | Balcanoslavica, Institut za Staroslovenska Kultura, Prilep |
| Banatica | Banatica, Reșița |
| CAH | Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae |
| CAMNI | Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul de Istorie al R.S. România/ Muzeul Național de Istorie, Bucharest |
| Corviniana | Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis, Hunedoara |
| Crisia | Crisia, Oradea |
| Dacia | Dacia. Recherches et Découvertes Archéologiques en Roumanie, Bucharest; seria nouă (NS): Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucharest |
| DAI, I, II | Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, <i>De administrando imperio</i> [I], eds. G. Moravcsik—R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, 1967); II, <i>Commentary</i> , ed. R.J.H. Jenkins (London, 1962). |
| Đerdapske sveske | Đerdapske sveske, Belgrade |
| D.I.R. | <i>Documente Privind Istoria României</i> (Bucharest), <i>C. Transilvania</i> , veacul XI, XII și XIII, I (1075–1250) (1951); veacul XIII, II (1952); veacul XIV, I (1952); II (1953); III (1954); IV (1955). |
| D.R.H. | <i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i> (Bucharest), <i>C. Transilvania</i> , X (1977); XI (1981); XII (1985)—ed. Șt. Pascu; XIII (1994) |
| DolgSzeged | Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität, Szeged |
| Drobeta | Drobeta, Drobeta-Turnu Severin |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| E.A.I.V.R. | Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, Bucharest |
| EphemNap | Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj |
| ÉvkDebrecen | A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen |
| ÉvkSzeged | A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged |
| FHDR, II–IV | <i>Fontes historiae Daco-Romanae</i> (Bucharest), II—eds. H. Mihăescu, Gh. Ștefan, R. Hâncu, Vl. Iliescu, V.C. Popescu (1970); III—eds. Al. Elian and N.-Ș. Tanașoca (1975); IV—eds. H. Mihăescu, R. Lăzărescu, N.-Ș. Tanașoca, T. Teoteoi (1982). |
| FolArch | Folia Archaeologica, Budapest |
| GGBeograda | Godišnjak Grada Beograda, Belgrade |
| GSAD | Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrade |
| Hurmuzaki | E. Hurmuzaki, <i>Documente privitoare la istoria românilor</i> (Bucharest), I, 2 (1890)—eds. N. Densușianu, E. Kalužniacki. |
| IIR | <i>Izvoarele istoriei românilor</i> , ed. G. Popa-Lisseanu (Bucharest) |
| I.M.P.R. | Istoria militară a poporului român, II, Bucharest, 1984 |
| IzvestijaVarna | Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej, Varna |
| KözlCluj | Közlemények. Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Cluj |
| MatArchSlovaca | Materialia archaeologica Slovaca, Nitra |
| Materiale | Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, Bucharest |
| MitrBan | Mitropolia Banatului, Timișoara |
| MittArchInst | Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest |
| MN | Muzeul Național, Bucharest |
| Patrimonium Apulense | Patrimonium Apulense. Anuar de arheologie, istorie, cultură, etnografie, muzeologie, conservare, restaurare, Alba Iulia |
| Podravski Zbornik | Muzej Grada Koprivnice |
| RadVM | Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad |
| RégFüz | Régészeti Füzetek, Budapest |
| Rég. Tán. | Régészeti Tanulmányok, Budapest |
| RevIst | Revista Istorică, Bucharest |
| RIR | Revista Istorică Română, Bucharest |
| RMM-MIA | Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, seria Monumente Istorice și de Artă, Bucharest |
| SCIV(A) | Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), Bucharest |

| | |
|---|---|
| SCN | Studii și Cercetări Numismatice, Bucharest |
| SHP | Starohrvatska Prosvjeta, Zagreb |
| SIB | Studii de istorie a Banatului, Timișoara |
| SlovArch | Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra |
| SMIM | Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie, Bucharest |
| SovArh | Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskova |
| Starinar | Starinar, Arheološki Institut, Belgrade |
| Stratum Plus | Stratum Plus. Kul'turnaja, Antropologija i Arheologija, Sankt Petersburg-Chișinev-Odessa-Buharest |
| Studii. Revistă de Istorie | Studii. Revistă de Istorie, Bucharest |
| Studii. Revistă de Știință și Filozofie | Studii. Revistă de Știință și Filozofie, Bucharest |
| Tibiscum | Tibiscum (Studii și Comunicări de Etnografie-Istorie), Caransebeș |
| Tibiscus | Tibiscus, Timișoara |
| Tibiscvm | Tibiscvm, SN, Arheologie-Istorie, Caransebeș |
| V.A.H. | Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest |
| Ziridava | Ziridava, Arad |
| ZNMBeograd | Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja, Belgrade |

Introduction: The State of Current Research on the Banat between the 10th and the 14th Century

As part of the archaeological research conducted on the territory of Banat, the study of cemeteries dated to the 10th–14th centuries is particularly significant. For a better understanding of its role one needs first to understand the historical circumstances in which the historical and archaeological research was initiated and developed.

The rise of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy through the *Ausgleich* of 1867 offered a unique opportunity for Hungarian nationalism, now in a position to bring some of its ideals to life. One of the main expressions of the cultural nationalism promoted in Hungary during the second half of the 19th century was an explosion of archaeological studies dedicated to at that time recently excavated cemeteries dated to the 10th–11th centuries, some of which had been found in the lowlands of the Banat.

There were certainly finds dated to that period even before 1867, but none received any particular attention aside from a brief mention in the literature (for example, the 10th to 11th century finds from the Roman ruins in *Sânpetru German* known since 1860¹ or the undated finds from Teremia Mare brought to light in 1839).² After 1867 artefacts from graves accidentally found during agricultural work or urban development were increasingly brought to the center of attention by custodians of regional museums (primarily those in Szeged, Vršac, Arad, and Timișoara) or even of the National Hungarian Museum in Budapest, which came to acquire an increasing number of such objects. At the onset of World War I, the research and acquisition of objects coming from medieval cemeteries, especially those dated to the 10th–12th centuries, had witnessed a dramatic increase leading to the identification of no less than 67 sites.³ In the

1 Velter (2002), p. 460.

2 Bálint (1991), p. 243.

3 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-11 different locations identified between 1879–1909, *Bašaid*-before 1912, *Broșteni*-before 1913, *Bucova Puszta*-six different locations, *Cenad*-three locations identified before 1909, *Comloșu Mare*-1898 and 1900, *Cuvin*-before 1914, *Deta*-1882, *Dudeștii Vechi*-three locations identified between 1903 and 1906, *Felnac*-1901, *Frumușeni*: a location identified on the border with the village of Fântânele in the late 19th century, probably before 1876, and another location identified at 300 m to the east from the village at some point

late 19th and early 20th century, József Hampel has already sorted and classified the evidence by grave type.⁴

During this period, none of cemeteries identified in the Banat was either fully or systematically excavated. The available evidence in fact derived either from partial excavations,⁵ or from surveys.⁶ These surveys were conducted mostly by

during the last quarter of the 19th century, *Gherman*-1876, *Kiszombor*-two locations identified in 1877 and 1915, *Lighed*-1870, *Majdan*-1895 and another site found before 1898, *Moldova Veche*-Malul Dunării-one location, *Nerău*-two finding spots found in 1899, *Novi Kneževac*-the estate of Béla Talliján-1900, *Ostojicevo*-two locations identified in 1895 and 1897, respectively, *Pančevo*-late 19th or early 20th century, *Periam*-Régiposta Str. (1909), *Rábé*-two locations identified in 1891 and 1912, *Reșița*-1896, *Satchinez*-before 1907, *Săcălaz*-two finding spots found in 1869 and 1905, respectively, *Sânnicolau Mare*, *Sânpetru German*-1860, *Teremia Mare*-two locations identified in 1839, 1875/6, and 1889, *Timișoara*, *Tizaszentmiklós*, *Tomnatic*-six locations, three identified in 1898, and another three found in 1896, 1900 and 1911, *Vatin*-1903, *Vrșac*-two locations identified in 1900 and 1908, respectively, *Vărădia*-at some point during the 19th century, *Vizejdia*-five locations, two of them identified in 1894, another two in 1895, and the fifth one in 1911 or later.

4 Hampel (1900); Hampel (1905a–c); Hampel (1907).

5 *Reșița*-Ogășele-1896 (Mihalik [1896], p. 79), dated to the 14th–15th centuries, *Vărădia*-found in the 19th century (Florescu, Miclea [1979], p. 82, an earring, no. 228 and three rings, no. 230–231, no. 234–235 and no. 236–237; Țeicu [1987], p. 320), dated to the 14th–15th centuries.

6 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-barrow near the train station-1898, barrow located north-east of the train station, found in 1903 (Aurel Török) (Kovács [1991], pp. 402–404), *Bucova Puszta*-T.III-found in 1903, dated to the 10th century, T.II-found in 1904, dated to the Migration Period, T.V-found in 1904, T.VIII-found in 1906, dated to the Migration Period (Medeleț, Bugilan [1987], pp. 116, 112, 123, 124, 128, 113), T.IV-10th–14th centuries, T.IX-found in 1907–10th century, *Cenad*-grave on an arm of the river Aranca, found in 1909, and dated to the Migration Period, Barrow Tarnok-undated, *Comloșu Mare*-Hunca lui Șofron-found in 1898, dated to the Migration Period, *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.I, V and VI-found in 1904–1905, dated to the 10th century; T.II-found in 1904, dated to the Migration Period, T.VIII-found in 1906, dated to the Migration Period (Medeleț, Bugilan [1987], pp. 116, 112, 123, 124, 128, 113), *Kiszombor*-unspecified location, found in 1877, dated to the 11th century (Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 49), *Tomnatic*-the brick factory-found in 1911, dated to the 10th–11th centuries [Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 81; Bálint [1991], p. 242; Kühn [1911], pp. 182–183, Kovács [1990], pl. 2), *Kleinhügel*-found in 1900, undated, a barrow to the west from *Kleinhügel*-found in 1898, dated to the 11th century, another barrow to the east from *Kleinhügel*-found in 1898, undated, *Kopfhügel*-found in 1896-undated (Medeleț, Bugilan [1987], pp. 173–174), *Kishalom*-found in 1898, dated to the 10th–11th centuries (Bálint [1991], p. 242; Hampel [1900], pp. 663–665; Hampel, [1905b], pp. 653–654), *Vizejdia*-T.III-found in 1894, undated, T.IV-found in 1894, undated, T.VI-found in 1895, unspecified location, surveyed in 1911, dated to the 14th century, T.VII-found in 1895–1901, undated, T.VIII-found in 1896, undated, *Nerău*-barrow near Humca Mare-found in 1899, dated to the Migration Period, *Humca Mare*-found in 1899, undated (Medeleț, Bugilan [1987], pp. 179–180, 150–152).

amateur archaeologists like Gyula Nagy Kisléghi, and very rarely by experts such as József Hampel. For the rest of the evidence known to have become available at that time, there is very little information regarding the context, and it must be treated as stray finds.

The evidence gathered through partial excavations or surveys has been published mostly in a descriptive manner, with much attention paid to the presentation of recovered artifacts and sometimes to the context of the finds. The detailed description of artifacts by János Reizner, Gyula Kisléghi Nagy, István Tömörkeny, Ödön Gohl, Samu Borovszki, Felix Milleker, and Jenő Szentklay made possible the later systematization of the evidence, which was followed by the first stylistic and functional typologies. World War I put a drastic stop to this burgeoning archaeological research, and activity on most sites completely ceased, with the exception of *Kiszombor-B*,⁷ where finds were still recorded during the war years.

The study of cemeteries dated between the 10th and the 15th centuries continued after the war under different circumstances. After 1918, the Banat was divided between three neighboring countries—Romania (Timiș-Torontal, Arad, Caraș, and Severin counties), Yugoslavia (the southern, western and northwestern parts of the region, with the Cuvin, Torontal, Cenad, and a portion of the Caraș counties), and Hungary (the northwestern corner of the Banat, namely the region around Szeged with the county of Csongrád). In comparison with the pre-war period, the archaeological research diminished considerably. In the Romanian Banat, for example, only four locations were identified in the interwar period: *Orșova* (1927),⁸ *Periam-Sánchalom* (1930)-dated to the 10th–11th centuries,⁹ *Lugoj*-an intervention on a small 14th-century church in the 1920s and 1930,¹⁰ and the excavations conducted by G. Florescu at *Vărădia* (dated to the 14th–15th centuries).¹¹ Very little has been published from those finds, and only incompletely.¹² A few cemetery churches have also been identified at this time, primarily *Belobreșca*-near Țiganska Reka and *Beregsău Mare*-Gomilă (where traces of walls have been found, together with a sword). The first comprehensive publication of 10th-century artefacts

7 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

8 Bálint (1991), p. 245. The artifact ended in the National Hungarian Museum in Budapest.

9 Bálint (1991), p. 246; Roska (1943), p. 143.

10 Olde (1930), pp. 125–131.

11 The only artifact known from those excavations is a ring.

12 There are several more identifications of artifacts, churches and cemeteries, none of which could be either verified or dated. In some cases the information remains inaccessible. For identifications of ruins of churches and place names signaling their presence, see Sabin Luca (2005).

was by the Hungarian-born Romanian archaeologist Marton Roska. The publication, however, contained no indication of the archaeological context.

The nature of research during the interwar period was determined by three factors. First, after 1918 no specialized personnel existed after 1918 in Romania, which could have undertaken the task of excavating medieval cemeteries in the Banat. Second, Romanian archaeologists had little, if any interest for periods other than the Roman age or prehistory. Last but not least, the field in its entirety was marred by a dismissive, if not altogether scornful attitude towards archaeological research on the Middle Ages, no doubt because of its association with the medieval kingdom of Hungary, the presence of a Hungarian population in the area, and concerns about possible political or even territorial claims.

The state of the research in those regions of the Banat that were incorporated into Yugoslavia was not much different.¹³ Only four sites are known to have been signalled during the interwar period: *Mokrin* (11th–12th centuries), *Perjanica* (11th century),¹⁴ *Ostojićevo*-Bunker kod krsta (11th–12th centuries),¹⁵ and *Crna Bara*-Prkos (10th–11th centuries).¹⁶ Of all four sites, only the latter was excavated systematically in 1945. Most finds from that, as well as other sites were published much later, and only selectively.

The archaeological research in the southeastern part of the Csongrád County in Hungary was slightly more intense than that taking place at that same time in Romania and in Yugoslavia. During the interwar period, 17 cemetery sites were identified and partially excavated.¹⁷

13 The kingdom of Yugoslavia had little, if any historical tie to that newly occupied territory, which in the early 20th century was primarily inhabited by Romanians. However, the western part of the Banat was regarded as a strategic buffer between the border with Romania and the capital of the kingdom, Belgrade.

14 Stanojev (1989), p. 58; Kovács (1991), p. 410; Girić (1995/1996), p. 144.

15 Girić (1995/1996), p. 144.

16 Stanojev (1989), pp. 129–130; Kovács (1991), p. 416.

17 *Deszk-Újmajor*, found in 1938 (10th–11th centuries) (Bálint [1991], p. 218, pl. LIII/b, 13–17, 19; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 31), *Deszk-B* or *E* (found in 1931 and dated to the Arpadian period), *Deszk-D*, found between 1931 and 1937 (10th–12th centuries), *Deszk-Jankovich Tanya*, found in 1929 (11th century), *Deszk-J*, found in 1931 (10th–11th centuries), *Deszk-T*, found in 1939 (10th–11th centuries) (Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 31), *Kiszombor-B*, found in 1928 (10th–11th centuries), *Kiszombor-C*, found in 1928 (10th–11th centuries), *Kiszombor-E*, found in 1930 (10th–11th centuries), *Kiszombor-F*, found in 1930 (10th century), *Kiszombor-Juhászhalom*, found at some point before 1937 (11th century?) (Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], pp. 48–49), *Kláráfalva-B*, found in 1931 and, again, in 1942 (11th century), *Kláráfalva-Faragó*, found in 1939 (10th–11th centuries)

Most prominent among Hungarian scholars interested in the medieval period was Alajos Bálint. His publication of finds are devoid of any reference to archaeological context and have only limited use for the current state of research. The unsystematic publication of finds continued in Hungary after World War II, but Hungarian scholars were able to produce synthetic studies regarding the metalwork in Pannonia during the Early Middle Ages,¹⁸ the presence of the Magyars in Levedia,¹⁹ various archaeological questions pertaining to the 10th and 11th centuries,²⁰ the daily life of the Magyars who settled in the Carpathian Basin,²¹ the political history of Hungary during the 10th–11th centuries,²² and regional typologies of weapons.²³

In short, by all means the interwar period was a setback in terms of the number of sites identified and excavated, as opposed to the research of the previous period. Research on cemeteries in the southern part of Csongrád County was not only of poorer quality than before, but also almost completely stalled. While Hungarian archaeologists published a number of key studies during the interwar period, their research was not based on new, but on older finds. Altogether 24 sites have been archaeologically researched during the interwar period, every one of them producing materials dated between the 10th and the 14th century. The emphasis of the research was on the artefacts themselves often divorced from their archaeological context with little, if any attention paid to the burial customs.

By contrast, shortly after World War II, the archaeological research of medieval cemeteries in the Banat witnessed a remarkable development. No new major finds came from the hinterland of Szeged, in the Hungarian Banat. However, this area offers the only fully excavated cemetery—*Szőreg*-Homokbánya (10th–11th centuries).²⁴ Field surveys were conducted on four other sites: *Deszk-Olaj*, in 1967 (10th century);²⁵ *Kiszombor*-Nagyszentmiklós street, in

(Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 49), *Kübekhaza*, found in 1924 (11th century?) (Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 51), *Szőreg*-Oil Refinery, found in 1943 (11th century), *Szőreg*-the Roman-Catholic Church, found before 1937 (Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 76), *Tiszasziget*, found in 1931 (10th–11th centuries) (Bálint [1932], pp. 256–265; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 80).

18 Fettich (1937).

19 Fettich (1933).

20 Fettich (1931).

21 László (1944).

22 Melich (1929).

23 Sebestyén (1932), pp. 167–255.

24 Bálint (1991), pp. 75–97.

25 Bálint (1991), p. 218; Trogmayer (1967), p. 218.

1964 (11th century?);²⁶ *Kübekhaza-Újtelep* 483, in 1961 (10th–11th centuries);²⁷ and *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, in 1970, 1971, and 1974 (11th century). Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence obtained from excavations (with the notable exception of the cemetery in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*) of field surveys remained unpublished beyond mere preliminary reports. In Yugoslavia, no less than 50 new sites appeared after World War II. Twenty seven cemeteries were placed on the mounds.²⁸ Some of those sites turned out to have cemetery churches.²⁹ Several other sites have been identified in the lowlands.³⁰ The Yugoslav archae-

26 Bálint (1991), p. 236; Trogmayer (1960), p. 59.

27 Bálint (1962), p. 60.

28 *Banatska Topola*-Bálint-Kota 81 m (10th–12th centuries), *Banatski Brestovac* (Aleksić [2004], pp. 251–265), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-Humka Kociovati-Kota 88 m (undated), *Bašaid*-Šlapicev Breg (undated) (Girić [1995/1996], pp. 143, 151), *Duplijaja*-Veliki Prokop (11th–12th centuries and 14th–15th centuries) (Janković, Radičević [2005], pp. 277, 284, fig. 4/2, and p. 285, fig. 8), *Duplijaja*-400 m north of Veliki Prokop (13th century) (Janković, Radičević [2005], pp. 278, 282, fig. 4/3), *Duplijaja*-Grad (11th–12th centuries) (Barački, Brmbolić [1997], p. 217; Kovács [1991], pp. 400, 413, fig. 2/3, p. 41; Janković, Radičević [2005], pp. 276, 277, 282, fig. 4/1), *Idjos*-Bersko Groblje, Stare Livade, Tabla Salaš, Šugavicom (undated), *Jazovo*-Hoszu Hát (11th–12th centuries), *Kikinda*-Vešalo (10th–11th centuries), Galad Vincaid (11th–12th centuries), *Mokrin*-Odaia Humka (undated, but with 12th–14th century pottery), Ladičiorbiceva Humka, Deliberovo Humka, Košnicia-reva Humka (undated), Perjanica (11th century), *Novi Kneževac*-Bajičeva Humka (13th–14th centuries) (Girić [1995/1996], pp. 145, 143, 149, 150, 145), *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod (10th century) (Nagy [1953], pp. 107–117; Stanojev [1989], pp. 63–64; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 52), *Sečani*-Atar C (12th–13th centuries) (Marinković [2012], pp. 93–94), *Starčevo*-Livade (12th–13th centuries) (Djordjević, Djordjević [2012], pp. 77–84), and *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara (11th–12th century) (Stanojev [1989], pp. 38–42).

29 The presence or absence of a cemetery church, especially for the 14th–15th centuries, is largely due to current state of research. Mentioned in the following note are only churches identified through archaeological excavations or by means of still standing ruins. *Banatska Topola*, *Bašaid*, *Duplijaja*-Veliki Prokop (11th–12th centuries and 14th–15th centuries), *Duplijaja*-400 m north of Veliki Prokop (the 13th century), *Kikinda*-Galad Vincaid.

30 *Bočar*-Budžak Ekonomija (10th–11th centuries), *Nikolinci* (9th–11th centuries) (Živković [1997], pp. 143–154), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (10th–11th centuries) (Stanojev [1989], pp. 32–35, 67–69; Girić [1995/1996], p. 146), *Taraš* (11th–12th centuries) (Nagy [1952], pp. 159–161; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky [1962], p. 77; Bálint [1991], p. 260), *Kikinda*-Oluš (11th–12th centuries), Oluš farm (11th–13th centuries) (Girić [1995/1996], pp. 148–149), *Idvor*-Staro Selo (14th–15th centuries) (Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević [2005], pp. 262, 269, fig. 1) and *Omolica*-Preko Slatine (12th–13th centuries) (Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević [2005], pp. 266, 273, fig. 5; Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević [2006], pp. 159–166; Djordjević,

ologist Nebojša Stanojev first published in 1989 a complete catalogue of finds from the Banat and the Vojvodina region. The catalogue was later updated by László Kovács in a review published in 1991, then by three other Serbian archaeologists-Milorad Girić, Stanimir Barački, and Marin Brmbolić. Of particular significance in this respect are studies of different types of jewellery,³¹ dress accessories³² or weaponry.³³ After 1990, museum collections were also published, with new archaeological research being carried out either on the same or on new sites.

In Romania, 68 sites were identified and partially excavated between 1945 and 1989, most of them located in the Caraș-Severin County, but also in Timiș and Arad, south of the river Mureș.³⁴ In addition, artefacts from the old

Djordjević, Radičević [2007], pp. 187–192), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (Stanojev [1989], p. 46), *Pavliš-Kudelište* (9th–10th centuries) (Barački, Brmbolić [1997], p. 222), *Arača* (12th–16th centuries) (Minić [1995/1996], pp. 116–117, 121, T.I/5–8, Stanojev [2004], *Botoș-Mlaka* (11th–12th centuries) (Stanojev [1989], pp. 30–31), *Cuvin-Grad* (11th–12th centuries), *Duplijaja-north-west* from Vinograd (Barački, Brmbolić [1997], p. 217; Kovács [1991], pp. 400, 413, fig. 2/3, p. 418; Janković, Radičević [2005], pp. 276, 277, 282, fig. 4/1), *Kikinda-P.K. Banat-tovilište* (10th–11th centuries) (Stanojev [1989], p. 53), *Orešac* (10th–11th centuries?) (Bálint [1991], p. 224; Kovács [1991], p. 419), *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* (10th–11th centuries) (Stanojev [1989], pp. 89–90; Kovács [1991], p. 419, argued that the warrior graves were of Avar origin based on a three-sided spearhead), *Donjovaroška Ciglana* (Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević [2005], pp. 265, 271, fig. 3), *Sečani-Atar C* (Marinković [2012], pp. 93–94), *Starčevo-Livade* (Djordjević, Djordjević [2012], pp. 75–84), *Tomaševac* (13th–14th centuries) (Brmbolić [1996], pp. 273–227; Relić [2009], pp. 291–300) and *Vršac-Podvršac* (13th–14th centuries) (Ćorović-Ljubincović [1954], pp. 87, 93).

31 Ćorović-Ljubincović (1951), pp. 21–56; Ćorović-Ljubincović (1954), pp. 81–93; Korošek (1954), pp. 50–62; Marjanović-Vujović, Tomić (1982).

32 Demo (1983), pp. 271–301; Brmbolić (1996), pp. 273–277; Jovanović (1995/1996), pp. 83–112.

33 Vinski (1983), pp. 7–64.

34 *Frumușeni-Hadă* (11th–12th centuries) (Glück [1976], p. 104), *Hodonii-Pocioroane* (11th century) (Bejan, Moga [1979], pp. 155–168; Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean [1996], *Uivar* (10th century) (Poster, Timișoara 2002), *Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț* (9th–10th centuries?) (Mare [1998], pp. 285–306; Bejan [1995], pp. 70–76), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (10th–11th centuries) (Bejan, Tănase [2001], p. 80; Bejan, Tănase [2001], p. 80; Bejan, Tănase [2002], p. 129; Bejan et al. [2005], pp. 27–28), *Sânpetru German* (10th century) (Bálint [1991], p. 243, Taf. LX a, b), *Șopotul Vechi-Mârviță* (12th–13th centuries) (Țeicu [1991], pp. 307–310; Țeicu [1998], pp. 124, 132–136, 138–141, 143, 145, 147, 150, 156, 162, 165), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (14th–15th centuries) (Țeicu [1996b], pp. 37–47), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (12th century) (Iaroslavschi [1975], pp. 361–363), *Caransebeș-City centre* (12th century)

(Bona [1993]; Țeicu [2003], pp. 72–82), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (14th–15th centuries) (Țeicu [1996c], pp. 56–76; Țeicu [1995], pp. 227–249), *Cenad-Catholic Church* (11th–12th centuries) (Bejan [1995], pp. 112–113; Iambor, Matei, Bejan [1995], p. 19), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (14th–15th centuries) (Uzum, Țeicu [1981], pp. 211–216), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (12th–15th centuries) (Uzum [1987], pp. 281–315; Țeicu [1993], pp. 231–235, 242–248, 250–251, 258, 260–261, 264, 266, 268–270), *Divici* (undated) (Uzum, Lazarovici [1974], p. 48), *Drencova* (12th–13th centuries) (Țeicu [1993], p. 235; Țeicu [1998], p. 147), *Duleu-Dealul Cucuiova, Dealul Țârni* (Bozu [2003], p. 381; Luca [2005], p. 144) and the property of *Lațcu Podae* (Bozu [2003], p. 381), *Ersig*-near the Orthodox Church (Țeicu, Rancu [2005], pp. 287–303), *Gornea-Gavrina* (Dragomir [1981], p. 464), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (12th–13th centuries) (Uzum [1981], pp. 181–210; Țeicu, Lazarovici [1996]; Lazarovici et al. [1993], pp. 295–319), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (14th–15th centuries), *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu* (undated) (Uzum [1975], pp. 131–143; Uzum, Lazarovici [1974], p. 50; Țeicu [1982], pp. 267, 269, 276), *Gornea-Ogașul lui Senti* (Luca [2005], p. 181; Uzum, Lazarovici, Dragomir [1973], p. 413), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (13th century?) (Uzum [1974], pp. 159–164), *Gornea-Țărmuri* (11th–12th centuries), *Gornea-Zomonită* (12th century?) (Uzum [1977], p. 217), *Ilidia-Funii* (11th–12th centuries) (Țeicu [1998], pp. 127, 134, 147; Țeicu [1987], p. 333), *Ilidia-Cetate* (12th–14th centuries) (Uzum, Lazarovici [1971], pp. 157–162; Matei, Uzum [1972], pp. 555–559; Uzum [1989], pp. 34–44), *Ilidia-Oblița* (12th–13th–15th centuries) (Uzum, Lazarovici [1971], pp. 157–162; Uzum [1979], pp. 387–389; Țeicu [1993], pp. 327, 238, 247, 252, 258, 272), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (14th century) (Ardeț, Ardeț [1995], p. 47; Ardeț [1996], pp. 415–424); *Jupa*-near the Timiș River (Pinter [1987], pp. 363, 369); *Mehadia-Ulici* (14th–15th centuries) (Țeicu [1993], p. 238; Țeicu [1998], pp. 131, 143, 144, 147; Țeicu [2003c], pp. 95–105), *Mehadia-Zidină* (11th century) (Macrea [1949], pp. 139–140; Țeicu [1998], pp. 127, 147), *Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu spini* (12th century) (Țeicu, Bozu [1982], pp. 393–395), *Moldova Veche-Rât* (12th–13th centuries) (Țeicu [1993], pp. 238, 239, 258; Țeicu [1998], pp. 127, 147), *Moldova Veche-Vama Veche* (Țeicu [1982], pp. 266, 270, 276), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (14th–15th centuries) (Țeicu, Rancu [1997], pp. 40–41; Țeicu [1998], p. 147; Țeicu [2003d], pp. 106–123), *Partoș-Monastery* (14th–17th centuries) (Munteanu [1980], pp. 747–759; Țeicu [1982], p. 266), *Pescari* (12th century) (Țeicu [1998], pp. 127, 147; Țeicu [1993], p. 239), *Pojejena-Nucet* (12th–13th centuries) (Uzum [1974], pp. 159–164), *Pojejena-Șușca* (undated) (Țeicu [1993], pp. 239–258), *Răcășdia-Village center, Reșița-Ogășele* (14th–15th centuries) (Uzum, Țeicu [1983], pp. 297–310; Țeicu [1996], pp. 5–20; Țeicu [1989], pp. 57–72), *Sat Bătrân-Dealul Bisericii* (14th century) (Țeicu [1993], p. 240), *Sat Bătrân-Sub Motolan* (Luca [2005], p. 323; Țeicu [2003], p. 370), *Sichevița-Cracul cu Morminți* (undated) (Dragomir [1981], p. 465), *Socol-Kruglița de Mijloc* (undated), *Socol-House no. 15* (undated) (Uzum, Lazarovici [1974], pp. 47–48; Țeicu, Rancu, Micli [2002], p. 296), *Socol-Okruglița* (Țeicu, Rancu, Micli [2002]), p. 296), *Stenca-Ogașul lui Megheleș* (undated) (Dragomir [1981], p. 465), *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (12th–13th centuries) (Boroneanț [1985], pp. 111–118), *Svinița* (13th century) (Oța [2008], p. 282), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (10th century) (Rădulescu, Gáll [2001], pp. 155–193), *Valea Ravenska-Sălașul lui Marcu Arsenie* (undated) (Dragomir [1981], p. 465), *Vrani* (14th–15th centuries), *Vrâniuț-Livezi* (12th–14th centuries) (Țeicu [1998], pp. 130, 147), *Dumbrăvița* (Drașovean et al. [2004]), *Baziaș-Monastery* (Țeicu, Rancu [2002], pp. 48–49), *Ciacova* (Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll [2001], p. 109; Radu [1972], pp. 61–63), *Denta* (Mărghitan [1985],

collection of the Museum of the Banat in Timișoara were also published during this period.³⁵

The archaeological activity in the Romanian Banat after 1945 focused especially on the highlands, which were increasingly regarded as an area into which the native, Romanian population fled when the Magyars arrived. This further encouraged scholars to advance the idea of a Romanian stronghold in the mountains, as part of the resistance against the attempts of the Hungarian nobility to introduce western feudalism into the Banat. Such ideas were partially based on genuine research but must be seen as a nationalist reaction to the late 19th and early 20th century interpretation of cemeteries as exclusively Hungarian. During the second half of the 20th century, almost every newly excavated cemetery was attributed only to the Romanian population. The shift from a Hungarian to a Romanian attribution of finds followed some of the ideas promoted in the interwar period. Moreover, although 10th to 12th-century cemeteries have been excavated in large numbers, their full publication was delayed, no doubt because of caution regarding the ethnic interpretation of finds.³⁶ The same reason explains the attribution to Pechenegs and the local, Romanian population of 18 graves excavated in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, on the basis of a dubious anthropological analysis. No attribution whatsoever was advanced for the cemeteries excavated in *Cenad*, *Denta*, *Sânpetru German* and *Mehadia-Zidină*. Qualms about the ethnic attribution of finds are also responsible for the lack of any synthetic work or survey of archaeological research on the medieval Banat. Only recently have Romanian archaeologists published new typologies of artifacts³⁷ or more or less synthetic discussions on the

pp. 40–42; Țeicu [1993], p. 251), *Făget* (Velter [2002], p. 404), *Frumușeni*-300 m east from the village (***) *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului inferior. Județul Arad*, pp. 70–71), *Nicolinț-Lunca Vicinicului* or *Câmpul de Jos* (undated) (Țeicu [1987], p. 336; Radu, Țeicu [2003a], pp. 212–213), *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (12th–13th centuries) (Radu, Țeicu [2003b] pp. 309–322), *Frumușeni-Bizere* monastery (Hurezan et al. [2003], pp. 127–128; Rusu et al. [2008], pp. 138–139), *Orșova* (Bálint [1991], p. 245), *Valea Bolvașnița-Grobiște* (Luca [2005], p. 387; Țeicu [2003], p. 367) and *Voiteni* (Heitel [1994/1995], pp. 405, 430).

35 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 213–222; Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 555–576.

36 This is particularly the case of *Voiteni*, *Timișoara-Cioreni*, *Denta*, *Făget-Cetate*, *Ilidia-Funii*.

37 Pinter (1999); Dragotă, Oța, Rustoiu (2005), pp. 309–320; Oța (2006b), pp. 251–274; Oța (2007a), pp. 117–156; Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 555–576.

matter,³⁸ along with technological studies of jewellery³⁹ or studies regarding burial customs in the Carpathian Basin.⁴⁰

A catalogue of cemetery sites in the historical Banat, which have been dated between the 9th and the 14th was first published in 2008.⁴¹ Soon after that, several artifacts from the collections of the Museum of Mountainous Banat, as well as from similar institutions in the Serbian Banat⁴² were also published. In addition, Gyula Nagy Kisleghi's old excavations have been republished.⁴³ Only recently has this publication effort touched cemetery sites in the lowlands, as well as artefacts attributed to nomads or to the so-called Bjelo Brdo.⁴⁴ Key contributions in this respect are those of Adrian Rădulescu, Florin Medeleț, Daniela Tănase and Erwin Gáll. Although much progress has been made in publication, there are still many sites which are only partially studied.

There are also 15 settlement sites on which archaeological excavations have been carried out or from which a variety of artifacts have been obtained: *Banatski Despotovac*,⁴⁵ *Banatski-Karlovac*,⁴⁶ *Cenad*,⁴⁷ *Čestereg*,⁴⁸ *Sasca Montană*,⁴⁹ *Cheglevici*,⁵⁰ *Deta*,⁵¹ *Felnac*,⁵² *Jimbolia*,⁵³ *Kikinda-Oluš* and

38 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 213–222; Țeicu (1981), pp. 491–500; Țeicu (1982), pp. 264–277; Țeicu (1998), pp. 132–141; Țeicu (1993), pp. 242–248; Țeicu (2003b), pp. 72–82; Uzum (1987), pp. 292–314; Țeicu, Lazarovici (1996), pp. 87–91.

39 Oța (2007b), pp. 363–409.

40 Gáll (2004/2005), pp. 335–454; Oța (1998), pp. 113–123; Oța (2005), pp. 171–215; and Oța (2006a), pp. 309–321.

41 Oța (2008).

42 Țeicu (2009).

43 Kisleghi (2010).

44 By late 1990s only few finds from *Ciacova*, *Hodoni-Pocioroane* and *Sâmpetru German* had been published.

45 Stanojev (1989), p. 13.

46 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 211.

47 Mărghitan (1985), p. 28.

48 Medeleț, Bugilan (1987), pp. 118–119.

49 Heitel (1994/1995), pp. 403, 430; Kovács (1990); pl. 2, Kovács (1994/1995), p. 174.

50 Heitel (1994/1995), pp. 403, 430.

51 Țeicu (2009), p. 32, pl. 5/1, p. 145.

52 Unpublished finds from an unknown location, kept in the County museum in Arad.

53 Heitel (1994/1995), pp. 405, 430; Kovács (1990), pl. 2.

Oluš farm,⁵⁴ *Piatra Ilișovei*,⁵⁵ *Sânpetru German*,⁵⁶ *Vărădia*,⁵⁷ *Zrenjanin* (formerly known as *Becicherecul Mare*).⁵⁸

No less than 123 (+1) settlement sites have been identified from the late 19th to the 21st century, with as many as 251 locations, some of which may be cemeteries or features typical for burial assemblages.⁵⁹ In addition, 2491 graves have identified and researched during this period. Although the total number of known graves is larger, not all of them have been published. Some were destroyed during development or agricultural work, and only a few grave goods have been recuperated. In some areas, only field surveys were carried out, although various artifacts found suggest the presence of cemeteries. Unlike Romania and Yugoslavia, where the material remains of the nomads are regarded as the legacy of invaders, in Hungary this particular problem received due attention, the interest then being extended to the entire Carpathian Basin, the regions south of the Carpathian Mountains, and the Balkans. Hungarian scholars dealt with a wide range of aspects, from several categories of artifacts to social analysis, historical geography, anthropological and ethnographical studies, the presence of Byzantine imports, coin circulation, and cultural transmission in the region.⁶⁰ By contrast, cemeteries dated between the 12th and the 14th century and the analysis of the associated burial customs have received comparatively less attention in Hungary. The only important contributions in that respect are studies of Pechenegs, Cumans and Yassi (Alans), but none of them concerns the territory of the Banat. The state of the research has been complicated by the initial preoccupation with ethnic attributions, and the situation has not changed much in recent times.

József Hampel was the first to put order in this bewildering variety of archaeological evidence produced by 10th to 11th-century cemeteries. He divided that material into two main groups:

- 1) horseman or warrior graves (Hampel's group A)
- 2) graves of commoners (Hampel's group B).

54 Girić (1995/1996), pp. 148–149.

55 Țeicu (2009), p. 70, pl. 20/5, p. 178.

56 Unpublished finds from the County museum in Arad.

57 Țeicu (2009), p. 70, pl. 20/2, 3, pp. 182, 183; Oța (2011b), pp. 239, 248, pl. 3/2.

58 Kovács (1991), p. 422.

59 See Oța (2008), pp. 11–12, with the following additional finds: *Banatski Brestovac*, *Bucova Puszta*, *Comloșu Mare* (found in 1900), *Deta* (found in 1967), *Piatra Ilișovei*, *Sečani*, *Starčevo-Livad*e, *Uivar*, *Vărădia* (found at some point during the 19th century).

60 See the bibliographies published by Cs. Bálint, L. Kovács, K. Mesterházy, G. Fehér, K. Éry, A. Kralovánzsky, D. Csállany, B. Szőke etc. in overview studies and catalogues.

Hampel's typology is still in use, and it is worth mentioning that several burial assemblages in the Banat were included in Hampel's analysis.⁶¹ But many more assemblages have been added to the classification since Hampel's work has been published. Group A, for example, appears to cover a vast area in Central Europe, thus far confirming Hampel's conclusion that wealthy graves with horse bones and luxury weapons of Oriental origin are those of the Magyar warriors who occupied Pannonia and then raided Western Europe in the course of the 10th century.

There are also larger cemeteries with less spectacular finds. Their area of distribution overlaps that of group A. This raises the question of how should such burial assemblages, with fewer or no warrior graves, be interpreted. Hungarian, Slovak, as well as Yugoslav, and Romanian archaeologists focused especially on this category of finds, which offered serious challenges to the then accepted criteria for ethnic attribution. Soon after World War I, and the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary, the theory was put forward, according to which such cemeteries represented the Slavic population conquered and ruled by the Magyars between the late 9th and the 11th century.⁶² Under such circumstances, Hampel's group B was re-baptized "Bjelo Brdo," after a cemetery excavated in eastern Croatia. The excavation of that site helped refine the definition of the characteristics of similar cemeteries. The chronological difference between warrior or horseman graves and Group B was the subject of many disputes. Béla Szőke, for instance,⁶³ argued that Hampel's classification should be maintained, but he added a third group, thus creating a neat social division of burial assemblages: rulers, middle class, and commoners. Szőke deliberately neglected the evidence pertaining to the presence of a Slavic population, and claimed that the Magyars had removed all ethnic groups from the territories under their control. As a consequence, all artefacts found in assemblages of a later date must be treated as typically Hungarian. In reply, the Czechoslovak archaeologist Zdeněk Váňa⁶⁴ argued that large cemeteries did not belong to any particular ethnic group, since the available archaeological evidence reveals the interplay of different cultural traditions (Köttlach, Keszthely and those of oriental origin brought by the Magyars). Váňa's argument was that those buried in those cemeteries were members

61 *Banatsko Arandjelovo, Rábé, Vršac, Dudeştii Vechi, Bucova Puszta, Majdan, Teremia Mare, Tomnatic, etc.*

62 The first to note a chronological difference between the two groups was Niederle (1913). See also Ernyey (1914), pp. 139–145.

63 Szőke (1962).

64 Váňa (1954), pp. 51–104.

of a mixed, Slavic-Hungarian population, minor differences between sites being a reflection of the local traditions encountered by the Magyars upon their conquest of Pannonia. Czechoslovak scholars also introduced a chronological division of Bjelo Brdo-type cemeteries into three different phases from 950 until 1200. The first phase (975–1025) was characterized by the presence of a large number of weapons; during the second phase (1025–1075) weapons and horse bones gradually disappeared from burial assemblages; finally, the last phase (1075–1200) is one of large, but comparatively poorer cemeteries, in which the only notable grave goods are earrings with S-shaped end, knives and lock rings. This classification was criticized and revised in the 1980s by the German archaeologist Jochen Giesler, who demonstrated that many cemeteries began in the mid-10th century.⁶⁵ Giesler's conclusions broadly confirmed Váňa's, but his chronology was rejected by most Hungarian archaeologists. On the other hand, his typology and chronology were accepted and adopted by Slovenian and Croatian, as well as, partially, by Slovakian archaeologists, all of whom embarked on applying Giesler's system of classification to finds from their own countries. A few Romanian archaeologists also picked up some of the new concepts, but unlike their Croatian, Slovene, and Slovak counterparts, they did not adapt them to the regional particularities of their material. In the mid-1980s, a new catalogue of dress accessories and jewellery was published, which highlighted finds regarded as late 9th-century imports from the East into the Carpathian Basin.⁶⁶

The archaeological research conducted in Yugoslavia at that time was based on the same assumptions, namely that it would be possible to sort out finds and artifacts specific to the Slavs, and to separate them from those typical for Magyar (or, later, Hungarian) assemblages. One of the leading Yugoslav scholars who embraced some of Zdeněk Váňa's ideas and whose conclusions were accepted by most Hungarian archaeologists was Željko Demo.⁶⁷ Conversely, in Hungary, Csanád Bálint, without denying that the Slavic population played a certain role in the development of the Bjelo Brdo cemeteries, regards that contribution as minor.⁶⁸ In the 1980s, another Hungarian archaeologist, László Révész⁶⁹ advanced another idea, namely that 10th to 11th-century cemeteries were organized on a primarily social (and not ethnic) basis. Isolated graves with horse bones and weapons were those of the elite. Cemeteries with deposition

65 Giesler (1981).

66 Kiss (1985), pp. 217–389.

67 Demo (1983), pp. 271–301.

68 Bálint (1991), pp. 159–193.

69 Révész (1984/1985), pp. 615–639; Révész (1996); Révész (1998), pp. 523–532.

of weapons in graves represented warriors grouped around their superiors of different ranks, while those with fewer weapons were cemeteries of warriors of inferior rank. Finally, cemeteries with very few or no weapons or horse bones belonged to commoners.

The debate summarized above also concerned sites and assemblages from the Banat. It is however important to note at this point that the question of 10th to 12th-century cemeteries was approached rather differently by contemporary Romanian archaeologists. Initially, nobody (with the notable exception of Marton Roska) paid any attention to those finds. After World War II, however, with the increasing number of finds, mostly from unsystematic excavations, the publication of the evidence became necessary, although it was largely postponed until after 1989. Scholars disagree as to the names to be given to the populations arriving in Pannonia from the steppe north of the Black Sea.⁷⁰ Some employ ethnic names (Magyars, Pechenegs, Cumans),⁷¹ others prefer to refer to their presumed way of life (nomads),⁷² their presumed linguistic affiliation (Turanian)⁷³ or their religion (pagans, non-Christian, shamanistic).⁷⁴

The blending of cultures and the biological mix of populations was also a subject much discussed by Romanian archaeologists. The ethnic attribution of graves, groups of graves or entire cemeteries was a constant subject

70 This refers of course only to the terminology employed by Romanian scholars concerned with the period between the 9th and the 12th centuries. It is not my intention to deal with all names, and I will restrict myself to a selection of representative authors.

71 Sălăgean (2006); Drașovean, Țicu, Muntean (1996), p. 38; Bejan (1995); Dragotă (2006); Cosma (2001), pp. 174–175.

72 Spinei (1985) employs different names for Turkic populations (Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans) who invaded the current territory of Romania. Spinei (1999) analyzed the written sources to conclude that the Magyars were nomads, mostly because of the influence they received from other Turkic populations. Spinei then applied those conclusions to the archaeological material, which, in his opinion, is typical for a nomad population. Ioan Aurel Pop (1996) also used written sources to depict Magyars as nomads. See also Velter (2002), p. 16 (Magyars as nomadic horsemen); Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 146 (“non-Christian nomadic horsemen, either Pechenegs or Magyars”).

73 Spinei (1985); Ioniță (2005), p. III; Dumitriu (2001), p. 149. Most Romanian authors seem to be unaware that “Turanian” is a now obsolete designation employed in the 19th century to refer to non-Indo-European, non-Semitic, and non-Hamitic languages. Be as it may, the language spoken by the Magyars, which was most certainly Finno-Ugrian, was never classified as “Turanian.”

74 Ioniță (2005), p. III (in reference to Turkic populations in the Lower Danube region). Victor Spinei believes that the Magyars practiced shamanism, much like the Pechenegs and the Cumans. Ana-Maria Velter (2002), p. 72 sees the mid-10th century Magyars as simply pagans. See also Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 146.

of debate, with few, if any serious arguments on either side. The finds from *Mehadia-Zidină*, for example, were attributed to a Romanian-Slavic, Christian population, while the cemetery from *Hodoni-Pocioroane* was attributed on the basis of an anthropological analysis, to a Pecheneg-Romanian population (Dumitru Țeicu; Adrian Bejan). Secondary burials in barrows found in *Bucova* were attributed without much discussion to the Pechenegs (Mircea Rusu, Géza Bakó). The same is true for the burial mounds in the cemeteries excavated in *Teremia Mare* and *Tomnatic* which were labelled as “Cuman.” The earring from *Deta*, with good analogies in assemblages of the Köttlach culture, was invariably regarded as Slavic (Mircea Rusu).⁷⁵ Similarly, Radu Heitel attributed the cemeteries excavated in *Voiteni*, *Deta*⁷⁶ and *Bucova Pusta* to a mixed population (Slavic-Romanian-Hungarian), while labelling finds from *Comloșul Mare*, *Periam*, *Cenad*, *Felnac* and *Sânpetru German* as either Magyar or Kabar. Mircea Rusu believed the grave found in 1968 in *Sânpetru German* to be that of a Magyar warrior. The archaeological evidence discovered in the late 19th and early 20th century in the Romanian part of the Banat was published by Florin Medeleț and Ioan Bugilan in 1987.⁷⁷ This publication also included new information about the research conducted in the region by Gyula Nagy Kislégghi, whose excavation journals have been recently published.⁷⁸ Another defining trait of the archaeological research on early medieval Banat is the exclusive focus on that part of the province which is now within the Romanian borders. Finds from Serbia or Hungary were rarely, if ever mentioned. Finally, unlike Hungarian archaeologists, Romanian scholars paid considerably more attention to medieval cemeteries dated between the 12th and the 15th century, no doubt in an attempt to shift the emphasis from the earlier period (10th–12th century), which was viewed as “Hungarian” and therefore not profitable to a nationalist agenda. The political underpinnings of such a research agenda can be easily detected in arguments developed to demonstrate that 12th to 13th-century graves discovered in mountain areas must have belonged to Romanians, and only to them. The underlying assumption in such cases is that that ethnic attribution was justified by the fact that that area is currently inhabited primarily by Romanians, and that their presence there could be traced in written sources from the 15th to the 19th century.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Hungarian archaeologists excavating sites in the Banat simply ignored any artifacts of

75 Rusu (1971), pp. 723–724; Korošec (1954), pp. 50–62.

76 Korošec (1954), pp. 50–62.

77 Medeleț, Bugilan (1987), pp. 87–198.

78 Kislégghi (2010).

79 Țeicu (1993); Țeicu (1998).

a type that was not already known from previous excavations. To this day, some of the evidence from cemeteries excavated during the interwar period has remained unpublished. Very few publications of cemeteries include any cemetery plan, which makes sequencing and phasing considerably difficult, if not impossible. The only stratigraphical observations were made when church walls cut through a number of graves. Such situations led to the conclusion that there were two separate phases.⁸⁰ Some typologies were created exclusively for finds from Yugoslavia, Hungary, or Bulgaria. Only recently have scholars taken a regional approach to artefact typology.⁸¹ There is a pressing need for revising the chronology of grave finds and their spatial distribution, and for a thorough analysis of certain decorative motifs which seem to play a key role in dating artefacts and the assemblages in which they have been found. Burial practices and rituals are poorly understood, for they have received very little attention beyond an “ethnographic” projection of 18th–19th-century customs on to the 12th to 14th centuries. The first attempt to put some order into this material was that Ilie Uzum, but his was a far too limited corpus.⁸² In addition, he focused only on the position of the arms in relation to the body, and even with that, drew no parallels to contemporary contexts in the Carpathian Basin or in the Balkans. I have followed in his footsteps, and developed Uzum’s ideas to cover a multitude of aspects of burial practices.⁸³ The lack of systematically excavated cemeteries (only one has so far been fully excavated, that in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*)⁸⁴ precludes any further conclusions. Although a large number

80 *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (Țeicu [1995], pp. 227–249), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (Țeicu [1996b], pp. 37–47), *Ilidia-Cetate* (Uzum, Lazarovici [1971], pp. 157–162), *Reșița-Ogășele* (Țeicu [1996a], pp. 5–20), *Caransebeș-City centre* (Bona [1993], *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (Țeicu, Rancu [2003], p. 457), *Ersig* (Țeicu, Rancu [2005], pp. 287–303).

81 Oța (2007/2008), pp. 269–303; Oța (2008), pp. 81–145; Oța (2009), pp. 75–97. In the Banat, such artifacts as torcs, diadems, hair pins with S-shaped ends, bracelets, double heart-shaped pendants, 11th- to 13th century Byzantine, as well as 14th- to 15th century West European jewellery have so far received no typological treatment at all. See Dumitriu (2001); Oța (2006), pp. 251–274; (2007), pp. 117–156; (2009), pp. 179–211; (2010), pp. 117–138; (2011b), pp. 233–250, (2012) pp. 269–292; Dragotă, Oța, Rustoiu (2005), pp. 309–320; Oța et al. (2009), pp. 65–82; Oța, Dragotă, Rustoiu (2010), pp. 155–171; Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 555–576; Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 213–222; Pinter (1999).

82 Uzum (1975), pp. 131–142.

83 Oța (1998), pp. 113–123; Oța (2005), pp. 171–215; Oța (2006c), pp. 229–272; Oța (2006a), pp. 309–321; Oța (2008), pp. 36–80.

84 Țeicu (1991), pp. 307–310; Țeicu (1993), pp. 240–241–244, 246, 247, 248, 263, fig. 6, p. 264, fig. 7/c, p. 267, fig. 10, p. 269 and fig. 12/6.

of cemeteries have been excavated, even if partially, only a few have been so far published. In other cases the information can no longer be retrieved (*Ilidia-Cetate*, *Oblița*, *Cuptoare-Sfocea* and *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu*).⁸⁵

It comes as a surprise that the movement of populations other than Magyars, Pechenegs, or Cumans has received no attention whatsoever. For example, there seems to be no interest in population movements from the region south to the lands north of the river Danube. As a consequence, our understanding of burial practices in 10th- to 14th century Banat is incomplete.

This book is the first attempt to address those problems and to shape a synthesis out of quite heterogeneous sources. This is all the more necessary since my last study on such a wide chronological span has been published in 2008.⁸⁶ My hope is to clarify some of the current lines of research and to put the archaeological record to good use in order to answer historical questions pertaining to the social and cultural life in the medieval Banat.

85 The results of the excavations from *Ilidia-Funii* and *Mehadia-Ulici* are currently prepared for publication.

86 Oța (2008).

The History of the Banat between the 10th and the 14th Century According to the Written Sources

The history of the Banat in the Middle Ages (10th to 14th century) is known from several written sources, which provide important information on social and administrative structures, as well on various ethnic groups. In addition, those sources shed some light on the religious practices in the region.

To be sure, the sources in question are few and sparse. Most studies exclusively based on them are marred by contradictions and far-fetched conclusions, as well as by nationalist biases. Several authors admit, however, that the region was home to a variety of peoples.¹

It is generally believed that in the aftermath of the collapse of the Avar Khaganate, following the Frankish victories, the Banat was ruled by Bulgars. However, there are no sources explicitly describing political developments in the region during the 9th century.

Under the years 822 and 824, the Frankish annals mention a group of people named *Praedenecenti*, who are also called *Marvani* or *Merehani*. They were apparently a Slavic tribe in conflict with the Bulgars.² Judging by the evidence of the annals, after 824 the Bulgars established their hegemony in the region where the *Praedenecenti* lived. By 827, they definitely had under their rule a number of Slavic groups in southern Pannonia.³ Some believe that those Slavs lived side by side with remnants of the Avar and with Romanic (i.e., Romance-speaking) populations.⁴ By contrast, some Hungarian historians believe that the region was inhabited only by Slavs and Bulgars, the latter being the remnants of the Turkic-speaking population previously under Avar rule. The only basis for that theory is a number of river names, such as Caraș, which are

1 Györfly (1963), (1987); Madgearu (1998), pp. 194–196; Pop (1996), pp. 117–130; Pascu (1971), pp. 50–51, 81–87; Horváth-Pálóczi (1989), pp. 32, 33, 57, 58, 63; Popa (1989), pp. 353–376; Țeicu (1998); Vinulescu (1936), pp. 869–876; Achim (2000a), pp. 11–24; Achim (2000d), pp. 63–77; Achim (2000h), pp. 145–160; Oța (2007c), pp. 17–37; Pesty (1876); Pesty (1878); Pesty (1882/1883); Pâclășianu (1943), pp. 21–25; Ștefănescu (1991), p. 56 with bibliography on Romanians, their organization, religion etc.

2 Madgearu (1998), pp. 194–195.

3 Spinei (1999), p. 50.

4 Bejan (1995), p. 99.

believed to be of Bulgar (i.e., Turkic) origin.⁵ Meanwhile, the idea of a strong Bulgar presence in the Banat has also been accepted by some Romanian scholars.⁶ Others do not exclude the possibility that the Turkic-speaking elements in question were Avars, who continued to live in the lands to the east from the river Tisza after the demise of the Khaganate.⁷ Still others have also pointed out that Turkic river names such as Caraş may well be of a later date, going back perhaps to the Pechenegs.⁸

The next important episode in the history of the Banat is a mention in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of a polity led by a duke named G(a)lad.⁹ There is much dispute regarding this piece of information, as some historians believe in its authenticity, while others completely reject it. G(a)lad's rule over the area between the Mureş, Tisza and Danube rivers, up to the Carpathian Mountains, is mentioned only in the 12th-century chronicle.¹⁰ This is not the place to enter the historiographic debate regarding authenticity of the *Gesta Hungarorum* and the historical reality of Duke G(a)lad and of his polity, both topics which received considerable attention in the Romanian historiography.¹¹ One of the key arguments used by Romanian historians in support of the idea that the information in the *Gesta Hungarorum* can be trusted and that there really was a local duke in the early 10th century named G(a)ladis is the relatively large number of local place names supposedly derived from that duke's name: Gladna Română (Timiş County), Valea Gladu and Cladova (Arad County),¹² Galad, Gladska, and

5 Györffy (1987), p. 470.

6 Pop (1996), p. 118.

7 Rusu (1975), pp. 201–202; Pop (1996), p. 118. For Avars to the east from the river Tisza, see Szőke (1990/1991), pp. 145–157.

8 Binder (1968), p. 629.

9 *Gesta Hungarorum* 11 and 44, in Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, and János M. Bak (eds.), *Anonymus and Master Roger* (Central European Medieval Texts, 5) (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 32, 94–97. It is worth mentioning that duke G(a)lad is mentioned only in the *Gesta Hungarorum* and does not appear in any other source. As a consequence, historians have raised serious doubts about the historical authenticity of the episode and even about the existence of a polity in the early tenth-century Banat.

10 For a much earlier dating of the *Gesta Hungarorum* to the 11th century, see Sălăgean (2006), pp. 11–57.

11 Madgearu (1996), pp. 8–13; (1998), pp. 191–207; Madgearu (2005); Pop (1996), pp. 112–120; Bejan (1995), pp. 104–112; Bizerea, Bizerea (1978), pp. 1–16; Pascu (1971), pp. 29, 44, 51, 57; Ţeicu (1998), pp. 495–496; Spinei (1990b), p. 127 etc.

12 Glück (1976), p. 76.

Kladova (Serbia),¹³ and Schela Cladovei (Mehedinți County).¹⁴ In the absence of any serious discussion of the origin and chronology of those place names, the argument is however considerably weak. Capitalizing on the absence of any (other supporting) arguments, Hungarian historians such as György Györffy have raised serious doubts as to the historical existence of G(a)lad's duchy and the chronicler's claim that he (Galad) had come from Vidin with reinforcement troops.¹⁵ Interestingly, however, Hungarian historians do not entirely reject the testimony of the chronicler. This may be because, as a matter of fact, the historical geography of the Banat is reflected quite accurately in the chronicle.¹⁶ Indeed, the unknown chronicler placed G(a)lad's duchy within precise geographical boundaries, and mentioned the rivers Mureș, Tisza, Seztureg, Timiș, Ponoucea, and Beguey, in addition to two villages named Kenesna (Kánizsa) and Tarhus (Taraș), and three fortresses named Vrscia (Vršac), Ohtum or Sunad (Cenad), and Kevea (Temeskubin). Needless to say, both villages and fortresses may have well been in existence during the chronicler's lifetime, but not in the early 10th century. This remarkable geographic precision may be regarded as an indication that the unknown chronicler was familiar with the topography of the Banat, but not as argument in favor of the historical reality of G(a)lad's duchy. It is therefore not possible to decide on this basis alone whether or not there really was an early 10th-century polity led by G(a)lad, who is not mentioned in any other sources. He most certainly is the first regional leader to be mentioned in the chronicle (and for that matter the last one as well).¹⁷ But the *Gesta* mentions a number of other rulers in the neighboring regions.¹⁸ The territory between the Danube and the Tisza rivers was supposedly inhabited by Slavs and Bulgarians and ruled by Duke Salanus,¹⁹ while the lands north of the river Mureș were the domain of Menumorut, the grandson of Morout, who is the only ruler mentioned as having a number of Khazars under his sway.²⁰ Finally, south of the river Danube were the Bulgarians. The relative position

13 Madgearu (1996), pp. 10–12; Pop (1996), p. 119.

14 For the same issue, also see Halasi-Kun (1981), pp. 113–118.

15 Györffy (1987), pp. 470–471.

16 Anonymus Belae Regis Notarii, *Gesta Hungarum* (IIR, I) (1934), p. 83, note 9, p. 110, notes 1–4, p. 111, notes 1–4; Pop (1996), pp. 112–116; Madgearu (1996), pp. 5–22; Madgearu (1998), pp. 199–201; Bizerea, Bizerea (1978), pp. 1–16.

17 This has been a key argument employed by those denying the authenticity of the chronicle's testimony and the existence of G(a)lad's duchy.

18 Some have gone as far as to treat those polities mentioned in the *Gesta Hungarorum* as marches. See Madgearu (1998), pp. 196–197.

19 Anonymus Belae Regis Notarii, *Gesta Hungarum* (IIR, I) (1934), p. 83.

20 Anonymus Belae Regis Notarii, *Gesta Hungarum* (IIR, I) (1934), p. 83.

of the three polities (Bulgaria, and the duchies of Menumorut and Salanus) may help delineate the territory which, at least in the chronicler's mind, was ruled by G(a)lad.²¹ Based on the *Gesta Hungarorum*, some have tried to identify the ethnicity of the local populations, but aside from this chronicle, there are no other sources to confirm its testimony. Nor does the situation improve for the subsequent two centuries (11th and 12th centuries), even though there is a relatively larger number of written sources of a greater variety. By contrast, there is sufficient information for at least an attempt at reconstructing social structures at a regional level.

Much has been made of a possible presence of the Pechenegs in the Banat during the 10th century,²² but the evidence is simply lacking. The anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains from Hodoni-Pocioroane does not have any relation to the ethnicity of those buried in that cemetery and the fact that the neighboring village was once called Beșenova Nouă (now Dudeștii Noi) has no value for the ethnic attribution of that cemetery.²³ Furthermore, that some graves were found under burial mounds (some of them of prehistoric origin) does not constitute any indication of the ethnicity of the deceased, whether Pecheneg or not. To be sure, the grave goods and some of the burial customs (e.g., the deposition of the skull and legs of the horse next to the human body) point to a nomad population, but it is impossible to attach any ethnic labels to those features. Indeed, some of the grave goods are either of Byzantine manufacture or imitations thereof. So far, there is no clear archaeological confirmation of a Pecheneg presence in the Banat. While it is known from the historical sources that the Pechenegs later settled in the northwestern part of the Banat, no clear chronology may be established for place and river names derived from the name of the Pechenegs. A presence of the Pechenegs in the Banat in the 10th century is therefore a matter more of speculation than of fact.

In addition to Pechenegs, the *Gesta Hungarorum* makes reference to Vlachs (*Blacs*), *Slavs*, and *Kabars*-the latter under the guise of the "Cumans" mentioned in G(a)lad's army. "Cumans" are mentioned again in Ahtum's army during the second half of the 10th century, but such an early presence of the Cumans in the region is historically impossible. As a consequence, some believe that the "Cumans" in question were Volga Bulgars, and that duke Ahtum himself may

21 Also see Pascu (1971), p. 31; Anonymus Belae Regis Notarii, *Gesta Hungarum* (IIR, 1) (1934), p. 83.

22 Bejan (1995), pp. 124–125.

23 Drașovean, Teicu, Muntean (1996), p. 43. The name Beșenova supposedly derives from the Hungarian name of the Pechenegs (*beseňyó*).

have belonged to that ethnic group.²⁴ Some have even tried to link certain categories of archaeological evidence from the Banat to the Volga Bulgars. During both G(a)lad and Ahtum's times, the population is said to have been Orthodox Christian, although the distinction was most likely not made in the early 10th or even in the late 10th century (i.e., before the Great Schism of 1054). At any rate, the archaeological evidence does not confirm the testimony of the written sources.

According to the *Gesta Hungarorum*, following G(a)lad's defeat of 934, no Magyar or Kabar group settled in the region. The name of the tribal chief-tain Tarhos is believed to have survived in the form of Taraš, on the Tisza.²⁵ Although it is not possible to confirm that association either by historical or by archaeological means, the Magyar expedition to Byzantium, which took place in 934, may have well started from the northwestern region of what is today the Banat.²⁶ Those Romanian historians who put their trust in the chronicle and believe in the historical reality of G(a)lad's duchy place it in the southern part of the Banat, which would have therefore not put it directly in the path of the Magyar raids.²⁷ The Magyars themselves may have settled in different parts of the Banat at different times. According to the unknown chronicler, there was no settlement of the Magyars led by Zuardu, Cadusa, and Boyta in the mountains of the Banat. Romanian scholars have long regarded Vrscia mentioned in the *Gesta Hungarorum* as the Latinized form for Orșova, but there is little evidence to support that association, which seems to have been established solely because of a desire to move the borders of G(a)lad's polity as far to the east as possible and thus make it look larger. Hungarian historians uncritically accepted that idea, which they in turn used to show how Magyars moved deep into the mountain region as early as the 10th century. As it were, material culture remains once attributed to the Magyars have in fact been found in Orșova. However, their dating is apparently later (the sword),²⁸ their ethnic attribution contested (the earrings),²⁹ and doubts have even been raised about their provenance (belt fittings).³⁰ There are of course serious arguments against

24 Madgearu (1998), p. 206; Fodor (1979), pp. 315–325.

25 Spinei (1990b), pp. 139, 141, fig. 5/2.

26 The water courses in the region were regularized only in the 18th and early 19th century.

27 Madgearu (1998), p. 202.

28 Heitel (1994/1995), p. 430; Kovács (1994/1995), p. 172.

29 Mesterházy (1991), pp. 150, 160, fig. 3/8–11, pp. 153, 154.

30 Fodor (1996), p. 345.

regarding Vrscia and Orşova as one and the same place.³¹ If archaeology is of any value in this matter, Vršac is much more likely to be Vrscia.³² The material culture remains in that city have indeed been dated to the mid-10th century and may be associated with assemblages in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. There is no connection with those steppe lands for the materials from Orşova. Moreover, a steppe population was most definitely present in the lowlands of the Banat as early as the 10th century, as indicated by the archaeological evidence. If one accepts the information about G(a)lad in the *Gesta Hungarorum* as valid, then it is worth mentioning that the duke is said to have ruled from the Mureş river to the Haram, that is in the lowlands of the modern Banat. Vršac (Vrscia) is immediately to the north of Haram. Nothing indicates that, in the unknown chronicler's eyes, G(a)lad's power extended over the mountain area, or that the Magyars entered that area at any point before the 1230s, when the Severin banate was established.

Equally difficult is to associate the appearance of strongholds such as Coronini, Vladimirescu, and Bulci (almost always associated with Romanians in the Romanian historiography) with the presence of specific populations. In the absence of systematic archaeological research, one is left with speculations. For example, the stronghold in Vršac was located next to a Roman-age fort.³³ In Serbia, a number of strongholds were erected during the 9th and 10th centuries both to the north (Pančevo, Pescari, Kuvin, Sapaja, and Orşova) and to the south from the river Danube (Orašje, Veliko Gradište, Ram, Gradina and Višnica). Some of those strongholds appear on sites known for Roman-age forts (Tekija, Veliki Gradac, Braničevo, and Belgrade), others were built in new locations. Serbian scholars explain the strongholds as a local, defensive reaction against the arrival of the Magyars on the Danube.³⁴ In that respect, those strongholds must have been built by the Bulgarians, and were later re-used by the Byzantines. The strongholds on the northern bank of Danube were supposedly auxiliary fortifications meant only to protect the river line. On the other hand, it is possible that those strongholds were built at different times, much earlier, and by various communities, without being necessarily linked to any polity. Unfortunately, there is so far no archaeological evidence either to confirm or to reject such suppositions. Only Pescari has been excavated, but

31 Madgearu (1996), pp. 5–22; Bizerea, Bizerea (1978), pp. 4–6.

32 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 84; Bálint (1991), p. 260; Stanojev (1989), p. 43; Fodor (1980), pp. 194–195; Kovács (1991), p. 422.

33 Popa (1984), p. 188.

34 Janković, Janković (1978), pp. 41–58.

the site is not mentioned in any written sources.³⁵ It is not even possible to date those strongholds before 896 (the date commonly accepted as the beginning of the Magyar conquest of, and subsequent settlement in Pannonia), particularly those north of the Danube, in the lands in which the Magyars settled around the mid-10th century. Most strongholds apparently continued to be occupied until the 11th century, for they appear in the sources of the subsequent centuries as economic centres of regional significance.³⁶ However, south of the Danube, strongholds represented central places at a regional level (the hinterland of the fortified settlement) since the 10th century. It is possible that a similar process took place in the lands north of the river, even though no historical evidence is known for that century. In the 12th century, some of those strongholds became regional centers of some importance. For example, Cuvin and Ilidia, as well their environs were granted to Margaret, the would-be Hungarian spouse of Emperor Isaac II Angelos, as royal dowry.³⁷ The environs were probably inhabited by an ethnically diverse population involved in various economic and military activities. This is the nexus where a local elite of no particular ethnic origin may have formed, in a manner not unlike that known from the lands south of the river. The presence of other fortresses inside the territory, which are mentioned before 934 (the year of the Magyar raid into the Banat), suggests that the area in question also included small polities centered upon strongholds serving as residences for various regional leaders. Written sources have nothing to say about the ethnic configuration of the region before or after the Magyar raids. If the organization of the local Slavs in the 9th century survived into the following century, then those must have been communities of various sizes, ruled by local leaders.

Place names derived from the names of the Magyar tribes show that the Magyars entered into and settled in the Banat as early as the 10th century: *Jenő* (north of Voila,³⁸ on the lower Timiș, north-north-east of the Igan swamp), *Nyék* (south of Gherteniș, next to the river Fizeș),³⁹ *Terjén* (north-north-east of Voila, close to the Tisza, east of Csóka, in the northern part of the Igan swamp,⁴⁰ south of the Mureș, in the south-western part of medieval Arad), *Varsany*,⁴¹

35 Matei, Uzum (1973), pp. 141–156.

36 Györffy (1987), pp. 317–319.

37 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 197.

38 Györffy (1987), pp. 308, 309.

39 Györffy (1987), pp. 308, 309.

40 Györffy (1987), pp. 308, 309.

41 Györffy (1963), pp. 837, 838.

Kér (on the left bank of the Tisza, south-south-west of Terjén),⁴² south-west of the medieval city of Arad, *Űrs* (on the Aranca river), *Ladány* (south of the Mureş and Păuliş), *Gyarmat* (north-east of Timișoara). It is important to note that all those place names appear in the lowlands, primarily around Pančevo, Timișoara, and Semlacul Mare. This distribution suggests that when the Banat was incorporated into the kingdom of Hungary, the Hungarian population did not enter the mountain region, even though at that time the old tribal names had been turned into common place names.⁴³ Another interesting aspect is the diversity of the place names derived from tribal names, not unlike that in almost all areas settled by Magyars. That no particular tribal name predominates in the Banat suggests that the Magyars who came to the region no longer belonged to tightly knit tribal or clan units. The separation of small groups from the old tribes must have happened, at the latest, during the second half of the 10th century. However, nothing is known about the whereabouts of the other populations who came along with the Magyars. In all likelihood, it was largely Turkic populations that settled in the Banat at first, rather than groups from the seven Magyar tribes.

It has been pointed out that some sources, such as the *Anonymi Geographi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*⁴⁴ or the Russian Primary Chronicle⁴⁵ indicate that, when the Magyars came to Pannonia, the Romanians were pushed away into the Balkans, with only Magyars and Slavs remaining behind. But such a scenario does not work for the Banat. First, the Magyar raids into the region were quite late (934), and it is hard to imagine how the massive exodus of the Romanian population could have taken place in the 930s without Bulgarian sources mentioning it. The information culled from the two sources mentioned above has in fact been used to support the claims of some Hungarian historians that, when coming to the Banat, the Magyars found only Slavs and Turkic Bulgars living there. A general withdrawal of the Romanian population into the Balkans is improbable, but one cannot rule out the possibility of some inhabitants of the Banat going into the mountains, away from the troubled lowlands. This appears to have been an alternative to migrating to the lands south of the river Danube, as has already been suggested by Viorel Achim and Radu Popa.⁴⁶ There is, however, no evidence in the written sources for any of

42 Györffy (1963), pp. 837, 838.

43 Kiss (1985), Map 24.

44 Pascu (1971), p. 48; See and Anonymi Geographi, *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* (IIR, 11) (1934).

45 Pascu (1971), p. 49; Popa-Lisseanu, *Chronica Nestoris* (IIR, VII) (1935), pp. 46–47.

46 Achim (2000j), p. 139; Popa (1989), p. 354.

those possibilities. Late sources, such as Simon de Kéza's *Chronicle* (which was written in the late 13th century) claim that after the settlement of the seven tribes, the auxiliary populations occupied the remaining territory as desired.⁴⁷

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, writing in the mid-10th century knew of Magyars ("Turks") in the Iron Gates region.⁴⁸ To the west from that region, several "Turkic" settlements are known, which are named after nearby rivers—the Timiș, the Tutis, the Mureș, the Criș, and the Tisza. The absence of any archaeological finds in the mountain area that could be associated in one way or another with the Magyars, suggests that that area was only formally under their rule, and that no Magyars actually settled in the mountains. Constantine Porphyrogenitus' information about the Byzantine-Magyar frontier is important for it suggests that the area between the Mureș, the Tisza, the Danube, and the Carpathians Mountains was already settled in the mid-10th century by Magyars and their auxiliary populations.⁴⁹ Imre Boba once believed that since Constantine Porphyrogenitus refers to the local population as "Turks," the newcomers were primarily Kabars.⁵⁰ However, the use of the ethnic name "Turks" in the *De administrando imperio* is much more general and often applies to different populations. Be as it may, Constantine Porphyrogenitus has nothing to say about the native population the Magyars had found in the Banat.

Following the Magyar raids of the first half of the 10th century and the subsequent settlement of the Magyars in the region, a number of political structures emerged, which soon attempted to move away from the power at the center of the Magyar polity. By the second half of the 10th century, a new ethnic and religious configuration appeared. According to Bruno of Querfurt, who travelled to the southern parts of Hungary in 1003, the region was inhabited by "Black Magyars" (whom some believe to have been Kabars).⁵¹ The attempt to convert them to Christianity was only partially successful, as pagan practices and shamanism continued in the area, perhaps strengthened by the arrival of new

47 See Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999).

48 *FHDR*, II, pp. 666–667 (Constantinus Porphyrogenetus), 40, 35–44; *DAI*, I, p. 176.

49 Váczy (1990/1991), p. 255.

50 Boba (1971), pp. 168, 170.

51 Györffy (1987), pp. 310, 471. There is a widespread belief among Hungarian historians that the memory of the Black Hungarians, or Kabars, survives in place names from the southern Banat. In addition, there are other place names (such as Kulpin and Berend) which seem to have appeared during Taksony's rule and are connected to some other Turkic population.

Turkic populations from the Volga region.⁵² This is visible in burial customs, especially in the practice of burying a warrior together with his weapons and his harnessed horse. That Christianity coexisted with non-Christian practices also results from the Legend of St. Gerard, which claims that the local duke Ahtum had seven wives, but at the same time was eager to establish a monastery under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. It has also been suggested that at least some of the Kabars may have practiced Judaism.⁵³ I shall return later to the issue of religion.

One of the thorny issues concerning the religious developments in the 10th century is the mission of Hierotheos in *Tourkia*, and the establishment in the mid-10th century of a bishopric under the jurisdiction of the patriarch in Constantinople. Although some still insist that Hierotheos went to Transylvania,⁵⁴ others believed that the region targeted by his mission was that between the Mureş and the Criş rivers, in the northwestern part of the Banat and the modern-day county of Bács-Kiskun.⁵⁵ If this is correct, then we should assume that as early as 953, there was a leader in this area named Gylas, who had converted to the form of Christianity favored in Constantinople. The archaeological evidence substantiates the idea, as the Banat has produced a number of pectoral crosses, in addition to the existence of a monastery in Morisena dedicated to St. John the Baptist and known to have been established by Ahtum. There were Christians in the area, who died during the fighting taking place in the region in 1002–1003, and there was a church of Byzantine plan at Szóreg. On the other hand, the same region produced evidence of a large number of settlements suggesting a cluster of population and, perhaps, a center of regional power. In the light of this interpretation, it makes sense to see Ahtum ruling over the lands to the north of the river Mureş, even though many of his possessions appear to have been located on the lower course of that river.

Between G(a)lad and Ahtum, there have been some important economic and political changes in the Banat. The most important, however, is the shift of the center of power to the north. In the early 10th century, G(a)lad's power center (if the testimony of the *Gesta Hungarorum* is to be trusted) was next to the Danube, but a century later Ahtum's was on the Mureş and the lands to the north from that river. Local leaders in the area between the Mureş, the

52 Fodor (1979), pp. 315–325; Madgearu (1998), p. 206.

53 Koestler (1987), pp. 58–84, 100–102.

54 For specialized literature on this issue of localization in Transylvania, see footnotes 10–20, 36, 38 and p. 150 from Madgearu (1994).

55 Madgearu (1994), pp. 147–154; Madgearu (1998), pp. 203–204; Madgearu (2001), p. 19.

Tisza and the Criș seem to have joined Ahtum's polity, some out of economic self-interest, while others may have been forced to do so. The control of the transportation of salt from Transylvania along the Mureș river must have played an important role in this shift. If duke G(a)lad truly existed, then following his disappearance, the polity he had created or ruled began to expand northwards. In addition, if the mission of Hierotheos targeted this same region, then one can add a strong Byzantine influence.

The nature of this polity, to which Romanian historians consistently refer as “voivodeship,” is obscure and not much can be gleaned from the written sources. To be sure, during the 10th century, local institutions, with their ethnic flavor or characteristics, were increasingly in competition with macro-regional institutions of larger polities. At some point in the late 10th century, the area between the Criș, the Danube and the Carpathians came under the rule of Ahtum.⁵⁶ He must therefore have ruled over a territory inhabited by a large number of Magyars and Kabars, if one is to take the *Gesta Hungarorum* at face value.⁵⁷ Whatever the case, this was also a period of widespread conversion to Christianity.

Some of the local chieftains subordinated to Ahtum are said to have attempted to break away from the central power and to create a separate polity by adopting the form of Christianity favored in Byzantium. This suggests that the settlement of the Magyars and their auxiliary populations in the Banat has brought ethnic diversity into the ranks of the elites, as well as some religious changes among them. Besides the old tribal leaders, the powers-that-be came to include their offspring and other landowners, relatives of the paramount chieftain. Two types of elites emerged in the Banat—those derived from the old leaders, and the offspring of the first Magyar settlers or of their auxiliary populations. According to the Legend of St. Gerard, this was the ultimate reason for the conflict erupting in the early 11th century. It is not at all clear when the two groups have emerged one coalescing around the old chieftains, the other consisting of the descendants of the first Magyar settlers and of relatives of the paramount chief. At any rate, the tensions were used by King Stephen to gain control over Ahtum's polity. In doing so, he worked through local forces.

56 Glück (1976), pp. 89–116.

57 The artifacts also support the presence of a large group of Hungarian people in the area between the Criș, Tisza and Mureș, but also of a large amount of Byzantine coins, adornments, crosses and other south-Danubian items. All of the cumulated data point to the existence, on that location, of a major power centre during the 10th–11th centuries, which, nevertheless, still feels a Byzantine material influence.

For example, Chanadin, said to have been a nephew of King Stephen, actually lived within the polity ruled by Ahtum and may have been involved in the conflict between the two parties. In the aftermath of Stephen's victory over Ahtum, Chanadin received hereditary rule of the area now turned into the bishopric of Cenad and, in addition, large estates in Hungary. This was also a major turn in regional politics, as Stephen's victory severed Ahtum's relations with Samuel of Bulgaria.⁵⁸ The ethnic diversity in the region soon made room for homogenizing policies, themselves the correlate of the sedentization of the nomadic elements (Magyars or Kabars), which appears to have already been in an advance stage. The defeat of Ahtum by King Stephen was not followed by large-scale movements of population from the region, in the way, for example, the defeat of the Cumans at Lake Hod in 1280 was followed by the emigration of a large number of Cumans (particularly those from the Borchool tribe) outside Hungary. The conclusion is that in the early 11th century, the Hungarian population had permanently settled in the lowlands of the Banat. What influence the conversion to Christianity may have had on this process of sedentization remains unknown. However, there can be no accident that the sedentization process coincides in time with the arrival of the Byzantine monks at Morisena and the establishment of a monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist. However, both written (particularly hagiographic) and archaeological sources strongly suggest that the old beliefs were not entirely abandoned.

At the same time, this period witnessed the creation of border custom points along the Mureş River, in parallel with the functioning of an economy specific to steppe populations. The former, mentioned in sources pertaining to the late 10th and early 11th century, were most likely in connection to the shipping of salt from Transylvania, which is first mentioned in the Frankish annals in the late 9th century.⁵⁹ Although no direct evidence for border customs exists in the 10th century, there is nonetheless archaeological evidence of fortified settlements along the Mureş, such as Vladimirescu (medieval Arad).⁶⁰ Ahtum's fortress at Morisena, on the same river, became Cenad during the 11th century. It is possible that the earth-and-timber fortresses erected in the heartland of Ahtum's polity became economic and political centres in the region, similar to

58 For the international implications of Stephen's victory over Ahtum, see Turcuş (2001), pp. 83–94.

59 Kovách (1980), pp. 193–199.

60 Barbu, Zdroba (1978), pp. 101–121; Zdroba, Barbu (1977), pp. 17–28; Barbu (1980), pp. 151–162; Zdroba, Barbu (1976), pp. 47–55.

those on the Danube. The absence or rarity of coin finds shows that this was not yet a monetary economy. Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the defeat of the Magyars at Lechfeld in 955,⁶¹ raids into the Byzantine Empire resumed, as such incidents are mentioned in 959, 961 and 970.⁶²

The defeat of Ahtum and the conquest of his polity in the early 11th century have been interpreted in different ways by different historians.⁶³ Hungarian historians regard Ahtum as either a Magyar or Turkic-speaking chieftain, who rebelled against, or tried to secede from the central power, only to be brought back in line by the newly proclaimed king. By contrast, Romanian historians have turned Ahtum into a local ruler who stood up against the Hungarian conquest.⁶⁴ To be sure, the most important consequences of Ahtum's defeat were religious, not ethnic. Ahtum had supported the Greek monks in Morisena, which may be seen as a continuation of the efforts to convert the Black Magyars.⁶⁵ Following Ahtum's demise, a new bishopric was established in 1030 at Cenad as a suffragan see of the archbishopric of Esztergom. The newly appointed bishop was Gerard, a Benedictine monk of Venetian origin.⁶⁶ Benedictine monks thus replaced the Greek ones in the monasteries on the Mureş River. New abbeys were founded, such as that in Oroszlámos (Banatsko Arandjelovo), which was dedicated to St. George. During the same period, there seems to have been a revival of Novatian heresy in the area.⁶⁷ The latter results from Gerard's *Deliberatio*, a work dealing with events taking place within Gerard's diocese since the late 9th century.⁶⁸ That Christianity was far from being the dominant religion in southern Hungary also results from the rebellion of Vata (1046),⁶⁹ which appears to have been an attempt to restore the pagan beliefs of the pre-Christian times.⁷⁰ The rebels in fact killed Gerard,

61 Spinei (1999), pp. 80–81.

62 Madgearu (1998), p. 204 and note 59; Spinei (1999), pp. 75 and 172.

63 Madgearu (1993), pp. 5–12.

64 Pascu (1971), pp. 29, 36, 37, 40; Popa (1984), p. 281 (in I.M.P.R.); Pop (1996), pp. 112–120; Bejan (1995), pp. 106–109; Glück (1976), p. 93.

65 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 99.

66 Rusu et al. (2000), pp. 99–100.

67 Glück (1978), pp. 189–196; Oța (1998), p. 114.

68 Gerard refers to the heretics as Novatians. See Glück (1978), pp. 189–196; Glück (1979), p. 243.

69 Turcuş (2001), p. 95.

70 Glück (1979), pp. 143–178; Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), pp. 2–3.

the bishop of Cenad.⁷¹ A renewed attempt at uprooting paganism and planting firmly Christian beliefs dates to the reign of Andrew I (1046–1060). The king called in missionaries from Lorraine, who established the first Cluniac communities in Hungary.⁷²

Meanwhile, a drastic re-organization of the ecclesiastical structures in the Balkans was under way. In 1019, the archbishopric of Ochrid received Braničevo, Belgrade, and Sirmium as suffragan sees. Of all three, Braničevo appears to have had some influence in the lands north of the Danube through the church of Dibiskos, a center recently identified with Cuvin.⁷³ Moreover, the Byzantine Church exercised control over the lands north of the Danube through the bishopric of *Tourkia*. There were definitely churches associated with that bishopric in Cenad, Săvârşin, and Szőreg.⁷⁴

The ethnic composition of the region also changed in the 11th century. In addition to Muslims and Jews, the Banat received a number of Pecheneg settlers in the later decades of that century.

They settled in the northwestern part of the Banat, on the estates of the Csanád family, where there was an abundance of grazing fields.⁷⁵ Both place and river names point to the presence of the Pechenegs in other parts of the Banat, but the chronology of their settlement is less certain. Although allowed to organize themselves as they wished, to keep their customs and pastoral economy, the Pechenegs were apparently recruited as auxiliaries for the Hungarian army. They were under the jurisdiction of the king or of the count palatine, as confirmed in charters of the 14th century.

During the first half of the 11th century, the first counties were organized under King Stephen I.⁷⁶ Some believe that initially counties were very large administrative units, the equivalent of regions.⁷⁷ In the Banat, the first such county would have been Timiș, later broken into smaller counties. In reality, Timiș is not the first county mentioned in the sources: Cenad appears in 1165, Timiș in 1172, followed by Caraș (1200), Arad (1214), and Cuvin (1201).⁷⁸ In

71 Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum* (IIR, IV) (1935), p. 99; see also Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), p. 125.

72 Turcuș (2001), p. 95.

73 Madgearu (2001), pp. 17–19.

74 Madgearu (2001), pp. 17–19.

75 For Pecheneg presence in Banat, see Oța (2002/2003), pp. 219–229; Oța (2004), pp. 492–495, 498–499, 501–502; Oța (2007d), pp. 315–339; Oța (2007c), pp. 30–32.

76 Györffy (1987), p. 472.

77 Pascu (1971), p. 100.

78 Pascu (1989), pp. 107–119.

the early 13th century, a new administrative appeared—the Banate of Severin (1230), which included the eastern parts of the present-day Banat.⁷⁹ Moreover, there is no evidence of a count of Timiș as a witness to any cases brought to court from the southern, eastern or western parts of the region. Assemblies of the local nobility presided either by the count palatine or by the king did not take place in just one, but in several locations. In short, nothing suggests the existence of a large county (such as Timiș) in the 11th century, which would have been later divided into smaller administrative units. Nor is it clear what was happening in the southeastern Banat at that time. Some believe the region was under the control of the nomads in the Lower Danube area.⁸⁰ This would presumably result from several place or river names such as Peceneaga, Pecinișca (a village now included into Băile Herculane), Buhui, Caraș, Târlui (near Orșova), Furca Pițigui,⁸¹ and Basaraba (in the valley of the Almăj, next to Dalboșeț).⁸² However, the chronology of all those names is far from clear. Caraș a name derived from the Turkic words for “black” (*kara*) and “water” (*su*) is first mentioned in the written sources in 1128.⁸³ If the settlers were Pechenegs, they left no specific traces, possibly because of their early conversion to Christianity.⁸⁴

The Pechenegs who raided southern Hungary in 1071 and came to the rescue of Belgrade, attacked by King Solomon, were Byzantine auxiliaries, and not residents of the Banat.⁸⁵

Beginning with the second half of the 12th century, several counties appear in the Banat, primarily in connection with fortresses, the garrisons of which were headed by counts, who appear in charters as distributing justice. At the time, there were also estates in the Banat owned by the queen, the Church, and various noblemen, who were not under the jurisdiction of the local count. The frontier of the kingdom may have been on the valley of the river Almăj. A march-like entity significantly named Craina (“march”) was established in the late 12th and early 13th century on the border with Bulgaria.

79 Holban (1981), pp. 49–89; Pop (1996), p. 161; Țeicu (1998), pp. 421–424.

80 Achim (2000i), p. 172.

81 Map 1918, scale 1:100000.

82 Ioniță (1982), pp. 39, 252.

83 Popa-Lisseanu, Gh., *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense* (IIR, XI) (1937), p. 208.

84 Oța (2004), p. 494. During the 14th century, the Pecheneg settlements had churches, which could mean that at least some of them had converted to Christianity. Moreover, the dignitaries of Pecheneg origin would not have received their offices from the king without conversion to Christianity.

85 See Hartvik, *Life of St. Stephen*, ed. by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis arpadianae gestarum*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia litteraria Hungarica, 1938), p. 426; Oța (2004), p. 494.

This period also witnessed the arrival of new Pecheneg groups and the establishment of new abbeys, a Cistercian one in Igriş,⁸⁶ several Benedictine houses in Chelmac,⁸⁷ Frumuşeni,⁸⁸ and Sendlacul Mare,⁸⁹ and of unknown orders in Bodroglu Vechi and Nou,⁹⁰ as well as in Kemenche.⁹¹ Religious persecution in Serbia under Stephen Nemanja (1170–1196) led to the emigration of a group of population to the Banat.⁹² Bogomil communities may have been established at this time along the Danube and in the mountains, where there was little royal and ecclesiastical control. The southeastern portion of the Banat may have also served to monitor, or even to control the neighboring steppe nomads, the Cumans. Very little is otherwise known about the administration and ecclesiastical organization of the Banat during the 12th century. The only bits of information available are those from Byzantine sources concerned with the Byzantine wars with the Hungarians (often called “Dacians”): Nicetas Choniates,⁹³ Theodore Skoutariotes,⁹⁴ Constantine Manasses,⁹⁵ Theodore Prodromos,⁹⁶ Nicholas Kallikles,⁹⁷ anonymous epigrams,⁹⁸ and monastic *typika*.⁹⁹

The Pechenegs of the Banat first appear in the sources during the 13th century. Although they must have arrived in the region much earlier than that, they are first mentioned in 1230 in relation to the county of Cenad.¹⁰⁰ However, no Pecheneg village or domain in the Banat appears in documents before the 14th century. Nor is there any mention of Cumans in the Banat before the Mongol invasion of 1241. An earlier presence of the Cumans in the region is of course possible, but cannot be surmised before 1246, when Cumans are said to have been settled on lands previously pillaged by the Mongols, which may include the northwestern part of the region under study. A Cuman presence

86 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 153.

87 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 101.

88 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 139.

89 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 139.

90 Rusu et al. (2000), pp. 74–78; Györffy (1963), p. 178.

91 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 157; Săcară (1974), pp. 165–171; Györffy (1963), p. 860.

92 Oța (1998), p. 114.

93 *FHDR*, III, pp. 246–247 (Nicetas Choniates), *Historia*, 2, 5.

94 *FHDR*, III, pp. 410–411 (Theodorus Skutariotes), *Compendium chronicon*, 3.

95 *FHDR*, III, pp. 534–537 (Constantin Manases), *Cuvânt pentru Manuel*.

96 *FHDR*, IV, pp. 70–71 (Theodorus Prodromos), *Eseuri*, nr. 5.

97 *FHDR*, IV, pp. 48–49 (Nicolaus Callicles), *Poemata*, xxxii.

98 *FHDR*, III, pp. 540–541 (Epigramme anonime), no. 337.

99 *FHDR*, IV, pp. 62–63 (Colecția *Typica*), Nr. 1, 1136.

100 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 261; Györffy (1963), p. 848; Suci (1967), p. 212.

in the Banat is first explicitly recorded in 1255, when a certain *dux Cumanorum* named Zeihan is mentioned in the country of Cenad, even though he was apparently a resident of the Bodrog County.¹⁰¹ Zeihan was apparently related to the royal family through Queen Elisabeth, who was of Cuman origin. A Cuman chieftain named Parabuch received in 1266 from Stephen (future King Stephen v), the duke of Transylvania, land grants in the counties of Caraş (Kuke), Cenad (Vonuz), Cuvin (Wolter and Belan), and Timiş (Bobda, Rety).¹⁰² Other Cuman noblemen from the Kool tribe also received, at some point before 1272, the domains of Beba and Halasz Morotva in the county of Cenad.¹⁰³ The Borchool tribe had lands in the Timiş County.¹⁰⁴ The Cumans must have arrived in the region before 1255, the year in which they are first mentioned in the charters. According to a 1279 documents, the Kool tribe settled in the Cenad, and the Borchool in the Timiş County.¹⁰⁵ During the 1260s and 1270s the paramount Cuman chieftain was one Alpra, who together with Uzur is responsible for establishing the Cuman legal code at the royal gathering in Tétény. The Cumans revolted in that same year (1279) and the Banat must have suffered their devastations as well, particularly from the estates of the Csanád family. After their defeat at Lake Hod at the hands of King Ladislas iv,¹⁰⁶ some of the surviving Cumans withdrew to the Lower Danube region. The Borchool tribe left their lands in the Timiş County, but some of them returned soon after that, as the Cumans Vehugan and Iuanchuch, sons of Keiran of the Borchool tribe, are known to have sold half of the Bobda domain in 1288.¹⁰⁷

The presence of the Cumans is also abundantly attested by local place names.¹⁰⁸ Such is the case of the villages of Kunfalu (two villages, both mentioned in 1323)¹⁰⁹ and Kundench (1370) in the county of Caraş,¹¹⁰ Boza (1320) in the county of Cenad,¹¹¹ and Comanfalva (1369) in the county of

101 Györffy (1963), p. 869.

102 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 22, 81–82; Suciú (1967), p. 85; Györffy (1987), pp. 308, 310, 321, 490; Ţeicu (1998), pp. 342–343.

103 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, I, p. 229, II, p. 6; Györffy (1963), p. 835 (note 4), pp. 864–865.

104 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 81–82.

105 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 217–221.

106 Horváth-Pálóczi (1989), p. 61.

107 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 81–82; Suciú (1967), p. 85.

108 OŢa (2010c), pp. 604–605.

109 Doc. Val., pp. 227–228; D.R.H. C, XIII, pp. 770, 772; Hurmuzaki (1890), pp. 164–166; Pesty (1884), pp. 96–99.

110 Györffy (1963), p. 850.

111 Györffy (1963), p. 850.

Timiș.¹¹² Another settlement with a Cuman name is Tywan, in the Timiș County.¹¹³ Several river names, such as Buhui (Caraș-Severin County), Târlui (Mehedinți County), Kumanpatakfeu (Timiș County, mentioned in 1369),¹¹⁴ Pârâul Cumanului (Caraș-Severin County, mentioned in 1358), Pârâul Cumanului (next to Vermeș),¹¹⁵ Ogașul Belui (Timiș County),¹¹⁶ Caraș (Caraș-Severin County, mentioned in 1128),¹¹⁷ Borča (in the former county of Cuvin)¹¹⁸ and Kun bara¹¹⁹ unmistakably point to speakers of a Turkic language, possibly Cumans. As indicated in a charter dated to 1250, the Cumans played an important role in the royal army. They were pagan when entering Hungary, but immediately converted. They are already mentioned as Christian in a charter of 1253.¹²⁰ However, that Pope Urban IV could ask King Béla IV in 1264 to banish those Cumans who had not converted to Christianity suggests that the conversion was by no means universally accepted. Some of the non-Christians Cumans may have been brought later by the same king.¹²¹ The concerns of the papal authorities with the incomplete or insincere conversion of the Cumans are repeated in 1279.¹²² It was in that year that the Cuman leaders Uzun and Tolon swore again to become good Christians. No less than seven Cuman tribes are known to have come to Hungary. Two of them, the Kool and the Borchool, settled in the Banat. Their obligations were reinstated at the same time, namely military service to the king. Judicially speaking, they were subject to the palatine and the prince of each tribe, and could appeal to the king's judgment if unsatisfied with a decision. Cuman noblemen had the same rights as nobles from the kingdom. The court of the Cumans of the Kool tribe was in Szentelt. Unlike the Pechenegs, the Cumans only appear sporadically in documents of the 14th century.

The Cuman society was divided between the tribal aristocracy, which had military and, to some extent, judicial roles, and the freemen (*universitas*

112 D. R. H. C, XIII, pp. 614–616; Pesty (1884), p. 302; Suciú (1968), p. 312.

113 In a study from 2004, (Oța [2004], p. 496), I mistakenly identified Ticvaniul Mare, from present-day county of Caraș-Severin, with Tywan. In fact, a village with this name was in the Timiș County.

114 D. R. H. C, XIII, p. 583.

115 D. R. H. C, XIII, pp. 579–583.

116 Map of Timișoara, scale 1:200000.

117 Györffy (1987), pp. 487–488.

118 Map of Pancsova-Belgrad, scale 1:100000.

119 Map of Seghedin, 1:100000.

120 D. I. R., the 13th century, C, II, p. 8.

121 D. I. R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 67–69.

122 D. I. R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 217–221.

Cumanorum), who had a military role. In time, these freemen became serfs. There was also a class of servants, who were destitute Cumans or prisoners of war.¹²³ The Cuman tribes attested in Hungary were often new creations, out of bits and pieces of previously destroyed tribes, whose collective memory of tribal origin had been preserved by the class of simple warriors. The Borchool tribe, for example, seems to have been formed in Hungary, from the remnants of a tribe that had lived in the Donetsk area. Their fellow tribesmen who stayed behind in the east, are mentioned among the Kipchak tribes of the Golden Horde.¹²⁴

The Cuman newcomers seem to have clung to shamanism at least until 1290, as evidenced by several papal complaints and calls for the Hungarian king to persuade them to give up their idols. However, the Cuman aristocracy does not appear to have been fully Christianized before the proclamation of Charles Robert of Anjou as King of Hungary in 1308. Together with the Cumans, another group of nomads came to Hungary, namely the Yassi. They appear in the the Cuvin and Caraş counties in the 14th century, when a settlement is mentioned as Maxond, a name supposedly derived from that of the Yassian chieftain Moxun.¹²⁵ The same name applied throughout the Middle Ages to the sand dunes between the aforementioned counties (now known as the Deliblato sand dunes).

New fortifications are mentioned in the Banat during the 13th century: Timișoara¹²⁶ in 1212 and Vosvár¹²⁷ in 1219. The fortress of Cenad was rebuilt in or before 1216, that of Cuvin in 1211, 1219 and 1223, and that of Caraş in 1200 (Haram). Cuvin was part of a royal dowry at the end of the 12th century and, in 1233, it belonged to the child of Margaret and Isaac II Angelos, Kaloyan Angelos.¹²⁸ Ilidia was also part of Margaret's dowry but was taken by the Byzantines in 1182. A count named Weyteh appears in the region only after 1200.¹²⁹ Following the Mongol invasion of 1241, Érd Somlyó (Vrscia) appears in charters in 1255, by way of the county of Somlyó,¹³⁰ and in 1290 a new fortress is mentioned in Sebeş.¹³¹ The first fortress on that site belonged to the

123 Horváth-Pálóczi (1989), p. 57.

124 Horváth-Pálóczi (1989), pp. 57–58.

125 Györffy (1987), p. 310.

126 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 155.

127 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 95.

128 Györffy (1987), p. 319.

129 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 19.

130 Györffy (1987), p. 493.

131 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, p. 316.

archbishop of Kalocsa¹³² until 1227, when it was given to the king. Pre-Mongol fortresses do not appear to have had any military, but mostly an administrative role. Some of them were abandoned and turned into cemeteries. A truly military function was attached to fortresses only after 1241. Indeed, most military confrontations before 1240 took place in the open field, without any sieges. While stone fortifications began to appear after 1241, some of the old timber-and-earth strongholds were abandoned.

Some of these fortifications became county seats in the course of the 13th century, an indication that the comital institution must have been established relatively late in the southern Banat. In the region between the Banat Mountains, the Danube and the Bârzava River, several centers were in existence at about the same time, such as Vrscia (Vršac), Haram (Krassó), Mezősumlyó and Ilidia. None of those fortifications had any large-size hinterland. In some cases, the hinterland may have shrunken even further as the result of royal donations to various individuals.¹³³ Only two, rather small counties are known for the 13th century in this area—Érd Somlyó and Krassó. It is not known whether or not the authority of the count extended over the Ilidia domain, over Almăj (the domains of the archbishops of Kalocsa), over the upper basin of the Caraș or the Bârzava, or over the lower part of the same river. None of the local counts is mentioned in the 13th century as summoned for a trial in the region. Moreover, two more counts appear in the early 14th century, one in Mezősumlyó, the other in Ilidia. It was only in 1273 that the counties of Cuvin and Caraș received a common count.¹³⁴ Large swathes of territory in the Banat thus appear to have escaped comital authority, because of being estates of the aristocracy, the Church or the military-monastic orders, the queen, or the auxiliary peoples settled in Hungary. Counts also had important roles in the royal courts. Weyteh, the first count of Caraș is known to have been the leader of the *curia*¹³⁵ much like his successor Achilleus, who was also count of Cuvin in 1201.¹³⁶ Others were royal cup-bearers (1221/1227)¹³⁷ or high stewards (1235).¹³⁸ Peter, count of Cenad was also the leader for the queen's court

132 Györffy (1987), p. 493.

133 Oța (2002), pp. 37–39.

134 D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 153, 155–157, 158–162.

135 Györffy (1987), p. 488.

136 Györffy (1987), p. 317.

137 Györffy (1987), p. 317.

138 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 289.

in 1207 and 1208.¹³⁹ Such a prominent position of the local counts radically changed after Charles I Robert of Anjou came to power.

During the 13th century, in addition to new Orthodox churches in Cusici (probably Serbian¹⁴⁰ and Partoş¹⁴¹), Benedictine abbeys appear in Bulci¹⁴² and in Aracs, and an Augustinian house in Gătaia.¹⁴³ There was also a monastery in Pordeanu.¹⁴⁴ The Benedictines were chased away from Itebe 1219 under accusations of having molten down chalices, crosses and cult vessels to forge coins.¹⁴⁵ Besides Cistercians in Igriş (1205),¹⁴⁶ Dominicans are first mentioned in Vrşac (Érd Somlyó).¹⁴⁷ Few monasteries survived the Mongol onslaught of 1241.¹⁴⁸ King Béla IV confiscated many of the Church's possessions, as the Hungarian king sided with Frederick II in his conflict with the papacy. This is the political background against which one needs to consider the arrival of the Knights of St. John (Hospitallers) to Hungary.¹⁴⁹

In the Banat, the devastations of the Mongol invasion were followed by more military conflict in the aftermath of the assassination of the Cuman chieftain Kuthen. According to Roger of Torre Maggiore, the Mongols sacked Cenad, the Cistercian abbey at Igriş, as well as the surrounding areas, from which another army entered Hungary.¹⁵⁰ The absence of documents makes it impossible to know the extent to which the highland area of the Banat suffered from that invasion. The only glimpse into this problem is possible through the study of a number of cemeteries dated to the 13th century. While some continued to be used without interruption, others were abandoned in the middle of the century, with new cemeteries opened elsewhere. However, the Mongol invasion may not have been the ultimate reason for this change. A radical departure from the previous practice may be detected, however, in the building of the first stone fortifications in the region, and the abandonment of the timber-and-earth strongholds. During the second quarter of the 13th

139 Györffy (1963), p. 851.

140 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 122.

141 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 201.

142 Rusu et al. (2000), pp. 84–86.

143 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 254; Györffy (1987), p. 494.

144 Györffy (1963), p. 867; Rusu et al. (2000), p. 210.

145 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, pp. 169–170; Györffy (1987), pp. 316–317.

146 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, pp. 30, 156, 175–176, 196–197, 203, 213–218, 223–225, 241–242, 264–270, 290–292; D.I.R., the 13th century, C, II, pp. 132, 454–455.

147 Györffy (1987), p. 493.

148 Turcuş (2001), p. 116.

149 Turcuş (2001), pp. 116–117.

150 Rogerii *Carmen Miserabile*/Rogerius, *Cântecul de jale* (11R, v) (1935), pp. 87, 91.

century, right before the Mongol invasion, the kingdom of Hungary expanded into the area through the creation of a banate of Severin, first mentioned in charters in 1233.¹⁵¹ The identity of the first ban is not known, but he could have been either Jula, the brother of Ratold, Count of Cuvin and leader of the court (1219–1221), or Luca, Andrew II's great cup-bearer.¹⁵² The newly created banate seems to have overlapped, at least in part with an older Bulgarian march known as Craina, which may have been in existence between the late 12th century and 1231–1232. The banate was located between the river Cerna, to the east, the Oriental Gate, to the north, the eastern slopes of the Almăj Mountains, to the west, and the area north of Orșova, to the south.¹⁵³ Estates of the archbishop of Kalocsa (in the region of the Middle Nera)¹⁵⁴ and the Ilidia domain (on the western slopes of the Semenic Mountains)¹⁵⁵ are attested in the highlands of the present-day Banat during the 13th century. Sebeș is mentioned in 1325.¹⁵⁶ There is no data for the upper basin of the river Caraș¹⁵⁷ before 1323 and no data for the upper course of the Bârzava before 1370.¹⁵⁸ The situation is no better for the section closer to the Danube. It is not before 1367 that we find out about domains in the mountains of Almăj and Locva,¹⁵⁹ which had been incorporated at that date into the county of Caraș. Nor do we learn much more about this from the charter for the Hospitallers, which was issued in 1247.¹⁶⁰ The administrative situation of the regions is known only from a 14th century mention of the district organization. This may well have been older, but there is no mention of it in the documents, and there is a good possibility that those administrative units appeared during the 14th century as a result of a reorganization. Given all these aspects, it seems very likely that the territory east of Ilidia and of the Haram fortress, the Vrșac domain and the middle basin of the Bârzava experienced what was, at most, formal control by the Hungarian kingdom before 1230. It was only later that the authority of the Ban of Severin was fully consolidated in these territories. The control of the Hungarian king and, later, of the Knights of St. John was probably limited to a number of forts controlling access points to and from the region. During the second half of the

151 Holban (1981), p. 49.

152 Holban (1981), pp. 56–57.

153 Györffy (1987), p. 477.

154 Györffy (1987), p. 477.

155 D.I.R., the 11th–13th centuries, C, I, p. 197.

156 Bona (1993), p. 22.

157 Györffy (1987), pp. 489–490.

158 D.R.H., C, XIII, p. 272.

159 Oța (2000), pp. 5–25.

160 D.R.H., B, I, pp. 3–11.

13th century, the area turned into buffer zone between the Hungarian kingdom and the Nogai Tatars, which had established themselves in Oltenia all the way up to the Severin. The Tatars in fact invaded the Banat in 1257 under Berke, a brother of Batu-Khan, but they were defeated at the confluence of the Tisza and the Danube.

A thorough administrative reorganization followed the proclamation of Charles I Robert of Anjou as king of Hungary in 1308. Timișoara was completely rebuilt, apparently because the king intended to turn it into the second capital of the country. He spent much time in Timișoara in the company of important officials of the kingdom: the voivode of Transylvania; Lambert, the court's judge and county leader for Cenad; Demetrius, great royal treasurer; Paul, the Ban of Mačva and county leader of Bodrog; and the archbishop of Esztergom. It is during the fourteenth century that districts were created in the upland and highland regions, but also in the plains of the Banat, as an administrative feature most typical for the Romanian population: Sebeș (1369; the *Sebus province* was mentioned in 1352), Caran (1391), Lugoj (1385), Comiat (1369), Bârzava (1370), Mehadia (1387), Ikuș (1371), Bel (1371–72), Chery (1371–1372), Beregsăul (1387), Duboz (end of 14th century–1410), and Cuiеști (1351).¹⁶¹ More Romanian districts are mentioned in the following centuries, some in relation to privileges. Many of them were located around towns or cities, or along valleys, and their leaders were known as knezes and judges (*juzi*), sometimes even voivodes. All of them were subordinated to the local count or to the Ban of Severin. Voivodes are mentioned for Mehadia (Milutin-Mihail, between 1439 and 1452), the Caransebeș area (Lupșin Ioan, in 1350; Ștefan Stoica, in 1498), Biniș (Ladislau in 1345), Cuiеști (Radul, in 1370), Vaidafalva (Toma, in 1401), Țerova (Ștefan, in 1459 and 1464).¹⁶² The office of voivode appears only in the mountain and hilly regions of the Banat. It may be mapped onto a honorary title dating back to the days of the Banate of Severin. In the early 14th century, up to 1330, that banate was under the ruler of Walachia, Basarab I (ca. 1310–1352). However, in 1330 the banate was taken over by Charles Robert of Anjou. A few years later, in 1345, it returned to Walachia, only to be soon recuperated by Hungary. Some of its fortresses (Timișoara, Jdioara, Sebeș, Mehadia and Orșova) were integrated into the captainship of Vidin, which became a

161 Pascu (1989), pp. 40–62; Achim (1987), pp. 371–378; Achim (1993), pp. 245–259; Achim (2000a), pp. 11–43; Achim (2000b), pp. 25–43; Achim (2000c), pp. 44–62; Achim (2000e); pp. 78–86, Achim (2000f); pp. 87–97; Achim (2000g), pp. 98–128; Feneșan (1979a), pp. 265–275; Feneșan (1979b), pp. 289–301; Bizerea, Rudneanu (1969), pp. 7–15; Nemoianu (1976), pp. 265–268.

162 Achim (2000g), pp. 98–128.

banate under Denis Lackfi, the voivode of Transylvania. The ruler of the aforementioned fortresses held the title of Ban, as well as that of count of Severin and Timiș.¹⁶³ It is not known who exercised control over the Timiș-Cerna corridor during the 14th century. In the early part of that century, at a time when the Banate of Severin was in Walachian hands, Hungarian charters refer to a high steward named Denis, who owned the castles of Mehadia and Jdioara (1323–1326).¹⁶⁴ By 1368 or 1369,¹⁶⁵ the situation has not changed much. The eastern part of the present-day county of Caraș-Severin, as well as the western part of the Mehedinți County were at that time under Hungarian rule, while western Oltenia must have been included into the Banate of Severin. Orșova and Mehadia must have been under Walachian control only temporarily, if at all. The Hungarian-Walachian conflict may be responsible for the building of new fortresses in the region, under King Charles Robert of Anjou (1308–1342). All were built anew in either stones or brick: Sendlac Mare (1319),¹⁶⁶ Jdioara,¹⁶⁷ Carașova,¹⁶⁸ Mehadia,¹⁶⁹ Lipova,¹⁷⁰ Cuiești,¹⁷¹ Orșova,¹⁷² Nova Curia,¹⁷³ Eng,¹⁷⁴ Borzafő,¹⁷⁵ Lugoș,¹⁷⁶ Ada Kaleh,¹⁷⁷ Ciacova,¹⁷⁸ Galambuch,¹⁷⁹ Almăj, Pojejena, Dombo, Tornistye, Ilidia, Svinița, Pecs, Sfântul Ladislau, and Drencova.¹⁸⁰ Some of these appear to have been trading stations (Sebeș, Lugoș, Lipova, Sendlac

163 Pascu (1989), pp. 114–115.

164 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, II, pp. 65–67, 69–70, 79–80, 90–94, 103–104, 114–117, 120–121, 129–130, 154–155, 177–179, 185–187.

165 D.R.H., C, XIII, pp. 456–457, 608–610.

166 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, I, pp. 312–313.

167 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, II, p. 69.

168 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, III, pp. 360–361; Oța, Oța (2006), pp. 3–13; Oța, Oța (2008), pp. 183–221 (This includes a great deal of the bibliography regarding the archaeology of medieval fortresses in both the Romanian and the Serbian parts of the Banat); Oța, Oța (2009), pp. 193–201; Oța et al. (2011), pp. 83–113; Oța, Oța (2011), pp. 161–183.

169 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, II, pp. 66–67.

170 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, II, pp. 120–121.

171 Györffy (1987), p. 487.

172 Țeicu (1998), pp. 204, 213, note 213—unidentified in the field. The information regarding the fortress of Orșova is limited to documents.

173 D.R.H., C, XI, pp. 93–96.

174 Rosetti (1976), p. 151.

175 Pascu (1979), p. 238.

176 Pascu (1979), p. 249.

177 Tudor et al. (1965), pp. 395–407.

178 Suciū (1967), p. 146.

179 D.R.H., C, X, p. 375.

180 Fügedi (1986), p. 124, Map 16.

Mare), others were meant to be administrative centers or even private residences for the nobility. They usually had small garrisons, since most of them were not large. Of these, only a few continued to be county centres during the 14th century. Whereas the counties of Ilidia and Semlacul Mare were still in place in the early 1300s, they were integrated in 1323 into the county of Caraş, together with Érd Somlyó, the upper basins of the Bârzava and Caraş rivers, as well as the middle course of the Nera. The counts had greatly expanded judicial and military authority, as most of them were also bestowed the position of castellan of the county's fortress. In many cases, particularly in the county of Caraş, counts were assisted by deputy castellans with extensive judicial responsibilities. The Banat counties had rather fluid borders during the Middle Ages, unlike those of Transylvania. This was mostly because of royal donations, the influx of various populations, the sales and purchases of domains, the characteristic Romanian organization in the highlands (the districts overlapped with counties), the privileges granted to certain regions for military service, and, finally, economic decline.

Under kings Charles Robert and Louis I, fortresses on the Danube and the immediate vicinity served as launch-pads for incursions across the Carpathian Mountains or the Danube, to the south. Beginning with the mid-fourteenth century, those fortresses also became the first line of defence against Ottoman raids. Under such circumstances, the count of Timiş, together with the Ban of Severin, received increasingly larger military responsibilities. Filippo Scolari refurbished the defensive system of southern Hungary by strengthening and organizing the fortresses of Timișoara, Szeged, Şoimoş, Şiria, Jdioara, Sebeş, Borzafő, Caraşova, Mehadia, Orşova, Ilidia, Haram, Dombo, Cuvin, and Tornistye.¹⁸¹

By the late 1340s, the Franciscans arrived in the region, which was part of their province of Hungary (the province of St. Mary). In 1325,¹⁸² the friars established themselves in Lipova, within the Custody of Bač. The other houses in the area were subject to the Custody of Bosnia (Orşova,¹⁸³ Sebeş,¹⁸⁴ Cheri¹⁸⁵ and Cuięsti¹⁸⁶) and to that of Cuvin with *loca* Armenes, Kovin and Haram.¹⁸⁷

181 Fügedi (1986), pp. 132–133, 134, Map 18, p. 136.

182 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 161.

183 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 200.

184 Rusu et al. (2000), pp. 87–88.

185 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 220.

186 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 74.

187 Achim (1996), pp. 397, 398, 399.

While the Cistercian abbey in Igriş largely flourished in the 14th century,¹⁸⁸ Paulicians settled in Gătaia at some point between 1340 and 1345,¹⁸⁹ and Dominicans in Timișoara in 1329.¹⁹⁰ Orthodox hermitages and monasteries are also known from Bucova¹⁹¹ and Munar.¹⁹² Tithing is attested in the Banat only from the 1310s, when it appears in Arad, between the Timiș and the Bârzava rivers, in Cenad, Torontal, Sebeș, Timiș, between the two Timiș rivers, and in Caraș.¹⁹³ During the 14th century, Romanian elites converted to Catholicism, as this was the only way to obtain the royal confirmation of their possessions.¹⁹⁴ This appears to have caused some conflicts with local knezes, who remained Orthodox.¹⁹⁵

The Pechenegs resurfaced in Hungarian charters in the 14th century. A settlement named Byssenis in the Cenad county appears in lists of papal tithes in every year between 1333 and 1335.¹⁹⁶ Another village, with a similar name existed in the Timiș County (1333-Ersenis, 1334-Berzenev, Beseno, 1335-Bezenev).¹⁹⁷ Those were most likely Catholic settlements whose origins may have been Pecheneg. Of a different nature is the evidence pertaining to a count named Gregory the Pecheneg who requested from King Louis I (1342–1382) the return of several villages (Beșenova, Veresdob, Kocha, Demeuar, Kengelus, Suluymus and Keralyfaya) in the Cenad County, claiming that they belonged to the (Pecheneg) community and that they had been given to the Pechenegs in exchange for military service.¹⁹⁸ The king acquiesced to the request in 1369 and confirmed the estates of Saap, Domewar, Weres Dob, Kocha, Thompa Valkan, Heges Valkan, and Veg Valkan.¹⁹⁹ This shows beyond any doubt that there were Pecheneg communities in the second half of the 14th century, which had retained a strong sense of separate identity, despite attempts by some their elites to move outside the community. The Pechenegs in question appear to have clustered in the northwestern area of the Banat, on the lands of the Csanád family. Elsewhere in the Banat, a nobleman named John the

188 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, I, pp. 188, 338–339; Rusu et al. (2000), p. 153.

189 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 142.

190 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 269.

191 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 84.

192 Rusu et al. (2000), p. 179.

193 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, III, pp. 221–247.

194 Achim (2000h), pp. 145–160; Holban (1981), pp. 245–262.

195 Hațegan (1981), pp. 217–223; Holban (1957), pp. 407–420.

196 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, III, pp. 239, 243; Györffy (1963), pp. 848, 845.

197 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, III, pp. 228, 232, 241, 245; Suci (1967), p. 212.

198 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, IV, pp. 280–281.

199 D.R.H., C, XIII, pp. 624–625.

Pecheneg was castellan of Érd Somlyó (Vršac) in 1358, when he asked the king for a number of estates (Voia, Secaş, Kuvesdpathaka, and half of Bachytiuisse).²⁰⁰ The king gave him in 1361 the domain of Woya, but there was resistance to his decision.²⁰¹ After obtaining these domains from the king by various means (the attack of the Woya domain by Toma Bur, as ordered by the castellan,²⁰² the attack on the Secaş domain carried out on John's behalf by the knezes Basarab of Caraşova Mare and Basarab of Caraşova Mică²⁰³), the king bought the domains from John in order to grant them to Benedict Heym.²⁰⁴ There was apparently a quite advanced process of social stratification within the Pecheneg society of that time. Most significantly, some of the Pecheneg noblemen preferred to be associated not with their community, but with the nobility of the realm.

Place and river names such as Beşinic and Besen—Timiş County, Pecenişca—Caraş-Severin County, Peceneaga Valley—Caraş-Severin County may be associated with the Pechenegs, but in other cases (e.g. Tihomireşti—Timiş County), there is no way to distinguish between Pecheneg and Cuman origins.²⁰⁵ Several local leaders of lower rank, such as Basarab of Caraşova Mare, Basarab of Caraşova Mică, and Timan, have Turkic names, whether or not the persons in question were of either Pecheneg or Cuman origin. It is quite difficult to establish when the Turkic influence reached the highlands of the present-day Caraş-Severin County. While the river Caraş and the settlement of Krassovár (Haram) are already mentioned in 12th-century charters,²⁰⁶ most other place and river names, as well as personal names of Turkic origin do not appear in the written sources before the 14th century, by which time the Pechenegs were without any doubt assimilated. Moreover, some of those names are of people specifically mentioned as knezes and as of Walachian origin (Timan).²⁰⁷

In the 14th century, Cumans also appear in the charters. For example, one of them, dated to 1315, mentions the Cumans Kondam and Jugpoho, of the Kool tribe, who claimed in front of the king that the domain of Beba in Cenad

200 D. R. H., C, XI, pp. 283, 290; Györffy (1987), pp. 487, 497–498; Holban (1962), pp. 57–131; Pesty (1884), pp. 33, 56, 217, 261–268; Suciú (1968), pp. 292, 356, 425; Ţeicu (1998), pp. 343, 373, 386–387.

201 D. R. H., C, XII, p. 16.

202 D. R. H., C, XII, pp. 20, 21.

203 D. R. H., C, XI, p. 286.

204 D. R. H., C, XII, pp. 50–57.

205 Pesty (1885), p. 239.

206 Györffy (1987), pp. 487–488; *FHDR*, III, pp. 246–247 (Nicetas Choniates), *Historia*, 2.

207 Györffy (1987), p. 497.

County was theirs, their predecessors having received it from King Stephen v (1270–1272).²⁰⁸ In 1318 and 1319, the sons of a certain Coman are also mentioned, both with Christian names—George and Nicholas.²⁰⁹ In 1321, Kondam received from the king privileges for bringing settlers on the domains of Beba and Halazmortva.²¹⁰ Another domain, Comanfalua in the Timiș County, belonged to the sons of Nexa, but was given by the king to the ban Benedict Himfi. Two other settlements—Kundench (1370)²¹¹ and Kunfalu (two settlements in 1323)²¹² have names referring to Cumans. River names such as Pârâul Cumanului—the same name mentioned in the Timiș County, in the Vermeș region,²¹³ and in the Caraș County—may have the same origin.²¹⁴

The written sources thus show that between the 10th and the 14th (or even the 15th) century, different groups of people of various origins coexisted in the Banat. Relations between them changed and developed according to such factors as the interest particular states (Bulgaria, Byzantium, Hungary, and Walachia) took in controlling the region; the settlement of steppe populations moving from the lands north of the Black Sea; the increasing competition between Catholic and Orthodox Christianity; the existence of substantial heretical or even pagan communities; the type of economy practised by different populations; and, last but not least, social relations that shaped interactions between those various groups. What stands out during this whole period is the trend in various communities to adopt the manorial economy, regardless of their ethnic background. Once those economic and social structures were in place, most social developments stopped being determined by ethnic issues. The church or, in the case of the Bogomils, the pagans, the Jews, and the Muslims, their religious leaders exercised a major, almost fundamental, influence on social relations. All of these factors marked the history of the region during the time under study, thus bestowing onto the Banat its idiosyncratic features.

208 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, I, p. 229. He was not yet king at the moment of the donation.

209 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, I, pp. 304, 305.

210 D.I.R., the 14th century, C, II, p. 6.

211 D.R.H., C, XIII, pp. 770, 772.

212 Györffy (1987), p. 490; Ţeicu (1998), p. 343.

213 D.R.H., C, XIII, pp. 579–583.

214 D.R.H., C, XI, pp. 283, 290.

Burial Customs in the Banat (10th–14th Centuries)

No less than 251 cemetery sites are known from the territory of the Banat between the Mureş and the Tisza to the west, the Danube River to the south and the Carpathians to the east (pl. 88).¹ For only 123 of them there is sufficient information about the graves excavated therein. A total of 2504 graves is therefore available for analysis. All of them are inhumations, as throughout the medieval period (10th to 14th century), that was the only burial rite recorded in the Banat.

A number of important observations may be derived from the analysis of the location and layout of cemeteries. A good number of those cemeteries (38) are located next to rivers (pl. 89).² Ten of them have been found in association with churches.³ A much larger number of cemetery sites (63) is known from the lowlands, on such prominent landscape feature such as hilltops, natural mounds (pl. 90), or river terraces.⁴ Only six of them were associated

1 The following plates were published in Oța (2008), too (Oța 2008, 59=77; 66=90; 69=93; 70=94; 73=98; 77=108; 78=109; 83=119).

2 *Belobreșca*, *Berzovia*-Pătruieni, *Boçar*-Budžak-ekonomija, *Caransebeș*-City centre, *Cenad*-Catholic Church, *Deszk*-J, *Divici*, *Drencova*, *Frumușeni*-300 m to the east from the village, *Hotar* cu Fântânele, *Gornea*-Gavrina, *Pod Păzăriște*, *Idvor*, *Ilidia*-Funii, *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești, *Lugoj*-Small Church, *Mehadia*-Ulici, *Mehadia*-Zidină, *Moldova* *Veche*-Ogașul cu Spini, *Vama Veche*, *Malul Dunării*, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, *Nikolinci*, *Novo Mîloșevo*-Izlaz, *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân, *Omolica*, *Partoș*, *Pescari*-Malul Dunării, *Pojejena*-Nucet, *Sânpetru German*-Roman ruins, *Socol*-Kruglița de Mijloc, House no. 15, *Stenca*-Ogașul lui Megheleș, *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004, *Timișoara*-Cioreni, *Valea Ravensca*, *Vatin* and *Vrâniuf*. Twenty-one of those sites are from the highlands, while another 10 have been found in the lowlands.

3 *Belobreșca*, *Berzovia*-Pătruieni, *Cenad*-Catholic Church, *Caransebeș*-City centre, *Gornea*-Gavrina-?, *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești-?, *Lugoj*-Small Church, *Mehadia*-Ulici, *Socol*-House no. 15 and *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004.

4 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-Humka kota 88 m, north-east of the train station 1903 (Aurel Török); mound in the village researched in the fall of 1898, mound researched on June 16, 1903; mound researched in 1906–1907, *Bašaid*-Gavričeva humka and Šljapičev breg, *Beregsäu Mare*; *Bucova Puszta*-T.II, III, IV, V, VIII, IX, *Cenad*-mound on an armet of the Aranca River; *Tarnok* mound (Pojána), *Čestereg*-mound, *Comloșu Mare*-Hunca lui Șofron, *Deszk*-T, *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, T.I, V, VI, VIII, *Duplijaja*-Veliki Prokop, 400 m to the north from Veliki Prokop, in the north-west of Vinograd, *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, *Idjoș*-Bersko Groblje, *Stare livade*, *Tabla Salaš* and *Livade*, *Jazovo*-Hoszu Hát, *Kikinda*-Vešalo and *Galad Vincaid*, *Kiszombor*-C and *Juhászhalom*, *Lighed*-1870, *Majdan*-Bašte Ulica maršala Tita,

with churches.⁵ Two medieval cemeteries have been found on sites known for Roman ruins: *Caransebeș*-Mahala and *Sânpetru German*-Roman ruins (pl. 123). Eleventh-century coins are mentioned in the older literature as having been found in *Sânpetru German*, and there is a group of coins from that period in the collection of the regional museum in Arad, but without any information regarding the date and exact location of their discovery. It is, however, quite possible that those coins came from the cemetery.

Five cemeteries have been found on sand dunes: *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica, *Kikinda*-Oluš-the new farm, *Klarafálva*-B and *Szóreg*-Homokbánya (pl. 91).⁶ None of those cemeteries was associated with a church, and they are all located in the northwestern part of the Banat. Two other cemeteries (possibly three if we take into consideration the one at *Tiszasziget*),—*Frumușeni*-Hadă Island, on Mureș and at *Rábé*-Anka Sziget—have been found on islands in the middle of the rivers Mureș and in old flooded area between the rivers Mureș and Tisza. Eighteen further cemeteries are located either on top or at the foot of a hill.⁷ Most of them are in the eastern and southeastern parts of the Banat. At *Ilidia*-Cetate, the church is said to have been fortified, while near the church at *Ilidia*-Oblița, two dungeons and other stone buildings have been recorded. At *Vărădia* a monastery existed on Dealul Chiliilor. Two cemeteries were located inside prehistoric (Hallstatt) fortifications—*Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă and *Duplijaja*-Grad. Three other cemeteries were inside settlements: *Remetea Mare*-Gomila lui Pituț, *Gornea*-Zomonița and Țărmuri. The cemetery excavated in *Arača* seems to have been a parish church graveyard. Finally, a great number of cemeteries

Mokrin-Odaja humka and *Ladičiorbičeva* humka, *Mokrin*-Dilberova humka and *Košničiareva* humka, *Nerău*-mound near the Hunca Mare and Hunca Mare, *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă, *Novi Kneževac*-Bajičeva humka, *Omolica*, *Ostojičevo*-Čiričeva humka, *Taraș*-Seliște, *Teremia Mare*, *Tomnatic*-Kleinhügel, mound to the west of Kleinhügel, mound to the east from Kleinhügel, *Köpfhügel*, *Vizejdia*-T.VI, VII, IV and III, *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara, *Banatska Topola*-Bálint-81 m, *Uivar*.

5 *Banatska Topola*, *Bašaid*-Gavričeva humka and Šljapičev breg, *Cenad*-Tanok (?), *Kikinda*-Galad Vincaid, *Novi Kneževac*-Bajičeva humka.

6 Another, isolated grave is known from *Pavliš*-Kudelište, in south Banat.

7 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii, *Ciclova Română*-Morminți, *Cuptoare*-Sfogea, *Duleu*-Deal Cucuiova, Dealul Țârni, *Gârbovăț*, *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus and Țârcheviște, *Ilidia*-Cetate and *Oblița*, *Moldova Veche*-Rât, *Petnic*-Dealul Țolii, *Sat Bătrân*-Dealul Bisericii, Sub Motolan, *Vărădia*-Deal Socolovăț and Dealul Chiliilor, *Vrani*, *Reșița*-Ogășele. The following cemeteries had a cemeterial church: *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii, *Duleu*-Deal Cucuiova, Dealul Țârni, *Gornea*-Țârcheviște, *Ilidia*-Cetate and *Oblița*, *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân, *Sat Bătrân*, *Vărădia*-Dealul Chiliilor.

(107) have been only signaled, without precise information either about location or the possible association with a church.⁸

While a significant number of cemeteries were sited next to rivers, most were not, perhaps because of the permanent threat of flooding. This may also explain why in the lowlands, cemeteries were often located on top of some prominent feature in the landscape—a hill or a mound. Not much can be said about the possible existence of barrows, given the poor state of publication regarding this matter. Thus, it is almost impossible to establish whether graves found in mounds are the original, or the secondary burials in what may otherwise have been prehistoric barrows.

The grave orientation was established for 841 graves found on 54 cemetery sites.⁹ For most, the lack of a cemetery plan makes it difficult, if not impossible

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- 8 *Aradul Nou-Bufniți, Banatska Palanka, Banatsko Arandjelovo*—the earth pit of the railway station, *Banatski Despotovac-Ciglana, Banatski Karlovac, Baziaș*—Monastery, *Beba Veche, Becicherecul Mare (Zrenjanin)*—unspecified location, *Botoș-Mlaka* and *Živančevića dolja, Brošteni, Bucova-Stadion, Cenad*—unspecified location, *Ciacova, Cheglevici, Cuvin-Grad, Cuvin*—unspecified location, *Denta, Deta-1967, Deszk-Ambrus J., B/E, D, Jankovich tanya, Olaj, Domașnea, Duleu*—north of the village, *Dumbrăvița, Duplișjaja*—north-west of Vinograd, *Făget, Felnac-1901, Felnac*—unknown location, *Foeni-Magheț, Frumușeni-Bizere* monastery, *Gherman, Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu, Ogașul lui Senti, Jimbolia, Jupa, Kikinda-P.K.* Banat-tovilište and *Oluș, Kiszombor-B, E, F*—south of the village and Nagyszentmiklós Street, *Kláralfalva-Faragó, Kübekhaza-Újtelep* and unspecified location, *Lokve, Majdan-1895, Mokrin-Perjanica, Mokrin*—unspecified location, *Nerău, Novi Kneževac*—possession of the grof Béla Talliján, *Orešac, Orșova*—four locations, *Ostojičevo*—in the draining area by the Tisza river, as well as at Bunker kod krsta, *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* or *Ţiglărie, Pančevo*—in the town's environs, *Pančevo-Ţiglăria nouă, Periam-Régiposta Str.* and *Sánchalom, Pietra Ilișovei, Poiana Mărului-Poiana Prisăcii, Pojejena-Șușca, Releu tv* and “Sub Deal,” *Rábé*—railway station (1912), *Răcășdia, Sasca Montană, Satchinez, Săcălaz, Sânpetru German*—two locations, *Sânnicolau Mare, Sichevita, Szóreg*—Oil refinery and Cathedral, *Svinița, Teremia Mare, Timișoara*—unspecified 1910, *Timișoara*—a piece from the Museum of the Banat, *Timișoara-Pădurea Verde, Tiszaszentmiklós, Tiszasziget*—two locations, *Tomaševac, Tomnatic*—the brick factory, *Crna Bara-Prkos, Valea Bobvașnița, Vărădia*—19th and 20th-century museum acquisitions, *Vizejdia, Voiteni, Vrșac*—unspecified location, *Vrșac-Podvrșac, Vizi Str. 7*, unspecified location 1900, *Vrăniuf.*
- 9 *Arača-96, Banatsko Arandjelovo*—to the north-east from the railway station, summer of 1903–13 and June 16, 1903—one, *Berzovia-Pătruieni-12, Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija-8, Bucova Pusztá-T.II-one T.III-one and T.IV-4, Cenad*—Catholic Church-13, next to Catholic Church-5, *Caransebeș*—City centre-7 and Măhala-5, *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii-35, Ciclova Română-Morminți-24, Cuptoare-Sfogea-22, Dudeștii Vechi*—Dragomir's Mound-8, *Duplișjaja-Veliki Prokop-64, Ersig-27, Gornea-Ţărcheviște-46, Ţărmuri-one, Căunița de Sus-59* and *Pod Păzăriște-7, Hodoni-Pocioroane-17, Iliđia-Cetate-29* and *Oblița-8, Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica-8, Jupa*—Sector Ţigănești-5, *Kikinda-P.K.* Banat-tovilište—one, *Oluș farm-40* and *Vešalo-6, Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu spini-one, Mehadia-Zidină-10, Mokrin*—unspecified location—one, *Nikolinđi-12, Novo*

to verify the published information. In fact, even in those cases where cemetery plans have been published there is sometimes contradiction between the information in the archaeological report, and the orientation indicated on the cemetery plan. Most authors assume that a west-east orientation (with slight deviations to the north or to the south) is typically Christian. Any other grave orientation—north-south, east-west, or south-north—is regarded as non-Christian. In reality, the evidence of the excavated cemeteries shows that individuals presumably originating in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea were buried within one and the same cemetery. Other graves were found often next to the church, despite a conspicuously different grave orientation (north-south, south-north, east-west). It is of course possible to interpret that situation as evidence of the survival within local communities of certain pre-Christian, pagan practices. Be as it may, isolated graves with an orientation completely different from that of the majority of graves within the cemetery are also known from other regions—northern Serbia (*Boljetin*),¹⁰ northwestern (*Moftinul Mic*)¹¹ and western Romania (*Sălacea*¹², *Șiclău*¹³). Such graves have often been interpreted in association with Turkic populations from the region north of the Black Sea, whether they were found in Moldova (*Corjova*)¹⁴ or Slovakia (*Bánov*,¹⁵ *Šindolka*¹⁶). The east-west orientation was recorded in four cemeteries, for a total of 16 graves.¹⁷ By far more common is the west-east orientation, which was recorded in 46 cemeteries for a total of 494 graves.¹⁸

Miloševo-Izlaz-6, *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân-24, *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Ciglana-2 and *Donjovaroška Ciglana*-8, *Pojejena*-Nucet-9, *Rábé*-Anka Sziget-3, *Reșița*-Ogășele-31, *Sânpetru German*-one, *Sečani*-Atar C-24, *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004–13, *Szőreg*-Homokbánya-41, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă-34, *Taraș*-Seliște-3, *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A.-one, *Crna Bara*-Prkos-10, *Uivar*-2, *Vrșac*-Vizi Str. 7-one, *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara-9, *Timișoara*-Cioreni-18, *Voiteni*-7.

10 Ercegović-Pavlović (1982/1983), fig. 3.

11 Cosma (2001), p. 244.

12 Cosma (2001), p. 250.

13 Cosma (2001), p. 254.

14 Spinei (1985), pp. III, 197, fig. 25/2.

15 Točík (1968), p. 16, fig. 5/6.

16 Fusek (1998), pp. 74, 76, fig. 4/F112.

17 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-north-east from the railway station-June 16, 1903-one, *Mokrin*-one and *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân-grave 34. Except *Obreja*, one cannot completely trust the published information regarding the orientation of those graves, which may very well have been recorded wrongly (and may thus have been west-east).

18 *Arača*-43, *Kikinda*-Oluš farm-40, *Gornea*-Țârcheviște-32, *Ilidia*-Cetate-29, *Oblița*-9, *Timișoara*-Cioreni-10+16—according to the text, but according to the illustration, for the graves 1–20, only 9 of them present a west-east orientation, *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân-23, *Sečanj*-Atar C-22, *Cuptoare*-Sfogea-22, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă-19, *Ciclova Română*-Morminți-17,

The north-south orientation was recorded in seven cemeteries for a total of 13 graves.¹⁹ While the south-north orientation is documented for only one grave in *Arača*, the northwest-southeast orientation appears in 19 cemeteries for a total of 149 graves.²⁰ Similarly, the southwest-northeast orientation appears in 17 cemeteries for a total of 203 graves,²¹ but the opposite (north-east-southwest) orientation only in two graves from two different cemeteries (*Bucova Puszta*-barrow II and *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A.).

As already mentioned, most Romanian scholars treat the orientation of the graves as an indication of religious affiliation, if not beliefs. In particular, the west-east orientation (with the head to the west), is regarded as a peremptory proof that those buried with such an orientation were Christians. Needless to say, this is a completely flawed line of reasoning, given that the west-east orientation is also found in the Carpathian Basin with burials including parts of horse skeletons, horse gear, or weapons—none of which corresponds with

Hodoni-Pocioroane-16, *Omolica*-16, *Cenad*-Catholic Church-15, *Berzovia*-Pătruieni-12, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-II, *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus-10, *Reșița*-Ogășele-10, *Mehadia*-Zidină-10, *Crna Bara*-Prkos-10, *Pojejena*-Nucet-9, *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara-9, *Bočar*-Budžak-ekonomija-8, *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica-8, *Pančevo*-Donjovaroška Cigłana-4, *Gornea*-Pod Păzăriște-7, *Kikinda*-Vešalo-6, *Nikolinci*-6, *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă-8, *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz-6, *Caransebeș*-Măhala-5, *Cenad*-close to the Roman-Catholic Church-5, *Caransebeș*-City centre-8, *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești-3, *Ersig*-3, *Dupljaja*-Veliki Prokop-one, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III-one, T.IV-4, *Gornea*-Țărmuri-one, *Moldova Veche*-Ogașul cu Spini-one, *Sânpetru German*-one, *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004-13, *Taraș*-Seliște-one, *Vršac*-Vizi Str. 7-one, *Voiteni*-one. The graves from *Timișoara*-Cioreni marked with letters cannot be considered with any degree of certainty as oriented west-east, as the situation on the plan is radically different from that described in the archaeological report. The same situation can be observed in the case of the cemetery from *Szóreg*-Homokbánya, for which the graves have been marked according to the plan (rather than the text). Graves with such orientation were also mentioned at *Idvor* (5).

- 19 *Arača*-two, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-3, *Rábé*-Anka Sziget-3, *Szóreg*-Homokbánya-two, *Uivar*-2, *Gornea*-Țărcheviște-one, *Nikolinci*-one, *Reșița*-Ogășele-one.
- 20 *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus-47, *Szóreg*-Homokbánya-38, *Gornea*-Țărcheviște-13, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-II, *Voiteni*-2+4 oriented and published westnorthwest-eastsoutheast, *Ciclova Română*-Morminți-5, *Timișoara*-Cioreni-5, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mărviță-4, *Pančevo*-Donjovaroška Cigłana-4, *Ersig*-3, *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Cigłana-2, *Taraș*-Seliște-2, *Cenad*-Catholic Church-2, *Hodoni*-Pocioroane-one, *Kikinda*-P.K. Banat-toviliște-one, *Nicolinci*-one, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod-one, *Reșița*-Ogășele-one.
- 21 *Arača*-50, *Dupljaja*-Veliki Prokop-63, *Ersig*-21, *Reșița*-Ogășele-19, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mărviță-11, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-10, *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound-8, *Nikolinci*-4, *Timișoara*-Cioreni-4, *Ciclova Română*-Morminți-2, *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus-2, *Sečanj*-Atar C-2, *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești-2, *Cenad*-Catholic Church-2, *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă-2, *Idvor*-one, *Szóreg*-Homokbánya-one.

what the same Romanian scholars would assume that was typical for Christian burials. Moreover, the same orientation is found with burials of nomads in the steppe lands to the north and north-west from the Black Sea, which are not known to have been Christianized until a much later time.²² For the period (10th–14th centuries) and the region under consideration (the Banat), this latter issue is one of great importance: when was Christianity adopted, and when were the old burial customs abandoned? There is in fact very little knowledge of the pre-Christian practices in the area, as much of what we know about the religious beliefs of people living in the Banat in the 10th century comes from much later sources written at a distance of one or two centuries, at the very least. One should also account for the possibility of groups of different religious beliefs moving into the area and co-existing for a while. Under such circumstances, any attempt to treat the archaeological evidence as an indication of a more or less uniformly Christian population is misguided. Even if we were to accept (as many Romanian scholars would like us to do) that the vast majority of the population in the medieval Banat was Christian, there are serious questions that remain unanswered: how were canonically Christian practices enforced in an area devoid of a widespread church organization? If not coerced to do so, why would people (of whatever ethnic background) abandon their pre-Christian beliefs? What pre-Christian practices survive after the “official” conversion to Christianity, and in what form? In this context, the west-east grave orientation cannot, in any way, be treated as an indication of a Christian population. It should be noted that the west-east orientation is also practiced by populations originating in the steppe lands to the north of the Black Sea settled in the Banat during the 10th century. The grave orientation cannot be a criterion for distinguishing between Christian and pagan graves, or for identifying such populations in the medieval Banat. Moreover, the existence of “abnormal” grave orientations (such as north-south or east-west) in predominantly and clearly Christian cemeteries (some of which are associated with churches) raises further questions about the interpretation of the grave orientation in terms of a primarily Christian burial rite. At any rate, the situation appears to be much more complex than previously expected.

Within the entire Carpathian Basin, the grave orientations most frequently encountered are west-east, southwest-northeast, and northwest-southeast. All three appear in all types of cemeteries and variations from the west-east axis have often been interpreted in terms of the seasonal variation of the time

22 Khalikova (1971), p. 178; Spinei (1985), p. 197, fig. 25/4, 5.

of burial.²³ Most other orientations are rare, and have therefore not been explained in any satisfying way. It is worth mentioning at this point that the grave orientation has also been used as an argument for population continuity. Thus, the earliest graves from the *Nikolinci* cemetery, especially those with coffins or stretchers, those with evidence of meat offering, knives, beads, or even ceramic containers, have been interpreted as “remnants” of the population of the Late Avar Khaganate, or even of Sarmatians or Bulgars from the Volga region.²⁴ It is important to note the fact that such artifacts are not sufficient to support a precise ethnical attribution.

The shape of the burial pit, which was occasionally “purified” by means of burning, and the existence of any above-the-ground marking of the tomb were aspects directly depending upon the wishes of the family, or, in the absence of any family members, of the persons in charge with the burial. *Graves in simple pits* display the widest variety of forms. The shape of the pit depended upon the intention of the one(s) digging it, the soil into which it was dug, the manner in which the corpse was laid down in the pit, and the number and size of grave furnishing. For medieval Banat, the shape of the burial pit is known for only 155 graves discovered in 12 cemeteries. Among them, no less than 18 different shapes have been noted. Rectangular pits with straight or rounded corners have been recorded for a total of 87 graves in 11 cemeteries.²⁵ Only a few have produced gender- or age-specific artifacts:²⁶ 17 graves from 8 cemeteries

23 The variations from the west-east axis have been the subject of many studies. Most scholars have adopted a “functionalist” approach in that they explained those variations in terms of different seasonal circumstances of the burial itself, i.e., as variations in the position of the sun (according to which the west-east axis was presumably established). Thus, Mária Rejholcová (1995) believes that graves with a west-east orientation were dug in early spring or autumn, while those with a west-south-west to east-north-east orientation were dug in summer or late spring. Similarly, those with a southwest-northeast orientation were dug in the summers, and those with a west-north-west to east-south-east orientation were dug at some point between late autumn and spring. The northwest-southeast orientation is an indication of winter burial. There is no explanations for other recorded variations.

24 Živković (1997), pp. 145–146.

25 *Gornea-Căunița* de Sus-38 graves (3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 23, 29, 31, 34, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 50, 51, 53, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, and 65), *Szőreg-Homokbánya*-15 graves (8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27, 31, 35, 33, 42, and 38), *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004–12 graves (1–12), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți-7 graves (1, 5, 6, 8, 13, 18, and 19), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-3 graves (1, 2, and 7), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân-3 graves (34, as well as, perhaps, 32 and 33), *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești-3 graves (3, 5, and 6), *Nikolinci*-3 graves (3, 7, and 9), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane-one grave (13), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir’s Mound-one grave (1/2000), *Voiteni*-one grave (6).

26 For the few available anthropological determinations see chapter 3.

may have belonged to children or teenagers (one of them is a double burial).²⁷ Another 11 graves from three cemeteries may be interpreted as female burials,²⁸ while only two graves from one and the same cemetery may be regarded as male burials.²⁹ There seems to be no consistent correlation between the shape of the grave pit, on one hand, and age or gender, on the other hand. As a matter of fact, rectangular grave pits are common in the whole of the Carpathian Basin and do not appear to be associated with any particular funerary practices. Nor do they seem to be restricted to any chronological interval. Pits with rounded short sides have been documented in 25 cases known from four cemeteries.³⁰ In ten cases, those appear to have been child burials.³¹ Only grave 52 from the *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* cemetery may be attributed to a male. Such grave pits have been found in Hungary in *Sered-1*,³² *Szalbocs*,³³ and *Majs*,³⁴ in Crișana at *Biharia*,³⁵ in the north-western Black Sea region at *Holmskoe*,³⁶ in Slovakia at *Nitra-Šindolka*,³⁷ as well as in Walachia, in *Izvoru*.³⁸ Those, and other analogies, are dated to different periods, although it seems that this type of pit shape appears more often between the 10th and the 12th century. Nine graves from six different cemeteries in the Banat had pits with only one rounded, shorter side.³⁹ Most of those graves were child (two cases from two different

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- 27 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 4, 5, 10, 11, 15, 32, 50, and 51), *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (graves 2, 4 a, b and 5), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 2), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 1), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 5), *Nikolinci* (grave 9), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 34) *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 42).
- 28 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 11, 14, 15, 18, 20, 31, 35, and 33), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 12 and 44) and *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 13).
- 29 *Nikolinci* (graves 3 and 7).
- 30 *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 22, 23, and 24), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 6, 16, 19, 17, 20, 22, 27, 36, 52, and 61), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (graves 8, and perhaps also 27 and 30), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (grave 2/(2001).
- 31 *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 2, 9, 7, 12, and 16), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 6, 16, 22, and 61), and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 27).
- 32 Točík (1968), p. 46, fig. 17.
- 33 Kovács (1994), p. 71, fig. 20/grave 321, etc.
- 34 Kiss (1983), p. 79, fig. 52, grave 67.
- 35 Cosma (2001), p. 191, pl. 3.
- 36 Spinei (1985), p. 197, fig. 25/6.
- 37 Fusek (1998), p. 79, fig. 7/F254, etc.
- 38 Mitrea (1989), pp. 148, 149, fig. 5/grave 15.
- 39 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 56 and 57), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 17 and 18), *Voiteni* (graves 2 and 3), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (grave 3/2001), *Nikolinci* (grave 12) and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 23).

cemeteries)⁴⁰ or male burials (two cases from two different cemeteries).⁴¹ The rest of the graves could not be classified based on gender and age.

In general, this type of pits is relatively scarce. Analogies can be drawn with the cemeteries from *Szalbocs*,⁴² *Majs*,⁴³ *Nitra-Šindolka*,⁴⁴ *Primorskoe*,⁴⁵ *Izvoru*,⁴⁶ and *Obârșia*.⁴⁷ The earliest analogies are dated to the 8th, while the latest are dated to the 13th century. Oval pits are attested in six cemeteries (seven graves),⁴⁸ out of which only the skeletons from *Szőreg*-Homokbánya and *Nikolinci* were anthropologically determined. The former two us, grave 7 are female and teenager, respectively, while the skeleton from skeleton belonged to a female, grave 32 to a teenager and grave 1 from *Nikolinci* turned out to be that of a, belonged to a male. Oval grave pits are known in different necropolises, but they appear especially in 10th to 11th-century cemeteries, such in *Szalbocs*-grave 51⁴⁹ and *Szereď* 1-grave 14/53⁵⁰ (Hungary). Pits with long oblique sides, and rounded short sides have been found in 12 cases from five different cemeteries.⁵¹ Graves 12 in *Szőreg*-Homokbánya and 36 from *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii contained child skeletons were found, no. 40 from *Szőreg*-Homokbánya had a female skeleton, and nos. 22 and 43 from *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, as well as 8 and 10 from *Nikolinci* had male skeletons. Such a pit shape is documented in 10th century cemeteries, such as *Kistokaj*,⁵² *Szalbocs*,⁵³ *Obârșia*,⁵⁴ and *Partoș*.⁵⁵ Pits with with long oblique, but not parallel sides, a straight, and a rounded short side have been recorded only in two graves from two different

40 *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 18) and *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 23).

41 *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 17) and *Nikolinci* (grave 12).

42 Kovács (1994), fig. 20/grave 327, p. 73, fig. 21/grave 331, etc.

43 Kiss (1983), p. 81, fig. 53, grave 53.

44 Fusek (1998), p. 79, fig. 7/F288.

45 Spinei (1985), p. 198, fig. 26/1.

46 Mítrea (1989), pp. 200, 201, fig. 43/grave 261.

47 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 164, 166, fig. 3/7.

48 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 7 and 32), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 35), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (grave 21), *Nikolinci* (grave 1), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (grave 29), and *Voiteni* (grave 1).

49 Kovács (1994), fig. 6, grave 51.

50 Točík (1968), p. 46, fig. 17/3.

51 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 12, 43, 40, 22, and 29), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 25, 34, and 36), *Nikolinci* (graves 8 and 10), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (grave 20) and *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 4/2001).

52 Véghe (1991/1992), p. 90, pl. 17, grave 43.

53 Kovács (1994), p. 71, fig. 20, graves 324–5.

54 E.A.I.V.R III, (2000), pp. 212–213.

55 Munteanu (1980), pl. 1/grave 36.

cemeteries.⁵⁶ The grave in *Szőreg-Homokbánya* was a child burial. This type of pit appears mostly in 10th-century cemeteries such as *Kistokaj*.⁵⁷

Grave 25 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya* had a pit with long parallel sides, rounded short sides, and niche to secure the stretcher. The skeleton in that grave was that of a male. Similar grave pits are known from *Obârșia*⁵⁸ (Romania), *Malé Kosihy*⁵⁹ (Slovakia), and at *Szalbocs*-grave 321⁶⁰ (Hungary). It appears that this type of pit shape is typical for the can be dated from in the 8th and 9th centuries. The only pit with long sides parallel but curved to the left is known for grave 4 in *Jupa*-Sector *Țigănești*. Only one analogy is known from *Čakajovce* (Slovakia).⁶¹ Grave 37 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*—a male burial—has two steps on each one of the long sides. A grave with a step is also attested at *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*. Pits with steps along the long sides are known from 10th-century cemeteries in Slovakia—*Bánov*⁶² and *Prša*.⁶³ Similarly, most analogies for grave 30 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (a child grave), with its pit with long sides curved at the level of the shoulders are known from Slovakia.⁶⁴ No analogies are known for grave 5 in the same cemetery (a male burial), with a pit with long sides curved inside, or for grave 14 in *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (a female burial), the pit grave of which has only one side curved with ripples. The same is true for grave 2 in *Nikolinci* with long sides curved towards the south.

Grave 4 from the *Nikolinci* cemetery (a female burial) had the short side next to the skeleton's skull straight, and the opposite one curved. Similar pit shapes are known from 10th-century cemeteries in Hungary (*Kistokaj*)⁶⁵ and Slovakia (*Chotín*),⁶⁶ but also from the 8th- to early 9th-century cemetery excavated in *Izvoru* (Walachia).⁶⁷ Another male burial in *Nikolinci* (grave 6) had a pit with the short side next to the skeleton's skull rounded, and the opposite one straight, much like graves from 10th-century cemeteries in Slovakia (*Dolný Peter*)⁶⁸ and Hungary (*Kistokaj*).⁶⁹ No analogies are known for the pit of grave 11

56 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 6), *Voiteni* (grave 4).

57 Végh (1991/1992), p. 88, pl. 15, grave 34.

58 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 164, 166, fig. 3/17–18; E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), pp. 212–213.

59 Hanuliak (1994), pp. 18, 125 and 177, pl. XXVIII A, pp. 129, 191, pl. LII A.

60 Kovács (1994), p. 71, fig. 20, grave 321.

61 Rejholcová (1995), pp. 44, 224, pl. CXXXIV.2.

62 Točík (1968), p. 16, fig. 5/3, 6.

63 Točík (1968), p. 39, fig. 14/4.

64 Hanuliak (1990), p. 152, fig. 2/3c.

65 Végh (1991/1992), pl. 13, grave 29.

66 Točík (1968), p. 31, fig. 12/grave 83.

67 Mitrea (1989), pp. 196, 198, fig. 41/grave 250.

68 Točík (1968), p. 23, fig. 9/2.

69 Végh (1991/1992), p. 80, pl. 7, grave 11.

in *Nikolinci* (a male burial), with its long sides curved to the south, the short side next to the skeleton's skull rounded, and the opposite in a right angle. Nor are any parallels known for the child burial in *Voiteni* (grave 7), the grave pit of which had oblique long sides, and rounded short sides of different lengths.

Given the small number of cases, it is impossible to assess the statistical significance of any shape within any cemetery. However, cemeteries discovered in the highlands of the Banat seem to display only a limited number of shapes (no more than five). The greatest variety among them has been noted for *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, with four shape types. While rectangular grave pits are common to all cemeteries in this group and is well represented in most of them, pits with one or both short sides curved appear mostly in the highlands.

All other shape types are known only from cemeteries in the lowlands. Judging by the existing evidence, there does not seem to be any correlation between the pit shape and specific burial rituals, although the fact that different shapes appear within one and the same cemetery suggests a ritual significance.

Four graves excavated in *Ilidia-Oblița* and *Arača* had masonry-built cists.⁷⁰ Cist graves are known from several sites in northern Serbia-*Niš* (11th–12th centuries),⁷¹ *Čezava* (11th–13th centuries),⁷² *Boljetin* (12th and 15th centuries),⁷³ and *Braničevo-Svetinja*.⁷⁴ Similar graves have also been discovered in the lands to the north from the river Mureș, for example in *Pâncota-Cetatea turcească* (10th–12th centuries).⁷⁵ *Crypt graves* have been found especially in the cemeteries excavated in *Caransebeș*-City centre and *Arača*. Two of them may be dated with some degree of certainty to the 15th century. In *Caransebeș*, the crypt was built in the middle of the church's nave, while the graves in *Arača* were within an abbey church.⁷⁶ North of the river Mureș, crypt graves also appear within parish churches, as in *Tauț-Cetate* (15th century).⁷⁷ A special case is the child grave found within the wall of the "Small Church" in *Lugoș*. The grave found inside the abbey church in *Arača*, on the southern side, next to crypt 3, was a multiple burial (the number of skeletons remains unknown).⁷⁸

70 Stanojev (2004), nos. I, v, and VII.

71 Ercegović-Pavlović (1976), pp. 83–100.

72 Marjanović-Vujović (1982/1983), p. 124, fig. 1.

73 Ercegović-Pavlović (1982/1983), p. 228, fig. 3.

74 Popović, Ivanišević (1988), p. 165, fig. 35.

75 Marcu-Istrate et al. (2003), pp. 226–227.

76 Stanojev (2004), nos. II, III, IV, VII and IX.

77 Hurezan et al. (2003a), pp. 316–318.

78 Grave VIII in Stanojev (2004).

Several pits contained stones or bricks, arranged either around the skull the skeleton (e.g., *Ilidia-Oblița*, graves 22 and 23), sometimes for a reburied skull (e.g., *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 312), or next to the entire skeleton (*Gornea-Țârcheviște*, graves 1 and 2, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*-grave 24, *Sečanj-Atar C*-graves 26, 29, 30, 31, and 32). In grave 11 from *Nikolinci* a large stone was apparently placed directly over the abdomen of the deceased. Another interesting case is the brick with an incised cross that was found inside a grave discovered in the Bizere monastery near *Frumușeni*.⁷⁹ Grave pits paved with bricks are also known from the cemetery of the monastery in *Baziaș* (graves 3, 6, and 7).⁸⁰

With the exception of *Nikolinci* and *Frumușeni*, all cemeteries with such furnishings are located in the highlands of southeastern Banat. Similar furnishings are known from cemeteries without churches (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*), as well as church graveyards, such as those excavated in *Ilidia-Oblița*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*.⁸¹ Although no particular rule can be discerned, and the exact function of stone furnishings remains unknown, it is worth noting that stones around the skull appear especially in graves of monks, such as those found in the graveyard of the *Cernica*-Monastery.⁸² Stones have also been found on top of the grave, as in grave 1 in *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Sichevița-Cracul cu Morminți*, *Duplijaja-Grad* and 400 m to the north from *Veliki Prokop*, as well as grave 1 in *Bočar-Budžak ekonomija*.⁸³ (Tomb) stones with incised crosses appear in church graveyards, such as those excavated in *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 1) and *Sat Bătrân-Dealul Bisericii*. Only two stone crosses are known, one from *Valea Ravensca*, the other from *Socol-Kruglița de Mijloc*.

Equally rare is the practice of “purifying” the grave pit by burning, presumably prior to burial. This practice is documented so far only on three sites—*Kiszombor-B*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea* and *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, but it also appears in crypt VII from *Arača*. In the Lower Danube region, this custom has been recorded in the cemetery from *Obârșia*.⁸⁴

In most graves, the skeleton was deposited directly on the ground. Coffins have been documented in 36 cases (pl. 92) from ten different cemeteries, both

79 Hurezan et al. (2003b), p. 128.

80 Țeicu, Rancu (2002), p. 49.

81 Because only a small part of the cemetery in *Nikolinci* has been excavated, it remains unknown whether or not it had a church.

82 Cantacuzino (1979), pp. 359–372; Cantacuzino, Trohani (1981), p. 224, fig. 11, pp. 231, 232.

83 It remains unclear whether the stone found with grave 1 in *Bočar* was on top or inside the tomb.

84 E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), p. 213.

from the low- and from the highlands.⁸⁵ There is no cluster of graves with coffins in any cemetery. Coffins were used both for children (e.g., graves 1 and 9 in *Cenad*-Catholic Church) and (a female in grave 7 from *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, two males in graves 21 and 37 from that same cemetery). The use of coffins for all age categories within one and the same cemetery is documented in *Arača*. Earlier graves with coffins or wooden boxes have been linked to burial customs of Bulghar population from the Middle Volga region, the presence of which in the Banat is attested in the written sources.⁸⁶ Those graves typically have no grave goods, or produced artifacts interpreted as “pagan.” On the other hand, while 10th to 11th-century burials with coffin or stretchers (in most cases, only wooden frames surrounding the skeletons have been identified) may be attributed to cultural influences from the Middle Volga region, it is much more difficult to accept the same explanation for burials dated between the 13th and the 14th century. Two graves stand out among the others in terms of the perishable grave furnishings. The deceased in grave 396 in *Kiszombor*-B was apparently laid down on a *reed bed*, while the male in grave 25 of the *Szőreg*-Homokbánya cemetery was buried laid down on three wood beams. Similar burials are known from western Walachia (*Obârșia*) and Hungary (*Felgyő*).⁸⁷ A great number of skeletons were laid in supine position, with different arrangements of arms and legs. The position of the arms of inhumations in supine position has received little attention from archaeologists, who regard it as of no particular value for dating cemeteries and individual graves. However, a comparative statistical analysis by regions and grave groups may provide much useful information regarding the developments of burial customs in distinct areas. I will focus here on the ratio between different arrangements of the arms. The chronology of their usage will be discussed in a different chapter.

Five basic arrangements may be distinguished: arms placed alongside the body; alongside the body, but with hands on the upper ends of the femurs; arms bent with hands on the abdomen; arms bent with hand on the chest; and arms bent with hands on the neck, the collar bones, or the shoulders (pl. 93). There are also combinations of those basic types.

85 The cemeteries from *Arača*-10 graves (4, 18, 20, 24, 30, 47, 48, 54, 57, and 65) to which may be added grave VIII, which produced nails; *Cenad*-Catholic Church-11 graves (1, 3, and 4–13), *Nikolinci* (graves 3, 9, 10, 11, and 12), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya-3 graves (7, 21, and 37), *Tomnatic*-Kleinhügel-2 graves (1 and 2), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți-2 graves (7 and 13), *Kiszombor*-B-one grave (286), *Reșița*-Ogășele-one grave (30), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă (21), *Mehadia*-Zidină (an unknown number of graves).

86 Khalikova (1971), p. 179.

87 Bálint (1991), p. 85.

Arms placed alongside the body (position A) appear in 128 graves from 23 different cemeteries, of which the vast majority are from the lowlands. This type of arm arrangement is not predominant in any cemetery, although it appears in a significant number of graves in *Kikinda-Oluš* farm and *Arača*. The arrangement is known from cemeteries without churches, in the highlands,⁸⁸ five cemeteries on hilltops, with ten graves,⁸⁹ three cemeteries in sand dunes with 58 graves,⁹⁰ inside a prehistoric (one cemetery in a Hallstatt-age) fortification, with four graves⁹¹ and two cemeteries with unknown locations containing four graves.⁹² Type A was also mentioned for the graves found at *Dumbrăvița*. The cemeteries graves with such arm arrangement discovered in from *Arača*, *Cenad*-Catholic Church, *Omolica*-Preko Slatine, and *Gornea-Țărcheviște* were in had a church graveyards. There is no visible connection between the positions of the arms for type A and the location of the cemeteries.

In 48 cases, the skeletal material from those graves has been sexed and aged: of burials in the supine position with the arms placed beside the body have been anthropologically determined. Added to this are the graves differentiated by gender based on the funerary inventory found in the pit.

Thus, 11 graves were identified as belonging to children,⁹³ 19 are female graves, in five cemeteries,⁹⁴ and 18 are male burials from four different cemeteries.⁹⁵ Equally interesting is the distribution of grave orientations for skeletons with arms alongside the body: 83 cases of a west-east orientation;⁹⁶

88 *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 12, 20, 21, possibly 23, and 28) and *Căunița de Sus* (graves 5, 15, 16, and 34), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 29, 39, and 51).

89 *Kikinda-Veșalo* (graves 1, 3, 11, 19, and 21), *Taraș-Seliște* (graves 2 and 3), *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.I (grave 1), T.VI (grave 1), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 3).

90 *Kikinda-Oluš* farm (graves 1–40), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 30, 33, 35, 37, 42, and 43), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (graves 4–6).

91 *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 11, 12, 16, and 21).

92 *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu* (graves 6, 7, and 24) and *Kikinda*-P.K. Banat-toviliște (grave 1).

93 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 6, 15, 16, and 34), *Cenad*-Catholic Church (graves 1 and 2), *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004 (grave 5), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 30), *Voiteni* (grave 7), *Arača* (grave 16) and *Țimișoara-Ciorenii* (grave 19; see Muntean [2000], pp. 535–553).

94 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 7, 11, 14, 15, 18, 20, 33, and 35), *Arača* (graves 49, 62, 69, 71, and 73), *Nikolinci* (graves 2, 5, and 9), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (graves 5 and 6), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 5).

95 *Arača* (graves 7, 11, 14, 22, 24, 27, 38, 42, 52, 77), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 21, 22, 37, and 43), *Nikolinci* (graves 1, 6, and 7), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 3).

96 *Kikinda-Oluš* farm (graves 1–40), *Arača* (graves 11, 22, 38, 42, 49, 52, 60, 69, and 95), *Kikinda-Veșalo* (graves 1, 3, 9, 11, and 19), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (graves 1, 2, 4, and 5), *Șopotu Vechi* (graves 11, 16, 21, and 42), *Cenad*-Catholic Church (graves 1, 2, and 3), *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 12, 20, and 28), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 29, 39, and 51), *Jazovo-Proleterska*

with a northwest-southeast orientation recorded for 29 graves in nine cemeteries;⁹⁷ 13 cases with a southwest-northeast orientation;⁹⁸ and only one case with a north-south orientation.⁹⁹

This particular arm arrangement was common in the 10th century in the Carpathian Basin, and is documented in *Kistokaj*,¹⁰⁰ *Tiszaeszlár*,¹⁰¹ *Sarkadkeresztúr*,¹⁰² *Vörs*,¹⁰³ *Majs-Udvari Rétek*,¹⁰⁴ *Eperjes-Takács-tábla*,¹⁰⁵ *Szered*, *Komáromszentpéter*, *Szentes-derekegyházi oldal*,¹⁰⁶ *Nitra-Šindolka*,¹⁰⁷ *Bánov*,¹⁰⁸ *Červeník*,¹⁰⁹ *Dolný Peter*,¹¹⁰ *Chotín*,¹¹¹ *Sered* II,¹¹² and *Vojnice*.¹¹³ It is less common in the Balkan Peninsula, where it appears in later cemeteries, such as those excavated in Serbia in *Doničko Brdo* (12th–15th centuries),¹¹⁴ *Veliki Gradac* (11th–13th centuries),¹¹⁵ *Niš* (11th–12th centuries),¹¹⁶ *Sremska Mitrovica* (11th–12th centuries),¹¹⁷ *Mačvanska Mitrovica* (11th–12th centuries),¹¹⁸

Ulica (graves 4, 5, and 6), *Nikolinci* (graves 5, 6 and 7), *Taraš-Selište* (grave 2), *Voiteni* (grave 5), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 3), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 34), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 3).

- 97 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 30, 33, 35, 37, and 42), *Voiteni* (graves 1–4 and 7), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 6, 15, and 16), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 21 and 23), *Kikinda-P.K. Banat-tovilište* (grave 1), *Nikolinci* (grave 1), *Șopotu Vechi-Márvilă* (grave 17), *Taraš-Selište* (grave 3), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave 19).
- 98 *Arača* (graves 7, 14, 16, 24, 26, 27, 44, 61, 62, 71, 73, and 77), *Nikolinci* (grave 9).
- 99 *Nikolinci* (grave 2). In seven other cases, the orientation is unknown: *Divici* (graves 1–3), *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu* (graves 6, 7, and 24), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 43).
- 100 Végh (1991/1992), pp. 55–56, 84, pl. II, p. 85, pl. 12, p. 86, pl. 13, p. 88, pl. 15.
- 101 Csallány (1970), pp. 261, 264, fig. 3, pp. 265–266, fig. 5, pp. 267, 268, fig. 8.
- 102 Pál (1993), p. 497, pl. V/1.
- 103 Költő (1993), pp. 434, 439, fig. 1.
- 104 Kiss (1983), p. 85, fig. 54, pp. 90, 96, 99, fig. 56.
- 105 Bálint (1991), pp. 60, 61, 62, pl. XVI.
- 106 Bálint (1991), p. 68, pl. XX.
- 107 Fusek (1998), pp. 74, 75, fig. 3/F95, p. 77, fig. 5/F225, p. 78, fig. 6/F292.
- 108 Točík (1968), pp. 9, 11, fig. 3/1.
- 109 Točík (1968), pp. 18, 19, figs. 7, 3, 5, 6.
- 110 Točík (1968), pp. 22, 23, fig. 9/1, 3.
- 111 Točík (1968), pp. 28, 31, fig. 12/1.
- 112 Točík (1968), pp. 50, 51, fig. 18/2, 4 etc.
- 113 Točík (1968), p. 61, fig. 25/6.
- 114 Petrović (1962/1963), pp. 275–291.
- 115 Minić (1970), pp. 233–248.
- 116 Ercegović-Pavlović (1976), pp. 83–100.
- 117 Parović-Pešikan (1980), pp. 190–191.
- 118 Ercegović-Pavlović (1980), p. 22, Plan III, p. 26, Plan IV.

Vajuga-Pesak-II (11th–12th centuries),¹¹⁹ but also in the northern Dobruđja (e.g., *Isacceia*, 11th–12th centuries).¹²⁰ In the Balkans, this arm arrangement appears mostly in the in the Danube valley and only rarely farther to the south. In the lands to the east from the Carpathian Mountains, such burials have been found in *Tudora*, *Corjova*,¹²¹ *Selište*,¹²² and *Zărnești*.¹²³ In all those cases, the graves in question have been attributed to Turkic nomads. In earlier cemeteries, the arrangement is documented in cemeteries excavated in the Lower Danube region, for example, in *Izvoru*¹²⁴ and *Obârșia*.¹²⁵

In the Banat, 68 graves from 19 different cemeteries have skeletons with arms alongside the body, but hands placed on the upper ends of the femurs (position B).¹²⁶ Such cemeteries have been in the lowlands,¹²⁷ inside a prehistoric (Hallstatt-age) fortification (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*), on hilltops or river terraces,¹²⁸ sand dunes,¹²⁹ as well as in the highlands.¹³⁰ Six of those cemeteries are church graveyards.¹³¹

119 Premk, Popović, Bjelajac (1984), pp. 118–124.

120 Vasiliu (1984), pp. 127, 128.

121 Spinei (1985), pp. 111, 115, 197, fig. 25/1, 2.

122 Spinei (1985), pp. 116–117, 198, figs. 3, 5, 6.

123 Spinei (1985), pp. 118, 198, fig. 26/4.

124 Mitrea (1989), pp. 145–219.

125 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 163–188.

126 *Arača* (graves 4, 5, 10, 19, 33, 36, 46, 48, 50, 51, 59, 65, 74, 79, 81, 91, 93, and 97), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 29, 213, 232, 241, 262, 291, and 332), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 19, 41, 43, 52, and 65), *Hodoní-Pocioroane* (graves 1, 2, 7, 8, and 10), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 23, 25, 27, 32, and 40), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 5, 7, 31, and 32), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 19, 30, 37, and 40), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (graves 1, 2, and 5), *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 29, 35, and 36), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 1 and 6), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (graves 7 and 8), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (graves 1/2000, 2/2001), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 48 and 52), *Starčevo-Livade* (two graves), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (graves 2), *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 45), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 7), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 10), *Sečani-Atar C* (unknown number).

127 *Arača*, *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*, *Timișoara-Ciorenii*.

128 *Hodoní-Pocioroane*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound*.

129 *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*, *Szóreg-Homokbánya*.

130 *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Căunița de Sus*, *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Oblița*.

131 *Arača*, *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Ilidia-Cetate*, *Oblița*.

The sex and age of the skeleton has been established anthropologically only in a few cases: 7 graves are of children,¹³² 9 of females,¹³³ and 17 of males.¹³⁴ Graves with weapons and horse bones are commonly treated as male burials, while those lacking such features are automatically regarded as burials of females.¹³⁵

The arm arrangement with hands on the upper ends of the femurs was widely spread in medieval cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin (*Kistokaj*,¹³⁶ *Majs-Udvari Rétek*,¹³⁷ *Szalbocs*,¹³⁸ *Tiszabercel-Ráctemető*,¹³⁹ *Bánov*,¹⁴⁰ *Dvorníky*,¹⁴¹ *Červeník*,¹⁴² *Dolný Peter*,¹⁴³ *Sered II*,¹⁴⁴ and *Vojnice*¹⁴⁵) and the Balkan Peninsula (*Niš*,¹⁴⁶ *Lukovit-Mušat*,¹⁴⁷ *Vajuga-Pesak-II*,¹⁴⁸ *Brza Palanka*,¹⁴⁹ *Čezava*,¹⁵⁰

132 *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 1 and 7), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 23 and 32), *Arača* (grave 91), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 2), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 232).

133 *Arača* (graves 4 and 10), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 1 and 6), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves 8 and unknown number), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 2 and 10), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 40).

134 *Arača* (graves 5, 19, 33, 36, 46, 50, 51, 59, 74, 81, and 93), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 25 and 27), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 5), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 8), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 10) and *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 7).

135 Gáll (2004/2005), p. 382. In the absence of anthropological analyses such interpretations must be regarded with great suspicion. This also applies to graves found in the Banat, which have produced jewellery and dress accessories commonly viewed as female attributes (bracelets and earrings), e.g., graves 73 and 76 in *Deszk-D*, grave 1 in T.III from *Bucova Puszta*, grave 46 in *Kiszombor-E*, grave 2 in *Tiszasziget-Molnar A*, and grave 1 in *Tomnatic-the brick factory*.

136 Vég (1991/1992), pp. 55, 82, pl. 9/18, pp. 56, 85, pl. 12/25, p. 87, pl. 14/32, pp. 57, 90, pl. 17/43.

137 Kiss (1983), pp. 101, 103, fig. 57/369.

138 Kovács (1994), pp. 20, 23, fig. 4/15, pp. 28, 29, fig. 6/61, 71, pp. 30, 32, 33, fig. 7/90, 95, p. 34, etc.

139 Csallány (1970), pp. 272, 273, fig. 12.

140 Točík (1968), pp. 10, 11, fig. 3/3, pp. 15, 16, fig. 5/4.

141 Točík (1968), p. 25, fig. 10/3, 5, p. 130, pl. LXIV/2, 3, 4.

142 Točík (1968), pp. 17, 18, 19, fig. 7/2.

143 Točík (1968), pp. 22, 23, fig. 9/2.

144 Točík (1968), p. 56, fig. 21/2.

145 Točík (1968), pp. 58, 59, fig. 24/2, 6, p. 60.

146 Ercegović-Pavlović (1976), pp. 83–100.

147 Jovanović (1987), pp. 111–132.

148 Premk, Popović, Bjelajac (1984), pp. 118–124; Marjanović-Vujović (1986), pp. 184–237.

149 Ercegović-Pavlović, Minić (1984), pp. 171–174.

150 Marjanović-Vujović, (1982/1983), pp. 123–126.

Boljetin,¹⁵¹ *Braničevo-Svetinja*,¹⁵² *Deževo*,¹⁵³ and *Mačvanska Mitrovica*¹⁵⁴). In the Balkans, this type of arm arrangement appears on sites with artifacts most typical for the so-called Bjelo Brdo culture, mixed with those of South-Danubian tradition.

The orientation of the graves with arms alongside the body and hands on the upper ends of the femurs is as following: 32 graves from 10 cemeteries have a west-east orientation;¹⁵⁵ 14 graves from five cemeteries have a northwest-southeast orientation;¹⁵⁶ 16 graves have a southwest-northeast orientation;¹⁵⁷ and for six graves, the orientation is unknown.¹⁵⁸ It is important to note that in certain cemeteries (*Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, *Ilidia-Cetate*, *Oblița*, *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*) this type of arm arrangement appear with a single grave orientation. The exceptions are cemeteries without churches (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* and *Timișoara-Cioreni*).

The skeletons in at least 74 graves from 19 different cemeteries have the arms bent with hands placed on the abdomen (position C). Some cemeteries have been found in the low-,¹⁵⁹ other in the highlands.¹⁶⁰ One cemetery was located

151 Ercegović-Pavlović (1982/1983), p. 228, fig. 3.

152 Popović, Ivanišević (1988), p. 165, fig. 35.

153 Kalić, Popović (1985), pp. 115–149.

154 Ercegović-Pavlović (1980), p. 21, Plan III, pp. 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, Plan IV, p. 31, Plan IV.

155 *Arača* (graves 4, 10, 46, 50, 51, 59, 91, 93, and 97), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 1, 2, 7, 8, and 10), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 213, 232, 241, and 262), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 5, 7, 31, and 32), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (graves 1, 2, and 5), *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 29 and 36), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 1 and 6), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (grave 2), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 7), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 10).

156 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 19, 41, 43, 52, and 65), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 23, 25, 27, 32, and 40), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 48 and 52), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 40), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 8).

157 *Arača* (graves 5, 19, 33, 36, 48, 65, 74, 79, and 81), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 19, 30, and 37), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (graves 1/2000 and 2/2001), *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 45), and *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 7).

158 *Cuptoare-Sfogea-unknown* (graves 29, 291, and 332), *Ilidia-Oblița-unknown* (grave 35), *Starčevo-Livad* (two graves).

159 *Arača* (graves 45, 55, 67), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (grave 4), *Mehadia-Zidină*-unspecified number of graves, *Pojejena-Nucet* (grave 1), *Idvor*-unspecified number of graves, *Omolica*-unspecified number of graves, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Sečanj-Atar C*-unspecified number of graves.

160 *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 14, 23, 40, 52, 60, 62, 67, 68, 71, and 86), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 3, 4, 8, 14, 32, and 42), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 130–131, 173, 214, 260, 312, and 332), *Gornea-*

on a hilltop (*Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*), another in the ruins of a Roman site (*Caransebeș-Măhala*). Eleven cemeteries with this type of arm arrangement are church graveyards.¹⁶¹

There are three grave orientations most typical for this particular type of arm arrangement: west-east (67 graves in 16 cemeteries),¹⁶² southwest-northwest (5 graves from two cemeteries),¹⁶³ northwest-southeast (six graves from two cemeteries).¹⁶⁴ For eight other graves found in three different cemeteries the orientation is unknown.¹⁶⁵ The west-east orientation is typical for the cemeteries excavated in *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Mehadia-Zidină*, *Pojejena-Nucet*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Gornea-Țărcheviște*, *Ilidia-Cetate*, *Oblița*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* and *Caransebeș-Măhala*.

In four cemeteries, two different orientations have been recorded: southwest-northeast and west-east in *Arața* and *Reșița-Ogășele*, northwest-southeast and west-east in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*. In *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Arața* (two graves) and *Reșița-Ogășele* (three graves), body with this type of arm arrangement were aligned to the nearby church. By contrast, the graves found in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Arața* (one case) and *Reșița-Ogășele* (three cases) have an orientation different from that of the church. In *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, the church axis followed a west-south-west to east-north-east direction, while some graves (such as no. 25) have a west-north-west to east-south-east orientation, but no particular significance should be attached to this minor variation.

Căunița de Sus (graves 3, 8, 35, 36, and 57), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (graves 1, 14, 25, and 43), *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 11 and 44), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (graves 2 and 24), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 25), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 28).

161 *Arața*, *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Gornea-Țărcheviște*, *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Oblița*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Omolicea*, *Sečanj-Atar C.*

162 *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (graves 2, 8, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 29–34), *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (graves 1–13), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 14, 23, 40, 52, 60, 62, 67, and 71), *Mehadia-Zidină* (unknown number of graves), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 4, 14, and 42), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 2 and 12), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 214 and 260), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (graves 1 and 2), *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 11 and 44), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (grave 4), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 28), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 14), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 25), *Pojejena-Nucet* (grave 1), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 8).

163 *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 3, 8, and 32), *Arața* (graves 45 and 67).

164 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 3, 35, 36, and 57), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (graves 1 and 25).

165 *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 43), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 130, 131, 173, 312, and 332), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 68 and 86).

The number of graves with the arms bent and hands placed on the abdomen varies considerably from one cemetery to another. In church graveyards, burials with this arm arrangement typically appear either next to the apse or on the western side of the church, without any particular cluster.

The arrangement of arms bent with hands placed on the chest (position D) is known from at least 28 graves from 16 different cemeteries.¹⁶⁶ Most of them have a west-east orientation,¹⁶⁷ although both the southwest-northeast,¹⁶⁸ and the northwest-southeast orientations are documented.¹⁶⁹ Nine cemeteries with this particular arm arrangement are church graveyards.¹⁷⁰

Located in the low-hese graves were found in eight cemeteries located in a plain area,¹⁷¹ and highlands six cemeteries located in the hill area,¹⁷² and one cemetery on a mound (*Bucova Puszta-T.IV*). In *Caransebeș*-City centre and *Reșița-Ogășele* graves with this type of arm arrangement do not follow the orientation of the church. This may also be true for *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Oblița*. In *Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Arața* graves in which skeletons have arms bent with hands on the chest appear with two different orientations in each cemetery.

Arms bent with hands placed on the neck, the shoulders, or the collar bones (position E) have been documented in 44 graves from 14 cemeteries (pl. 94).¹⁷³

166 *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 8, 27, 30, 51, and 55), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (graves 1–4), *Cuptoare-Sfoega* (graves 8, 293, and 329), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 21, 30, and 48), *Arața* (graves 53 and 90), *Boçar-Budžak-ekonomija* (graves 4 and 8), *Caransebeș*-City centre-crypt 5 (graves 7 and 8), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (graves 17 and 29), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 16 and 24), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 28), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 25) and *Cetate* (grave 85), *Mehadia-Zidină*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Omolica*, and *Idvor*. The graves from the latter four cemeteries were not taken into account here, as they are discussed in the section dedicated to arms position C. However it is impossible to know precisely which skeleton had the arms in a C or in a D position.

167 *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (graves 1–4), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 30, 27, 51), *Boçar-Budžak-ekonomija* (graves 4, 8), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 16, 24), *Arața* (grave 90).

168 *Caransebeș*-City centre, crypt 5 (graves 7 and 8), *Arața* (grave 53), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 28).

169 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 30 and 48), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 55). Four graves have an unknown orientation: *Cuptoare-Sfoega* (graves 8, 293, and 329), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 8).

170 *Arața*, *Caransebeș*-City centre, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Ilidia-Oblița* and *Cetate*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Omolica*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, and *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*.

171 *Arața*, *Boçar-Budžak-ekonomija*, *Caransebeș*-City centre, *Idvor*, *Mehadia-Zidină*, *Omolica*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*.

172 *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Căunița de Sus*, *Ilidia-Oblița* and *Cetate*, *Reșița-Ogășele*.

173 *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 1, 3, 8, 11, 17, 45, 53, 54, and 80), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 6, 22, 24, 37/38, 50, and 53), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 5, 8, 13, 19, 21, and 23), *Gornea-Căunița*

All those cemetery sites are located within the present-day county of Caraș-Severin. Some are church graveyards, others have no churches. Some scholars believe that the meaning of the arms bent and hands on either the neck or the collar bones is protective, and that such practices are related to vampirism in the Slavic world.¹⁷⁴ Others maintain that this arm arrangement is typical for 11th-century Bogomil communities.¹⁷⁵

The majority (27 graves in 8 cemeteries) of the graves with this type of arm arrangement have a west-east orientation.¹⁷⁶ For six graves from three cemeteries, the orientation is northwest-southeast,¹⁷⁷ while two other graves have a southwest-northeast orientation.¹⁷⁸ For this position of the arms, the orientation west-east is predominant, followed by northwest-southeast (7) and southwest-northeast (2). For six graves the orientation remains unknown.

There are many variations of those basic types of arm arrangements. Judging by the existing evidence, no significance can be attached to some of them. For example, one arm alongside the body, and the other bent, with the hand on the rib cage appears in only four graves from three different cemeteries (some of which are church graveyards, all found in the highlands.¹⁷⁹ The same is true for the arrangement with one arm alongside the body, and the other bent with the hand on the opposite shoulder or on the neck. Only three graves with that arrangement are known so far from cemeteries in southern Banat (*Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*). The arrangement with both arms bent and hands placed on the pelvis and on

de Sus (graves 5, 23, 24, 44, and 60), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 108, 128, 209, and 221), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (graves 1, 5, and 7), *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu* (graves 16, 23, and 25), *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 23 and 24), *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (grave 5), *Pojejena-Nucet* (grave 8), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 40), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 16), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (grave 3), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 38).

174 Hanuliak (2000), pp. 140, 141, fig. 3/1–3.

175 Cantacuzino (1979), pp. 359–372; Glück (1978), pp. 189–196; Oța (1998), pp. 113–123; Oța (2006a), pp. 309–321.

176 *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 1, 3, 8, 11, 17, 45, 53, 54, and 80), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 6, 22, 24, 37–38, 50, and 53), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 5, 8, 13, and 19), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (graves 1, 5, and 7), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 209 and 221), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 23), *Pojejena-Nucet* (grave 8), *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (grave 3).

177 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 5, 24, 44, 60), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 23), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 16).

178 *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 40), *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (grave 5). Six other graves have an unknown orientation: *Gornea-Ogașul lui Udrescu* (graves 16, 23, and 25), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 108 and 128), and *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 24).

179 *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 2 and 3), *Căunița de Sus* (grave 17), and *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 11).

the chest, respectively, is documented in 14 graves from 9 cemeteries.¹⁸⁰ The following orientations were observed in those graves: west-east (7 graves in 4 cemeteries),¹⁸¹ northwest-southeast (2 graves in one cemetery),¹⁸² north-south (one grave in one cemetery),¹⁸³ and southwest-northeast (2 graves in one cemetery).¹⁸⁴ And in another case the orientation remains unknown. However, there seems to be no significant correlation or variable in the spatial distribution of those graves.

A different conclusion may be drawn from the analysis of cases of the arrangement with one arm alongside the body, and the other bent and placed with the hand on the abdomen, which is relatively common in some cemeteries, but not in others: 8 out of 45 graves in *Szóreg*-Homokbánya (graves 1, 3, 5, 13, 19, 24, 28, and 31); 6 out of 98 in *Arača* (graves 3, 29, 41, 66, 89, and 96); 4 out of 12 in *Nikolinci* (graves 3, 8, 10, and 12); 2 out of 13 in *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (graves 6 and 10), 2 out of 20 in *Timișoara*-Cioreni (graves 5 and J), 2 out of 4 in *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, 3 out of 47 in *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă (graves 6, 9, and 42), one out of 25 in *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (grave 6), one out of 8 in *Bočar*-Budžak-ekonomija (grave 7), one out of 12 in *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004 (grave 8), one out of 54 in *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 24), one out of 10 in *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica (grave 9), one out of 37 in *Ilidia*-Oblia (grave 37), and two other graves in *Omolica*-Preko Slatine. This arrangement of the arms appears in the Banat mostly in the northwestern region, which strongly suggests that this was a local practice. Only two exceptions are known in the south-*Nikolinci* and *Omolica*-Preko Slatine. Graves with this type of arm arrangement have a west-east (16 graves from 10 cemeteries),¹⁸⁵ northwest-southeast (10 graves from 3 cemeteries),¹⁸⁶ or southwest-northeast orientation (5 graves

180 *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (3 graves), *Țârcheviște*, *Arača*, *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă (each with two graves), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, *Timișoara*-Cioreni, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii, *Cuptoare*-Sfogea, and *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă (each with one grave).

181 *Gornea*-Țârcheviște (graves 1, 29, 40, and 49), *Căunița de Sus* (grave 12), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 13), *Timișoara*-Cioreni (grave 4).

182 *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (graves 13 and 33).

183 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 21).

184 *Arača* (graves 37 and 68). The orientation of grave 327 in *Cuptoare*-Sfogea is unknown.

185 *Arača* (graves 29, 41, 66, 89, and 96), *Nikolinci* (graves 3 and 8), *Timișoara*-Cioreni (graves 5 and J), *Bočar*-Budžak ekonomija (grave 7), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (grave 6), *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica (grave 9), *Ilidia*-Oblia (grave 37), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 6), *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004 (grave 8), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă (grave 9).

186 *Arača* (grave 3), *Szóreg*-Homokbánya (graves 1, 3, 5, 13, 19, 24, 28, 31), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii northwest-southeast (grave 24).

from 3 cemeteries).¹⁸⁷ In both *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* and *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, the fact that only one grave among many shows this particular arm arrangement suggests that at stake may be not some regularity of ritual, but simple accidents. The same may be true for the graves from *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* and *Ciclova Română-Morminți*. Moreover, the latter has a different orientation than the other graves in the cemetery. In *Ilidia-Oblița* in addition to the grave with this particular arm arrangement, there are two other graves with the same orientation, in which the arms of the skeletons were bent with hands placed on the abdomen. By contrast, in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* and *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, there are no skeletons with both arms bent with hands on the abdomen, only cases in which only one of the arms is bent and placed on the abdomen. Both graves in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* have the same orientation.

That burial with only one arm bent with the hand placed on the abdomen was a ritual practice results from the examination of the situation in the *Szőreg-Homokbánya* cemetery. Grave 13 was found in the southern part of the cemetery, away from graves with skeletons having both arms bent with hands placed on the abdomen. Its pit was rectangular and its orientation the same as that of the other graves. Grave 31 was in the northern part of the cemetery, next to a grave with a skeleton with both arms bent and hands placed on the abdomen. Similarly, grave 28 was next to a large group of graves with skeletons with both arms bent and hands placed on the abdomen. Graves 1 and 5 were in the middle of the cemetery, next to a grave with a skeleton with both arms bent and hands placed on the abdomen, but with a different orientation. The pit of grave 3 may have been oval, but it was unfortunately destroyed during the excavations. Finally, graves 24 and 19 were also in the center of the cemetery, and they both seem to have had rectangular pits. There does not seem to be any correlation between the arrangement of the arms and the shape of the pit, but burying a body with only one arm bent and the hand placed on the abdomen was certainly a recurrent practice in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*.¹⁸⁸

Other subvariants of arms position are added, but none of them is specific to a particular cemetery.

To a similar conclusion leads the examination of the evidence of another arrangement, in which one arm is laid alongside the body, but the other one is missing, either entirely, or from the elbow to the hand. There are no less than

187 *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (graves 10 and 12), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (graves 3, and 4/2001), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 6). The orientation of grave 10 in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* is unknown.

188 No conclusions may be drawn on the basis of just two graves each in the *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* and *Timișoara-Ciorenii* cemeteries.

18 cases known, from 9 different cemeteries.¹⁸⁹ In two graves from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* and *Reșița-Ogășele*, respectively, and in another two from *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, the arm present is bent with the hand placed on the pelvis. In 15 other graves, it is placed chest.¹⁹⁰ The cemeteries in which this particular arrangement is documented are located both in the high- and in the lowlands. While in some cases, the missing arm appears to have been removed post-mortem, perhaps in an attempt to prevent revenants, there are also cases in which the arm was cut off by the subsequent digging of a foundation trench, for example for a cemeterial church, as in the case of graves 12 and 56 in *Arača*. Some skeletons with a missing arm have special positions inside cemeteries. For example, the two graves found at *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* were located far from each other, one on the western, the other one in the eastern edge of the cemetery, but both had a northwest-southeast orientation, which was different from that of the other graves. Similarly, the grave found in *Timișoara-Cioreni* was located on the edge of the cemetery and had an orientation different from that of the other graves. In *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* the grave with a skeleton with only one arm was found near the southern wall of the nave.¹⁹¹

Grave 23 in *Gornea-Țârcheviște* was located to the west of the church, in an isolated position, but had the same orientation as that of other graves. Similarly, the graves found in *Caransebeș-City centre* were located on the northeastern side of the apse.

Skeletons without an arm have been found on the edges of the cemeteries, which strongly suggests the existence of ritual practices against revenants, especially when skeletons have not been disturbed by churches. However, this interpretation cannot apply to abbey cemeteries. At any rate, that this particular arm arrangement appears with some consistency in cemeteries located in different areas may be interpreted as evidence of special funerary practices, perhaps indicating common beliefs associated with distinct ethnic groups. Another arrangement may equally reveal ritual practices. Skeletons with arms bent, and

189 *Arača* (graves 1, 12, 34, 43, 56, 83, and 98), *Caransebeș-City centre* (three graves), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (two graves), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (one grave), *Divici* (one grave), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (one grave), *Căunița de Sus* (one grave), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (one grave), and *Timișoara-Cioreni* (one grave).

190 *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (3 graves), *Pojejena-Nucet* (3 graves), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (2 graves), *Arača* (one grave), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (2 graves), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (one grave), *Reșița-Ogășele* (one grave), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (one grave), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (one grave). Eight graves have a west-east, 4 a southwest-northeast, and two a northwest-southeast orientation.

191 The grave in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* is a child burial, and it may have been disturbed during excavation.

hands placed on the pelvis and abdomen appear in 32 graves from 12 cemeteries.¹⁹² Twelve graves found in 8 cemeteries had a west-east orientation;¹⁹³ 8 graves from 2 cemeteries had a northwest-southeast orientation;¹⁹⁴ and 7 graves from 3 cemeteries had a southwest-northeast orientation.¹⁹⁵ Three graves, all from the same cemetery, had an unknown orientation.¹⁹⁶ In *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Ilidia-Oblița*, *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Pojejena-Nucet*, and *Szóreg-Homokbánya* the graves with skeletons with arms bent and hands placed on the pelvis and on the abdomen, respectively, had the same orientation as the other graves. In *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* such graves had the same orientation as graves with arms bent and hands placed on the abdomen.

Particularly intriguing is the similarity between the situations recorded in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, *Arața* and *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, which may be an indication that the three sites coincided in time, at least for a while.

Skeletons with a hand with the palm placed on the pelvis and the other one on the thorax, were recorded in nine cemeteries in a number of 14 graves¹⁹⁷ in which the following orientations were observed: west-east (seven graves in four cemeteries),¹⁹⁸ northwest-southeast (two graves in one cemetery),¹⁹⁹ north-south (one grave in one cemetery),²⁰⁰ southwest-northeast (two graves in one cemetery)²⁰¹ and in another case the orientation remains unknown.²⁰²

192 *Arața* (graves 2, 18, 30, 31, 39, 54, 75, and 86), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (8 graves), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (5 graves), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (two graves), *Omolica* (two graves), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (two graves), and *Pod Păzăriște* (one grave), *Ilidia-Oblița*, *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Pojejena-Nucet*, and *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (each with one grave).

193 *Arața* (graves 2, 18, and 39), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 92 and 106), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 40 and 49), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 62), *Pod Păzăriște* (grave 6), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 21), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 8), *Pojejena-Nucet* (grave 47).

194 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 4, 18, 27, 38, 50, and 64), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 8 and 26).

195 *Arața* (graves 30, 31, 54, 75, and 86), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 59), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 2).

196 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 316, 331, and 87).

197 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-three, *Țârcheviște*-two, *Arața*-two, *Nicolinț*-two, *Hodoni-Pocioroane*-one, *Timișoara-Ciorenii*-one, *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*-one, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*-one, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*-one.

198 *Gornea-Țârcheviște*-west-east (graves 1, 29, 40, 49), *Căunița de Sus*-west-east (grave 12), *Hodoni-Pocioroane*-west-east (grave 13), *Timișoara-Ciorenii*-west-east (grave 4).

199 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-northwest-southeast (graves 13, 33).

200 *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*-north-south (grave 21).

201 *Arața* (graves 37, 68).

202 *Cuptoare-Sfogea*-unknown (grave 327).

Skeletons with arms bent and hands placed on the pelvis and neck or shoulder, respectively, appear in 9 graves from 7 different cemeteries.²⁰³ Six of those graves have a west-east,²⁰⁴ three a northwest-southeast orientation.²⁰⁵ In *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* graves displaying this arrangement of the arms had the same orientation as the other graves, in many of which skeletons have the arms bent with hands on the neck, collar bones, or shoulders.

However, in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, there is only one grave with a skeleton with one hand on the upper part of the body, and no other skeletons have been found on this cemetery site with hands on the neck or on the shoulders. Similarly, one grave only is known with this arm arrangement from the cemetery in *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, which produced 34 graves. It was located to the west of the cemeterial church.

Judging from the existing evidence, therefore, this arm arrangement seems to be most typical for the southeastern region of the Banat. The only church graveyards in the region with such an arm arrangement are those of *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* and *Arača*.

A particularly common arrangement is with one hand on the abdomen, and the other on the chest. It is documented in 30 graves found in 13 different cemeteries.²⁰⁶ Nineteen of those graves have west-east,²⁰⁷ 5 a northwest-southeast,²⁰⁸ and three a southwest-northeast orientation.²⁰⁹ The grave found in *Caransebeș-Măhala* has the same the grave is following the general orientation

203 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-three, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*-one, *Hodoni-Pocioroane*-one, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 25), *Omolica*-one, *Arača* (one), *Ciclova Română-Morminți*-one (grave 22).

204 *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 7, 8), *Arača* (grave 76), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 244), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 4), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 25).

205 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 7, 23, and 56).

206 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (7 graves), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (5 graves), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (4 graves), *Arača* (3 graves), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, and *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (two graves for each), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște*, *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*, *Caransebeș-Măhala*, *Omolica-Preko Slatine*, *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (one grave for each).

207 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 218, 229, 276, 278, and 328), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves 2, 6, and 11), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (graves 3 and 5), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 10 and 13), *Arača* (grave 21), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (grave 3), *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 33), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 32), *Păzăriște* (grave 4), *Obreja-Sat-Bătrân* (grave 33), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 29).

208 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 9, 10, 53, and 63) and *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1).

209 *Arača* (graves 32 and 80), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 9). The orientation of graves 300 and 303 in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, as well as of those found in *Omolica* is unknown.

as the other graves, while that found in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* is aligned to the axis of the church. In the latter cemetery, there are no graves with both hands on the chest, but quite a few graves in which the skeletons were laid with both hands on the abdomen. However, given the relatively large number of graves destroyed in that cemetery, no definitive conclusion may be drawn from the existing evidence.

The two graves from *Ciclova Română-Morminți* follow the orientation of most other graves in the cemetery, many of which have skeletons with both hands on the chest. This is also true for the cemetery excavated in *Cuptoare-Sfocea*, from which two graves are known, in each of which the skeleton was laid with one hand on the chest and the other on the abdomen. Those graves have the same orientation as the other graves in the cemetery. Three of the four graves found in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* follow the northwest-southeast orientation of the other graves in the cemetery, in which several skeletons have both hands on the chest.

The two graves from *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* were located one to the north, the other to the south of the cemeterial church, and had different orientations. There are no skeletons with hands on the chest, but the cemetery was not completely excavated. Isolated graves with this arm arrangement, such as those in *Obreja-Sat-Bătrân*, *Timișoara-Cioreni*, and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* may be interpreted as accidents, particularly in the absence of any other graves with similar arrangements. In the case of grave found in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*, the position of the hands is to be explained in terms of the bow that the deceased was apparently holding.

It is important to remember that the arm arrangement with both hands on the abdomen appears in 8 church graveyards (25 graves) in southeastern Banat.²¹⁰ A relatively large number of graves with such an arrangement appear in cemeteries without churches located in that same region of Banat. With the *Arača*, the arrangement does not appear in any cemetery in the lowlands. By contrast, the arm arrangement with both hands on the chest appears in almost all types of cemeteries in the Banat. Similarly, the arrangement with one hand on the chest, the other on the abdomen is documented in all areas of the Banat, in cemeteries with or without churches. However, it is particularly prominent in *Cuptoare-Sfocea*, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* and *Timișoara-Cioreni*, all three cemeteries in which the arrangement with both hands on the abdomen is also common. In short, while arrangements with both or only one hand on the chest or on the abdomen may have had the same significance in the

210 *Berzovia-Pătruieni, Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii, Gornea-Țărcheviște, Ilidia-Cetate, Oblia, Obreja-Sat Bătrân, Reșița-Ogășele, and Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004.*

Christian ritual, there appears to be a clear preference for the arrangement with hands on the chest. In southeastern Banat, this appears to be by far the commonest arrangement. This conclusion is substantiated by a brief survey of two other arrangements—one hand on the abdomen, the other on the collar bone; and one hand on the chest, the other either on the neck or on the shoulder. The former appears in 15 graves from 6 cemeteries.²¹¹ Six of those graves have a west-east,²¹² 5 a northwest-southeast,²¹³ 2 a southwest-northeast,²¹⁴ and another two a north-south orientation.²¹⁵ The other arrangement is documented for 18 graves from 9 different cemeteries.²¹⁶ Eight of them have a west-east,²¹⁷ two a northwest-southeast orientation.²¹⁸

Almost without exception these subtypes appeared primarily in the southeastern part of the Banat.

This sweeping survey of arm arrangements suggests that throughout the Middle Ages in the Banat there were five major positions of the arms in relation to the body. The most common of all is that with arms laid alongside the body (135 graves from 23 cemeteries). The arrangement with arms bent and hands placed on the chest appears everywhere in the Banat, but in a few number of cases. Arms alongside the body, with hands on the upper ends of the femurs appear especially in the southeastern part of the Banat (much like the arrangement with hands placed on the neck, collar bones, or shoulders),²¹⁹

211 *Ciclova Română*–Morminți-five, *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-four, *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia-two, *Reșița*-Ogășele-two, *Gornea*-Țârcheviște-one, *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân-one.

212 *Ciclova Română*–Morminți (graves 9, 12, and 18), *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia (graves 230 and 264), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (grave 30).

213 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 19 and 23), *Ciclova Română*–Morminți (graves 20 and 22), *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (grave 40).

214 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 7), *Reșița*-Ogășele (grave 26).

215 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 2), *Reșița*-Ogășele (grave 13).

216 *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia (6 graves), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (3 graves), *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă and *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (2 graves for each), *Gornea*-Țârcheviște, Pod Păzăriște, *Ilidia*-Oblia, *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, and *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara (one grave for each).

217 *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (graves 18 and 22), *Gornea*-Țârcheviște (grave 33), Pod Păzăriște (grave 3), Căunița de Sus (grave 29), *Ilidia*-Oblia (grave 34), *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara (grave 14), *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia (grave 225).

218 *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia (grave 51), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 38). The orientation of graves 4, 15, 94, 150, and 306 in *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia, as well as that of grave 10 in *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân is unknown.

219 The arrangement with one hand on the chest, the other on either the shoulder or the neck appears mostly in the south-east, although it is also mentioned in the northern part of the Banat. Given that in the north there are few funerary complexes presenting bodies with the arms bent and hands on the collar bones, one may expect some cases to be

as well as in the lowlands (66 graves from 17 cemeteries), while the arms bent with hands placed on the abdomen, the second most frequent arrangement, is particularly well documented in the highlands. By contrast, the arrangement with one hand on the pelvis, the other on the abdomen appears almost exclusively encountered in the south part of the Banat.

There does not seem to have been any imposition of a particular rule regarding the position of the arms. The variations at the regional level may be explained as choices made by families or communities, on the basis of now unknown criteria.²²⁰ When viewed together with other ritual practices, such as the deposition of food offerings in the grave or the post-mortem manipulation of the body), this suggests a great variety of customs at a micro-regional level.

The shared features of the community included: a common cemetery, the need to generally respect the west-east orientation of the deceased, sometimes with a northwest-southeast or southwest-northeast deviation depending on the season when the burial was performed (the isolated cases must be connected to other practices than the Christian ones), attending church service, where available, the practice of inhumation, the persistence and practice of non-Christian rituals inside the community with the unofficial toleration

mere accidents. Since the arrangement with hands on the neck, collarbones, or shoulders is common in the south-east, there is an increased possibility of dealing with a greater number of accidents produced during the burial or at a later time. If the two subtypes had roughly the same signification, one could assume they were characteristic for south-eastern Banat, which leads to a greater number of cemeteries with this particular custom. Thus, one should add to the list the following cemeteries: *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* and probably *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*.

220 In order to understand the departure from the rule, one has only to look at cemeteries in southern Serbia and Macedonia, two regions of the Balkans in which Orthodox Christianity had a much longer time and a more favorable environment to influence burial practice. In most cemeteries in those regions, bodies are buried with arms bent and hands placed either on the abdomen or on the chest. The same is true for medieval cemeteries located north of the river Danube, such as *Caransebeș*-City centre, in which all bodies have forearms on the chest. This observation is also true for church and monastery graveyards, i.e., for cases in which certain rules may have been imposed as to how to lay the arms of the body in the grave. No such rules could be expected from rural cemeteries, which well into the 15th century maintained a wide variety of customs. Further variation appears to have been introduced in the late 11th and early 12th century with the arrival of Bogomil refugees from the Balkans. Bogomil funerary practices favored an arrangement with hands on collarbones or on the shoulders. While in other areas (e.g., Slovakia) and for earlier periods (late 9th and 10th century) such an arrangement is often interpreted as protective measures against vampires, in the Banat the arrangement is documented well into the 15th century.

of the church. In the cases of cemeteries with a church a distinction must be made between those belonging to a community, the private ones and those belonging to a monastery.

The difference between the members of a community in terms of funerary ritual consists in the way in which Christian rituals were practised or most specifically the way in which they were combined with older funerary rituals preserved by such communities. In support of such a point of view, one needs to consider the following arguments: the economic status of the deceased (placing offerings of jewellery and dress accessories in the graves), the influence held by the church over the community of believers buried in that cemetery (the differences between the cemeteries placed in rural and urban areas), the social status of the deceased (in some situations this can be established by analysing the position of the body in relation to the church), the influence of heretical beliefs among members of the community (the arm arrangement with hands on the neck, collar bones, or shoulders, which is attributed to the Bogomils), the acceptance of individuals from other communities, with different customs (possibly even Bogomils), the presence of food offerings in isolated cases mentioned in cemeteries dated to the 14th–15th centuries, hence a period in which this practice was no longer used, knife depositions (which appear only exceptionally in graves dated to the same period).

The wealth status of the deceased may or may not be apparent in the ritual, but there is definitely a hint of that in graves containing jewellery offerings or rank symbols. There are also graves that do not reflect the wealth of the deceased, but they can be identified as privileged by their position inside the church. Unfortunately, most of the graves found inside churches have long been robbed. On the other hand, due to the fact that the cemetery pre-dates the construction of the church, it is hard to determine whether the graves found inside the nave have been placed there before or after the building of the church.²²¹ The influence exercised by the church over the faithful varied over time from one community to another, depending upon location (whether urban or rural).

Social status was emphasised through the deposition of grave goods as well as the positioning of the grave inside the cemetery, or in relation to other graves. Graves with no goods whatsoever, but which are placed inside the church, are most likely of persons of some importance in the community and/or in the eyes of the clergy.

221 The only graves inside a church so far known from the Banat are those from *Berzovia-Pătruieni*.

Much variation has been observed also in regards to the position of the legs. In most cases (369 graves from 34 cemeteries) the legs are laid parallel to each other, but there are also cases in which the left leg is laid straight, but the right one is flexed outwards;²²² the right leg is laid straight, and the left one is flexed outwards;²²³ both legs are flexed to the left (two graves found in *Taraș-Seliște* and *Timișoara-Cioreni*); both legs are flexed to the right;²²⁴ legs flexed in opposite directions;²²⁵ the femurs dislocated from the pelvis and laid in a 90° position towards the pelvis with the tibias and the fibulas missing (*Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*), the legs flexed from the knees so that the tibias and the fibulas form an X (*Obreja-Sat Bătrân*), the legs flexed from the knees with the tibias and the fibulas oriented towards the exterior (*Reșița-Ogășele*) legs flexed towards each other (*Obreja-Sat Bătrân* and *Reșița-Ogășele*); legs crossed (one case in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*); the left leg straight, and the right one flexed from the hip (three cases in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*, and *Ciclova Română-Morminți*);²²⁶ or both legs straight, but a slight angle from each other (*Gornea-Căunița de Sus*). There are also cases of the right leg missing, either completely (*Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Reșița-Ogășele*), or partially (*Hodoni-Pocioroane*).²²⁷

Post-mortem interventions on the legs have been noted in a few cases,²²⁸ in both church graveyards and cemeteries without churches. The most plausible explanation for this relatively rare practice is the attempt to prevent revenants. There is apparently no correlation between particular positions of the legs and arm arrangements. If indeed, unusual leg positions are to be interpreted as fear of revenants, then it is worth mentioning that quite a few such cases appear in church graveyards. In addition, such graves have no occupy special position

222 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (2 cases), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (two cases), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (one case), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (one case), and *Reșița-Ogășele* (one case).

223 *Timișoara-Cioreni* (two cases), and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (one case).

224 Five cases, one for each of the following cemeteries: *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, and *Nikolinci*. Two cases are also known from the 11th to 13th-century cemetery in *Trnjane* (Marjanović-Vujović [1984], pp. 16, 28, 65, fig. 146/20, 21).

225 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (2 cases), and *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (one case). Another case is known from *Trnjane* (Marjanović-Vujović [1984], p. 54, fig. 126, p. 55).

226 Another case is known from *Trnjane* (Marjanović-Vujović [1984], p. 39, fig. 80). A curious case is mentioned in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, with the left leg straight and the right leg flexed inwards, in the direction of the left leg.

227 There are also cases of dislocated leg (*Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*) or pelvis bones (*Szőreg-Homokbánya*).

228 *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Căunița de Sus*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Timișoara-Cioreni*, *Taraș-Seliște*, *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Nikolinci*, and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*.

in the cemetery, unlike other cases of isolation from the other graves, which are clearly marked topographically, almost as if buried in a special cemetery. This confirms that the individuals buried with flexed legs were not regarded as outcasts or in any way marginal. The presence of flexed legs has been interpreted in relation to vampirism in other regions as well.²²⁹

In the Banat, the most common positioning of the legs is either with one or both legs flexed outwards. However, it is important to note that different kinds of leg positions appear in one and the same cemetery, and no regional patterning exists.

Two cases have been documented of bodies being laid on the right (*Szóreg-Homokbánya*, grave 32) or on the left side (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 342), a practice more often encountered in earlier (8th to 9th century) cemeteries in Walachia.²³⁰ In two other cases—one from *Gornea-Țărmuri*, the other from *Socol*—bodies have been laid face down.²³¹ There are almost no analogies for this particular burial custom, the only such instances known to me being a few graves in the 16th-century cemetery near *Orașul de Floci* on the Lower Danube.²³²

Double burials (i.e., bodies buried at the same time and in the same pit) have been documented in *Caransebeș*-City centre (graves 7 and, perhaps, 8 in crypt 5), *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 37 and 38), *Petnic-Dealul Țolii* (a double burial of a female and a child), *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004 (grave 4/a–b), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 130 and 131), *Arača* (grave 44a–b) and *Kübekhaza-Újtelep* (grave 2/2, a female and a child). By contrast, successive burials within one and the same grave are rare, only one case having been documented in *Arača* (but with an

229 Hanuliak (2000), pp. 140–141, fig. 3/1–3.

230 Mitrea (1989), pp. 192, 193, fig. 37/grave 229, pp. 192, 195, fig. 39/grave 236, pp. 196, 198, fig. 41/grave 247, pp. 200, 201, fig. 43/grave 265 etc. In two other cases, both from *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, the body was said to have been in a crouched position, with arms flexed and hands in front of the skull (Bejan, Moga [1979], pp. 159, 161, fig. 2; Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean [1996], pp. 36–37, 44). However, in the case of one of the two graves from *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 6), the associated illustration contradicts the authors' claim that the position was crouched, for the skeleton (apparently, of a child) was laid with straight legs. The position of the other grave (no. 16) and the associated grave goods strongly suggest that this was a Neolithic, not a medieval grave (Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean [1996], p. 44). Nonetheless, burials in crouched position are well documented for the 8th–9th, as well as for the 10th–11th centuries, and have been interpreted in relation to vampirism (Hanuliak [2000], pp. 140, 141, fig. 3/3, 7). A grave in crouched position from the *Trnjane* cemetery is coin-dated to the reign of Emperor Manuel I (1143–1180) (Marjanović-Vujović [1984], pp. 55–56, 65, fig. 146).

231 A third case may have existed in grave 20 from *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân, which was found to the south-west from the cemetery church.

232 Unpublished research by S. Oța and Gh. Matei.

unknown number of skeletons). It is important to note that the grave was located inside the cemeterial church, next to one of the crypts (no. 3). It is therefore possible to regard this grave as a “cheaper” substitute for a crypt.

A large number of graves presenting interventions have been recorded in the course of archaeological research in the Banat.²³³ While some interventions may be of recent date and as such they do not represent anything ritual, other graves were disturbed by subsequent burials or by the construction of churches inside the cemeteries. It goes without saying that for the present analysis I took into consideration only graves presenting certain anomalies not caused by treasure hunters, subsequent burial, or the digging of foundation trenches for the building of churches.

The significance of such interventions and anomalies regarding the position of the skeleton is tied to pagan beliefs and practices that coexisted with Christian ones. The most important cause, manifested in various forms and based on different reasons, was represented by the fear of revenants. In rural areas these practices were more likely silently accepted by the church since they are also recorded in church graveyards.

Certain alterations were performed before the burial or after a certain period of time. Most may be observed by analysing the position of the body (the alteration was done before the initial closing of the tomb) or by observing disturbances reflected in the arrangement of the bones, usually showing an abnormal anatomical position (post-burial practices). Interventions on the head appear in all types of cemeteries and consisted in the smashing of the skull. It is not possible to establish with certainty whether this type of interference took place during or after the burial, but at least in some cases, natural causes cannot be excluded (soil acidity, landslides, animals, or tree roots). There were 47 graves from 18 cemeteries²³⁴ with this type of interference,

233 In what follows I will present the possible causes that might have led to interventions on bodies. However, some of the disturbed bones may have no ritual meaning, but rather reflect situations that we are unable to decode for the moment. As a result, I will limit myself to signaling such anomalies without trying to identify any “rules” pertaining to burial rites during this period of time.

234 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 11, 17, 23, 29, 30, 32, 33, 40-?), *Ilidia*-Oblîța (graves 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 35), *Vojlovica*-Humka Azotara (graves 2, 5, 6, 7), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (graves 9, 17, 29, 32), *Cârncea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 2, 24, 36, 42), *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (graves 27, 53, 50), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (graves 7, 18, 24), *Nicolinci* (graves 6, 12), *Gornea*-Țârcheviște (graves 23, 41), *Cuptoare*-Sfogea (graves 336, 346), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (grave 2), *Voiteni* (grave 4), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 10), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 1), *Ilidia*-Cetate (grave 54), *Taraș*-Seliște (grave 1), *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A. (grave 1), *Timișoara*-Cioreni (grave 17).

which is also documented in cemeteries located south of the Danube, in Slovakia and in Hungary. The most frequent interventions on the left arm consist of amputations of the arm from the elbow, the sectioning of the arm between the hand and the elbow, the complete amputation of the arm, or the dislocation of the arm, either from the elbow or from the shoulder. This practice was recorded in 17 cemeteries with 50 graves.²³⁵ Similar interventions on the right arm have been recorded in 46 graves from 16 cemeteries.²³⁶ Some skeletons had one of the hands cut off and placed next to or on the body. Such cases have been documented in 11 graves found in five cemeteries, and were most likely the result of pre-burial interventions.²³⁷ Interventions in the chest area and on the spine were commonly regarded as practices against vampires,²³⁸ which were performed before burial. There are also exceptions such as grave 5 in *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, in which half of the chest was displaced from the spine.²³⁹ This type of intervention was attested in 44 graves from 13 cemeteries.²⁴⁰ All had grave goods, which leaves out the possibility of

235 *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 12, 19, 21, 22, 29, 31), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 13, 17–?, 31, 38, 49, 58), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves 10, 13, 14, 17, 18), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 9, 17, 27, 31, 32), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (grave 4), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (graves 13, 14, 24, 33, 36, 42, 49), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 1, 2, 3, 7), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 23, 41, 56), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 217, 318, 336), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 38, 39), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 3, 4), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 8), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 27), *Nikolinci* (grave 11), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 1), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 5), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (grave 3).

236 *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (graves 7, 13, 19, 23, 24, 36, 42, 45, 49), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves 1, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 7, 18, 25?, 31, 36, 49, 58), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 29, 38, 39), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 27, 41, 45), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 260, 294, 336), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 2, 4), *Pojejena-Nucet* (graves 4, 8), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 41, 56), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 12, 19), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 27), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (grave 4), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 1), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 8), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 14), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (grave 1).

237 *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 20, 22, 42, 26, 29, 28), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 40, 58), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 7), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 56), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 27)

238 Hanuliak (2000), p. 140.

239 Stanojev (1989), pp. 40–41.

240 *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 24, 30, 36, 40, 41, 49, 58), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 9, 17, 32, 38, 39), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 22, 23, 56), *Gornea-Pod Păzăriște* (graves 4, 7), *Nikolinci* (graves 11, 12), *Pojejena-Nucet* (graves 4, 8), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 5, 6), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 38?), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 7), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 4), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (grave 217).

burial robbery. Most likely, all interventions in the area of the pelvis occurred after burial. They are documented in 18 graves from ten different cemeteries.²⁴¹

Broken or missing collarbones are probably a sign of pre-burial practices, although the complete absence of a collarbone may indicate a later intervention. There are 10 recorded graves with such finds, recorded in five cemeteries.²⁴² Interventions on the legs consist, much like those on the arms, in dislocations from the pelvis, knee, or ankle joints. Milan Hanuliak treats such alterations as pre-Christian practices meant to prevent revenants, which occurred either before or after burial. In the Banat, this type of intervention has been noted in 45 graves from 15 cemeteries.²⁴³

There does not seem to be any pattern or general rule applying to body interventions. There are also cases of multiple interventions. The belief in revenants may have existed in all communities, but the attempt to fight vampires was manifested differently.²⁴⁴ Most commonly, interventions affected the arms (77), the legs (45), and the skull (47?). It must be noted in this context that in cemeteries located in the low- and highlands, graves with interventions on the head have no interventions on the arms (30 cases out of 44). By contrast, interventions on the legs may be associated with interventions either on the head or on the arms, while interventions on the arms are usually combined with those on the legs or on the chest. Graves with multiple interventions on the skeletons were most likely robbed. Reburials have been encountered frequently in cemeteries with a high density of graves.²⁴⁵

241 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 12, 21, 23, 29), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 2, 24, 25), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 38, 39), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 50, 58), *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 27, 31), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 56), *Nikolinci* (grave 6), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 4), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 6), *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (grave 318).

242 *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 27, 34, 35, 58), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 11, 12), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 49, 58), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 56), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 7).

243 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 20, 21, 23, 26, 28 ?, 30, 35, 37, 40, 42), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 1, 20, 21, 25, 36, 45, 49), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 25, 30, 50, 56, 58, 62), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (graves 1, 2, 4, 16), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 21, 22, 41, 56), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 12, 13, 27), *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (graves 260, 318, 336), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 4), *Cenad-Catholic Church* (grave 12), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 14), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 4), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave 17), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 6), *Nikolinci* (grave 6), and *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 54).

244 Marjanović-Vujović (1986), pp. 184–237.

245 *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 33/34 and 47/48), *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (graves 5, 8 and 11), *Arača* (partial remainings in the pits of graves 58, 64 and 87), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 29), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 15, 27), *Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (graves 10, 34), *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (grave 312), and *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 27?). Reburials were also recorded at *Nicolinț-*

Aside from these practices, there was also a special case in *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 27) of a burial with a decapitated skeleton, no doubt the victim of an execution. Containers often signal food offerings. Ceramic containers have been found in 16 graves from 12 cemeteries in the northwestern and southeastern parts of the Banat (pl. 108).²⁴⁶ Pots have been deposited next to the head (*Gornea-Țârcheviște*-graves 11, 49, *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound), by the pelvis (*Cenad*-Catholic Church-grave 3, *Szőreg*-Homokbánya grave 11), or at the feet (*Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, grave 18, *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, grave 14). Ceramic containers have also been found in crypt VII from *Arača*. In other instances the position of the pot inside the grave pit remains unknown. The skull from *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV associated with a ceramic vessel is a particular case known.

In south and north of the Danube, the deposition of ceramic containers is documented in the cemeteries from *Blandiana*,²⁴⁷ *Biharia*-Dealul Șumuleu,²⁴⁸ *Șeitin*,²⁴⁹ (Transylvania), *Obârșia*,²⁵⁰ *Frătești*,²⁵¹ *Histria*-Capul Viilor,²⁵² and *Izvoru*.²⁵³ This suggests that the practice was much more common in the earlier (8th to 9th centuries), but that by 900 it had lost its popularity. Pottery was also found in another nine cemeteries.²⁵⁴ At *Mehadia*-Ulici, the container was found inside the church. The finds from *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004, and *Cenad*-Catholic Church show that the containers were smashed, presumably before the deposition of the body inside the grave pit. The possibility of the ritual deposition of already broken vessels or of potsherds cannot be completely ruled out (*Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound). The

Râpa Galbenă (some of the bones found in graves 7 and 8 belonged to other skeletons) and at *Omolica*-Preko Slatine (Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević [2007], pl. II).

246 *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18 and a skull found with a ceramic jar), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (graves 11, 49), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 11, 14), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (graves I, III, 4/2001), Kiszombor-E (grave 21), *Klárafalva*-Faragó (grave 4), *Svinița*-Km. Fluvial 1004 (grave 1), *Teremia Mare*, *Bucova*-Stadion (grave 1), *Cenad*-Catholic Church (grave 3), *Deszk*-J (grave 12), *Pavliș*-Kudeliște (grave 1).

247 Horedt (1966), pp. 261–290.

248 Cosma (2001), p. 194, pl. 6/10.

249 Cosma (2001), p. 216, pl. 28/12.

250 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 163–188.

251 Dolinescu-Ferche, Ionescu (1970), pp. 419–430.

252 Zirra (1963), pp. 535–412.

253 Mitrea (1989), pp. 145–219; E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), p. 213.

254 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound located to the north-east from the train station-1903 (Aurel Török) and another one destroyed in 1906, *Cenad*-Tarnok mound, *Gârbovăț*-Seliște, *Mokrîn*-Odaja Humka, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă, *Tomnatic*-the brick factory, *Ersig* and *Nicolinț*-Râpa Galbenă.

deposition of pottery in graves may be an indication that a feast took place at the grave, either during or after burial. This may also explain the practice of smashing containers inside the grave pit, as documented in *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*. Depositing pottery in graves has been long regarded as a Slavic custom,²⁵⁵ but pottery may also be found in graves of nomads in the area north of the Black Sea, in Pannonia, and in the Balkans.²⁵⁶ Such a practice could hardly be interpreted as an ethnic marker, although it was most likely connected with pre-Christian beliefs.²⁵⁷ Food was also deposited in graves without any ceramic container (pl. 108). River shells have been found in two cemeteries (*Kiszombor*-south of the village, *Szóreg*-Homokbánya-graves 4 and 9). Eggs (egg shells) appear in two other cemeteries (*Deszk*-D and *Kiszombor*-B, grave 269), but also on the Lower Danube at *Obârșia*.²⁵⁸ Bird (particularly fowl) bones are known from two other cemeteries—grave 271 in *Kiszombor*-B and grave 8 in *Szóreg*-Homokbánya. In the latter case, they were in the mouth of the deceased. Sheep or goat bones have been documented in *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 4/2001), mounds V and VI.²⁵⁹ Such bones present traces of burning and were located next to the head. Bones of unknown animals have also been documented in *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III (grave 1), *Deszk*-D (grave 76), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 10), *Mehadia-Ulici*-in the church altar, *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 1), *Nikolinci* (grave 1), *Pavliš-Kudelište*. It is worth mentioning that all graves with food deposition are from the western part of the Banat.

Bindweed seeds have been found by the legs of the skeleton from grave 22 of the *Szóreg*-Homokbánya cemetery. They are probably associated with the same concern about revenants as the one attested by interventions on the body.

Personal objects for personal use, either tools or utensils, rarely appear in graves. There is an awl in grave 1, barrow 11 in *Bucova Puszta*.²⁶⁰ Two whetstones are known, one from grave 39 in *Deszk*-I, the other from grave 13 in *Kiszombor*-E. Only one sickle is known from grave 11 in *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (located next to the left arm). The deposition of agricultural

255 Premk, Popović, Bjelajac (1984), pp. 118–124.

256 Khalikova (1971), pp. 179–180; Živković (1997), pp. 145–146.

257 At *Pavliš-Kudelište* bones are mentioned in association with a ceramic container.

258 E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), p. 213.

259 Bejan et al. (2005), p. 31.

260 It is in fact not sure that the artifact in question is a n awl since this is a unique find on the territory of the Banat and some of the arrowheads, even though not found in a large number, have a shape similar to that of an awl.

implements is well documented in *Obârșia*,²⁶¹ *Fierbinți-Malu Roșu*,²⁶² and *Vajuga-Pesak* (cemetery II).²⁶³ Sickles have also been found in graves excavated in Slovakia at *Trnovec nad Váhom*,²⁶⁴ and in Austria, at *Zisterdorf*.²⁶⁵

An artifact found in grave 8 from *Szőreg-Homokbánya* was interpreted as a musical instrument, but there is no consensus on that interpretation.²⁶⁶ Spindle whorls are mentioned only for the cemetery at *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, unfortunately all as stray finds. There is a good chance that those artifacts are of a prehistoric age, not medieval. Spindle whorls are rarely found among grave goods of personal use, and the only exceptions are from 8th–9th-century assemblages (*Izvoru*).²⁶⁷ Pierced animal bones, to be worn as amulets, have been found only in graves 1 and 37 of the *Kiszombor-E* cemetery and have been interpreted as connected to the cult of the ongon, which attributed magical powers to animal bones. This practice is documented in burial assemblages attributed to Bulgar-Turkic populations, Alans, and Avars.²⁶⁸ By contrast, cylindrical bone tubes, such as mentioned in the *Deszk-D* cemetery, may have served as needle (or sewing kit) cases not unlike those found in *Izvoru*²⁶⁹ and *Obârșia*.²⁷⁰ Flint steels are objects commonly found in burial assemblages from the northwestern part of the Banat (16 graves from 14 cemeteries, but for only 13 cemeteries we know the actual number of graves).²⁷¹ Some were deposited in the pelvic area (two cases), by the left (one) or by the right hand (one), by the left leg (one), or on the chest (two). Flint steels were found in 9th-century burial

261 E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), p. 213.

262 Excavated by Bogdan Filipescu. Unpublished material prepared for publication by the author.

263 Marjanović-Vujović (1986), pp. 184–237.

264 Točík (1971), p. 216, pl. II/1.

265 Korošec (1979b), pl. II/5/2.

266 Bálint (1991), pp. 81, 83.

267 Mitrea (1989), p. 157, fig. 11/grave 49/6, p. 161, fig. 14/grave 67/2 and grave 79/2, p. 162, fig. 15/grave 83/5, p. 164, fig. 16/grave 93/4, p. 173, fig. 23/grave 133/3 etc.

268 Bálint (1975), pp. 52–63.

269 Izvoru produced a large number of cylindrical bone tubes, with or without incised ornament, all of them being deposited either in the pelvic area or by the leg. See Mitrea (1989), p. 150, fig. 6/grave 24/4, p. 152, fig. 7/grave 28/3 etc.

270 Toropu, Stoica (1972), p. 173, fig. 9/6–9.

271 *Kiszombor-E* (graves 13, 30, 35, 39), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 37, 43), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 26, 147), *Kiszombor-F* (grave 13), *Klárafalva-Faragó* (grave 1), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* (grave 2), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 7), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (grave 18), *Kiszombor-C* (grave 13), *Bucova Puszta-T.III* (grave 1), *Deszk-D*, *Olaj* (grave 1), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 2).

assemblages in *Obârșia*,²⁷² *Izvoru*,²⁷³ and *Alba Iulia*.²⁷⁴ The deposition of flint steels in graves is well documented in Avar-age,²⁷⁵ as well as 10th-century cemeteries of the so-called Köttlach culture.²⁷⁶ In the northern Balkans, this custom is attested in the *Donji Lukovit* (Bulgaria), *Vinča*, *Veliki Gradac* and *Ravna* cemeteries (Serbia).²⁷⁷ Astragali (cow, deer, or sheep vertebrae) have been found in grave 1 from the *Deszk-Olaj* cemetery. The deposition of astragali in burial assemblages is encountered rarely and is mostly associated with steppe populations, as in the case of the specimens from *Négyszállás* (Hungary) dated to the 15th century.²⁷⁸ Similar finds are known from the 9th-century cemetery in *Obârșia*.²⁷⁹ Isolated nails have been found in *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (grave 1) and *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 23), in both cases by the legs. Unless those nails were part of a coffin or box-like timber container (for which there is, however, no other indication), the nails in question may have a ritual significance. It is very hard to establish the exact function of the many knives found in graves—either tools or weapons, especially when not associated with any other grave goods. In any case, they were found in 19 cemeteries, mostly from the lowlands, with a total of 44 graves.²⁸⁰ The custom is well documented in the previous period and has been observed in the numerous cemeteries in Walachia²⁸¹ and Slovakia.²⁸² In the Banat, only one case is known of a knife deposition in the pelvic area (grave 1 in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*). In several other cases,

272 Toropu, Stoica (1972), p. 173, fig. 3; E.A.I.V.R. III, (2000), p. 213.

273 Mitrea (1989), p. 168, fig. 19/grave 108/5, p. 176, fig. 25/grave 144/3, p. 177, fig. 26/grave 147/4.

274 Dragotă, Rustoiu, Deleanu (2006), pp. 52, 124/fig. 112.

275 Hampel (1897), pl. CCCXLVII/grave 8/5 (*Bezded*); Hampel (1894), pl. XCV/4 (*Keszthely*), pl. LXXXVIII/1 (*Fenek*).

276 Korošec (1979b), pl. 17/4 b (*Bohinjska Srednja*), pl. 86/7–8 (*Köttlach*).

277 Jovanović et al. (2005), pp. 230–231, fig. 30, p. 268, pl. XII, grave 122.

278 Selmeczi (1992), p. 120, pl. XVI/17, 42 (graves 420 and 439). For the interpretation of astragali, see Manojlović-Nikolić (2003), pp. 270–279.

279 Toropu, Stoica (1972), p. 173, fig. 9/4.

280 *Arača* (grave 11), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-in the north-east of the train station, in the summer of 1903 (grave 1+another one), *Bočar-Budžak*-ekonomija (graves 5, 6), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (grave 18), *Deszk-D, J* (graves 3, 9), T (grave 39), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 39), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 1, 26, 147, 180, 183, 217, 272, 284, 416), C (graves 11, 13), E (graves 1, 11, 13, 22, 3, 36, 39), F (grave 1), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 7), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (graves 1, 4, 5), *Nicolinci* (graves 1, 2), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 8, 21, 25, 27, 37, 43), Oil refinery (grave 4), *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* (grave 2).

281 Dolinescu-Ferche, Ionescu (1970), pp. 427, 428, fig. 6/7–9; Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 171, 173, fig. 9/11–13, p. 175, fig. 11/5, 6.

282 Točík (1971).

the knife was placed next to the left (graves 21 and 27 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*; *Nikolinci*, grave 1) or the right hip (grave 18 in *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, grave 8 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, and grave 2 in *Nikolinci*).²⁸³ In two other cases (graves 5 and 6 from *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*) the knife was found under the pelvis. In two graves of the *Szőreg-Homokbánya* cemetery (43 and 25), it was placed between the legs, while in grave 18 from *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, the knife was by the right shoulder. In several cases, the knife has been placed in the region of the upper body (*Gornea-Țârcheviște*, grave 39), under the right (*Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, grave 1) or by the left elbow (*Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, grave 5; *Arača*, grave 11), by the left arm (*Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, grave 4), or on the abdomen (*Szőreg-Homokbánya*, grave 37). Sometimes, the knives were found broken, most likely deliberately, but in most cases the state of preservation is not mentioned.²⁸⁴

Except *Gornea-Țârcheviște* and *Arača*, no burial site with cases of knife deposition had a church. Judging from the anthropological analysis, it seems that knives were deposited primarily in graves of adults, usually males.²⁸⁵

At a quick glimpse at the burial assemblages with utensils, it appears that they appear especially in the lowlands in cemeteries without churches, the same sites which have produced evidence of food offerings. The custom was widely spread in Southeastern Europe during the 9th and 10th centuries.²⁸⁶

A custom with equally old traditions is the deposition of coins in burial assemblages. In the Banat, this custom is attested in no less than 40 cemeteries dated between the 10th and the 14/15th centuries.²⁸⁷ In cemeteries located in the low- and highlands of southeastern Banat, coins were often placed next to the head.²⁸⁸ Those were coins struck for the Byzantine emperors (pl. 109) Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913–920 and 944–959), Romanos II (959–963), and John III Dukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), as well as for the

283 The exact position from the knife found in grave 2 of the *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* cemetery is not known.

284 The two specimens from grave 1 in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* were found intact, but their exact position is not mentioned.

285 However, grave 5 in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* is most likely a female burial. No sexing is possible for graves 1 and 4 from that same cemetery, or for grave 2 in *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.*

286 E.g., grave 229 in *Mačvanska Mitrovica* or several burial assemblages in *Ravna*, for which see Jovanović et al. (2005), p. 230.

287 Records regarding specific graves with coins are available for only 23 cemeteries. I have been able to identify 90 burial assemblages for which the exact position of the coin is recorded.

288 *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 216, 230, 260, 276, 342), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 8, 29), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 15), *Kiszombor-B* (grave 342), *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării* (grave 1), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 25), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 25).

Hungarian kings (pl. 109) Béla I (1060–1063), Ladislav I (1077–1095), Béla III (1172–1196), Béla IV (1235–1270), Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437), and Vladislav I (1440–1444). In a number of cases, the coin was placed in the mouth.²⁸⁹ Those were coins struck for the Byzantine emperors Leo VI (886–912) and Manuel I Comnenos (1143–1180), for the Hungarian kings Andrew I (1046–1060), Béla I (1060–1063), Ladislav I (1077–1095), Coloman (1095–1116), Géza II (1141–1162), and Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437), as well as for Queen Mary (1382–85/1386–95). An interesting case is that of grave 25 in *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, which produced two coins, one found in the mouth, the other by the head. This may well indicate that the deposition of the coin in the mouth and its deposition next to the head were not mutually exclusive practices. Fragments of coins were also placed in the mouth.²⁹⁰ In southern Banat, the practice of depositing coins in the mouth of the deceased is first documented in the second half of the 10th century. In the following century the custom also appears in the both the northwestern, and the southeastern parts of the region. By contrast, for the 12th century the practice is documented only sporadically in the south-east. The custom is then recorded again from the second half of the 14th century onwards. Similarly, the deposition of a coin next to the head first appears in the northwestern part of the Banat at some point during the second half of the 10th century. In the second half of the 11th century, it is also attested in southeastern part of the region. Coins show up again in small numbers in burial assemblages dated to the second half of the 12th century and found in the south-east (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*). The mid 13th century offers a better documentation of this practice, but coins disappear from the burial assemblages by 1350, to reappear only during the second half of the 14th century.

If, on the basis of the interesting case of grave 25 in *Szőreg*-Homokbánya, one assumes the equivalence in symbolic terms of the deposition of coins inside the mouth and next to the head, then it appears that the practice was particularly popular in the northwestern (less so in the southeastern) part of the Banat during the second half of the 11th century. From the early 12th century to the third quarter of 13th century, the custom was common in communities located in the south-east. The practice is attested sporadically

289 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 3, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 35), *Cuptoare*-Sfogea (graves 94, 244, 293, 313), *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (graves 10, 49, 54), *Ilidia*-Obliața (graves 24, 29), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (graves 3, 23), *Mehadia*-Zidină (grave 7), *Deta* (one grave), *Reșița*-Ogășele (grave 34).

290 *Cuptoare*-Sfogea (grave 313), *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (grave 10), *Ilidia*-Obliața (grave 24), *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 22).

in the 14th century, mostly in the central area of the Banat, and gained in popularity again between the last quarter of that century and the late 15th century. If coins were placed in the mouth before the burial, coins found around the skull may indicate the practice of throwing coins inside the grave pit at the time of burial. The same may be true for the single case of a coin found under the chest area—a penny struck for Stephen V (1270–1272) from grave 318 in *Cuptoare-Sfocea*. In the cases of grave 2 in *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (with pennies struck for Stephen I, 1000–1038) and grave 60 in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (with a coin minted for Emperor Isaac II Angelos), the coins were found under the pelvis, which could be interpreted either as an indication of the same practice (coins being thrown into the grave pit prior to the deposition of the body) or as a sign of a purse attached to the waist. Coins were also found by the left elbow, as in the case of graves 4 in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*²⁹¹ and grave 11 in *Arača* (with two coins struck for Stephen I), both dated to the first half of the 11th century.

The deposition of coins on the chest—perhaps indicating that the coins in question were thrown onto the body after its deposition inside the grave pit—was recorded in no less than 15 grave from 6 cemeteries.²⁹² The coins in question have been minted for of the Hungarian kings Ladislas I (1077–1095), Solomon (1063–1074), Andrew I (1046–1060), Béla III (1172–1196), Charles I Robert (1308–1342), Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437), Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), for Queen Mary (1382–85/1386–95), as well as for the Byzantine emperors Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) and Alexios III Angelos. A particularly interesting find is a (recycled) Roman coin. The three coins minted for Béla III, Sigismund of Luxembourg, and Stephen IV Dragutin (1276–1282; 1316) have been found in the pelvic area in graves 32 in *Arača*, seven in *Caransebeș*—City centre, and 127 in *Cuptoare-Sfocea*, respectively. A coin struck for King Sigismund of Luxembourg was found by the legs in grave 1 in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, while two late 12th-century Byzantine coins were by the left arm in grave 329 of the *Cuptoare-Sfocea* cemetery. In two other graves of that same cemetery (306, with a coin struck for Bernard II; 230, with a coin struck for John III Dukas Vatatzes), the coins were found by the right arm.²⁹³ Several

291 Three coins, two of which have been minted for Béla IV and Louis I, and a Friesach penny.

292 *Arača* (graves 16, 45, 74), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-16 June 1903 (graves 1, 2), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (graves 229, 262, 312, 329), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 24, 42), *Szöreg-Homokbánya* (graves 13, 37), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 7, 40).

293 Two coins minted for Sigismund of Luxembourg were found by the humerus in grave 74 of the *Arača* cemetery.

coins are known to have been found in the filling of the pit,²⁹⁴ and only in some cases one can firmly established that they were thrown there at the time of the burial (as opposed to being lost at the time of later interventions). In any case, all such instances are to be dated between the mid-13th and the early 15th century.²⁹⁵

The chronology of the coins deposited in graves is worth examining. Only one 9th-century coin is known, a penny struck for Charles the Bald (840–875) and found in grave 10 of the *Deszk*-Ambrus J. cemetery. Unfortunately, its position inside the grave is unknown. Three 10th-century coins are known from *Deta* (coin struck for Leo VI), *Kiszombor-B* (coins struck for Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and Romanos II and found by the head) and *Uivar* (coin struck for Romanos I Lekapenos, 919–944).²⁹⁶

By contrast, all 11th-century coins have been struck for Hungarian kings.²⁹⁷ Two coins minted for Béla I and Ladislav I, respectively, were found next to the skull. There were also cases of coins found in the mouth (three minted for Andrew I, one for Béla I, and another for Ladislav I), under the pelvis (coin struck for Stephen I), on the chest (one minted for Solomon, two for Ladislav I), and next to the left arm (coin struck for Stephen I).²⁹⁸ With one exception (*Moldova Veche*-Malul Dunării), all burial assemblages with 11th-century Hungarian coins have been found in the lowlands of the Banat.

Coins dated to the 12th century are both Hungarian and Byzantine issues. With few exceptions (coins struck for Stephen II, 1116–1131, found in *Satchinez* and for Béla III found in *Arača*), they were all found in the mountain region of southeastern Banat. Some have been deposited by the head (coin struck for Béla III from *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă), in the mouth (coins struck for Coloman, 1095–1116, and Manuel I Comnenos, 1143–1180 from *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârvilă; coin minted for Géza II, 1141–1162 from *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus), under the

294 *Cuptoare*-Sfocea (graves 173, 266), *Baziaș*-Monastery (grave 1) and *Gornea*-Țârcheviște (grave 22).

295 The position of the coins found in graves 8 (coins struck for Béla IV and Stephen V) and 63 (coin struck for Sigismund of Luxembourg) in *Arača*, as well as of those found in *Starčevo-Livade* (12th–13th-century coin) is unknown.

296 An unknown number of 10th–11th century Byzantine coins are also said to have been found in graves located in the Roman ruins at *Sânpetru German*-Roman ruins.

297 Several coins dated to 11th–12th centuries, but without any further identification or description have been found in a cemetery excavated in *Ilidia*-Funii, at the west extremity of the Anina Mountains.

298 In several cases, the position of the coins remains unknown. Moreover, the number of graves with coins is known for *Kiszombor-B*, but it cannot be established with certainty whether the coins were minted for Andrew I or Solomon, or for both.

pelvis (coin struck for Isaac II Angelos from *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*); on the chest (coin struck for Isaac II Angelos from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, another from *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*), or by the left arm (coin minted for Alexios III Angelos from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*).²⁹⁹ Even though the group of graves studied is relatively small, it is worth noting that Hungarian coins were deposited primarily by the skull, on the mouth, or inside it. By contrast, Byzantine coins appear in a variety of positions.

In contrast to the previous periods, there is a greater variety of coins dated to the 13th century.³⁰⁰ With few exceptions (*Kikinda-Oluș*, *Arața*, and *Omolica-Preko Slatine*), most burial assemblages with 13th-century coins are from the southeastern part of the Banat. Some coins have been deposited by the head (four graves with coins struck for Béla IV found in *Cuptoare-Sfogea* and a gold coin minted for John III Dukas Vatatzes from that same cemetery, under the chest (a coin minted for Stephen IV in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*), under the right elbow (a coin struck for Bernard II from *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*), by the left elbow (one coin minted for Béla IV and a Freisach penny from *Arața*³⁰¹), on the pelvis (a single coin struck for Stephen IV Dragutin from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*), in the pit (a coin struck for Stephen IV from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* and another struck for Béla IV from *Bazias-Monastery*), and in the hand (a coin minted for John III Dukas Vatatzes in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*).

All coins dated to the 14th century are Hungarian coins, and most of them are from the same southeastern region of the Banat. They have been found by the skull (coin minted for Sigismund of Luxembourg from *Reșița-Ogășele*), on or inside the mouth (coin struck for Louis I from *Reșița-Ogășele*, coin minted for Mary from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, and coin minted for Sigismund of Luxembourg from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*), on the chest (two coins struck for Charles I Robert from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, another minted for Mary from *Reșița-Ogășele*, and a fourth minted for Sigismund of Luxembourg from *Reșița-Ogășele*), on the pelvis (coins of Sigismund of Luxembourg found in *Reșița-Ogășele* and *Caransebeș-City centre*), in the pit (coins minted for Sigismund of Luxembourg from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* and *Gornea-Țârcheviște*), by the left elbow (*Arața*), and by the the legs (coin of Sigismund of Luxembourg mentioned in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*).

299 No information is available regarding the position of the coins found in *Satchinez* (coin struck for Stephen II), *Orșova* (coin struck for Ladislav II), *Omolica-Preko Slatine* (coin struck for Béla III), and *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (coin struck for Isaac II Angelos).

300 Only one coin may be dated between the late 12th and the early 13th century, namely the penny struck in Friesach and found by the left hand in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*.

301 The coins from *Arața* were found together with another minted for Louis I, which indicates that the burial must be dated to the mid-14th century.

Most 14th-century coins appear in positions suggesting that they have been thrown into the grave pit or onto the body after its deposition. The exclusive use of Hungarian coins continued into the 15th century, when coins were deposited by the skull (a coin struck for Vladislav I from *Reșița-Ogășele*), near the pelvis (coin minted for Vladislav I found in *Reșița-Ogășele*), on the chest (coin struck for Matthias Corvinus from *Arača*), by the humerus area (coins minted for Sigismund of Luxemburg from *Arača*). Eleven coins were found in church graveyards,³⁰² 18 in cemeteries without churches.³⁰³ Graves with coins have a west-east (22 cases from 11 cemeteries),³⁰⁴ northwest-southeast (13 cases from four cemeteries),³⁰⁵ southwest-northeast (17 cases from seven cemeteries),³⁰⁶ north-south (one case),³⁰⁷ or east-west (one case) orientation.³⁰⁸ The skull in grave 312 of the *Cuptoare-Sfogea* cemetery, which produced a Roman coin, was placed on a stone. The two graves with coins in *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (25 and 37) had evidence of stretcher and coffin,³⁰⁹ respectively. Both graves with coins from *Caransebeș-City centre* were found in a crypt. Only one case of food offerings is known from a grave that also produced coins—namely grave 22 in *Szóreg-Homokbánya*. The offering in question were bindweed seeds spread on the leg of the deceased.

302 *Arača, Caransebeș-City centre, Cârnceea-Dealul Bisericii, Duplițaja-Veliki Prokop, Gornea-Țârcheviște, Ilidia-Cetate and Oblia, Jupa-Sector Țigănești, Kikinda-Oluș, Obreja-Sat Bătrân, Reșița-Ogășele.*

303 *Banatsko Arandjelovo-June 16, 1903, Deszk-Ambrus J.?, D, Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Hodoni-Pocioroane, Idvor, Ilidia-Funii, Kiszombor-B, C, Deta, Lighed-1870, Kikinda, Mokrin, Sântpetru German, Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă, Tomnatic-mound to the east from Kleinhügel (1898) and mound to the west of Kleinhügel (1898), Szóreg-Homokbánya.* In seven other cases the situation remains unclear (*Ciclova Română-Morminți, Cuptoare-Sfogea, Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării, Orșova, Petnic, Satchinez, Vrăniuș*).

304 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 87, 221, 229, 230, 244, 260, 262, 276), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 7, 25, 29), *Arača* (graves 8, 11), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 2, 4), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 22), *Căunița de Sus* (grave 60), *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 65), *Oblia* (grave 29), *Mehadia-Zidină* (grave 7), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 18), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 42).

305 *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 3, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 35, 37), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 10, 15, 49), *Cârnceea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 1), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 40).

306 *Arača* (graves 16, 32, 45, 63, 74), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 8, 9, 24, 26, 29, 34), *Caransebeș-City centre-Cr. 5* (graves 7, 8), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 14), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 2), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave 13), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 23).

307 *Uivar* (grave 1).

308 *Banatsko Arandjelovo-16 June 1903* (grave 1).

309 As in *Mehadia-Zidină*.

The position of the body in the case of graves with coins:

- a. The position of the arms: type A (the arms placed along the body) was recorded in six graves found in three cemeteries;³¹⁰ type B (the arms along the body and the palms placed on the pelvis) was documented in seven graves from six cemeteries;³¹¹ type C (the forearms placed on the abdomen) was mentioned for seven graves found in four cemeteries;³¹² type D (the forearms placed on the thorax) was recorded for three+x graves from three cemeteries;³¹³ type E (the arms flexed from the elbow and the palms brought in the area of the neck or on the shoulders) was recorded in four graves from four cemeteries;³¹⁴ subtype AB (two graves from the same cemetery);³¹⁵ subtype AC (two graves found in two cemeteries);³¹⁶ subtype BC (four graves found in three cemeteries);³¹⁷ subtype BE (three graves recorded in three cemeteries);³¹⁸ subtype CD (five graves from four cemeteries);³¹⁹ subtype CE (two graves found in two cemeteries);³²⁰ subtype DE (four graves mentioned in two cemeteries);³²¹

310 *Arača* (graves 11, 16), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 22, 35, 37), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 15).

311 *Arača* (grave 74), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 23, 25), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 262), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 2), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 29), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 40).

312 *Arača* (grave 45), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 173, 260, 312), *Reșița-Oblița* (graves 8, 42), *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 1).

313 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 293, 329), *Caransebeș-City centre* (crypt 5-grave 7), *Mehadia-Zidină* (unclear whether it is type C or D).

314 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 221), *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (grave 22), *Căunița de Sus* (grave 60) and *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 24).

315 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 3, 13).

316 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 127) and *Uivar* (grave 1).

317 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 26, 27), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 87) and *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 2).

318 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 244), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 4) and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 7).

319 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 229, 276), *Arača* (grave 32), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 10) and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 29).

320 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 230) and *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 26).

321 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 94, 150, 306) and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 18).

- subtype BX (a single grave);³²² subtype CX (a single grave);³²³ subtype DX (two graves from two cemeteries);³²⁴ subtype EX (a single grave).³²⁵
- b. The position of the legs: parallel (31 graves from 11 cemeteries);³²⁶ the legs presumably stretched (*Caransebeș*-City centre-grave 7); the legs cut from the knees (*Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii-grave 1); flexed to the right (*Szőreg*-Homokbánya-grave 13).
 - c. The body laid on the left side was found in only one grave at *Cuptoare*-Sfogea-grave 342.

It is worth mentioning that the deposition of coins in graves, a practice associated with the conversion to Christianity, appears in combination with interventions on the body.

Types of interventions on the bodies in graves with coins: reburials-*Cuptoare*-Sfogea (grave 312 a); cut fibulas and tibias-*Cârnecea*-Dealul Bisericii (grave 1); smashed or missing skulls (*Ilidia*-Oblia, graves 24, 29, *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță, grave 29); the superior part of the skeleton missing-*Arača* (grave 74), missing skull-*Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (grave 29), *Arača* (graves 8, 45); the right arms (*Hodoni*-Pocioroane, grave 4; *Arača*, grave 45; *Reșița*-Ogășele, grave 29) or feet (*Szőreg*-Homokbánya, grave 37), interventions on the right arm, the pelvis and the legs-*Cuptoare*-Sfogea (grave 318); interventions on the ribs, tibia and the left fibula-*Gornea*-Țârcheviște (grave 22); interventions on the right arm, the left palm, the ribs and the clavicles-*Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (grave 49); interventions on the left arm and the ribs-*Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 22); interventions on the legs-*Arača* (grave 16); interventions on the right leg (*Arača*-grave 32), skull, the spine, the pelvis and the feet-*Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 23); interventions on the palms, the feet and the ribs-*Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 26); interventions on the ribs, the spine and the feet-*Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 35); unspecified interventions-*Ilidia*-Cetate (grave 65), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (grave 25); partially recovered skeletons-*Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (grave 23); graves containing only the skull-*Cuptoare*-Sfogea (grave 216), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (grave 3), which have been interpreted as pre-Christian, pagan prac-

322 *Reșița*-Ogășele (grave 29).

323 *Cuptoare*-Sfogea (grave 318).

324 *Arača* (grave 63) and *Reșița*-Ogășele (grave 24).

325 *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (grave 23).

326 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (graves 3, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 35, 37), *Arača* (graves 11, 16, 32, 63, 74), *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus (graves 10, 15, 49, 60), *Reșița*-Ogășele (graves 8, 26, 29, 42), *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță (graves 7, 29, 40), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (graves 2, 4), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-16 June 1903 (grave 1), *Ciclova Română*-Morminți (grave 14), *Gornea*-Țârcheviște (grave 22), *Obreja*-Sat Bătrân (grave 18) and *Uivar* (grave 1).

tices and rituals. Similar problems of interpretation appear in the case of the deposition of weapons (pl. 107). The presence of weapons among grave goods has been commonly interpreted as an indication of warrior burial, especially when combined with the symbolic deposition of parts of a horse body or of horse gear. Sabers are known from six cemeteries: *Cheglevici*, *Săcălaz*, *Tomnatic* (grave 1, 1911-the brick factory), *Kiszombor-E*, *Tomaševac* and *Petnic-Dealu Țolii*.³²⁷ Unfortunately, the position of those weapons inside the grave remains unknown. The deposition of weapons in graves is a distinctive practice associated with the arrival of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin in the late 9th and early 10th century,³²⁸ although sabers were deposited in graves even as late as the 13th or 14th century (*Tomaševac*).³²⁹ We might also be dealing with a sword find at *Beregsău Mare-Gomilă* but in this case the cemetery had a church. The custom of depositing sabers in graves continued until the mid-10th century, when it was replaced by the deposition of swords.

Swords are known from 17 locations (pl. 107), but most of them are stray finds.³³⁰ In a number of cases, it is quite possible that the weapons came from disturbed burial assemblages.³³¹ Only two specimens have been found in graves, namely those from *Săcălaz* and *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*. Most specimens have been found broken, while the sword from *Bucova-Șanțuri* was bent. The deposition of swords in graves continued into the second half of the 10th and throughout the 11th century.³³² Spearheads, with unknown positions inside the grave, have been found in *Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron* (grave 1), *Deszk-J* (grave 6) and *Novi Kneževac*-property of Béla Talliján. This type of weapon

327 The sabre from *Beregsău Mare-Gomilă* was found in a church graveyard.

328 The deposition of sabre in graves is documented on burial sites excavated in the lands to the north from the Mureș River, in *Arad-Ciala* (Cosma [2002], pp. 148, 164, 340, pl. 3/3), *Geszteréd-Kecskelátó dűlő* (Fodor [1996], pp. 79, 80, fig. 6, p. 81, fig. 7), *Karos-Eperjes II* (Fodor [1996], pp. 86, 87, figs. 9–10; 96, fig. 23; 97, figs. 24–25; 106, figs. 41, 42; 107, figs. 43–44), *Rakamaz-Strázsadomb* (Fodor [1996], pp. 113, 114, figs. 2–5; 119, fig. 12), *Tarcal* (Fodor [1996], p. 121, fig. 2), *Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy* (Fodor [1996], pp. 252, 253, fig. 23.), *Sárrétudvari-Poroshalom* (Fodor [1996], p. 281, fig. 11), *Tiszafüred* (Fodor [1996], p. 289, fig. 1), *Tiszasüly-Éhhalom* (Fodor [1996], p. 293, fig. 1), *Bana* (Fodor [1996], p. 363, fig. 2, p. 364), *Székesfőhérvár-Demkóhegy* (Fodor [1996], p. 374, fig. 1), and *Kál-Legaló* (Fodor [1996], p. 397, fig. 1, p. 398).

329 Relić (2009), p. 292, fig. 2.

330 *Timișoara-Pădurea Verde*, the specimen from an unknown location, now in the collection of the Banat Museum, *Poiana Prisăcii*, *Jupa*, *Nerău*, *Banatski Brestovac*.

331 *Cuvin*, *Jimbolia*, *Novi Bečej*, *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján, *Orșova*-1965, near the Danube, *Sasca Montană*, *Vrșac*, *Cheglevici*, *Becicherecul Mare (Zrenjanin)*-unspecified location.

332 However, the specimens from *Bucova-Șanțuri* (or *Stadion*) and *Petnic-Dealu Țolii* must be dated much later.

rarely appears in burial assemblages. Three graves (no. 76 in *Deszk-D*, no. IV in *Dudeştii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, and B in *Timișoara*-Cioreni) produced battle-axes. Although axes frequently appear in burial assemblages, in the Banat they were only occasionally deposited in graves. A specimen similar to the one found in *Timișoara*-Cioreni is known from *Alba Iulia*-Stația de salvare.³³³ In other areas, axes are much better represented in burial assemblages: in Crișana at *Biharia-D* and *Șumleu*,³³⁴ in Slovakia, on the upper course of the Tisza³³⁵ and at *Doroslovo*-Ulica *Žarko Zrenjanin* no. 48, in Vojvodina.³³⁶ The axe is also typical for assemblages of the so-called Köttlach culture.³³⁷ They also appear in the lands to the south from the river Danube, e.g., at *Ravna*.³³⁸ Bows have been found in nine cemeteries,³³⁹ many of which are located in the northwestern part of the Banat. In grave I from the *Novi Bečej*-Matejki Brod cemetery, the bow was on the left side of the body, while in *Voiteni*, it has been placed near the lower part of the left leg (and was probably ritually broken). Quiver remains have been found in 31 graves from 15 cemeteries.³⁴⁰ Quivers were placed by the left leg,³⁴¹ by the right,³⁴² or the left shoulder,³⁴³ on the right³⁴⁴ or on the left side of the pelvis (*Kiszombor-B*, grave 167), by the right leg (*Kiszombor-F*, grave 1), or directly on the body (*Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, grave 1).³⁴⁵ The deposition of quivers in graves begins in the 10th century with the arrival of the Magyars, and continues until the late 11th century. This is primarily a nomadic practice, given that steppe peoples employed bows and arrows more than any other

333 Ciugudean, Dragotă (2002), p. 42, cat.80.

334 Cosma (2001), p. 195, pl. 7/1, p. 237; Hampel (1907), pl. 5, grave 4/8a–b.

335 Bakay (1967), p. III.

336 Stanojev (1989), p. 45.

337 Korošec (1979b), pl. 115/3

338 Jovanović et al. (2005), p. 221, fig. 22.

339 *Deszk*-Ambrus J., *Deszk-D*, *Kiszombor-B*, C, E, F, *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, *Voiteni*.

340 *Deszk-D* (graves 57, 61, 65, 73, 76, 164, 363), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 12, 26, 167, 309, 217, 284), *Deszk-E* (graves 13, 30, 35, 39), *Timișoara*-Cioreni (graves B, G), *Kiszombor-C* (graves 13, 24), F (grave 1), *Klarafálva*-Faragó (grave 7), *Kübekhaza-Újtelep* (grave 11), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 7), *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod (grave 1), *Voiteni* (grave 3), *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), T.III (grave 1), *Deszk*-Ambrus J. (one grave), *Dudeştii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 4/2001).

341 *Deszk-D* (grave 61), *Kiszombor-B* (grave 217), *Voiteni* (grave 3).

342 *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), T.III (grave 1), *Deszk-D* (grave 76), *Kiszombor-B* (grave 284), C (grave 13).

343 *Deszk-D* (graves 57, 65), *Kiszombor-B* (grave 309), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 7).

344 *Kiszombor-E* (graves 13, 30), C (grave 24).

345 The quiver in grave 4/2001 from *Dudeştii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound has been found right above the femur.

weapon. The disappearance of quivers from burial assemblages was a direct consequence of Christianization. Arrows were found in 25 cemeteries with 46 graves.³⁴⁶ In two cases of burial assemblages with quivers, no arrowheads have been found.³⁴⁷ Sometimes, the quiver was placed on the right side of the pelvis, with the arrows on the opposite side (grave 24 in *Kiszombor-C*). There are also cases in which the quiver was placed by the left, and the arrows by the right leg (grave 39 in *Kiszombor-E*). However, in most cases, the arrows were inside the quiver.

Arrowheads were also found without quivers in 24 graves from 14 cemeteries.³⁴⁸ They have been placed by the left (*Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*-grave 4, *Dudeștii Vechi-T.VI*-grave 1) or right shoulder (*Szőreg-Homokbánya*-grave 37), on the abdomen, on the right (*Dudeștii Vechi-T.I*-grave 1) or on the left side of the pelvis (*Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*-grave 7), by the right leg (*Hodoni-Pocioroane*-grave 17), on the left side of the chest (*Voiteni*-grave 6), or in the chest area (*Jupa*-grave 5). The arrowheads found in *Hodoni-Pocioroane* and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* were stuck into the bones of legs and chest, respectively, a sign that they most likely were the cause of death. This may also be true for the -child burial from *Jupa*. Otherwise, arrowheads have been found primarily in graves of adults, especially males.³⁴⁹ The deposition of arrows in graves was a widely spread practice widely spread between the 10th and the 13th centuries in a vast area between the Carpathian Basin and the northern Black Sea region, and

346 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 12, 21, 209, 217, 272, 279, 284, 363, 309, 310, 363), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves A, C, F, G, B, E), *Kiszombor-E* (graves 13, 30, 35, 39, 41), *Deszk-D* (graves 61, 65, 73, 76), *Voiteni* (graves 3, 6), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (graves 17, 18), *Kiszombor-C* (graves 13, 24), *Dudeștii Vechi-Drăgomir's Mound* (grave 4/2001) and inside the territory of the cemetery, T.I (grave 1), T.VI (grave 1), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*-grave 7, *Bucova Puszta-T.III* (grave 1), *Deszk-Ambros J.* (one grave), *Kiszombor-F* (grave 1), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 7), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 4), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 37), *Deszk-J* (grave 6), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 17), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești* (grave 5), *Banatsko Arandjelovo-mound* researched in 1906, *Frumușeni-Hotar cu Fântânele*, *Novi Kneževac*, *Pančevo*.

347 *Deszk-D*-grave 57 (the left shoulder), *Kiszombor-B*-grave 167 (on the left side of the pelvis).

348 *Kiszombor-B*-graves 21, 279 (two), 272 (two), 309 (two), 310 (11), 363 (five), *Timișoara-Cioreni*-graves G (six), C (five), F (five), B (four), E (four), A (six), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*-grave 7 (three), *Dudeștii Vechi-T.I*-grave 1 (one), T.VI (two), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV*-grave 17 (two), *Deszk-J*-grave 6 (three), *Hodoni-Pocioroane*-grave 17 (three), *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*-grave 5 (one), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*-grave 4 (one), *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana*-one grave (five), *Szőreg-Homokbánya*-grave 37 (one), *Kiszombor-E*-grave 41 (one), *Voiteni*-grave 6 (one).

349 *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 17), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 17), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 37). The sex of the skeletons found in grave 4 of the *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* cemetery, and in *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* remains unknown.

has often been associated with steppe populations, Turkic or otherwise.³⁵⁰ A helmet and fragments of a coat of mail have been discovered in a grave from *Tomaševac*.³⁵¹ Helmets are also known from 13th-century burial assemblages in Hungary attributed to the Cumans, but contemporary specimens are also known from *Moscu*³⁵² and *Vatra Moldoviței*.³⁵³

The deposition of weapons in graves is a practice documented for many populations in the Carpathian Basin and the steppe lands to the north from the Black Sea. Axes were deposited in 9th century graves in Moravia, while arrows appear sporadically in burial assemblages of the so-called Köttlach culture (*Bled-Grad*).³⁵⁴ The arrival of the Magyars in Pannonia reinstated the custom of placing weapons in graves, which had been prominent in the region during the Late Avar age. In the lands north of the Black Sea, the custom was widely spread among the nomads and involved their preferred weapons (bow, quiver, arrows, axes and, on rare occasions, sabers and spears). The deposition of horse parts in graves (pl. 106) may also be connected with the traditions of the steppe. The practice cannot be subscribed to the general category of food offering, because its symbolic underpinning refers to the association between the horse (as a means of transportation, but also as a companion) and its owner in the afterlife.³⁵⁵ In this respect, it is important to note that the symbolism in question is enhanced by the presence in the grave not of the entire horse, but of parts of its body, mostly the head and the inferior parts of the legs. In the Banat, the deposition of parts of a horse body has been recorded for 21 graves, mostly from the northwestern part of the region.³⁵⁶ Only in a few cases was the position of the horse bones recorded in relation to that of the human skeleton.³⁵⁷ In *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* and *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.I, the skull

350 For finds from the Carpathian Basin, see also Kiss (1985); and for Moldavia, see Spinei (1985).

351 Relić (2009), p. 294, fig. 4, p. 295, fig. 5.

352 Spinei (1994), p. 460, fig. 26/II.

353 Spinei (1994), p. 461, fig. 27/3.

354 Korošec (1979b), pl. 7/3/c.

355 Bálint (1969), pp. 107–114.

356 *Kübekhaza-Újtelep* (graves 1, 9, 10), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 3, 17), *Pančevo* (two graves), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 217), *Nerău*-1899, *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 10), *Săcălaz* (grave 1), *Tomnatic*-1898, *Vizejdia*-T.VI (grave 1), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-1898 (grave 1), north-east from the train station 1901/03, *Čestereg*, *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), *Comloșu Mare* (grave 1), *Deszk-D* (grave 76?), *Bucova Puszta*-T.III (grave 1).

357 *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 3, 17), *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), T.III (grave 1), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 10), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1).

and the legs of the horse have been placed directly by the feet of the human in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III and T.IV, *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.VI, and *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, they were next to the left leg.³⁵⁸ In *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, those bones were found in the pelvic area. Given the published details, none of those cases perfectly matches the classification advanced by Csanád Bálint, but it seems that the largest number of cases (four out of six) would fit into his type 2 (the skull of the horse placed over its legs, on the left side of the human's left leg, with the skull turned towards the skull of the human).

Although the deposition of horse parts is documented for burial assemblages of the Avar age, after ca. 800, the practice disappeared from the Carpathian Basin, to be revived only in the 10th century with the arrival of steppe populations from the northern Black Sea area.

Besides horse bones, the symbolic association between the horse and its owner was also symbolically represented by means of the deposition of horse gear—bridle bits, reins, saddle, and stirrups (pl. 106). Metallic or bone mounts and ornaments, such as found in *Teremia Mare*, only indirectly attest the deposition of reins and saddles. In some cases, only a few elements of the horse gear were deposited, and not all graves with horse gear also contained horse bones. Horse gear has been recuperated from 35 cemeteries, but specific information regarding the graves in which it was found is available for only 43 graves from 23 cemeteries. Stirrups, for example, appear in 37 graves from 34 cemeteries,³⁵⁹ but specific information is available only for 25 graves.³⁶⁰ All known finds are from the northwestern part of the Banat. Stirrups were deposited on the left side of the pelvic area (*Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, grave 17), on the left side of the legs (*Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, grave 18, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III, grave 1, *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, grave 10, *Tiszasziget*-Petőfi Út, grave 2), by the feet (*Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, grave 1), on the legs (*Hodoni*-Pocioroane, grave 3, *Sânpetru German*,

358 There is also another mention of horse bones found by the legs of the human skeleton in one of the graves from *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Cigłana.

359 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds located near the train station researched in 10 december 1898, Vinograd-1899, north-east of the train station-1903 (Aurel Török), 1906, *Bočar-Budžak*-ekonomija, *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, T.III, T.IX, *Cenad*-Tarnok Mound (Pojána), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, T.I, T.V, *Deszk*-Ambrus J., D, J, *Felnac* 1901, *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica, *Kiszombor*-B, C, E, F, *Klárafalva*-Faragó, *Kübekhaza*-Újtelep, *Novi Kneževac*-possession of the grof Béla Talliján, *Periam*-Régiposta Str., *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, *Sânpetru German*, *Săcălaz*, *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A., *Tomnatic* ?, *Timișoara*-Cioreni, *Voiteni*).

360 *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, T.III, T.IX, *Cenad*-Tarnok Mound (Pojána), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, T.I, T.V *Deszk*-D, J, *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica, *Kiszombor*-B, C, E, F, *Klárafalva*-Faragó, *Kübekhaza*-Újtelep, *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, *Sânpetru German*, *Săcălaz*, *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A., *Tomnatic*, *Timișoara*-Cioreni, *Voiteni*.

grave 1), on or under the right leg (*Voiteni*, grave 3), or above the feet (*Dudeştii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, grave 4/2001). Single stirrups are known from grave 2 in *Tiszasziget*-Petőfi Út and grave 3 in *Hodoni*-Pocioroane. In six cases, stirrups were found broken, most likely deliberately,³⁶¹ along skeletons of males³⁶² or adult persons of unknown sex.³⁶³ Bridle bits have been found in 23 graves from 20 cemeteries, mostly from the northwestern area of the Banat.³⁶⁴ The bits were on the right side of the head (*Sânpetru German*, grave 1), on the left side of the pelvis (*Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, grave 10), on the left leg (*Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, grave 1, *Hodoni*, grave 3, *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, grave 18, *Dudeştii Vechi*-T.I, grave 1), next to the right (*Voiteni*, grave 3), or the left foot (*Voiteni*, grave 6). In five cases, the bits were found broken.³⁶⁵ Three of the graves with bridle bits contained skeletons of males.³⁶⁶

The existence of reins may be surmised for 15 sites.³⁶⁷ More often than not, only the presence of buckles, such as found in graves 3 and 6 in *Voiteni*, implies the deposition of reins.³⁶⁸ Otherwise, the existence of reins may be surmised

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- 361 *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (graves 17, 18), *Bucova Puszta*-T.III (grave 1), *Tiszasziget* (grave 2) and *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound to the north-east from the train station (10 December 1898 grave 1) and mound destroyed in 1903 (Aurel Török, grave 1).
- 362 *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod (grave 1), *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 3).
- 363 *Bucova Puszta*-T.III (grave 1), *Dudeştii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 4/2001), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 10), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1).
- 364 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds near the train station researched in 10 december 1898 (1898), 1899, 1900, leveled mound, north-east of the train station-1903 (Aurel Török), 1906, 1907, *Deszk*-Ambrus J., D, J, *Kiszombor*-C, E, F, *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján, *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod, *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, *Dudeştii Vechi*-T.I, *Hodoni*-Pocioroane, *Sânpetru German*, *Voiteni*.
- 365 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mounds, 10 December 1898, mound to the north-east of train station (A. Török), mounds destroyed in 1906, 1907 and *Voiteni* (grave 3).
- 366 *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (grave 3), *Kübekhaza*-Újtelep (grave 1), *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A. (=Petőfi Út-grave 2).
- 367 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-1903 (A. Török), *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), T.III (grave 1), *Deszk*-J (grave 7), *Dudeştii Vechi*-T.I (grave 1), *Kiszombor*-B (grave 217), E (graves 13, 35, 39, 43, 47), F (grave 13), *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz (grave 10), *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod (grave 1), *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Ciglana (one grave), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A. (grave 2), *Vršac* (grave 1), *Voiteni*.
- 368 Buckles have been found in *Kiszombor*-E (graves 13, 35, 39, 43, 47), *Voiteni* (graves 3, 6), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-1903 (A. Török), *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 18), *Deszk*-J (grave 7), *Kiszombor*-B (grave 217), *Novi Bečej*-Matejski Brod (grave 1), *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Ciglana-grave with rein and arrows, *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Tiszasziget*-Molnar A. (grave 2).

from the presence mounts (as in *Vršac-Vizi Str. 7, grave 1*)³⁶⁹ or, exceptionally, fragments of leather.³⁷⁰

Most of these pieces were found in the north-west, north and south regions of Banat, in cemeteries without a church and located only in the plain area. Most of the time the respective graves constitute single finds from small cemeteries. Judging from the position of those artifacts, reins were deposited on the right (*Kiszombor-B, grave 217, Sânpetru German, grave 1*) or on the left side of the body (*Novo Miloševo-Izlaz, grave 10*), by the feet (*Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod, grave 1*), or next to the left (*Bucova Puszta-T.IV, grave 18, Bucova Puszta-T.III, grave 1, Voiteni, grave 6*) or right leg (*Voiteni, grave 3*).

Judging from their frequent association (19 cases), bridle bits were deposited together with stirrups.³⁷¹ Theoretically, stirrups were attached to saddles but those have not found in graves (with the exception of a single assemblage from *Teremia Mare*). Nor are any metal or bone ornaments for the saddle known from the Banat. Stirrups and accessories (buckles or mounts) appear more often than any other horse gear elements. As a general rule, however, graves with horse gear elements do not include horse bones as well.

In the Carpathian Basin, the custom of depositing horse gear in graves was reinstated in the late 9th century in the Carpathian Basin upon the arrival of the Magyars and other Turkic populations, especially the Kabars. The practice is not documented for much of the 9th century, following the end of the Avar age. From its reinstatement ca. 900, the custom survived in the Banat until the last quarter of the 11th century.

Jewelry takes a special position in the discussion of grave goods. Tiara plates, for example, are rarely found in burial assemblages. No less than nine finds

369 In addition, fragments of *metal artifacts*, whose purpose remains uncertain, have been found in 15 graves from 11 cemeteries: *Arača* (graves 32, 34, 64, 88), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mounds near the train station (10 December 1898), north-east from the train station (*A. Török*; grave 1), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV*-(grave 2), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 2), *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 4), *Kiszombor-F* (grave 1), *Kikinda-Oluš farm* (grave 8), *Nikolinci* (grave 2), *Satchinez* (near the railway, before 1907), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 13, 19, 30, and 38). Bronze or silver fragments of unequally uncertain function have been found in *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării, Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 22), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), and *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (the mound destroyed in 1906).

370 *Kiszombor-F* (grave 13), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*-grave 10 (?), *Bucova Puszta-T.III* (grave 1).

371 *Kiszombor-E* (graves 13, 30, 31, 35, 39, 43, 46, 47), *Banatsko Arandjelovo-1903-A*. *Török* (grave 1), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (grave 18), *Deszk-D* (graves 65, 76), *J* (grave 9), *Kiszombor-C* (grave 6), *F* (graves 1, 13), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 10), *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1), *Voiteni* (grave 3).

are known from the Banat (pl. 95).³⁷² Tiara plates were attached to a support made of leather or textile band to be worn on the head. With the exception of the plates in grave 35 in *Arača*, which have been found on the pelvis, most finds are therefore from the skull area. Hairpins were found in three cemeteries from the northern and northwestern parts of the Banat.³⁷³ In *Timișoara-Cioreni*, one specimen was on a female (grave 8), the other on a male skeleton (grave 18, sexing based on grave goods). Hair amulets, worn in pairs or singly, have been found in three graves from three cemeteries located in the northwestern part of the Banat.³⁷⁴ Many more are known from 10th-century burial assemblages in the Carpathian Basin.³⁷⁵ Because they are often found next to the head (under the skull in grave 1, and next to the ear in grave 2 from *Rábé-Anka Sziget*), cowrie shells may have served as earring pendants or hair ornaments.³⁷⁶ Cowrie shells were also worn as amulets. The fashion of wearing cowrie shells, often in necklaces,³⁷⁷ spread quickly in southeastern Europe during the 12th century. There is therefore a cluster of finds in the Lower Danube Danube region, which suggests that the fashion originated in Byzantine Empire. Earrings are the most common type of jewelry in medieval burial assemblages in the Banat. In several cases, archaeologists mistook ear- for lock rings or hair amulets. In the Banat, true earrings are known from 29 sites.³⁷⁸ They have been found primarily in female, but also in child and even male burials, either next to skull or on the chest. Most types appear to have originated in the lands north of the Black Sea or in the Balkans. There are also some exceptional finds of Pannonian type in *Deta*.³⁷⁹ Lock rings had a wide circulation under different shapes and versions. Those ornament were used either singly or alongside

372 *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a (graves 214, 225, 232, and 327), *Arača* (graves 35, 82, and 70), *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (grave 5), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 2).

373 *Botoș-Mlaka*, *Voiteni* and *Timișoara-Cioreni*.

374 *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, *Kiszombor-B* and *Bucova Puszta-T.II*.

375 Csallány (1959), pp. 281–305; Heitel (1994/1995), pp. 420–424.

376 The shell from grave 2 in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* was found by the left shoulder and must therefore have attached to the hair.

377 Necklaces made of cowrie shells have been found in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5) and *Kiszombor-B* (grave 127).

378 *Arača*, *Banatska Palanka*, *Banatsko Arandjelovo-1903* (A. Török), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*, *Deszk-Ambrus J.*, *Deta*, *Duplijaja-Veliki Prokop*, *Ilidia-Oblița*, *Novi Kneževac-Béla Talliján*, *Orșova*, *Pančevo*-in the environs of the town, *Petnic*, *Rábé-Anka Sziget*, *Sânpetru German*, *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, *Taraș-Seliște*, *Teremia Mare-1875*, *Tomnatic-1911*, *Vatin*, *Vršac-Podvršac*, *Vršac-Vizi Str. 7*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, *Timișoara-Cioreni*, *Vărădia*, *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Svinița*-unspecified location and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*.

379 Rusu (1971), p. 724.

other dress accessories. They appear everywhere in the Banat, with slight typological variations. For example, rings made of circular bar, with separated ends are known from 18 graves from 16 sites.³⁸⁰ Rings with closer ends have been found in 16 graves from 16 cemeteries.³⁸¹ There are also rings with overlapped ends,³⁸² flat rings with ends apart from each other,³⁸³ twisted rings,³⁸⁴ or rings with twisted ends.³⁸⁵ A ring made of twisted wire with hook and loop at the two ends was found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo*, while another with prolonged and

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- 380 *Arača* (graves 55, 62), *Banatski Despotovac* (two silver specimens), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds located near the train station researched in 10 December 1898-(two specimens, one of bronze and one of silver), mound located north-east of the train station, destroyed in 16 June 1903 (a bronze specimen), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 6, a bronze specimen; grave 9 with a silver specimen), *Pančevo* (two bronze specimens; unclear context), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 7, two bronze specimens and a stray find), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 317, a bronze specimen), *Bucova Puszta-T.III* (grave 1-a broken bronze specimen), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 5, two bronze specimens; grave 8, two bronze specimens; grave 15, a specimen of unspecified metal), *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* (a silver specimen broken into two and another bronze specimen), *Rábé*-railway station (two bronze specimens), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 1, a bronze specimen; grave 20, bronze specimen; grave 38, bronze specimen), *Şopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 21, two unbroken specimens, probably made of bronze), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 12, a bronze specimen), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave E, a broken specimen, grave 19, a bronze specimen, grave 20).
- 381 *Arača* (grave 44, bronze), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound located in the north-east of the train station (A. Török; two bronze specimens), unknown location researched in 16 June 1903 (two rings), mound researched in 1906 (a bronze specimen), mound researched-excavated in 1907 (a bronze specimen), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (a stray find), *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (grave 18, two silver specimens), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 332, a silver specimen), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 57, a bronze specimen), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 1, two specimens made of an unspecified material; grave 10, two specimens), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 2, a bronze specimen; grave 4, a bronze specimen), *Şopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 39, a silver specimen), *Tiszaziget-Molnar A.* (grave 2, two bronze specimens), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 14, iron specimen), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave L, two bronze specimens, grave E, a specimen, grave 4, a bronze specimen, grave 19) and *Voitenii* (grave 4, two silver specimens).
- 382 *Felnac*-a bronze specimen, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 54, a bronze specimen), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 9, a specimen made of an unspecified material), *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* (a silver specimen), *Şopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 21, a badly shaped specimen probably made of bronze) and *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (graves L, E, 4, 19).
- 383 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 11, 18, 64, 136, 150, 154, 167, 217, 221, 226, 250, 251, 271, 272, 284, 286, 293, 318, 319, 342, 344, 348, 372), *C* (grave 2), *E* (graves 11, 46), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 1), *Deszk-J* (grave 4). Nothing is known about the material(s) used for the manufacture of those rings.
- 384 *Şopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (grave 47).
- 385 *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 7-two bronze specimens), *Banatska Palanka* (one specimen, unspecified material), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (a specimen made of an unspecified material,

twisted ends brought together is known from grave II in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*. Rings with S-shaped, twisted ends have received particular attention. Some are undecorated rings,³⁸⁶ others are made of twisted wire,³⁸⁷ and still others

found in grave 4), *Crna Bara-Prkos* (a bronze specimen), *Felnac* (a bronze specimen) and *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (grave II, a bronze specimen).

- 386 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds near the train station (10 December 1898; a bronze specimen), *Vinograd* (one bronze and one silver specimen), mound researched in 1903 (A. Török; three specimens made of silver and one made of bronze), mound researched in 16 June 1903 (a specimen made of an unspecified material), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (a silver specimen), *Kivin-Grad* (a silver specimen, and a gold one), *Deszk-D* (the total number of specimens found is not known, but they were apparently made of silver and bronze), *Deta* (a specimen of an unspecified material), *Dupljaja* (a specimen of an unspecified material), *Felnac* (two bronze specimens), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (a bronze specimen from grave 26, two silver specimens from grave 50 and two other specimens of an unspecified material found in graves 51 and 65), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (two specimens made of an unspecified material found in grave 2 and another two from grave 14), *Ilidia-Funii* (three specimens made of an unspecified material found in grave 8, a silver specimen from grave 17), *Kiszombor-B*-probably four specimens made of an unspecified material found in graves 157, 280, 401, and 414), *Klárafalva-B* (graves 41, 44, 55), *Faragó* (graves 6, 10, and 12, specimens of an unknown material), *Mokrin* (a bronze specimen), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (three bronze specimens from grave 1, one of silver from grave 5, two of bronze from grave 11, one of silver and one of bronze from grave 15, two specimens of silver from grave 28, one of silver from grave 35), *Szőreg-Oil Refinery* (two specimens made of an unspecified material found in grave 1), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (two specimens made of an unspecified material from grave 21-probably bronze, two specimens from grave 39), *Taraș-Seliște* (two bronze specimens found in grave 1), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (a silver specimen found in grave 1/2000), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (a bronze specimen from grave 13). Most other lock rings with S-shaped ends have no detailed description: *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound NE of the train station, *Cenad*-in the vicinity of the Roman-Catholic Church (four silver specimens), *Felnac* (four specimen made of bronze with broken ends), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (three specimen of an unspecified material and with the end broken were found in graves 48, 57 and 63), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (a specimen of an unspecified material found in grave 13), *Ilidia-Cetate* (a specimen of an unspecified material from grave 68), *Kiszombor-C* (a specimen of an unspecified material found in grave 22), *Klárafalva-B* (graves 15, 24, and 39), *Kübekháza* (a bronze specimen), *Kikinda-Oluš*, the new farm (two silvered specimens found in graves 2, 21, and 31), *Vešalo* (a bronze specimen from grave 3, four bronze specimens from grave 9, a bronze specimen from grave 11, two bronze fragments from grave 19), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (a bronze specimen with a broken end found in grave 14, a silver specimen with the broken end from grave 15), *Dupljaja-Veliki Prokop, Grad, Omolica*.

- 387 *Kikinda-Vešalo*, grave 21 (dated to the 11th–12th century).

display a grooved³⁸⁸ or granulated ornament on the S-shaped end.³⁸⁹ Unspecified types of rings have also been found on several sites.³⁹⁰

Necklaces made of metal plates were found only in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* (grave 12). The piece was destroyed during dismantling. Currently this is the only case recorded in Banat. The custom can only be dated using as a guideline the period in which the cemetery was functional. Another made of metal spheres is known from *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (grave 15). As in the previous case, this is a unique find and the custom can be dated during the period when the cemetery was used. Medallions are known from seven sites, mostly from the northwestern part of the Banat.³⁹¹ Some have a heart or circular shape and have been manufactured from metal foil, with pressed or incised ornament. Others are made of an embedded gemstone with a ring used for hanging the object. Such dress accessories are occasionally found in 9th-century assemblages from the northern Black Sea area attributed to steppe populations. Bead necklaces have been found in 39 graves from 23 different cemeteries.³⁹² In graves 218, 328 from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, the necklaces were located under the

388 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound researched in 1903 located north-east of the train station (A. Török; two silver specimens and a bronze one), *Deszk-D* (two gold specimens found in graves 11 and 152), *Kiszombor-B* (a specimen from each (?) of the graves 138 and 122, unspecified material), *Klárafalva-B* (unknown number of specimens found in graves 37, 41, 44, 51, 55, and 56), *Majdan* (a gold specimen), *Foieni* (a gold specimen).

389 Oța (2007/2008), pp. 291, 294, 302, pl. II/3.

390 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 107, one specimen, unspecified material; grave 338, wide iron specimen), *Deszk-D, Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 12, two specimens made of bronze), *Lighed-1870, Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării* (grave 1, silver specimen), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave 6-one specimen, unspecified material; grave 15-two specimens, unspecified material), *Tomnatic-1911* (grave 1-one specimen), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave E, an open bronze specimen, interpreted as earring), *Voiteni* (grave 6, a partially broken bronze specimen) and *Dumbrăvița*. Another flat pin was *Kikinda-Veșalo*, grave 21. A bronze ring of round or square bar is mentioned as having been found in *Felnac*.

391 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound in the village, south-east from the train station (10 December 1898), mound south-east from the train station researched in 1903 (A. Török), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija, Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 4), *Kiszombor-E* (grave 1), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave A), *Cuptoare-Sfogea*.

392 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 67, 128, 136, 141, 202, 238, 271, 319, 372, 375, 401, 414), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 6, 7, 14, 15), *Kiszombor-E* (graves 1, 10, 37), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 218, 328), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 44, 48), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves A, 28), *Nikolinci* (graves 2, 5), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (graves 1, 5), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds located near the train station-10 December 1898, north-east from from the train station-1903 (A. Török), *Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron* (grave 1), *Arača* (graves 11, 91), *Bucova Puszta-T.II* (grave 1), *Deszk-D, J* (grave 2), *Kiszombor-south of the village, Klárafalva-B* (grave 44),

skull but there is not information available regarding the position in the other cases. Where available, the anthropological analysis shows that those were graves of women,³⁹³ children,³⁹⁴ or males.³⁹⁵ Bead necklaces appear in burial assemblages until ca. 1200. After that date they are very seldom deposited as funerary inventories. Those dated after that date and found in Hungary are commonly attributed to the Yassi, a steppe population settled in the medieval kingdom of Hungary. Cemeteries in which bead necklaces have been found are located especially in the northwestern part of the Banat and are typically without churches.

In some cases, besides beads, necklaces also included jingling bells (*Gornea-Căunița de Sus*), cowrie and river shells, as well as fish vertebrae. There were also finds of necklaces made only of snail shells (*Duplijaja*). Amulets consisted of beads, pierced coins, animal fangs, shells and metal plates.³⁹⁶ Those made of beads have been found in eight graves from eight cemeteries.³⁹⁷ They appear in female (*Szóreg-Homokbánya* and *Voiteni*), child (*Arača*), as well as male burials (*Sânpetru German*). Three amulets made of animal fangs are known from *Banatsko Arandjelovo*, *Cenad-Tarnok Mound*, and *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave F). They have good analogies in amulets found in grave 56 in *Kistokaj-Homokbánya*,³⁹⁸ and in *Alba Iulia-Stația de salvare*.³⁹⁹ Amulets made of cowrie shells are known from *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 2). Only when found isolated and not in the region of the neck can such shells be interpreted as amulets, and not as jewelry, although one function certainly does not exclude the other. Amulets made of pierced coins have been found in *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (grave 43) and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 10). In grave 11 from the *Arača* cemetery an amulet made of a piece of metal was attached to a bead necklace.

Kikinda-Vešalo (grave 9), *Oluš*, the new farm (grave 21), *Petnic*, *Starčevo-Livade*, *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* (grave 1), and *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave A).

393 *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (graves 218, 328), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 44, 48), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 14), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 5), *Bucova Puszta-T.II* (grave 1) and *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave 28).

394 *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 6, 7, 15), *Arača* (graves 11, 91), *Kikinda* (grave 9).

395 *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* (grave 1) and *Arača* (grave 11).

396 Two amulets of unknown form or material have been found in *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (graves 19 and E).

397 *Arača* (grave 90), *Cuptoare-Sfogeia* (grave 343), *Moldova Nouă-Malul Dunării* (grave 1), *Nikolinci* (grave 1), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Teremia Mare-1875*, *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave 1) and *Voiteni* (grave 4).

398 Végh (1991/1992), pp. 58, 93, pl. 20, grave 56/2.

399 Ciugudean, Dragotă (2002), p. 44, cat. 85.

Engolpia (pectoral crosses) are known from *Deta* and *Moldova Veche-Ogaşul cu Spini* (grave 1). Torcs have been found in 14 cemeteries, all in the lowlands of the Banat. However, only for ten of them is detailed information available.⁴⁰⁰ On the basis of the anthropological analysis, it can be established that the torc from *Timișoara-Cioreni* was found in a child, that from *Hodoni-Pocioroane* in a female burial.

Bracelets were found in 44 sites, which makes those dress accessories one of the commonest grave goods.⁴⁰¹ This type of jewellery is recorded in all parts of the Banat and in almost all types of cemeteries. Like most other pieces of jewellery, bracelets disappear from burial assemblages after ca. 1200.

Bracelets recorded as having been found on the left hand appear in 10 graves from 6 cemeteries.⁴⁰² Those found on the right hand are known from 3 graves from 3 cemeteries.⁴⁰³ Bracelets on both hands are known from

400 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 202, 366, 401), *C* (grave 29), *Botoș-Živančevića dolja* (grave 2), *Deszk-Ambrus J.*, *T* (grave 39), *Felnac*, *Gherman*, *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 14), *Kiszombor-south* of the village, *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 1), *Pančevo*-the environs of the city, *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 19), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 11) and *Beba Veche*.

401 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 8, 30, 92, 101, 106, 162, 291, 300, 306, 316, 332, 342, 344), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 18, 127, 136, 217, 271, 313, 321, 328, 344, 366, 371, 401), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 10, 12, 16, 17, 27, 28), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 12, 44, 48, 59), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves A, 15, 35, 38), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves E, M, J), *Kiszombor-E* (graves 1, 37, 46), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-the mounds near the train station, summer of 1903, north-east from the train station in 1901 and 1903, 1906, the earth pit from the train station (1909), *Botoș-Živančevića dolja* (grave 6), *Caransebeș-City centre* (grave 6), *Deszk-Ambrus J.*, *D*, *Olaj* (grave 1), *Felnac*, *Gherman-1876*, *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5), *Kiszombor-F* (grave 14), *Juhászhalom* (grave 1), to the south from the village, *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 1), *Lokve*, *Mokrin*, *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării* (grave 1), *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana* (five specimens), *Pančevo*-the environs of the city (one specimen), *Pescari-Malul Dunării*, *Botoș-Mlaka*, *Caransebeș-Măhala* (grave 3), *Rábé-railway station*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (grave 10), *Szőreg-Cathedral*, *Teremia Mare-1875*, *Crna Bara-Prkos* (grave 2), *Vršac-Vizi Str. 7* (grave 1), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 1), *Voiteni* (grave 4), *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (grave 1), *Omolica*, *Arača*, *Dudeștii Vechi-T.V* (grave 3), *Vizejdia-T.III* (grave A).

402 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 12, 48, 59), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 162, 332), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (graves 17, 27), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (grave 3), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 38) and *Voiteni* (grave 4).

403 *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 1), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (grave 44) and *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5).

3 graves from 3 cemeteries.⁴⁰⁴ Bracelets were worn singly in 42 graves found in 20 cemeteries.⁴⁰⁵ Pairs are known from 9 graves from 7 cemeteries,⁴⁰⁶ but there are also instances of three (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-graves 30, 291, 344), four (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-graves 8, 92, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*-grave 12), and even six specimens found together (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-grave 300). The practice of depositing more bracelets on the hand(s) of a single individual is a predominant custom in the southeastern and southern regions of the Banat and appears rarely in the north and the north-west. Judging from the anthropological analysis, bracelets were worn primarily by females and children (13 graves from 5 cemeteries).⁴⁰⁷

Finger-rings were found in 93 graves from 54 sites.⁴⁰⁸ This was a type of jewellery worn by females,⁴⁰⁹ children,⁴¹⁰ and by males.⁴¹¹ They appear in all types of cemeteries, with or without churches.

404 *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 35), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (grave 12) and *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 291).

405 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 18, 127, 136, 217, 271, 313, 321, 328, 344, 401), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 106, 306, 316, 332, 162, 342), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (graves 10, 16, 17, 27, 28), *Kiszombor-E* (graves 1, 37, 46), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 12, 44), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 15, 38), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (grave 6), *Caransebeș-City centre* (grave 6), *Deszk-Olaj* (grave 1), *Bucova Puszta-T.V* (grave 3), *Kiszombor-F* (grave 14), *Juhászhalom* (grave 1), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 1), *Moldova Veche* (grave 1), *Pescari* (grave 1), *Caransebeș-Máhala* (grave 3), *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (grave 1), *Vršac* (grave 1), *Voiteni* (grave 4) and *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (grave 1). Broken bracelets are known from *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (grave 17) and *Szőreg-Homokbánya*-grave A (two specimens).

406 *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 48, 59), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 366, 371), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 35), *Crna Bara-Prkos* (grave 2), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 1), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 101) and *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5).

407 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 316, 342, 291, 344, 300), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 12, 44, 48), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 15, 38, 35), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5) and *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 1).

408 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 1, 15, 122, 127, 180, 184, 202, 251, 296, 311, 396, 411, 414, 426), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 4, 15, 87, 106, 213, 217, 225, 241, 264, 294, 331), *Kláralfalva-B* (graves 4, 31, 36, 43, 53, 57), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 29, 38, 40, 44, 65), *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 17, 23, 37, 71, 86), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (graves 2, 5, 6, 7, 12?), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (graves 13, 20, 37, 38), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves E, D, 13, 16), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 2, 5, 8, 15), *Reșița-Ogășele* (graves 15, 32, 23, 24), *Kiszombor-C* (graves 14, 22, 29), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-to the north-east from the train station in 1903 (A. Török), June 16, 1903 (graves 1, 2), *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (graves II, 1/2000), *Botoș-Zivančevića dolja, Mlaka*, *Caransebeș-City centre* (graves 7, 8), *Ilidia-Oblița* (graves 28, 34), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves 7, 38), *Oil refinery* (grave 3), *Ersig* (grave 13), *Tiszaszentmiklós, Tomnatic-1911* (grave 1), *Voiteni* (grave 4), *Sečani-Atar C* (grave 17), *Starčevo-Livade, Jazovo-Proleterska*

Finger-rings found on the left hand appear in 10 graves from 7 cemeteries,⁴¹² while those found on the right hand are known from 18 graves from 12 cemeteries.⁴¹³ Rings were also found next to the left hand (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 4; *Gornea-Țărcheviște*-grave 22), on the chest (*Caransebeș-City centre*, grave 7, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, grave 2), under the pelvis (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-grave 331, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-grave 65), next to the skull (*Szóreg-Homokbánya*, grave 38), and by the left leg (*Szóreg-Homokbánya*, grave 38), males-two (and to adults with an unknown gender-four graves from three cemeteries (*Gornea-Țărcheviște*-grave 22, *Căunița de Sus*-graves 29, 40, *Arača*-grave 80).

Pieces of metal interpreted as heelplates have been found only in *Caransebeș-City center* (grave 5 and grave 7 in crypt 5). They indirectly document the use of hard-sole boots. Buttons appear in 33 graves from 26 cemeteries, mostly from the northwestern area of the Banat.⁴¹⁴ Sometimes they appear

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- Ulica (grave 9), *Kiszombor-Juhászhalom* (grave 1), south of the village, *Klárafalva-Faragó* (grave 10), *Kikinda-Vešalo* (grave 1), *Mokrin-1963*, *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării* (grave 1), *Mehadia-Ulici* (grave 12), *Mokrin-1936* unspecified location, *Nikolinci* (grave 4), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 4), *Domașnea, Deszk-D* (grave 73), *Jankovich tanya, Olaj* (grave 1), *Felnac-1901*, *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (grave 22), *Arača* (grave 80), *Duplijaja-Veliki Prokop, Omolica, Ostojčevo, Obreja-Sat Bătrân, Pescari-near Șușca, Periam-Régiposta Str.* (1909), *Rábé-railway station* (1912), *Piatra Ilișovei, Vărădia*, and *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (grave 10).
- 409 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 213, 225, 241), *Vojlovica, Humka Azotara* (graves 2, 6, 12), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 7, 38), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 2), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 9), *Timișoara-Ciorenii* (grave 13), *Sânnicolau Mare, Pojejena* and *Voiteni* (grave 4).
- 410 *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 5, 15), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 294), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (grave 38) and *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 5).
- 411 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 218), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 8).
- 412 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 225, 241, 294), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 40, 44), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 2), *Kikinda-Vešalo* (grave 1), *Nikolinci* (grave 4), *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (grave 12 ?) and *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (grave 1/2000).
- 413 *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (graves 15, 217, 264), *Banatsko Arandjelovo-16 June 1903* (graves 1, 2), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves 7, 38), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (graves 29, 38), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (graves 2, 8), *Caransebeș-City centre-Cr.5* (grave 8), *Arača* (grave 80), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 4), *Ilidia-Oblița* (grave 34), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 32) and *Șopotu Vechi-Mărvilă* (grave 20), *Voiteni* (grave 4).
- 414 *Kiszombor-B* (graves 130, 238, 293, 318, 372, 375, 426), *Arača* (graves 39, 54, 62, 91), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (graves 4, 5, 6), *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (graves A, 36, 40), *Kiszombor-E* (graves 30, 40), *Banatsko Arandjelovo-mound near the train station* (1898 10 December), north-east from the train station (1901, 1903), north-east from the train station (1903; A. Török), *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija, Caransebeș-City centre* (grave 8), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (grave 291), *Deszk-Ambrus J., Bucova Pusztá-T.II* (grave 1), T.III (grave 1), *Deszk-D, T* (grave 39), *Felnac, Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 7), *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 37), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 2),

by the right arm (*Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*, grave 2), the left shoulder (*Reșița-Ogășele*-grave 24, *Arača*, grave 39), around the neck (*Arača*, grave 62), on the chest or on the pelvis (*Sânpetru German*, grave 1, *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, grave 56). Buttons have been found singly⁴¹⁵ but also in two,⁴¹⁶ three,⁴¹⁷ four,⁴¹⁸ five,⁴¹⁹ six,⁴²⁰ and seven specimens.⁴²¹ When found singly or in pairs, buttons were probably used to fasten cloaks, while three or more buttons signal a coat. In the northwestern area of the Banat, buttons are typically found singly or in pairs in cemeteries without churches, while in the western and southeastern parts of the region they appear in church graveyards (*Ilidia-Cetate*, *Caransebeș*-City centre, *Reșița-Ogășele*), and without church (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*). By contrast, buttons found in more than three specimens appear almost only in cemeteries without churches in the lowlands (exception makes only a tomb from the *Arača*, from western Banat). Loops and stitches appear in the northwestern, western, and northern parts of the Banat.⁴²² Little is known about them, except that those from *Sânpetru German* (male burial) and from *Arača* (triple burial, with a child, a male and a female) were made of thin stripes of white metal. Buckle finds signal the presence of belts. Finds of belt sets—buckle and belt mounts—in the lands north of the river Danube have been typically interpreted as an indication of the presence of steppe populations. However, belt sets appear in both nomadic graves and burial assemblages from the Byzantine Empire. A large number of belt sets are known from the Balkans south of the Danube, and the decorative motifs employed for their ornamentation circulated widely and varied according to local fashions and tastes.

Kláralfalva-B (grave 26), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 24), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Teremia Mare* (grave 1), *Vršac* (grave 1) and *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave 8).

- 415 *Arača* (graves 62, 91), *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (graves A, 40), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound near the train station (A. Török), mound to the north-east from the train station researched in 1901, 1903, *Bočar-Budžak*-ekonomija, *Caransebeș*-City centre-crypt 5 (grave 8), *Bucova Puszta*-T.II (grave 1), *Felnac*, *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 37) and *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 6).
- 416 *Deszk-T* (grave 39), *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 5), *Reșița-Ogășele* (grave 24) and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 36).
- 417 *Arača* (grave 39), *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound located to the south-east from the train station researched in 1903 (A. Török), *Sânpetru German* (grave 1), *Vršac* (grave 1).
- 418 *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 2).
- 419 *Arača* (grave 54).
- 420 *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* (grave 4).
- 421 *Hodoní-Pocioroane* (grave 7).
- 422 *Kiszombor*-B (graves 150, 250, 311, 344, 279, 401, 401, 406), C (grave 3), E (graves 39, 47), *Arača* (graves 39, 51, 70), *Kláralfalva*-B, *Faragó* (graves 7, 8) and *Sânpetru German* (grave 1).

Simple buckles have been found in 30 graves from 14 cemeteries.⁴²³ They appear in all the areas of Banat and do not seem to represent a status marker.

Belts with mounts appear in 18 cemeteries from the lowlands.⁴²⁴ However, mounts of unknown type and shape are known also from *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (to the north-east from the train station, 1903, as well as the mound excavated in 1906), *Deszk-D*. A star-shaped belt buckle, believed to be a piece of a nobleman's dress, was found in an unclear context at *Deta*; three others are known *Arača*.

Only one brooch find is known from grave 127 in *Kiszombor-B*.⁴²⁵

(Jingle) bells have been found in *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija*, *Voiteni*, and *Deszk-D*. The specimen from *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* was worn on a necklace. In *Voiteni* the pendant was found with a child skeleton.⁴²⁶ Jingle bells appear frequently in burial assemblages attributed to Turkic nomads,⁴²⁷ but also in the Byzantine Empire.⁴²⁸ Double heart-shaped ornaments appear in 8 graves from 13 sites,⁴²⁹ all located in the lowlands. Most of them were found on the upper chest, indicating that they had been attached to the collar of a shirt or coat. In *Hodoni-Pocioroane* and *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (grave 5), the ornaments were found with skeletons anthropologically sexed as females.

423 *Arača* (graves 8, 11, 34, 42, 69, 71, 75), *Timișoara-Cioreni* (graves B, 13, 8, 5, 20), *Kiszombor-B* (graves 226, 238, 260, 261, 284), C (graves 13, 22, 25), *Gornea-Țărcheviște* (graves 21, 23), *Deszk-D* (graves 76), J (graves 3, 7?), *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 51), *Kiszombor-E* (grave 10), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 6), *Nikolinci* (grave 1), *Novi Kneževac-Béla Talliján* and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (grave 32). For a stray find from *Duleu-Dealul Țărni*, see Bozu (2003), pp. 381, 393, pl. IV/6.

424 *Deszk-Ambrus J.*, *Bucova Puszta-T.II* (grave 1), T.III (grave 1), *Deszk-D* (?), *Orešac*, *Periam-Régiposta str.*, *Sánzhalom*, *Teremia Mare*, *Tomaševac* (grave 1), *Tomnatic-1898* (grave 1), *Deta*, *Pančevo*, *Beba Veche*, *Kikinda-P.K.* Banat-tovilište, *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*, *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-two locations and *Sânpetru German*.

425 Oța (2008), p. 259.

426 Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 100, 107, pl. 8.

427 Spinei (1994), p. 458, fig. 24/7–11 (*Bârlad-Parc*); Spinei (1985), pp. 113, 114, 118, 205, fig. 33/5–7 (*Gura Bâcului*), p. 210, fig. 38/16–17 (*Limanscoe*), p. 211, fig. 39/17 (*Zărnești*), p. 222, fig. 50/1–3 (*Tudora*) and fig. 50/4–6 (*Grădiște*).

428 Dumitriu (2001), pl. 57/10–17, 21, pl. 58/16 (*Dinogetia*), pl. 78/5–6 (*Nufăru-La Piatră*), pl. 80/19 (*Păcuil lui Soare*). For the finds from the former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, see Jovanović (1995/1996), pp. 83–112.

429 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mounds to south-west and north-east from the train station, excavated in 1903 (A. Török), *Banatski Despotovac*, *Deta*, *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (grave 14), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (graves 5, 7), *Kiszombor-B* (grave 328), *Kláralfalva-B* (grave 46), *Rábé*, *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.* (grave 1), *Crna Bara* (grave 1), *Vršac-1900* (grave 1) and *Beba Veche*.

Similar ornaments used for mantles are known from *Banatski Despotovac* and *Tiszasziget*. Much more difficult is to assess the function of the simple heart-shaped ornaments, either as clothing or belt decorations. Such artifacts are known from different sites.⁴³⁰

430 *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-mound leveled in 1900, 1907, *Banatska Palanka*-two, *Deszk*-Ambrus J. and *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica-grave 1.

Grave Good Typology

The purpose of this chapter is to present a typology of the grave goods found in the Banat and dated between the 10th and the 14th century (in some cases with items datable to the 9th or 15th century). In doing so, I will follow the general lines of the typology published in 2008, modified and improved on the basis of new archaeological finds.

The first attempts at classifying grave goods were made by József Hampel, who dealt with the Carpathian Basin in its entirety. Other contributions are associated with the names of Alajos Bálint (1932), Géza Fehér, Kinga Éry, Alan Kralovánszky (1962), Nebojša Stanojev (1989), Csanád Bálint (1991), László Kovács (1992), Dumitru Ţeicu (1993, 1998, and 2009), and Milorad Girić (1995/96). Those, however, were either catalogs of finds or studies dealing with specific period or areas of the Banat. Alajos Bálint, for example, gathered grave goods from assemblages from the northern Banat, Nebojša Stanojev dealt with burial assemblages from the Serbian Banat (10th–15th centuries), László Kovács with those in the northwestern part (10th–11th centuries), and Dumitru Ţeicu with some of those in the southern area (10th–14th centuries).

Various categories of artifacts have been studied in the context of broader studies pertaining to medieval Hungary, the northern or northwestern Balkans, or the territory of present-day Romania. This is, for example, the case of the double-heart-shaped mounts (Csanád Bálint,¹ Erwin Gáll and Daniela Tănase,² Željko Demo³), of the arrowheads, the quivers and the bows (Károly Sebestyén⁴ and Péter Straub⁵), footwear mounts (Dezső Csallány),⁶ spear heads (László Kovács),⁷ swords (László Kovács,⁸ Ernst Petersen, Zeno Karl Pinter,⁹ and Kornél Bakay¹⁰), bracelets with animal heads (László Kovács),¹¹ hair

1 Bálint (1991), pp. 123–139.

2 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 555–576.

3 Demo (1983), pp. 271–301.

4 Sebestyén (1932), pp. 167–255.

5 Straub (1999), pp. 409–422.

6 Csallány (1970), pp. 261–299.

7 Kovács (1971), pp. 81–108; Kovács (1977), pp. 61–73 and pl. 58–61.

8 Kovács (1990), pp. 39–49; Kovács (1994/1995), pp. 153–189.

9 Pinter (1999).

10 Bakay (1967), pp. 105–173.

11 Kovács (1994), pp. 120–138.

ornaments (Dezső Csallány),¹² certain types of buttons (Károly Mesterházy),¹³ Tokaj-type earrings (Károly Mesterházy¹⁴ and Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković¹⁵), earrings with grape-shaped pendants (Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković,¹⁶ Valeri Grigorov,¹⁷ Péter Langó,¹⁸ Silviu Oța¹⁹), gold lock rings links with S-shaped ends (Károly Mesterházy),²⁰ lunula earrings (Péter Langó),²¹ bell pendants (Vojislav Jovanović),²² 10th to 11th century pottery (Attila Kiss,²³ Călin Cosma²⁴), Byzantine jewelry (Károly Mesterházy),²⁵ cowrie shells (László Kovács),²⁶ bracelets, necklaces, and earrings of the Balkan region (Silviu Oța²⁷). In addition, a number of studies on the decorative motifs²⁸ employed for various ornaments were meant to bring greater clarity to the chronology and distribution for the Romanian and Balkan regions. My own attempt at classification takes into account all those typologies of grave goods from the Banat and the neighboring or more distant areas. In doing so, I selected 129 sites from which material has been recovered and published in sufficient detail.

I have divided grave goods into several categories—personal adornments, dress accessories, horse gear, weapons, tools, and utensils—and then added such categories as bone, metal artifacts, funerary furniture, containers, food offerings, and coins. The personal adornments were further subdivided into head, neck, and hand adornments. The dress accessories were also subdivided into dress, footwear accessories, belt sets, and cloak belts.

12 Csallány (1959), pp. 281–325.

13 Mesterházy (2000), pp. 211–227.

14 Mesterházy (1994), pp. 193–242.

15 Ćorović-Ljubinković (1954), pp. 81–93.

16 Ćorović-Ljubinković (1951), pp. 21–56.

17 Grigorov (1999), pp. 21–42; Grigorov (2007).

18 Langó (2013), pp. 37–55.

19 S. Oța, *Câteva observații privind cerceii cu pandantiv de tip strugure (secolele IX–XI)*, forthcoming.

20 Mesterházy (1983), pp. 143–151.

21 Langó (2010), pp. 369–410.

22 Jovanović (1995/1996), pp. 83–112.

23 Kiss (1969), pp. 175–182.

24 Cosma (2012), pp. 117–145.

25 Mesterházy (1990), pp. 87–115; Mesterházy (1991), pp. 145–177.

26 Kovács (1999/2000), pp. 473–487.

27 Dragotă, Oța, Rustoiu (2005), pp. 309–320; Oța (2007a), pp. 117–156; Oța (2006b), pp. 251–274; Oța et al. (2009), pp. 65–82; Oța (2009c), pp. 75–97.

28 Oța (2009a), pp. 179–211; Oța (2009b), pp. 223–235; Oța (2010c), pp. 117–138; Oța (2010b), pp. 143–162; Oța (2011a), pp. 181–191+pl. 1–10; Oța (2011b), pp. 233–250.

The horse gear *is* divided into bits, stirrups, bridles, straps, mounts, and saddles. Weapon types include sabers, swords, spearheads, axes, arrow heads, bows, quivers, helmets, coats of mail. The tools considered in this typology are the following: whetstones, needles, spindle whorls, sickles, awls, knives, and nails. I will treat flint and flint steels as utensils. Cylindrical bones, astragals, and perforated animal bones are all types of bone artifacts. There are also a number of metallic artifacts that cannot be classified. I treated coffins, coffin nails, and coffin fittings as burial furniture. Among containers, I have included the following types: jug, handled pot, pot, bucket, as well as reused Neolithic bowls. Shells, eggs, various animal bones, including bird bones, are all food offerings. Finally, coins have been classified into Byzantine, Hungarian, Central European, Serbian, and Roman.

The main reason for building this typology was to obtain chronological markers. I have used formal analogies, combination of artifacts in closed finds, and coin-dating.

I Head Adornments

I.1. Tiaras (pl. 1/1–12; pl. 95) were found on three sites in the southeastern part of the Banat (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*²⁹ and *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*)³⁰ and in another in the western region (*Arača*).³¹ They are made of silver or gilded silver. Only the specimen found in grave 82 of the *Arača* was made of lead. In any case, the metal tiara was meant to be attached to the textile band. Such head adornments were found in female burials mainly in the northern Balkan region, particularly in Serbia.³² I have been able to distinguish five different type of tiara plates, but in some cases there is more than one type in a single (grave 82 in *Arača*, grave 214 in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, and grave 4 in *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*).

The five types may be described as following:³³ I.1.1. cylindrical (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 214);³⁴ I.1.2. (pl. 1/1; pl. 48/1) semispherical (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 214); I.1.3. (pl. 1/2–7; pl. 48/5, pl. 34/21; 35/6; pl. 34/8; p 35/5; pl. 50/4) square, with six decorative patterns (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, grave 225; *Arača*, graves

29 Radu, Țeicu (2003b), pp. 313, 314, 322, fig. 5.

30 Oța (2007a), pp. 117–156.

31 Stanojević (2004), pp. 40, 45, 49, 58, pl. IV/38, p. 59, pl. V/57, 67, p. 63, pl. VI/81, 83, 87, 88.

32 Bikić (2010), pp. 33–38.

33 I follow Oța (2008), pp. 82–83; Oța (2007a), pp. 119–121, 126–127.

34 Uzum (1987), pp. 392, 393, fig. 2; Țeicu (1993), p. 233.

70,³⁵ 35,³⁶ and stray finds);³⁷ I.1.4. (pl. 1/8–11; pl. 65/5–6; pl. 35/1, 7) rectangular, with four decorative patterns (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, graves 232 and 327;³⁸ *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*, grave 4;³⁹ *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*, grave 2;⁴⁰ *Arața*, stray finds⁴¹); I.1.5 (pl. 1/12; pl. 34/22a–c) cast lead tiara decorated with beads (*Arața*, grave 82⁴²). Since tiaras have so far no been found in any securely dated assemblage, their chronology remains relative.

I.2. Hair mounts (pl. 1/13–14) appear in several variants in burial 9th and 10th century burial assemblages attributed to the Magyars. The mounts were made either of silver foil or of cast bronze. Their function seems to have been both ornamental and perhaps apotropaic, as they were worn by young women in their hair as protective amulets.⁴³ They are commonly found singly or in pairs in the skull area. In Hungary, they are most typical for 10th century female burials.⁴⁴ Three variants are known from the Banat all of which are of circular form: hemstitched (I.2.1.; *Bucova Puszta-T.II*, grave 1; bronze; cast; pl. 1/13; pl. 44/5),⁴⁵ of gilded silver plate (I.2.2.; *Kiszombor-B*, grave 127, pl. 1/14; pl. 64/5–6),⁴⁶ and of silver plate decorated with floral ornament (I.2.3.; *Szőreg-Homokbánya*-grave A).⁴⁷

The first variant and the second one can be has been dated in the 10th century⁴⁸ while the date for the second one fall around mid 10th century. Similar adornments have been found in the *Elep-Mikelapos* cemetery.⁴⁹ On

35 Stanojev (2004), pp. 45, 59, pl. IV/57.

36 Stanojev (2004), pp. 40, 58, pl. IV/38.

37 Stanojev (2004), pp. 60, 63, pl. VI/87, 88.

38 Uzum (1987), pp. 288, 290.

39 Radu, Țeicu (2003a), p. 213; Radu, Țeicu (2003b), pp. 313, 322, fig. 5. I am grateful to Adriana Radu and Dumitru Țeicu for allowing me to examine the finds from *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*.

40 Țeicu (1993), pp. 240, 242, 263, fig. 6/13, p. 264, fig. 7/c; Țeicu (1998), p. 156, fig. 38/13.

41 Stanojev (2004), pp. 60, 63, pl. VI/81, 82, 83.

42 Stanojev (2004), pp. 49–50, 59, pl. V/67.

43 Fodor (1980), pp. 189–215.

44 Csallány (1959), pp. 281–325.

45 Kisléghi (1904), p. 419, A.II./5; Bejan, Mare (1998), pp. 323, 324, 338, pl. II/5; Bálint (1991), p. 240, pl. LXII/a/3, p. 241; Heitel (1994/1995), p. 419.

46 Csallány (1959), pp. 294, 296, 306, 308, 313, fig. 16/3, 4; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

47 Bálint (1991), pp. 76, 78, pl. XXIII/1. This ornament has so far no analogies in Hungary and the neighboring territories.

48 See Csallány (1959).

49 Csallány (1959), p. 313, fig. 16/1, 2.

the basis of the associated artifacts—necklace with leaf-shaped pendants, beads, buttons, bracelet of twisted rod, and a fragmentary hinge bracelet—with which those adornments were found in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, the third variant may be dated to the 10th century.

It is important to note that the all hair mounts known from the Banat have been found in the northwestern part of the region.

I.3. *Hairpins* (pl. 2/1) were discovered in the cemeteries excavated in *Botoș-Mlaka* (pl. 43/10),⁵⁰ *Voiteni* (pl. 85/9),⁵¹ and *Timișoara-Cioreni*.⁵² While the pins found on the latter two sites are very simple and their precise function is not that clear (were they meant to hold the veil, or the hair?), the pins found in *Botoș* were most likely used with a veil, even though the exact position in the grave (if they were indeed grave goods) remains unknown. Nonetheless, the *Botoș-Mlaka* pins are better preserved than the others (pl. 2/1; pl. 43/10). They were made of bronze and are decorated with the granulation and filigree.⁵³ Those pins have been to the 11th–12th centuries, according to the chronology of the artifacts found there. Based on the associated artifacts, the other, fragmentary pins may be dated to 10th century.

I.4. *Lock rings* (pl. 2/2–12) appear frequently in graves and are often mistaken for earrings. The variation in thickness suggests, however, that those were lock rings, and some were even cast. Inside the grave, they appear behind the skull (perhaps holding a braid), alongside it (probably to hold the braids), on the chest (perhaps a braid with multiple links).

I.4.1. Simple lock rings (pl. 2/2–4). They can be classified according to the type of wire or bar (with circular or lentil-shaped section, or faceted) or to the position of the ends in relation to each other (separated, close or overlapping). I have distinguished six variants.

I.4.1.1. Rings of bar with circular section, and separated ends (pl. 2/2). According to Jochen Giesler, such rings must be dated to 10th and the first half of the 11th century (pl. 37/5, 7; pl. 46/16–17; pl. 44/9, pl. 59/11–12; pl. 60/1–2; pl. 61/2;

50 Stanojev (1989), pp. 30, 31.

51 Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 105, pl. 6/1.

52 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), pp. 169, 167, fig. 11/7.

53 Stanojev (1989), pp. 30–31.

pl. 74/7; pl. 75/16).⁵⁴ The origin of this type of adornments is even earlier, deriving from Keszthely culture, believes Zdeněk Váňa.⁵⁵ Given that they were found in such cemeteries as *Cuptoare-Sfogea*,⁵⁶ *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*,⁵⁷ and *Arača*,⁵⁸ one is led to believe however that those rings are instead to be dated to the late 11th and 12th century. In the previously mentioned cemeteries, were found Byzantine adornments generally dated in the 12th centuries, and typically early Bjelo Brdo adornments were missing.

I.4.1.2. Rings of bar with circular section, and close ends (pl. 2/3). Such rings have been dated broadly between the 10th and the 12th century. They certainly disappear by 1200. Those rings have been found in all parts of the Banat, even though they are particularly common on lowland sites. A total of 16 sites have produced such rings, of which some are of silver, and the rest of bronze.⁵⁹

I.4.1.3. Rings of bar with circular section, and overlapped ends (pl. 2/4). They have been found both on low- and on highland sites (pl. 58/13; pl. 60/4; pl. 75/15), and are made either of silver or of bronze.⁶⁰

I.4.1.4. Flat rings, with open ends appear in five cemeteries, but none of them is either described in any detail or illustrated.⁶¹

I.4.1.5. Two deformed links have been found in *Arača*.⁶²

I.4.1.6. A plain ring from grave 21 in *Kikinda-Vešalo*⁶³ is rather difficult to classify, but may be dated between the 11th and the 12th century on the basis of the other finds from *Kikinda*.

54 Oța (2008), pp. 84–85, with an additional find from *Vizejdia*-T.III, grave A. Giesler (1981), pp. 88–89.

55 Váňa (1954), p. 65.

56 Uzum (1987), pp. 299, 300.

57 Stanojev (1989), pp. 40, 42; Marjanović-Vujović, Tomić (1982), p. 50.

58 Stanojev (2004), p. 63, pl. VI/79.

59 Oța (2008), p. 85. I have added *Arača* to the old list of finds (Stanojev [2004], pp. 42, 58, pl. IV/45, p. 63, pl. VI/78), as well as *Starčevo*-Livade (Djordjević, Djordjević [2012], p. 82, fig. 9/2).

60 Oța (2008), p. 85.

61 Oța (2008), pp. 85–86.

62 Stanojev (2004), pp. 43, 44, 58, pl. IV/48, 50.

63 Girić (1995/1996), p. 149.

Another deformed ring was discovered in *Felnac*.⁶⁴ Judging by the other artifacts known from this site, the ring may be dated to the 11th century.

Rings links of an unspecified type have been found on nine sites, both in the low- and in the highlands. They were made of iron (one specimen), bronze (specimens from three cemeteries), and silver (one specimen).

I.4.2. A rings of twisted bar of square section (pl. 2/5) was found in grave 47 of the *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* cemetery. The ring is deformed (pl. 76/9). The cemetery has been dated between the 12th and the 13th century, but no information exists to narrow down the chronology of the ring.

I.4.3. Rings with twisted end were found in six cemeteries (pl. 2/6; pl. 59/8). Some of them were made of bronze. This type of ring is believed to be the precursor of the “classic” ring with S-shaped end and is known from a great number of sites in Hungary and northern Croatia (*Kölked*,⁶⁵ *Dálya*,⁶⁶ *Pilin-Sirmánhegy*,⁶⁷ *Székesfehérvár-Demkóhegy*-graves 8–9,⁶⁸ *Bjelo Brdo*⁶⁹) and is dated to 10th and 11th centuries. They also appear in assemblages of the so-called Köttlach culture.⁷⁰ More importantly, several specimens have been found in assemblages of the Late Avar age.⁷¹ In the Lower Danube region, such rings have been found in *Păcuiul lui Soare*,⁷² *Kaliakra*,⁷³ and *Enisala*, but on all three sites they were dated much later, namely to the 12th–13th centuries.⁷⁴ Various opinions have been expressed regarding the chronology of those rings.⁷⁵ Judging from the evidence available in the Banat, they appear to have restricted to assemblages dated to 10th and the first half of the 11th century.

64 Unpublished. Arad Museum.

65 Kiss (1983), p. 239, fig. 105/8.

66 Hampel (1907), pl. 52/7.

67 Hampel (1907), pl. 67/9.

68 Hampel (1907), pl. 86/2.

69 Hampel (1907), pl. 42/13, 1b.

70 Korošec (1979b), pl. 127/3 (*Kranj*), pl. 125/6 (*Matzhausen*, grave 12), pl. 84/3d–e (*Črnomelj*), pl. 80/2–5 (*Ptuj*), pl. 32/3c–e (*Bled-Pristava*) etc.

71 Dumitriu (2001), p. 31.

72 Dumitriu (2001), p. 112, pl. 81/17–18.

73 Bobčeva (1978), pp. 164, 170, 172, 173, 174, pl. IV, grave 30/1, pl. IX, grave 149/1–2, pl. XI, grave 190/1, pl. XII, grave 220/4, grave 234/1.

74 Dumitriu (2001), p. 112, pl. 81/17–18.

75 See Bejan et al. (2005), p. 32.

I.4.4. Rings with flattened, S-shaped end come in a number of varieties, some with, others without ornamentation décor.⁷⁶ Those rings are believed to be typical for burial assemblages of the so-called Bjelo Brdo culture.⁷⁷ I have distinguished five variants from the Banat: I.4.4.1 (pl. 2/7; with finds from 25 locations, some made of bronze, others of silver, and even one specimen made of gold;⁷⁸ pl. 39/12–15; pl. 40/2; pl. 49/11; pl. 50/7; pl. 51/12; pl. 57/4; pl. 58/2; pl. 59/3–4; pl. 60/9; pl. 56/4; pl. 75/12; pl. 77/1–2;⁷⁹ one must add *Arača*⁸⁰ and *Duplijaja*⁸¹ to the list); I.4.4.2 (pl. 2/8; finds from six cemeteries, some made of gold, others of silver and bronze);⁸² I.4.4.3 (pl. 2/9; pl. 75/15); I.4.4.4; I.4.4.5 (pl. 71/7; pl. 2/10;⁸³ two finds from the same cemetery). The description of finds from 12 cemeteries lacks sufficient detail for proper classification (pl. 37/12; pl. 60/8).⁸⁴

I.4.5. A ring of twisted wire, with clamp and loops at both ends is known from *Banatsko Arandjelovo*–summer of 1903 (pl. 2/11; pl. 38/3), and has been dated to the 10th–11th centuries.⁸⁵ Similar examples specimens appear are rather rare and occurred sporadically in the assemblages of area of the Köttlach culture.⁸⁶

I.4.6. A ring with extended ends, twisted together (pl. 2/12) is known from grave II in *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (pl. 60/7).⁸⁷ Such rings have been found only in Late Avar assemblages, such as grave 45 in *Sziráki*.⁸⁸ Outside the Carpathian Basin, similar rings have been found in the Lower Danube region, at *Satu Nou*⁸⁹ and *Dridu*.⁹⁰ On both sites, they have been dated to the 10th century, but it is quite possible they are much earlier (8th–9th century).

76 Oța (2007/2008), pp. 269–303.

77 Oța (2007/2008), pp. 295–296.

78 Szentmiklosi (1999/2000), pp. 577–587.

79 Oța (2008), pp. 86–87; Oța (2007/2008), pp. 289–290.

80 Stanojev (2004), pp. 35, 58, pl. IV/35.

81 Janković, Radičević (2005), p. 277.

82 Oța (2007/2008), pp. 290–291.

83 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2006), pp. 163, 168, pl. II/1.

84 Oța (2008), p. 88.

85 Tömörkény (1904), p. 269, E, fig. 2; Hampel (1907), p. 127, pl. 21/E/2; Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 16, fig. 27; Kovács (1991/1992), p. 44, pl. 5/89.

86 Korošec (1979b), pl. 49/5.

87 Bejan, Moga (1979), pp. 159, 164, fig. 4/14; Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean (1996), p. 36.

88 Hampel (1894), p. 385.

89 Mitrea (1959), pp. 589–590, fig. 10/2. 3.

90 Zaharia (1967), pp. 111–112.

I.5. *Cowrie shells* have been found in various positions inside graves. For example, in grave 2 of the *Rábé-Anka Sziget* cemetery (pl. 74/3–4), they were next to the ears, while in grave 1 of the same cemetery, they were under the skull⁹¹ and in grave 2 in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*⁹² next to the left shoulder. Judging from the associated artifacts, cowrie shells may be dated to 10th century. They have also been found in *Deszk-D*,⁹³ graves 127, 372, and 375 in *Kiszombor-B* (pl. 64/11),⁹⁴ but none of those finds can clarify the question of whether the cowries were used as neck or hair adornments, or were somehow attached or stitched to the dress.

I.6. *Earrings* (pl. 3, 4, 5, 6) are the most common head adornment found in burial assemblages.

I.6.1. Lunula earrings (pl. 3/1–2).

I.6.1.1. A bronze lunula earring (pl. 3/1) with a floral decoration is a stray find from *Deta* (pl. 51/15).⁹⁵ The earring may be dated to the 10th century, as a similar earring is known from *Sălacea*.⁹⁶ Both finds are regarded as some of the eastern most finds of the Köttlach culture, and are attributed to groups of Slavs moving from central Europe in the the early 9th century.⁹⁷

I.6.1.2. The two gold lunula earrings with the granulated and filigree ornament (pl. 3/2) found in a female burial in *Vatin* (pl. 84/8–9)⁹⁸ are partially

91 Hampel (1905b), pp. 658–660; Hampel (1907), p. 191; Szőke (1962), p. 54; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 52; Stanojev (1989), p. 99; Bálint (1991), p. 247; Kovács (1991), p. 411; Kovács (1991/1992), pp. 60, 61, pl. 14/1–2: grave 1, 5–6: grave 1.

92 Stanojev (1989), p. 67.

93 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

94 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48; Bálint (1991), p. 236.

95 Kárász (1896), pp. 226, 229/1; Hampel (1905b), pp. 529–531; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31; Bálint (1991), pp. 218, 208 pl. LIII/b/16.

96 Cosma (2001), pp. 178, 215, pl. 27/6, p. 250; The earring is said to have been found in a 10th-century warrior grave. For the distribution of such earrings within the area of the Köttlach culture, see Oța (2008), p. 89.

97 Rusu (1971), p. 724. The author of the article points out that it is a group different from the Moravian Slavs or the Carolingians that also differ from the Germanic people, and concludes that it could be a Romance-speaking population.

98 Hampel (1904), p. 446; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 82; Mesterházy (1990), p. 94; Bálint (1991), p. 261; Kovács (1991), pp. 422, 413, fig. 2/5, 6.

deteriorated. In Bulgaria, this type of earrings appears in assemblages dated to the 10th–11th centuries.⁹⁹

I.6.2. Lunula earrings, hemstitched and with appliqués (pl. 3/3–6).¹⁰⁰

Those earrings are cast and, in some cases, decorated with granulation. Most of them have been dated to the 10th century, but it is possible that some may be a little later (early 11th century). The use of casting as a technology employed to produce quickly a relatively large number of specimens, as well as the general dating to the 10th century, suggest that those were local imitations of Byzantine prototypes. By contrast, specimens with both granulation and filigree decoration may well be products of Byzantine provincial workshops.

Analyzing their distribution area, Luminița Dumitriu considers that they are adornments rather linked to the Byzantine environment.¹⁰¹ Six models were discovered in the Banat (I.6.2.1.;¹⁰² I.6.2.2.; pl. 3/3;¹⁰³ I.6.2.3.; pl. 3/4; pl. 36/10–11; I.6.2.4.; pl. 3/5; I.6.2.5.; pl. 3/6;¹⁰⁴ I.6.2.6.¹⁰⁵) in two localities near the Danube: *Stara Palanka*–Rudine (*Banatska Palanka*) and *Pančevo*. Their analogies indicate very clearly the Balkan origin of the artifacts.¹⁰⁶

99 Gatev (1977), pp. 33, 34, fig. 3/VI-1, p. 35.

100 Those may have been earrings of Byzantine inspiration, but local manufacture, which were neither restricted to a particular population, nor confined to a particular area. They are dated to the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, but their typology and distribution suggest the existence of regional variants. Most such adornments were found in graves that have nothing to do with the Magyars (who seem to have used them only occasionally), but must be related to other population groups. Some of them have been analyzed by V. Grigorov in an article published in 1999 in *Arheologija* (Sofia), then in his 2007 book. The Bulgarian author believes that this to be a typically Bulgar earring, only partially influenced by Byzantine fashions. The chronology and the context of discovery of those earrings clearly demonstrate that the dating proposed by Hungarian archaeologists is inaccurate and that completely different interpretations are required, even if such adornments do sometimes appear within territories known to have been conquered by the Magyars during the 10th century. Moreover, the interpretation according to which those earrings have been imported into the lands north of the Danube should be abandoned. There definitely were other population groups in the Carpathian Basin besides Slavs and Magyars, first of all small groups of Turkic Bulgars.

101 Dumitriu (2001), p. 32.

102 Bálint (1991), pp. 245, 208, pl. LIII/a/11.

103 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 211.

104 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 211.

105 Țeicu (2009), pp. 47, 76, pl. 26/4, 6, 7, pp. 186, 254, fig. 14.

106 Oța (2008), pp. 89–90.

I.6.3. Earrings with grape-shaped pendant (pl. 3/7–17; pl. 97).

They are similar to the lunula earrings with pendant. These earrings have been manufactured especially by casting, but some of them are made using the granulation and filigree techniques. They seem to have been in use particularly during the 10th century and the early 11th century. Their distribution area is very broad, throughout Southeastern Europe, as specimens are known from Croatia,¹⁰⁷ Hungary,¹⁰⁸ Serbia,¹⁰⁹ and Romania.¹¹⁰ This type of earrings was thought to derive from the similar ones found on Avar-age cemetery sites.¹¹¹ They are divided into two large groups:

I.6.3.1. Earring with the lower half made of a thick bar (pl. 3/7–13), manufactured by casting and subsequently, in some cases, decorated with granules. Eight models are so far known from the Banat (the first model was published by Csanád Bálint in 1991;¹¹² pl. 3/7; pl. 51/15;¹¹³ pl. 3/8; pl. 81/8;¹¹⁴ pl. 3/9;¹¹⁵ pl. 75/5; pl. 3/10; pl. 72/4;¹¹⁶ pl. 3/11; pl. 72/2;¹¹⁷ pl. 3/12; pl. 72/3;¹¹⁸ pl. 3/13; pl. 70/5¹¹⁹).

I.6.3.2. Earring with pendant attached onto a simple link (pl. 3/14–17). Four models are known (pl. 3/14; pl. 72/5;¹²⁰ pl. 3/15; pl. 81/3;¹²¹ pl. 3/16; pl. 43/6;¹²² pl. 3/17,¹²³ pl. 70/2). On three of them, the pendant is decorated with granulation and filigree, on a fourth one it is cast (pl. 3/14).

107 See Jelovina (1976) and Petrinc (2009).

108 See Mesterházy (1991).

109 Jovanović (1977), p. 183, pl. XIX, grave 6 (*Lešie*); Parović-Pešikan (1980), p. 183, pl. III/2–3 (*Sremska Mitrovica*), etc.

110 S. Oța, *Câteva observații privind cerceii cu pandantiv de tip strugure (secolele IX–XI)*, forthcoming.

111 Dumitriu (2001), p. 34.

112 Bálint (1991), pp. 208, 245–246, pl. LIII/a/10.

113 Bálint (1991), pp. 218, 208; pl. LIII/b/17; Korošec (1979b), pl. 121/4.

114 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), pp. 171, 167, fig. 11/16.

115 Bálint (1991), pp. 93, 92, pl. XXXI/16.

116 Mesterházy (1991), pp. 150, 151, fig. 3/9.

117 Mesterházy (1991), p. 151, fig. 3/11, p. 152.

118 Mesterházy (1991), pp. 150, 151, fig. 3/10.

119 Mesterházy (1991), p. 149, fig. 2/9, p. 146.

120 Mesterházy (1991), pp. 154, 151, fig. 3/8.

121 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), pp. 176, 167, fig. 11/11.

122 Stanojev (1989), pp. 33, 35.

123 Hampel (1907), p. 149, pl. 38/6.

A silver earring with grape-shaped pendant, decorated with two rows of granules was discovered in grave I at *Vršac-Vizi Str. 7*.¹²⁴ Judging by the associated grave goods, they are to be dated to the 10th century, possibly also the early 11th century. One or more such earrings have been found in *Duplijaja-Veliki Prokop*, but no illustration has been published of any of them.¹²⁵ The cast specimens, but also those with granulated or filigree-decorated pendant occasionally appear on one and the same site. There is no point in distinguishing the two chronologically, as both techniques were in use between the 9th and the 11th century. The cast earrings were most probably manufactured locally, and many seem to ante-date the arrival of the Magyars into the Carpathian Basin, as they were in fashion in the Balkans throughout the 9th century and until the early 11th century. It is worth mentioning that several cast specimens do not appear to imitate those decorated with granulation and filigree.

I.6.4. Earrings with triangular pendant (pl. 3/18; pl. 78/9). Two such earrings have been discovered in *Teremia Mare-1878*. They were decorated with filigree wire and coloured glass cabochons (green, red, and colourless).¹²⁶ Those earrings appear to be imitations of Byzantine originals. Given the associated grave goods, they must be dated to the 10th century.

I.6.5. Earrings with astragals (pl. 4/1–3; pl. 96).¹²⁷

Such earrings were made of iron rod wrapped in silver foil, or of thicker silver wire. Silver granules were then attached around the link. On either side of the mouldings, filigree silver wires or simple, spiral-shaped silver wires may also be attached. This type of adornment appears in more complicated variants (sometimes with pendant) in Avar-age cemeteries.¹²⁸ On the other hand, such earrings are known from territories known to have been under Byzantine rule, such as Dalmatia. Beginning with the 11th century, and coinciding with the Byzantine *reconquista* up to the Middle Danube, earrings with astragals were again in fashion, this time in larger size, albeit simpler form. One may note however that the central pendant, at the lower side of the link, no longer

124 Kovács (1991), p. 422.

125 Janković, Radičević (2005), p. 277.

126 Hampel (1905b), pp. 561–562; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/18; Mesterházy (1991), p. 166, pl. I/7.

127 Oťa (2005), pp. 190–192; Oťa (2006c), pp. 236–239.

128 See Hampel (1897), p. 385, pl. CCLXXII/graves 27, 29, CCLXIV/grave 2, CCXLVIII/27–29 etc. or Jelovina (1976).

appeared on such earrings, at least not on those from in the lands to the north from the river Danube. Sporadically, they were also found in the northern Black Sea region.¹²⁹ There may be divided into three large groups:

I.6.5.1. Earrings with simple astragals (pl. 4/1–2).¹³⁰ They are made, without exception, of silver and are decorated with a single row of astragals around the link. On both sides of the link, a silver filigree wire was wrapped in order to secure its attachment. Such earrings were found in three cemeteries (pl. 50/1,¹³¹ pl. 75/21; pl. 76/3, 4). In the Serbian cemeteries of *Dobraca*¹³² and *Trnjane*¹³³ the earrings are dated to the 12th century, but the specimens from *Doničko Brdo* and *Braničevo-Rudine* may even be dated to the early 13th century.¹³⁴

I.6.5.2. Earrings with two rows of astragals (pl. 4/3)—they were discovered in two cemeteries (pl. 50/2;¹³⁵ pl. 76/2). Similar earrings were found in *Korbovo*, *Prahovo*,¹³⁶ and *Trnjane*.¹³⁷ They seem to have remained in fashion for a long time, with variations from one region to another.¹³⁸

I.6.5.3. Earrings with three rows of astragals. A single find was reported in *Banatska Palanka*,¹³⁹ but a similar earring was discovered in the settlement at *Ilidia-Funii*,¹⁴⁰ which is dated to the late 12th and early 13th century by means of coins struck for the emperors Manuel I Comnenos (1143–1180), Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195), Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), as well as the Hungarian king Béla III (1172–1196).

All specimens known from the Banat have been found in the southeastern region. Those earrings appear to be imitations of Byzantine originals manufactured in workshops south of the river Danube in the 11th–12th centuries and even the early 13th century. The presence of those earrings in the southeastern

129 Korzuhina (1954), pl. L/3.

130 Oța (2008), p. 93.

131 Țeicu (1998), p. 160, fig. 42/1–2, 4–6, 9.

132 Ercegović-Pavlović (1970), pp. 43, 54, fig. 4.

133 Marjanović-Vujović (1984), pp. 51, 57.

134 Popović, Ivanišević (1988), fig. 10/9.

135 Țeicu (1998), pp. 134–135, 160, fig. 42/7, 11–13.

136 Janković (1973/1974), pp. 229–230, 233, T.IV/11 (grave 32 from *Prahovo*), T.IV/13 (grave 34 from *Prahovo*), T.VII/6, T.IX/8 (grave 18 from *Korbovo*).

137 Marjanović-Vujović (1984), pp. 14, 21, 37, 38, 49, 53–54.

138 Oța (2008), p. 93.

139 Mesterházy (1990), p. 98.

140 Uzum (1989), p. 41, fig. 6/a, p. 43.

part of the Banat must therefore be seen as a consequence of the Byzantine *reconquista* in the northern Balkans.

I.6.6. Earrings with a barrel-shaped setting on the link (pl. 4/4–7) are relatively large adornments, usually made of silver. Although similar specimens have been found in Avar-age cemeteries in Hungary,¹⁴¹ those earrings appear especially in the lands to the south from the river Danube and rarely in the northern Black Sea region.¹⁴² This strongly suggests a Byzantine origin for this type.¹⁴³ There are four variants (I.6.6.1.; pl. 75/13; pl. 4/4; I.6.6.2.; pl. 75/17; pl. 4/5; I.6.6.3.; pl. 75/8, 18; pl. 58/9; pl. 4/6;¹⁴⁴ I.6.6.4.; pl. 4/7; pl. 75/19¹⁴⁵), specimens of which have been found in one of three cemeteries in the southeastern Banat (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*).

I.6.7. Earrings with a globular setting (pl. 4/8–19; pl. 98).

They were made of a rod onto which manufactured of a circularly bent bar, having a spherical pendant was attached. The differences between individual specimens consist mainly of different ways to make the pendant: silver leaf, filigree wire with granules, silver leaf perforated or decorated with small granules. This type of earrings was very popular in territories under Byzantine rule or influence (such as southern Ukraine) and remained in fashion until the 14th century.¹⁴⁶ No less than 12 variants may be distinguished (I.6.7.1.; pl. 4/8; I.6.7.2.; pl. 4/9; I.6.7.3.; pl. 4/10; I.6.7.4.; pl. 4/11; I.6.7.5.; pl. 4/12; I.6.7.6.; pl. 4/13; I.6.7.7.; pl. 4/14; I.6.7.8.; pl. 4/15; I.6.7.9.; pl. 4/16; I.6.7.10.; pl. 4/17; I.6.7.11.; pl. 4/18; I.6.7.12.; pl. 4/19).¹⁴⁷ Such earrings have been found in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, *Omolica*, and *Arača* in assemblages dated between the 11th and the 13th century.

141 Hampel (1894), pl. LX/8, pl. CXVI/19, 17.

142 Korzuhina (1954), pl. LIV/1–2, 4–5.

143 Oța (2009a), pp. 198–199, 206, pl. 2/1–11; Oța (2010d), pp. 412–413; Bikić (2010), pp. 65, 66, fig. 37–38, p. 67, fig. 39.

144 Țeicu (2009), p. 81, pl. 31/1–2, p. 187.

145 Oța (2008), p. 95; Oța (2009b), pp. 223–235.

146 For the typology and chronology of those earrings, see Ryabtseva (2000).

147 Oța (2008), pp. 94–95. Another earring from *Omolica* (pl. 4/17) is made of a link with a pendant from another earring. Seven different models are known from *Arača*.

I.6.8. Earring with two gilded silver spheres on the link (pl. 4/20). One specimen is known from *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a (pl. 48/11) and is similar to another found in *Bela Crkva-Bandera*.¹⁴⁸ Such earrings may be dated to the 11th century.¹⁴⁹

I.6.9. A pair of silver earrings with double spherical pendants (pl. 4/21) has been found in grave 252 of the *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a cemetery (pl. 48/7).¹⁵⁰ The spheres were decorated with adjoined, wire circles. Between them, there is a moulding of filigree wire, spirally bent. Judging from the manufacturing technique, those earrings must be dated to the 13th–14th centuries. Similar earrings have been discovered in *Kaliakra*.¹⁵¹

I.6.10. Earrings with the link in the shape of a question mark, with spherical pendant decorated with filigree (pl. 4/22). Only one specimen is known from *Ilidia-Oblița* (pl. 62/3)¹⁵² and no analogies are known for it. However, earrings with spherical pendant have been found in *Craiova-Fântâna Obede*anu, and dated to the 13th–14th centuries.¹⁵³

I.6.11. Earrings with three unequal settings on the link¹⁵⁴ (pl. 5/1–8).

Those are earrings of Byzantine tradition, which were made of silver.¹⁵⁵ The oldest specimens (which may be dated between the 11th and the late 13th century) had the link made of silver rod (pl. 5/1–4) to which a large pendant was attached, flanked by two smaller ones. Later variants may be dated to the 13th century and have the link made of twisted silver wire (*Vrșac*, *Svinița*, *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a).¹⁵⁶ Eight variants have been distinguished (I.6.11.1; pl. 5/1; I.6.11.2.; pl. 5/2; I.6.11.3.; pl. 5/3; I.6.11.4.; pl. 5/4; I.6.11.5.; pl. 5/5; I.6.11.6.; pl. 5/6; I.6.11.7.; pl. 5/7; I.6.11.8.; pl. 5/8). On the basis of analogies from *Nyáregyháza*, the earring from *Omolica* (I.6.8.8.; pl. 5/8)¹⁵⁷ may be dated to the 13th century.¹⁵⁸

148 Garašanin, Garašanin (1956/1957), p. 33, pl. 11/a.

149 Uzum (1987), p. 297, fig. 4/e, p. 300.

150 Uzum (1987), pp. 298–299.

151 Bobčeva (1978), p. 170, pl. X/grave 158/1; Oța (2011a), p. 183.

152 Oța (2008), pp. 96, 255, pl. 81/6; Ţeicu (2009), pp. 58–59, 82, pl. 32/1–2.

153 Dumitriu (2001), p. 118, pl. 89/4.

154 Mesterházy (1994), pp. 193–242.

155 See and Maneva (1992).

156 Oța (2008), pp. 96–97, with the addition of another earring from *Omolica*.

157 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2007), p. 190, pl. III/5.

158 Parádi (1975), p. 120, pl. 2/3, p. 126.

1.6.12. Saltovo-type earrings (pl. 6/1–5) with ball-shaped pendant attached to an elongated rod first appear in the Carpathian Basin in the late 9th century, at the time of the Magyar migration. They seem to have been in fashion only for a short while, as they appear only in 10th century burial assemblages. In the Banat, they have been found in cemeteries of the northwestern region: *Deszk-Ambrus J.*,¹⁵⁹ *Bucova Puszta-T.II*,¹⁶⁰ *Rábé-Anka Sziget*,¹⁶¹ *Sânpetru German-1968*,¹⁶² *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-summer of 1903¹⁶³ and *Timișoara-Cioreni*.¹⁶⁴ Six variants have been distinguished (I.6.12.1; pl. 6/1; I.6.12.2.; pl. 6/2–3; I.6.12.3.; I.6.12.4.; I.6.12.5.; pl. 6/4; I.6.12.6.; pl. 6/5).¹⁶⁵

1.6.13. Earrings with coin pendant (pl. 6/6). Only one specimen is known from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (pl. 49/3). It consists of a wire link onto which a perforated, Roman coin was introduced.¹⁶⁶

Rings of an unspecified type that may well be lock-, and not earrings, have been found in grave 7 in *Deszk-J*,¹⁶⁷ grave 40 in *Deszk-T*,¹⁶⁸ grave 39 in *Ilidia-Cetate*,¹⁶⁹ and *Sânnicolau Mare*.¹⁷⁰

II Neck Adornments

II.1. *Beads* (pl. 7/1–11) appear either singly or in necklaces. They are the most common type of neck adornment in the Banat. In most cases, necklaces are made of beads of different type and manufacture—glass paste, painted clay, cowrie or river shells, fish vertebrae, bell pendants, polished pebbles, metal balls or tubes etc. Given that most have been published without detailed description, and in the absence of a *de visu* examination, the classification of the beads is virtually impossible. Therefore, we selected only those items that we could describe in terms of shape, material and colour. However, based on

159 Bálint (1991), p. 208, pl. LIII/b/19, p. 218.

160 Kislégghi (2010), pp. 68, 202, pl. 2/1.

161 Reizner (1891), pp. 209–210, pl. 1–2.

162 Bálint (1991), p. 233, pl. LX/b/20, p. 243.

163 Tömörkény (1904), pp. 267, 268, pl. D/10.

164 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 167, fig. 11/1–2, p. 169.

165 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

166 Uzum (1987), p. 297, fig. 4/d, 299.

167 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

168 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

169 Matei, Uzum (1972), p. 559.

170 Kúhn (1911), p. 183.

the available information, it appears that spherical beads made of glass, clay, silver-plated bronze or other, unspecified materials, have been found on 11 cemetery sites. Oval beads made of clay and glass are known from three cemeteries, circular flattened beads (made of glass and an unspecified material) in two cemeteries, drop-like beads in one, tubular beads in five, watermelon-seed-shaped beads in four, barrel-shaped beads in four, segmented beads in one, and deformed beads in one cemetery.¹⁷¹ Beads have therefore been found in 28 cemeteries throughout the Banat.¹⁷²

II.2. *Medallions* (pl. 8/1–6) are rarely found both in the Banat. There are two variants—one made of pressed or hammered foil, the other with cabochon.

II.2.1. Medallions of silver foil (pl. 8/1–5) have been discovered in *Szóreg-Homokbánya*,¹⁷³ *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-barrow 1898 (pl. 8/1–2, pl. 36/17–18, pl. 39/19),¹⁷⁴ *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija* (pl. 43/4, pl. 8/3),¹⁷⁵ *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (pl. 59/9, pl. 8/4) and *Omolica* (pl. 8/5).¹⁷⁶ The only one decorated with a floral ornament comes from *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-1898 (pl. 36/17, pl. 8/2).

II.2.1.1. Leaf-shaped medallions have different ornamental motifs. The specimen from *Szóreg-Homokbánya* is decorated with a central, oval-shaped protuberance. Two other medallions from *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 8/1; pl. 36/18, 39/19) have a leaf-shaped ornament in the middle. Another specimen from *Bočar-Budžak-ekonomija* (pl. 8/3; pl. 43/4) has two concentric, leaf-shaped ornaments in the middle. All those pendants may be regarded as predecessors of the double heart-shaped mounts, and may therefore be dated to the 10th century.¹⁷⁷ Such medallions have also been found in *Ruski Krstur*,¹⁷⁸ *Száhalombatta*, *Piliny*, *Gégény*, and *Sóshartyan-Hozútető*.¹⁷⁹ They are believed

171 Oța (2008), pp. 98–101.

172 Oța (2008), pp. 98–100, with the addition of the beads found in *Omolica* and *Starčevo-Livade*.

173 Bálint (1991), pp. 76, 78, pl. XXIII/10.

174 Tömörkeny (1904), pp. 267, 268/D/fig. 8; Hampel (1907), p. 125; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 22; Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18, 19; Kovács (1991/1992), pp. 38, 39, pl. 2/4, 5, pp. 45–46, pl. 8/106; Bálint (1991), p. 244, fig. 57, p. 245.

175 Stanojev (1989), pp. 33, 35; Bálint (1991), pp. 214, 225, pl. LVI/a.

176 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2007), p. 190, pl. III/2.

177 Demo (1983), pp. 275–278.

178 Demo (1983), p. 278, pl. 6/4.

179 Demo (1983), p. 276, pl. 4/1–4, p. 277, fig. 5/3.

to have been introduced from the northern Black Sea region to the Carpathian Basin at the time of the Magyar migration.¹⁸⁰

II.2.1.2. Circular medallions have been found in at *Hodoni*-Pocioroane (pl. 8/4) and *Omolica* (pl. 8/5). The former specimen was made of silver foil decorated with a circle of pseudo-granules. The other medallion is decorated with incised points.

II.2.2. An oval medallion made of silver with stone (amethyst) inset in the middle is known from *Cuptoare*-Sfogeia (pl. 49/2, pl. 8/6).¹⁸¹ I do not know any analogy for this unique artifact.

II.3. *Amulets* consist of metallic plates or animal teeth.

II.3.1. The metallic plates are of rectangular shape, with an indented side (pl. 8/7). Only one specimen is known, from *Arača* (pl. 34/4).¹⁸²

II.3.2. Animal teeth (pl. 8/8) have been found in *Timișoara*-Cioreni (grave F),¹⁸³ *Cenad*-Mound Tarnok and *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (excavations on December 10, 1898 of the mounds by the train station).¹⁸⁴ In Hungary, e.g., in *Kistokaj*, identical items have been dated to the 10th–11th centuries.¹⁸⁵ The specimen from *Timișoara*-Cioreni may well be from the second half of the 10th century.¹⁸⁶ In *Mačvanska Mitrovica*, a similar amulet was found together with a cross, the assemblage being dated to the 11th–12th centuries.¹⁸⁷

II.4. *Pectoral crosses* (pl. 8/9–10) were found in *Deta* (pl. 51/14; pl. 8/9) and *Moldova Veche*-Ogașul cu spini (pl. 65/3; pl. 8/10). Crosses are rarely found in graves. Another specimen is known from *Arad*-Földvári Puszta, north of the river Mureș, and may be dated to the 10th–11th centuries.

180 Such artifacts are also known from sites farther to the east, e.g., *Bolshye Tigani* (grave 19).

181 Uzum (1987), p. 302.

182 Stanojev (2004), pp. 36, 57, pl. III/25.

183 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), pp. 164, 165, fig. 9/1.

184 Kovács (1992), p. 39, pl. 2/15.

185 Véghe (1993), pp. 58, 65, 93, pl. 20/grave 56/lb.

186 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 189.

187 Ercegović-Pavlović (1980), pp. 22, 51, pl. XXI, grave 226.

II.4.1. A bronze cross decorated at all four ends with circular points is known from *Deta*.¹⁸⁸ It, too, has been dated to the 10th–11th centuries, but no analogies are so far known, even though the decorative pattern occasionally appear on similar artifacts found in the northern Balkans, e.g., on a cross from *Niš*,¹⁸⁹ which has been dated to the 11th–12th centuries. Other artifacts similarly decorated are known from sites in Bulgaria–*Dălgopol*¹⁹⁰ and *Simeonovgrad*. The latter is coin-dated to the reign of Emperor Michael VII (1071–1078).¹⁹¹ Another artifact with the same ornamental pattern is known from *Păcuiul lui Soare* and has equally been dated to the 11th century.¹⁹² All those partial analogies suggest that the ornamental pattern in question, and, presumably the artifacts on which it may be found, are of Byzantine origin.

II.4.2. A bronze engolpion was found in an inhumation in *Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu spini* and may be dated to the 11th or 12th century.¹⁹³

II.5. *Torcs* (pl. 8/11–15; pl. 99) have been found on 14 sites in the lowlands.¹⁹⁴ They were made either of simple or of twisted rods, with loop and hook at the ends. Some have filigree decoration. Torcs are known only from 10th and early 11th century assemblages. Their distribution area strongly suggests that they were introduced from the northern Black Sea region to the Carpathian Basin at the time of the Magyar migration.¹⁹⁵ Nonetheless, several specimens have been found in the Balkans as well.¹⁹⁶

Torcs are also shown on stone statues Ukraine and southern Russia, particularly on those of women, which suggests that they were part of the female dress. Moreover, on those statues, torques appear in pairs, one smaller, the other larger. The larger torcs has ends turned outwards, much like those of the specimens found in *Botoș-Živančevića dolja*, in the Banat. The smaller

188 Bálint (1991), p. 208, fig. LIII/b/14, p. 218; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31; Bejan, Mare (1998), p. 328; Korošec (1954), p. 51, pl. 3, p. 56; Kárász (1896), pp. 228, 229/15; Lovag (1980b), p. 363.

189 Ercegović-Pavlović (1976), p. 94, pl. III/1.

190 Lazarov (2001), pp. 69, 165, no. 162.

191 Kapelkova (1989), p. 50, fig. 4, 51.

192 Diaconu, Baraschi (1977), pp. 126, 127, fig. 99/7.

193 Țeicu, Bozu (1982), pp. 393–395.

194 Oța (2008), pp. 102–103; Dragotă, Oța, Rustoiu (2005), pp. 309–320. An additional specimen has been found in grave A in *Vizejdia*-T.III.

195 See Korzuhina (1954) or Spinei (1994) and (1997).

196 Grigorov (2007), pp. 81–83, 245, fig. 125, p. 246, fig. 126.

torcs shown on statues are simple. This latter type of torcs is dated in the Banat in the 13th and 14th centuries. That only a few torcs have been found in burial assemblages strongly suggests that they were markers of elevated social status. Indeed, they are often found together with many, albeit not necessarily valuable, grave goods, as in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*. Six variants are known from the Banat (II.5.1.; pl. 8/11; pl. 79/5;¹⁹⁷ II.5.2.; pl. 8/12; pl. 79/4;¹⁹⁸ II.5.3.; pl. 8/13 a; pl. 43/11a;¹⁹⁹ II.5.4.; pl. 8/13 b; pl. 43/11 b; II.5.5.; pl. 60/10, pl. 8/14;²⁰⁰ pl. 42/1; pl. 8/15;²⁰¹ II.5.6.²⁰²). Other torcs were found in *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound,²⁰³ *Deszk-D*,²⁰⁴ *Felnac*,²⁰⁵ *Kiszombor*-to the south from the village,²⁰⁶ *Klárafalva-Faragó* (grave 1),²⁰⁷ *Gherman*,²⁰⁸ and *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Ciglana*.²⁰⁹

II.6. In addition to torques, two chokers are known from the Banat.

II.6.1. One of them is made of metal plates and was found in grave 12 of the *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii* cemetery.²¹⁰

II.6.2. Another was made of bronze buttons and was found in grave 15 of the *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* cemetery.²¹¹

II.7. A *conch necklace* is said to have been found in *Duplijaja-Veliki Prokop*.²¹²

197 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 158, fig. 3/5.

198 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 158, fig. 3/2.

199 Stanojev (1989), pp. 30, 31.

200 Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean (1996), pp. 36, 139, pl. LXI/a/4.

201 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 355, 568, pl. I.

202 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

203 Bejan et al. (2005), pp. 27, 32, 38, fig. 3/3; Dragotă, Oța, Rustoiu (2005), p. 312.

204 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

205 Unpublished.

206 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

207 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

208 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 37.

209 Bálint (1991), p. 246.

210 Țeicu (1996c), pp. 56–76.

211 Țeicu, Rancu (2003), p. 456.

212 Janković, Radičević (2005), p. 277.

III Arm adornments consist of bracelets and armrings. While the latter appear without interruption between the 10th and the 14th century, bracelets appear only occasionally in graves after ca. 1200.

III.1. *Bracelets* (pls. 9, 10, 11, 12). Glass specimens appear only in the southeastern part of the Banat in 12th and early 13th century assemblages. By contrast, bracelets made of rods with circular or diamond-shaped section are known only from 10th and early 11th century assemblages in the lowlands of the western Banat. Finally, bracelets made of rods with oval or triangular section appear in 12th century assemblages in the southeast, while those made of metal band have been found in 10th to 12th century assemblages in the western part of the Banat.

I have distinguished several variants on the basis of the material of which bracelets are made.

III.1.1. Bracelets of bronze or silver rod (pl. 9/1–7) are cast and, in some cases, subsequently decorated by engraving. They have been found in many assemblages in Southeastern Europe, but they are especially common in Hungary, in the lands to the east from the Carpathian Mountains and in Ukraine.²¹³ Nine specimens are known from the Banat, each different from another in terms either of the rod section or of decoration (III.1.1.1; pl. 9/1; III.1.1.2.; pl. 9/2; III.1.1.3.; pl. 9/3; III.1.1.4.; pl. 9/4; III.1.1.5.). All of them may be dated to the 10th–11th centuries.²¹⁴

Four other specimens have widened ends, some decorated (III.1.1.6.; pl. 9/5; III.1.1.7.; pl. 9/6; III.1.1.8; III.1.1.9.; pl. 9/7). Those bracelets have been found in the southern or southeastern parts of the Banat, and may be dated to the 11th–12th centuries. They appear only in female burials, while bracelets without widened ends have also been found in male and child graves. The bracelets with widened ends have many analogies in the Balkans and are without any doubt of Byzantine origin.

III.1.2. Bracelets with animal heads (pl. 9/8–9) appear in Avar-age assemblages in the Carpathian Basin. However, in the Banat, no specimen can be dated later than the 11th century. They are in fact different from 10th- and 11th century bracelets with animal heads from other regions.

²¹³ Korzuhina (1954), pl. II/2, pl. X/1–2, pl. XII/1, pl. XXXIV/1.

²¹⁴ Oța (2008), pp. 103–104.

Seven variants may be identified (III.1.2.1.; III.1.2.2.; III.1.2.3.; pl. 9/8; pl. 64/17; III.1.2.4.; III.1.2.5.; III.1.2.6.; III.1.2.7.; pl. 9/9; pl. 79/3), all from lowland sites. Most of them were cast, while others were made of twisted rods, with added cast ornaments.

III.1.3. A simple-wire bracelet²¹⁵ was found in *Ilidia*-Oblîța and dated to the 14th century. Similar items have been discovered in *Craiova*-Fântâna Obedeanu.²¹⁶

III.1.4. Twisted-wire bracelets (pl. 10/1–4).²¹⁷ Four models are currently known. Two of them (III.1.3.1.; pl. 10/1; III.1.3.2.; pl. 10/2) are known only from lowland sites and have been dated to the 10th century and possibly to the early 11th century. One of those variants is believed to have been introduced to the Carpathian Basin at the time of the Magyar migration. The other two variants (III.1.3.3.; pl. 10/3; III.1.3.4.; pl. 10/4)²¹⁸ are common for sites in the northern Balkans dated to the time of the Byzantine *reconquista*. In the lands north of the river Danube, they have been dated between the 11th century and the 13th century. All finds come from sites in the southeastern part of the Banat (*Cuptoare*-Sfogeia, *Gornea*-Căunița de Sus, and *Șopotu Vechi*-Mârviță). They are also known from Oltenia.²¹⁹ They almost disappear from burial assemblages after ca. 1200.

III.1.5. Interwoven wire bracelets (pl. 10/5) have been found in *Crna Bara*-Prkos (pl. 84/7)²²⁰ and *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Ciglana.²²¹ Similar specimens are known from *Bogojevo*²²² in Vojvodina and *Vărșand*-Movila dintre vii,²²³ in the Crișana. Their chronology is broad, from the 10th to the 11th, even the 12th century. Other similar bracelets are known from the large cemetery in *Bjelo Brdo*²²⁴ as well as from the cemetery of the Köttlach culture in *Graz*-Judenburg, Strassengel.²²⁵

215 Țeicu (2009), p. 38, pl. 11/5, pp. 146–147.

216 Dumitriu (2001), p. 119, pl. 89/20.

217 See Oța (2006b), pp. 251–274.

218 Oța (2008), pp. 105–106; Oța (2006b), pp. 253–254, 267, pl. 1/1–14, p. 268, pl. II/15–24, p. 269, pl. III/30–31; Oța (2010d), pp. 418–419.

219 For debates concerning this type of bracelets, see Oța (2006b), pp. 252–254.

220 Stanojev (1989), pp. 129–130.

221 Stanojev (1989), pp. 89–90.

222 Stanojev (1989), pp. 25, 28.

223 Unpublished specimens in the collection of the National Museum of Romanian History.

224 Hampel (1907), pl. 45/4, pl. 46/4, pl. 47/2.

225 Korošec (1979b), pl. 77/1–2.

III.1.6. Band bracelets (pl. 10/6–9; pl. 11/1–9) are decorated by hammering or engraving.²²⁶ Others were decorated with appliqués, such as those found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* in the summer of 1903. I have identified 15 variants (III.1.6.1.; pl. 10/6; III.1.6.2.; pl. 10/7; pl. 65/2; III.1.6.3.; pl. 10/8; III.1.6.4.; pl. 10/9; III.1.6.5.;²²⁷ III.1.6.6.; pl. 11/1; pl. 43/13; III.1.6.7.; pl. 11/2; pl. 43/14; III.1.6.8., pl. 11/3 (*Vojlovica*); pl. 86/4; III.1.6.9. (*Szóreg*); III.6.10.; pl. 11/4; pl. 70/4; III.6.11.; pl. 11/5; pl. 65/1; III.1.6.12.; pl. 11/6; pl. 38/11; III.1.6.13.; pl. 11/7; 39/25–26; III.1.6.14.; pl. 11/8; pl. 38/12; III.1.6.15.; pl. 11/9; pl. 41/7).²²⁸ Undecorated variants appear in 10th- and 11th century assemblages in the lowlands. Indeed, the specimen with decorative appliqués found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo*, is an exception, although has a similar chronology (III.1.6.13.; pl. 39/25–26).²²⁹ A fragmentary with engraved dots was found in *Szóreg-Homokbánya* (III.1.6.9) and may be dated to the first half of the 10th century.²³⁰ Decoration is much more common with specimens found in the Balkans: zig zag line (*Pančevo*; pl. 10/8), meandering line (*Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*; pl. 10/6) or combined dot-and-line incisions (*Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*; pl. 10/9; *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*). Decorated band bracelets are also of a later date (11th–12th centuries), but do not appear in assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo culture. After ca. 1200, they disappear from burial assemblages.

III.1.7. Glass bracelets (pl. 12/1–7) are typical adornments of the 11th–12th centuries, although specimens found in the lands north of the Danube must be dated only to the 12th century. Such bracelets may have been manufactured in the 12th century in *Popovica*.²³¹ The simplest bracelets were made of folded glass rods with different sections. Others are made of glass bands on which hot incisions have been made. Some items were decorated with one or more thin rods of the same material, bound alongside the body of the bracelet but of different colors. In the Banat, the color range seems to be limited to black, blue, and green, with decorations in red. I have identified seven variants (III.1.6.1; pl. 12/1; III.1.6.2.; pl. 12/2, 3; III.1.6.3.; III.1.6.4.; pl. 12/4, 5; III.1.6.5.; pl. 12/6, 7; III.1.6.6.; III.1.6.7).²³² specimens of which have been found only

226 Dumitriu (2001), p. 61.

227 See and Ţeicu (2009), p. 38, fig. 11/6, p. 148 (*Obreja-Sat Bătrân*).

228 Oța (2008), pp. 106–107.

229 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

230 Bálint (1991), p. 78, pl. XXIII/II, p. 79.

231 Janković (1983), pp. 99–118.

232 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2005), p. 266.

in the southeastern and southern parts of the Banat.²³³ Such bracelets are known from *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*, *Caransebeș-Măhala* and *Omolica*. The largest number of glass bracelets is known from the northern Balkans.²³⁴

III.2. *Finger-rings* are among the most common dress accessories in medieval Banat (10th–14th centuries). Many of them are made of bronze and silver, but they are decorated in different ways—by means of engraving, granulation, filigree, but also the setting of semi-precious stones, glass, decorated metallic plates or ancient gems. The Balkanic or Byzantine tradition can be noticed for many of them (pl. 100).

III.2.1. Band-shaped simple finger-rings (pl. 13/1–4) are either undecorated (III.2.1.1; pl. 13/1; 80/9;²³⁵ three cemeteries) or decorated (III.2.1.2; pl. 13/2; pl. 58/3;²³⁶ pl. 13/3; pl. 66/7;²³⁷ pl. 13/4; pl. 36/5;²³⁸ three cemeteries).

III.2.2. Wedding rings (pl. 13/5–6) have been found in *Periam-Régiposta Str.* (pl. 13/5; pl. 73/3)²³⁹ and *Arača* (pl. 13/6; pl. 34/16).²⁴⁰ Such finger-rings are dated between the 11th and the 14th century,²⁴¹ on the basis of the specimens found in *Nosa* (Vojvodina). Those discovered in *Négyszállás*²⁴² indicate that such finger-rings were still in use in the late 13th and throughout the 14th century. Wedding rings are also known from *Székesfehérvár-Demkóhegy* (grave 15), *Demkóhegy II* (grave 9),²⁴³ and *Pilin-Sirmányhegy* (grave 73),²⁴⁴ all sited in Hungary. However, they appear in 9th and 10th century cemetery sites in *Kranj*, *Roje*, *Köttlach*, and *Bled*.²⁴⁵

233 Oța (2008), pp. 107–108.

234 Oța (2010d), pp. 415–416.

235 Uzum (1987), pp. 303–304; Oța (2008), p. 108.

236 Uzum (1981), p. 191.

237 Živković (1997), pp. 144, 154, pl. III/grave 4/8.

238 Stanojev (2004), pp. 62, 65, pl. VIII/116.

239 Roska (1943), pp. 140–143.

240 Stanojev (2004), pp. 44, 58, pl. IV/52.

241 Stanojev (1989), p. 87.

242 Selmeczi (1992), pl. 1/9, 19, 69, pl. II/22, 47, pl. III/10, 29, 48, pl. V/12, 27, etc.

243 Hampel (1907), pl. 80/grave 15/2 a, b, pl. 86/grave 9/7.

244 Hampel (1907), pl. 70/grave 73/2.

245 Korošec (1979b), pl. 75/1h, 69/4f, pl. 49/11c, pl. 33/1b.

III.2.3. Massive finger-rings (pl. 13/7–13) come in six variants: those made of bronze or silver (cast without decorations; III.2.3.1.; pl. 51/13; pl. 40/1; pl. 80/14–16), twisted-wire rings (III.2.3.2.; pl. 13/10; pl. 101), interwoven wire rings (III.2.3.3.; pl. 13/12), cast specimens imitating the twisting (III.2.3.4.; pl. 13/11), specimens of rod with twisted ends (III.2.3.5.) and decorated by indenting (III.2.3.6.; pl. 13/13).

The first variant appears in 10th and 11th century assemblages in *Bač, Karavukovo*²⁴⁶ (Vojvodina), as well as *Külső-Pusztá Kovácsi*.²⁴⁷ In the Banat, they were found in *Deta*,²⁴⁸ *Banatsko Arandjelovo*,²⁴⁹ and *Timișoara-Cioreni*.²⁵⁰

The second variant was common during the 11th century in the Carpathian Basin, but also south, in the northern Balkans (*Garvăn, Isaccea*,²⁵¹ *Kaliakra*²⁵²). In the Banat, such finger-rings have been found on no less than 12 sites. Specimens found in Hungary appear to imitate Byzantine originals made of gold wires. Another specimen, possibly of the same type, is known from *Duplįjaja-Velikı Prokop*.²⁵³

The third variant is believed to be typical for assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo culture,²⁵⁴ but has also been signaled on the Lower Danube, at *Garvăn*.²⁵⁵

The fourth variant, which is known from four cemeteries (*Kiszombor-B*,²⁵⁶ *C* and *Juhászhalom*,²⁵⁷ *Nikolinci*²⁵⁸) is also believed to be a typically Bjelo Brdo dress accessory. In the Banat, such finger-rings have been found in association with lock rings with S-shaped end, and may therefore be dated to the late 10th and 11th century. An 11th century date is secured by the association in one case with a coin struck either for Solomon (1063–1074) or for Andrew I (1046–1060). A similar date may be advanced for the fifth variant, which is only known from *Kiszombor-B*.²⁵⁹

246 Stanojev (1989), pp. 22–23, 52.

247 Hampel (1907), pl. 63/4, 5. For analogies, see Hampel (1907), Kiss (1983), Bálint (1991).

248 Kárász (1896), pp. 228, 229, fig. 13.

249 Kovács (1991/1992), p. 46, pl. 10/115.

250 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 116, fig. 10/4, 11–13, p. 164.

251 Dumitriu (2001), pp. 104–106, 110, pl. 59/11, 13, 16, 17–20, pl. 72/1–2, pl. 74/1, grave 6, pl. 77/9, grave 151.

252 Bobčeva (1978), pp. 171, 185, pl. X, grave 185/2, grave 173/1.

253 Janković, Radičević (2005), p. 277.

254 Váňa (1954), p. 67, fig. 3/50, 52, 68.

255 Dumitriu (2001), p. 105, pl. 59/12.

256 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

257 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), pp. 48, 49.

258 Živković (1997), pp. 144, 154, pl. III/grave 4/9.

259 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

Finally, the sixth variant (pl. 13/13) was signaled in *Rábé*-railway station (pl. 74/6)²⁶⁰ and *Starčevo-Livad*e (pl. 75/1).²⁶¹ An item decorated by indenting was also found in grave 57 in *Vladimirescu*, to the north from the river Mureș.²⁶² Finger-rings decorated in the same technique are known from *Külső-Pusztá*²⁶³ and *Liptagerge*.²⁶⁴ The latter site is dated with coins struck for 11th century Árpáadian kings. Such finger-rings are typical to assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo culture and are very common in the Carpathian Basin, where most have been dated between 1000 and 1060.²⁶⁵

III.2.4. Finger-rings with bezel (pl. 13/14–27, pl. 14/1–15; pl. 15/1–13) are cast in silver or bronze. A few specimens have been manufactured by hammering.

III.2.4.1. Five variants of finger-rings with flat bezels and overlapped end shave been discovered (pl. 13/14–15; pl. 13/16–20; pl. 13/21; pl. 13/22–26; pl. 13/27). Some are decorated with crosses, geometrical motifs, inscriptions, animals, stylized anthropomorphic representations, or the stars and the moon).²⁶⁶ They have been found on four sites and may be dated from the late 11th to the 13th century.

III.2.4.2. Three variants of finger-rings with flat bezels are known (pl. 14/1–8; pl. 14/9; pl. 14/10–12). Unlike the previous variant, the bezel of this one often displays a double cross and a stylized lily. Ten sites have produced such finger-rings,²⁶⁷ the chronology of which spans the entire period between the 10th and the 15th century.

III.2.4.3. Finger-rings with raised bezel (pl. 15/1–13) were typically cast.²⁶⁸ They have been found on 11 sites, the chronology of which suggests that such finger-rings were in use at the same time as the finger-rings with flat bezels.

III.2.5. Finger-rings with soldered bezel.

260 Kovács (1991/1992), p. 62, pl. 14/13.

261 Djordjević, Djordjević (2012), p. 82, fig. 9/1.

262 Zdroba, Barbu (1976), p. 53.

263 Hampel (1907), p. 174, pl. 63/8.

264 Hampel (1907), p. 175, pl. 64/A/3.

265 Giesler (1981), pl. 53.

266 Oța (2008), pp. 110–112. I have also added the specimens from *Sečani-Atar C* and *Cuptoare-Sfoega*.

267 In addition to the specimens from *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* (pl. 14/13) and *Arača* (pl. 14/14–15).

268 Oța (2008), pp. 112–114.

III.2.5.1. The simplest such finger-rings (pl. 16/1–12) have been found on seven sites in the Banat. With one exception, namely that from *Banatsko Arandjelovo*, which is dated to the 10th century, all of them are from 14th and 15th century assemblages.

III.2.5.2. A finger-ring from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* has a case bezel (pl. 16/13). Inside was an oval, semiprecious, pink-yellowish stone.²⁶⁹

III.2.5.3. Finger-rings with the bezel decorated with a glass or stone button surrounded by granules (pl. 16/14–17) appear in four variants. The specimens found in *Deszk-D* (pl. 16/17)²⁷⁰ and *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (pl. 16/15)²⁷¹ may be dated to the 11th century, that from *Cuptoare-Sfogea* to the 12th–13th centuries. Finger-rings possibly of the same type have been signaled in *Kiszombor-C* (grave 29)²⁷² and *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării*.²⁷³

III.2.5.4. Finger-rings with granulated or filigree-decorated bezel (pl. 16/18–19; pl. 100) are known from *Cuptoare-Sfogea*²⁷⁴ and *Ilidia-Cetate*.²⁷⁵

III.2.6. Finger-rings with dome-shaped bezel (pl. 16/20–23) already appear in the 10th century, possibly as imitations of Byzantine originals. In the Middle and Lower Danube region, as well as in Kievan Rus',²⁷⁶ those were dress accessories of the elite. The specimens found in the Banat cannot, however, be associated with elevated social status, due to their rather modest execution. Some have soldered (III.2.5.1; pl. 16/20; *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*²⁷⁷ and *Ciclova Română-Morminți*; pl. 16/21²⁷⁸), others cast bezels (pl. 16/22–23; *Timișoara-Cioreni*, graves E²⁷⁹ and I9²⁸⁰).

269 Țeicu (1998), p. 170, fig. 52/4.

270 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

271 Bejan, Moga (1979), pp. 159, 164, fig. 4/16.

272 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

273 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 54.

274 Țeicu (1998), p. 170, fig. 52/3.

275 Țeicu (1993), p. 272, fig. 15/3.

276 Dumitriu (2001), p. 58.

277 Stanojev (1989), pp. 47, 51.

278 Uzum, Țeicu (1981), pp. 213, 215, fig. 5.

279 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 163, fig. 8/5, p. 164.

280 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 167, fig. 11/24, p. 176. For another specimen from *Klarafalva-B*, see Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

III.2.7. Only one metal band finger-ring (pl. 16/24) is known from grave 5 in *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*.²⁸¹

III.2.8. Two finger-rings with diamond-shaped ends have been found in *Kiszombor-B* (grave 15) and *Klárafalva-B* (grave 36).²⁸²

III.2.9. A recycled Roman finger-ring is known from grave 29 in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*. It has an inscription on the bezel, "OPR."²⁸³

III.2.10. A finger-ring said to have narrow ends, but not illustrated has been found in grave 184 in *Kiszombor-B*.²⁸⁴

III.2.11. A finger-ring with lock is known from grave 43 in *Klárafalva-B*.²⁸⁵

Finger-rings of unspecified types are also signaled in *Domașnea-Căzănia lui Șoban*,²⁸⁶ *Ilidia-Cetate* (graves 35, 37, and 71), *Kiszombor-C* (grave 14),²⁸⁷ and *Sânnicolau Mare*.²⁸⁸

IV Dress Accessories

IV.1. *Appliqués* (pl. 17/1–28) were used to adorn the clothes, the harness, baldrics, scabbards, leather bags, various belts (other than baldrics and harness), quiver or bow, or footwear.

Dress appliqués may be distinguished from others on the basis of their fastening system. As textiles in general are soft and flexible materials, the appliqués had to be sewed in order not to slip. The appliqués were therefore perforated. Some have one or two, U-shaped or semicircular tags at either end, on the back, which were sewn onto the textile fabric. Finally, some appliqués have a perforated plate located on the back; that was sewn onto the fabric. Double heart-like appliqués have a triangular plate on the back. They are divided into several groups and sub-groups, based on their form, decoration,

281 Stanojev (1989), pp. 40, 42.

282 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), pp. 48, 49.

283 Uzum (1981), pp. 190–191.

284 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

285 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

286 Petrovski et al. (1982), pp. 323–329.

287 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

288 Kühn (1911), p. 183.

material and method of fastening onto the fabric. Less confirmed for the fastening of the appliqués onto the fabric is the attachment by means of a simple rivet. Sometimes two different fastening systems may be found on the same appliqué, e.g., rivet and perforations.

IV.1.1. Circular appliqués (pl. 17/1–18) are known in six variants (IV.1.1.1.; pl. 17/1; pl. 63/5;²⁸⁹ pl. 17/2; pl. 37/1;²⁹⁰ pl. 17/3; pl. 82/7;²⁹¹ pl. 17/4; pl. 56/5; pl. 17/5; pl. 35/10;²⁹² IV.1.1.2.; pl. 17/6; pl. 87/3;²⁹³ IV.1.1.3;²⁹⁴ pl. 17/7; pl. 62/6;²⁹⁵ pl. 17/8; pl. 78/5, 6, 12;²⁹⁶ pl. 17/9–11;²⁹⁷ pl. 35/2, 3, 8; IV.1.1.4.; pl. 17/12; pl. 39/18, 22;²⁹⁸ pl. 17/13; pl. 39/23, 24;²⁹⁹ pl. 17/14; pl. 44/1–2;³⁰⁰ IV.1.1.5.; pl. 17/15;³⁰¹ pl. 63/2; pl. 78/1;³⁰² IV.1.1.6.; pl. 17/16–18; pl. 34/11; 35/4, 9³⁰³), each of them with several sub-variants.³⁰⁴ Except the specimens from *Arača* (pl. 17/5, 9–11, 16–18) to be dated to the 13th–14th centuries, all others come from 10th century assemblages. They were found in ten cemeteries from the lowlands.

IV.1.2. Square appliqués are made of silver (pl. 17/19). Inside the square there is an eight-pointed star with a circle in the middle. Ten such appliqués are known from *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 39/1, 4).³⁰⁵

IV.1.3. Diamond-shaped appliqués (pl. 17/20–23). Such appliqués are typical for 10th and 11th century assemblages in the Carpathian Basin. They were made of silver, some having also been gilded. Six variants are known (pl. 17/20;

289 Stanojev (1989), pp. 47, 50.

290 Stanojev (1989), pp. 14, 16.

291 Bálint (1932), pp. 256–265.

292 Stanojev (2004), pp. 61, 63, pl. VI/91.

293 Stanojev (1989), p. 43.

294 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

295 Stanojev (1989), pp. 46, 48.

296 Bálint (1991), pp. 243, 240, pl. LXII/a/18; Hampel (1905b), p. 562; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/19–21.

297 Stanojev (2004), pp. 60, 62, pl. VI/84, 85, 89.

298 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18; Kovács (1991/1992), p. 43, XXV, pl. 4/53–68.

299 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

300 Kislégghi (1904), p. 418, A. II.

301 Stanojev (1989), pp. 46, 49.

302 Hampel (1905b), p. 562; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/22.

303 Stanojev (2004), pp. 37, 58, pl. IV/34, pp. 60, 63, pl. 86, 90.

304 Oța (2008), pp. 116–118.

305 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18; Kovács (1991/1992), p. 42, XXV, pl. 4/32–41.

pl. 63/6;³⁰⁶ pl. 17/21; pl. 39/10;³⁰⁷ pl. 63/12;³⁰⁸ pl. 17/22; pl. 36/21;³⁰⁹ pl. 17/23; pl. 36/15³¹⁰), specimens of which have been found on six sites in the north-western part of the Banat.

IV.1.4. Square items, decorated appliqués with floral ornament (pl. 17/24–25) appear in two variants (IV.1.9.1.; pl. 17/24; pl. 78/13, 17, 18, 19;³¹¹ pl. 78/3;³¹² IV.1.9.2.; pl. 63/7³¹³), both of which are typical for 10th century assemblages in the Carpathian Basin.

IV.1.5. Leaf-like appliqués (pl. 17/26–27) have been found in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (pl. 63/3; gilded silver),³¹⁴ *Kiszombor-E*,³¹⁵ and *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 41/3–5; pl. 17/27; gilded bronze).

IV.1.6. Oval appliqués of gold leaf, decorated with a pressed, cross motif (pl. 17/28) are known from *Teremia Mare-1875* (pl. 77/24–26).³¹⁶ Gilded silver appliqués have also been discovered in *Kiszombor-C*³¹⁷ and E.³¹⁸

IV.2. *Double-heart-shaped appliqués* (pl. 18/1–21; pl. 102).

IV.2.1. The double heart-like appliqués for shirts or other types of clothing (pl. 18/1–19) consist of an upper part that may take one of different forms (circular, quadrilateral, or diamond); and a lower, heart-shaped part which has the fastening tag. The fastening system is located on the backside of the upper part. The typology proposed in 1991 by Csanád Bálint is still valid,³¹⁹ but I have added to it nine variants for the lower (Ia; pl. 18/1; Ib; pl. 18/2–8; Ic; Id; pl. 18/9;

306 Stanojev (1989), pp. 47, 50, 51.

307 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18; Kovács (1991/1992), p. 43, XXV, pl. 4/49.

308 Stanojev (1989), pp. 48, 51.

309 Stanojev (1989), pp. 16, 19; Kovács (1991/1992), p. 38, XXIII, pl. 2/2.

310 Stanojev (1989), p. 13.

311 Bálint (1991), pp. 243, 240, pl. LXII/a/12; Hampel (1905b), p. 561; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/14–17.

312 Hampel (1905b), p. 563; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/24.

313 Stanojev (1989), pp. 47, 51.

314 Stanojev (1989), pp. 46, 49.

315 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

316 Hampel (1905b), p. 563; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/26–28.

317 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

318 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

319 Bálint (1991), pp. 123–138.

Ie; pl. 18/17–18; If; pl. 18/10–14; Ig; pl. 18/15; Ih; pl. 18/16; Ii; pl. 18/19)³²⁰ and three variants for the upper part (IIa; pl. 18/3–4; IIb; pl. 18/2, 5–18; IIc; pl. 18/19).³²¹

Given that such adornments were meant to decorate the shirt, they are believed to have been typically female adornments. Most were made of gilded silver, bronze, or gilded bronze. Some were hemstitched. Their wide-scale production seems to have begun a generation or two after the arrival of the Magyars, i.e., after 925.³²² Some variants are believed to have been brought from the steppe lands to the north from the Black Sea, especially those decorated with palmettes. Such appliqué are further believed to have decorated kaftans. Since only a few such appliqué are known from the Balkans, while they appear in great numbers in the Carpathian Basin, they seem to have been introduced by the Magyars in the late 9th century. During the first half of the 10th century, as large amounts of silver entered the Carpathian Basin from Central and Western Europe, those appliqué were made especially of silver and gilded silver. By the end of that century, as well as after 1000, they were made of bronze. One of the reasons for this change may be that raiding expeditions to the west ceased after 955. Meanwhile, and most likely because of the influence of the Byzantine applied arts, a number of “Oriental” motifs were adopted. The latest archaeological finds confirm that this ornamental change came from the Balkan region. Whether some belt items, appliqué or pendants dated to the 10th century are indeed Byzantine origin or only imitations of Byzantine originals, remains a matter of debate. Nonetheless, those 10th century dress accessories may be regarded as features of a “sub-Byzantine” culture illustrating the local adaptation of models available in the Carpathian Basin.

A much more disputed issue is that of the precise chronology of those appliqué.³²³ For Banat, the items of the discussion are given by the dates advanced for various sites.³²⁴ The specimen found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (type I, Tănase, Gáll) has been dated to the 10th century, much like those from *Kláráfalva-B* (type IV, Tănase, Gáll) and *Crna Bara-Prkos* (type v, Tănase, Gáll). A date between the 10th and the 11th century has been advanced for such sites with appliqué as *Deta* (type VIII Tănase, Gáll), *Rábé*-railway station (1912), *Vršac* (type IX, Tănase, Gáll), and *Beba Veche* (type x, Tănase, Gáll). Finally, those from *Hodoni-Pocioaroane* have been dated to the 11th century (types xv–xvi, Tănase, Gáll). The upper parts of such double heart-like appliqué

320 Oța (2008), pp. 119–120.

321 Oța (2008), p. 121.

322 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), p. 556.

323 Bálint (1991), pp. 123–129; Demo (1983), pp. 271–301.

324 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2000), pp. 556–576.

are also known from *Beba Veche* (pl. 42/4, 6; gilded bronze)³²⁵ and *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 39/2, 3, 5; silver).³²⁶

IV.2.2. Large double heart-like appliqués (pl. 18/20–21) have been found in *Banatski Despotovac* (pl. 36/16)³²⁷ and *Tiszasziget-A. Molnar* (pl. 18/21).³²⁸ Such appliqués were most likely used to decorate the kaftan, and may thus be dated to the 10th century. Two variants are known (IV.2.2.1; pl. 18/20; IV.2.2.2; pl. 18/21).³²⁹

IV.3. *Buttons* (pl. 19/1–25)³³⁰ appear in many variants and came into fashion only in the 10th century. Out of the known variants, six have been identified in the Banat (IV.3.1.; pl. 19/1–14; IV.3.2.; pl. 19/15–21; IV.3.3.; pl. 19/22; IV.3.4.; pl. 19/23; IV.3.5.; pl. 19/24; IV.3.6.; pl. 19/25). The first variant (globular buttons) has in turn six sub-variants (IV.3.1.1.; pl. 19/1–3; IV.3.1.2.; IV.3.1.3.; pl. 19/4–5; IV.3.1.4.; pl. 19/6; IV.3.1.5.; pl. 19/7–11; IV.3.1.6.; pl. 19/12–14) known from 10 sites.

The second variant (IV.3.2; mushroom-shaped buttons) has two sub-variants (IV.3.2.1.; IV.3.2.2.; pl. 19/21). Only single specimens are known for variants III (IV.3.3.; pl. 19/22), IV (IV.3.4.; pl. 19/23) and V (IV.3.5.; pl. 19/24). A very interesting variant (IV.3.6.; pl. 19/25) was documented in *Caransebeș-City center*. The button is made of ivory.

All items, except for those from *Caransebeș-City center*, which have been coin-dated to the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg, much like those from *Arača*, come from 10th and 11th century assemblages. Buttons are also mentioned in *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Cuptoare-Sfogeia*, and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, but without any details or illustration. Buttons appear in rural and urban cemeteries, and even in monastery graveyards.

IV.4. *Tags and hooks* have been found in *Kiszombor-B*,³³¹ C,³³² and E,³³³ in *Klárafalva-B* and *Faragó*,³³⁴ and in *Sânpetru German*.³³⁵ However, only those

325 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), p. 222, pl. 2/9–10.

326 Kovács (1991/1992), p. 43, XXV, pl. 4/42–47.

327 Stanojev (1989), p. 13.

328 Bálint (1991), p. 137, pl. XLV/5, p. 138, pl. XLVI/3.

329 Oța (2008), p. 121.

330 Oța (2008), pp. 122–123.

331 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

332 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

333 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

334 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

335 Bálint (1991), p. 243.

from *Arača* have been published with sufficient detail.³³⁶ They were used to fasten the collar to a shirt or to a coat. Three variants have been identified (IV.4.1.; pl. 19/26; IV.4.2.; pl. 19/27; IV.4.3.; pl. 19/28).

IV.5. *Cowries* were most likely sewn onto the clothes of the individual buried in grave 5 of the *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* cemetery.³³⁷ Thirteen such shells were found alongside the rib cage, placed in two rows (pl. 62/5).

IV.6. A *brooch* is known from grave 127 in *Kiszombor-B*.³³⁸ Judging from the other grave goods, this was a mid-10th century burial assemblage (pl. 64/5–12).

IV.7. The exact function of the *pendants* found in *Deszk-D*³³⁹ and *Kiszombor-B*³⁴⁰ remains unknown.

IV.8. *Bell pendants* (pl. 19/29–30) have been found in *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija* (pl. 19/29; pl. 43/7)³⁴¹ and *Voiteni* (pl. 19/30; pl. 85/11).³⁴²

IV.8.1. A curious artifact was found in *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*. It has a hanging earlet and inside of it, a small ball (pl. 19/29). Around the maximum diameter, the ball was decorated with a ribbon of granules. In the lower part it has an indenting. The burial assemblage in which it was found has been dated to the 10th–11th centuries.³⁴³ Artifacts similarly decorated with granules have also been found in the Church of St. Martin in *Szombathely*, namely in an 11th century grave.³⁴⁴

IV.8.2. The pendant found in *Voiteni* in a child burial (grave 7) has a hanging earlet in the upper part. The assemblage has been dated to the second half of the 10th century.

336 Stanojev (2004), pp. 40, 43, 45, 47, 56, 58, pl. IV/40, p. 59, pl. V/58, pp. 61, 62, pl. VI/77, p. 64, pl. VII/100.

337 Stanojev (1989), pp. 46, 48.

338 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

339 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

340 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

341 Stanojev (1989), pp. 33, 35.

342 Medeleť, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 100, 107, pl. 8.

343 Jovanović (1995/1996), pp. 92, 110, pl. V/3.

344 Kiss, Tóth (1993), p. 181, pl. 5/grave 50/5/2–4, p. 187.

V Footwear Adornments and Heel Plates

Some appliqués were apparently used to adorn footwear, especially during the 10th century, but heel plates were also used for an extended length of time. The latest in the Banat are known from urban areas (*Caransebeș*-City center).

V.1. *Footwear appliqués* (pl. 19/31–33) have been found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (north-east from the train station, 1901–03) and *Teremia Mare* (finds of 1875).

V.1.1. Two lily-like appliqués (hemstitched) are known from *Kiszombor-F*.³⁴⁵

V.1.2. Silver circular appliqués (pl. 19/31) were found in *Teremia Mare* (pl. 77/4, 10–21).³⁴⁶ They are of one of two variants. The first one is made of gilded silver, and is decorated with a circular hollow in the central area. On the back-side, such appliqués have rivets for the fastening on leather fabric (pl. 77/10).³⁴⁷ The other variant is also of gilded silver, decorated with a circle in the central area. The fastening system is identical.³⁴⁸ Based on analogies well-dated from assemblages in Hungary, those appliqués may be dated from the late 9th to the end of the first half of the 10th century. They have been found only in female burials of such cemeteries as *Kecskemét-Csongrádi Street*,³⁴⁹ *Csongrád-Vendelhalom*,³⁵⁰ and *Szentes-Nagymágocsi-Street*.³⁵¹

V.1.3. Silver appliqués decorated with four petals and two fastening holes (pl. 19/32) were found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 39/20).³⁵² Similar, but not identical appliqués are known from grave 85 in *Sándorfalva*.³⁵³

V.1.4. *Banatsko Arandjelovo* also produced a cast bronze appliqué with three fastening rivets on the back (pl. 19/33; pl. 37/9).³⁵⁴

345 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

346 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 77.

347 Hampel (1905b), p. 564; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/31–36.

348 Hampel (1905b), p. 564; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/37–42.

349 Csallány (1970), pp. 285, 286, fig. 20.

350 Fodor (1996), pp. 306–307.

351 Csallány (1970), p. 289, fig. 23, p. 290.

352 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

353 Fodor (1996), p. 350.

354 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

V.2. *Heelplates* were discovered in grave 7 of crypt 5 in *Caransebeș*-City center.³⁵⁵

V.3. Fragments of clothes are known from *Teremia Mare*. They are of linen; one has a pattern with various colours (pl. 78/22).³⁵⁶

VI Belt Fittings

In the Middle Ages (10th–14th centuries), the belt played a number of different roles, some purely functional, others symbolic. First, simple, undecorated belts made of leather or fabric had buckles of equally simple manufacture, often without plate, with square or rectangular, circular or oval loop. Others were lyre-shaped. It is likely that such belts were mostly functional, with little aesthetic or symbolic value.

Much more important for conveying the social status of the wearer were belt with metal mounts and strap ends (pl. 103). Among most steppe populations such belts were markers of social rank. Recent archaeological finds from Bulgaria, however, show that the same symbolism existed in the Byzantine Empire.³⁵⁷ In light of those and other discoveries, it appears that most belt mounts long regarded as typical for the Magyars have good analogies within the Byzantine territories in the Balkans.

VI.1. *Buckles* (pl. 20/1–17; pl. 21/1–3; pl. 103) were used to fasten and adjust belts or baldrics. They were manufactured by casting or hammering. Buckles with plates also had rivets. All known specimens are made either of iron or of bronze. Simple buckles (VI.1.1.) appear in iron (VI.1.1.1; pl. 20/1–9) and in bronze (VI.1.1.2.; pl. 20/10–16). Some are double, made of bronze (VI.1.2.; pl. 20/17), or with plate (VI.1.3; l. 21/1–3). There are six variants of simple iron buckles, and four of the bronze buckles.

Square iron buckles have been found in *Novi Kneževac*-Béla Talliján (pl. 69/4)³⁵⁸ and *Dudeștii Vechi* (pl. 52/7).³⁵⁹ Rectangular buckles are known from *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (grave 17),³⁶⁰ *Arača* (pl. 35/15) and *Dudeștii Vechi*

355 Bona (1993), pp. 75, 93. There is no illustration though.

356 Hampel (1905b), p. 561; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/1–2.

357 Pletnjov, Pavlova (1994/1995), pp. 24–239.

358 Stanojev (1989), p. 66.

359 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 152, pl. III/6.

360 Bejan, Mare (1997), pp. 142, 145.

(pl. 52/6),³⁶¹ the oval ones from *Nikolinci* (grave 1, pl. 20/4; pl. 66/1).³⁶² The latter has been broadly dated between the late 8th and the early 10th century.

Circular buckles (pl. 20/5) have been found in *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (pl. 58/14)³⁶³ and *Arača* (pl. 20/6; pl. 34/19). On the basis of well-dated analogies, specimens on both sites may be dated to the 14th century. Similar buckles are also known from *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.I (pl. 52/5)³⁶⁴ and *Bucova Pusztă*-Hunca Mare, pl. 46/28).³⁶⁵ Another specimen was found in a grave inside the church in *Cladova*-II, and was dated to the 14th or 15th century.³⁶⁶

Semicircular buckles were discovered in *Arača* (pl. 20/7–8).

A D-shaped buckle is also known from that same site (pl. 20/9).

An oval bronze buckle was discovered in *Duleu*-Dealul Țârni (pl. 20/10; pl. 57/3), two circular ones in *Arača* (pl. 20/11–12), a semicircular one in *Duleu*-Dealul Țârni (pl. 20/13), and three pentagonal ones in *Arača* (pl. 20/14–16).

VI.1.2. Double buckles (pl. 20/17) or lyre-shaped buckles are all cast. They are known from four cemeteries-*Banatsko Arandjelovo* (the mound destroyed in 1906; pl. 40/5),³⁶⁷ *Tomnatic*-unspecified location, 1898 (pl. 84/2),³⁶⁸ *Szőreg*-Homokbánya (grave 32),³⁶⁹ and *Timișoara*-Cioreni (grave 16, pl. 81/2, pl. 20/17).³⁷⁰ Such buckles were very popular in the whole of Southeastern Europe between the 9th and the 11th centuries. Despite attempts to attribute them to the steppe populations migrating to the Carpathian Basin shortly before 900,³⁷¹ such buckles have also been discovered on sites in the Lower Danube region, in *Garvăn*,³⁷² *Păcuil lui Soare*, *Isaccea*, *Capidava*, as well as in Walachia, in *Orlea*, *Curtea de Argeș*, and *Târgșor*.³⁷³ The great number of such buckles found in burial assemblages in Hungary may therefore be simply a consequence of the current state of archaeological research.

361 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 151, pl. II/1, p. 152, pl. III/2.

362 Živković (1997), pp. 143, 153, pl. II/grave 1/1.

363 Uzum (1975), p. 136.

364 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 153, pl. IV/5.

365 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 151, pl. II/4.

366 Unpublished find from the excavations carried out by S. Oța, P. Hurezan, and P. Hügel.

367 Kovács (1992), p. 48.

368 Hampel (1905b), p. 654, fig. 2.

369 Bálint (1991), pp. 90, 92, pl. XXXI/1.

370 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 167, fig. II/10, p. 171.

371 Kiss (1985), pp. 229, 232, 264–265, map 12.

372 Ștefan et al. (1967), p. 295, fig. 173/17, p. 298; Diaconu, Vâlceanu (1972), pp. 154, 155, fig. 62/10–11, 16, p. 156.

373 Dumitriu (2001), p. 71; Harhoiu (1972), pp. 417–425.

VI.1.3. Buckles with plates (pl. 21/1–3) have been found in three cemeteries—*Tomaševac* (pl. 21/3), *Arača* (pl. 21/1) and *Omolica* (pl. 21/2). They come in three variants (VI.1.3.1; pl. 21/1; VI.1.3.2; pl. 21/2; VI.1.3.3; pl. 21/3). Similar buckles, but with a different decoration, are known from sites in Hungary, such as *Felsőszentkirály*, which have been attributed to the Cuman population.³⁷⁴ The buckle of *Arača* is made of bronze and has an inscription on the plate.

Buckles with plates for which no further details have been published are known from *Deszk-Újmajor*, D, J (grave 3),³⁷⁵ *Ilidia-Cetate* (grave 51),³⁷⁶ *Kiszombor-B* (graves 226, 238, 260, 261, and 284), C (graves 13, 22, and 5),³⁷⁷ E (grave 10),³⁷⁸ *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (grave 6),³⁷⁹ and *Sânpetru German*.³⁸⁰

VI.2. *Belt mounts* (pl. 22/1–23).³⁸¹

For coloristic effect, the mounts attached to the leather belt were made either of bronze or of silver, sometimes gilded. My classification takes into account the shape, the decoration, the metal, and the manufacturing technique.³⁸² Most specimens from the Banat have analogies in territories, which were under Byzantine rule during the Middle Ages. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between genuinely Byzantine specimens and their local imitations. Any attempt to treat such mounts as markers of certain ethnic identities is to be rejected. By contrast, belt mounts are excellent means to gauge changes in fashion, often under Byzantine influence. However, a small number of specimens seem to be linked only to steppe populations, as they have few or no analogies in the Balkans.

Silver (VI.2.1.) and gilded silver mounts come in eight variants: oval (VI.2.1.1.; *Tomnatic*-unspecified location, 1898; pl. 22/1; 84/1, 3),³⁸³ heart-shaped (VI.2.1.2.; *Pančevo-Gornjovaroška Cigłana*; pl. 22/2; pl. 72/8),³⁸⁴ crescent-shaped

374 Brmbolić (1996), p. 275.

375 Fehér, Éry, *Kralovánszky* (1962), p. 31.

376 Uzum, *Lazarovici* (1971), p. 160.

377 Fehér, Éry, *Kralovánszky* (1962), p. 48.

378 Fehér, Éry, *Kralovánszky* (1962), p. 49.

379 Fehér, Éry, *Kralovánszky* (1962), p. 48.

380 Bálint (1991), p. 243.

381 Some of the artifacts thus classified may have been mounted not on belts, but on other accessories, yet in many respects—especially the fastening system—they are no different from the regular belt mounts.

382 Oța (2008), pp. 125–128.

383 Fodor (1996), pp. 341, 342, fig. 1; Hampel (1900), pp. 663–665.

384 Stanojev (1989), pp. 89–90.

(VI.2.1.3.; *Tomaševac*; pl. 116/4; pl. 22/3; pl. 83/4),³⁸⁵ triangular (VI.2.1.4.; *Tomaševac*; pl. 22/4; pl. 83/6, 8–10), floral (VI.2.1.5.; *Tomaševac*; pl. 22/5; pl. 83/5;³⁸⁶ *Kikinda*-P.K. Banat-tovilište; pl. 22/6; pl. 64/2;³⁸⁷ pl. 22/7; pl. 64/1), square (VI.2.1.6.; *Teremia Mare*-1875; pl. 78/2, 4; pl. 22/8),³⁸⁸ pentagonal (VI.2.1.7.; a specimen in the collection of the Banat Museum in Timișoara; pl. 22/9–10; pl. 87/7–8),³⁸⁹ and circular (VI.2.1.8.; *Kikinda*-P.K. Banat-tovilište; pl. 22/11; pl. 64/3;³⁹⁰ *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica;³⁹¹ pl. 63/10;³⁹² pl. 22/13; *Jazovo*-Proleterska Ulica;³⁹³ pl. 63/9; pl. 22/12). Such mounts have been found on six cemetery sites, but several specimens are known from unknown locations in the region.

Bronze and gilded bronze appliqués (VI.2.2.) come in five variants: oval (VI.2.2.1; *Orešac*),³⁹⁴ heart-shaped (VI.2.2.2.; *Beba Veche*; pl. 22/14; pl. 42/7),³⁹⁵ hexagonal (VI.2.2.3.; *Bucova Puszta*-T.II; pl. 22/15; pl. 44/4³⁹⁶), shield-shaped (VI.2.2.4.; *Bucova Puszta*-T.III; pl. 22/16; pl. 44/10;³⁹⁷ *Beba Veche*; pl. 22/17; pl. 42/8;³⁹⁸ pl. 22/18; pl. 42/9³⁹⁹), and circular (VI.2.2.5.; *Bucova Puszta*-T.III; pl. 22/19; pl. 44/11).⁴⁰⁰

A number of belt mounts of unspecified material are known. Some are heart-shaped (*Deta*; pl. 22/20; pl. 51/16;⁴⁰¹ *Periam-Sánchalom*; pl. 22/21; pl. 73/4⁴⁰²), others are circular (*Banatsko Arandjelovo*-barrow 1898; pl. 22/22;⁴⁰³ *Sánpetru German*-1968⁴⁰⁴).

385 Brmbolić (1996), pp. 274–277.

386 Brmbolić (1996), pp. 274–277.

387 Stanojev (1989), p. 53.

388 Hampel (1905b), pp. 562–563; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/23, 25.

389 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 213–216, 221, pl. 1/1–6, 11.

390 Stanojev (1989), p. 53.

391 Stanojev (1989), p. 51.

392 Stanojev (1989), p. 53.

393 Stanojev (1989), pp. 48, 51.

394 Bálint (1991), p. 106, pl. XXXIII/a/7, p. 224.

395 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 214, 222, pl. 2/11–15.

396 Kislégghi (1904), p. 419, A.II/3.

397 Kislégghi (1904), p. 419, A.III/3.

398 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 214–216, 222, pl. 2/16, 17, 21–25.

399 Tănase, Gáll (1999/2001), pp. 214–216, 222, pl. 2/18–20.

400 Bálint (1991), p. 240, pl. LXII/a/5.

401 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

402 Roska (1943), p. 142.

403 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 16, 19.

404 Bálint (1991), pp. 243, 233, pl. LX/b/21.

Belt mounts of an unspecified type have been recovered from the cemeteries excavated in *Deszk-Újmajor* and *D*.⁴⁰⁵

VI.3. *Belt ellipsoidal links* (pl. 22/23) have been discovered in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (the mound to the north-east from the train station, 1901, 1903). They were made of bronze (pl. 37/11).⁴⁰⁶

VI.4. *Belt flaps* (pl. 22/24–25).

VI.4.1. A cast specimen made of gilded silver and decorated with floral ornaments comes from *Tomnatic*-unspecified location, 1898 (pl. 84/5; pl. 22/24). On the backside it has rivets for fastening.⁴⁰⁷

VI.4.2. Another specimen with simple squares and triangles was found in *Tomaševac* (pl. 22/25; pl. 83/3). This was part of a belt deposited in a grave of what was most likely a Cuman nobleman or chieftain.

VI.5. *Star-like buckles* (pl. 23/1–4) are known from *Deta* (pl. 23/4; pl. 51/11)⁴⁰⁸ and *Arača* (pl. 23/1–3; pl. 34/3, 25; pl. 36/1). They have all been cast, and are dated to the 14th century. Four variants may be distinguished (VI.5.1; pl. 23/1; VI.5.2; pl. 23/2; VI.5.3; pl. 23/3; VI.5.4; pl. 23/4). Other specimens have been discovered in grave 120 in *Hinga* (Vojvodina),⁴⁰⁹ and in the *Ernestháza* hoard.⁴¹⁰ Such buckles are believed to have been used to clasp the cloak on the shoulder.

VII Horse Gear

VII.1. *Bridle bits* (pl. 23/5–6) have been found on 20 cemetery sites in the lowlands.⁴¹¹ Two types of bits are known from the Banat, which are different in terms of the presence or absence of cheek pieces.

405 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

406 Kovács (1992), p. 41.

407 Hampel (1905b), pp. 653–654, fig. 1; Fodor (1996), pp. 341, 342, fig. 2.

408 Kárász (1896), pp. 228, 229, /14; Rusu (1996), p. 284, fig. 2/c, p. 285. For specimens found in Transylvania, see Rusu (1996).

409 Stanojev (1989), pp. 79, 84; Jovanović (1977), pp. 154, 185, pl. XXI, grave 120.

410 Rusu (1996), pp. 287, 288, fig. 4/a.

411 Oța (2008), p. 128.

VII.1.1. Articulated bits with side rings (pl. 23/5) are known from 18 (possibly 19) cemeteries (pl. 40/9; pl. 46/11; pl. 52/1, 3, 4; pl. 59/6; pl. 61/3; pl. 67/10; pl. 69/6; pl. 85/12);⁴¹²

VII.1.2. Articulated bits with cast-bronze cheek pieces (pl. 23/6)⁴¹³ have been found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (the mound excavated in 1907; pl. 41/1)⁴¹⁴ and *Sânpetru German* (finds of 1968).⁴¹⁵ The cheek pieces consist of straight bars with two protuberances at each end. Such bridle bits are generally regarded as diagnostic type for assemblages dated to the first half of the 10th century, such as those found in Hungary in *Agárd Zemplén*,⁴¹⁶ *Lébény-Szentmiklós*,⁴¹⁷ and *Eperjes*,⁴¹⁸ or *Subbotitsa*, in Ukraine. The latter assemblages has been in fact dated even earlier (late 9th century) and attributed to a Magyar warrior.⁴¹⁹

VII.2. *Stirrups* (pl. 23/7–9; pl. 24/1–6; pl. 25/1–2) are known from 34 cemetery sites.⁴²⁰ All of them are of iron and have been made by hammering (forging). Some have damascened decoration (silver inlays). Depositing stirrups in the grave is a custom most typical for steppe populations. As such, stirrups often accompany the whole horse gear deposited as a substitute for the horse. I have distinguished 11 variants of stirrups among specimens from the Banat (VII.2.1.; pl. 23/7; pl. 69/7; pl. 69/8–9;⁴²¹ VII.2.2.; pl. 23/8; pl. 36/22;⁴²² VII.2.3; pl. 23/9; pl. 69/3;⁴²³ VII.2.4; pl. 24/1; pl. 79/7;⁴²⁴ *Voiteni*;⁴²⁵ VII.2.5; pl. 24/2; *Banatsko Arandjelovo*;⁴²⁶ pl. 43/1;⁴²⁷ pl. 46/23, 26; pl. 62/4;⁴²⁸ pl. 67/12–13;⁴²⁹ *Novo*

412 Oța (2008), p. 128.

413 Oța (2008), pp. 128–129.

414 Kovács (1992), p. 49.

415 Bálint (1991), p. 243.

416 Hampel, (1907), p. 100, pl. 1/B/3.

417 Hampel (1907), p. 123, pl. 19/4.

418 Bálint (1991), pp. 52, 57, pl. XIII/a, p. 64, pl. XVII/40.

419 Spinei (1999), pp. 49, 50, fig. 8, p. 51, fig. 9/1; Bokij, Pletneva (1988), pp. 99–115.

420 Oța (2008), pp. 129–130.

421 Hampel (1900), p. 115.

422 Stanojev (1989), pp. 16, 19.

423 Stanojev (1989), p. 66.

424 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 157, fig. 2/3, p. 158, fig. 3/12–13.

425 Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 104, pl. 5/5, p. 108.

426 Kovács (1992), pp. 40, 48.

427 Stanojev (1989), pp. 33–34.

428 Stanojev (1989), pp. 46–47.

429 Stanojev (1989), pp. 63, 65.

Milševo;⁴³⁰ pl. 82/10;⁴³¹ VII.2.6.; pl. 24/3; pl. 37/20–21;⁴³² pl. 59/7;⁴³³ VII.2.7.; pl. 24/4; pl. 46/29;⁴³⁴ VII.2.8.; pl. 24/5; pl. 37/16;⁴³⁵ VII.2.9.; pl. 24/6; pl. 79/1;⁴³⁶ *Voiteni*;⁴³⁷ VII.2.10; pl. 25/1; pl. 61/7;⁴³⁸ VII.2.11.; pl. 25/2; pl. 73/1–2⁴³⁹).

A pear-shaped stirrup was found in *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound, but it is badly damaged and thus impossible to classify.

VII.3. *Bridle mounts* (pl. 25/3) have been found in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III (pl. 44/8), *Sânpetru German*-1968 and *Vrșac-Vizi* Str. 7. Seven variants have been identified (VII.3.1.; pl. 25/3; pl. 44/8;⁴⁴⁰ VII.3.2;⁴⁴¹ VII.3.3;⁴⁴² VII.3.4;⁴⁴³ VII.3.5;⁴⁴⁴ VII.3.6.; VII.3.7.⁴⁴⁵).

VII.4. Fragments of *bridle straps* have been found in grave 13 in *Kiszombor*-F,⁴⁴⁶ grave 10 in *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz,⁴⁴⁷ and in a grave from *Pančevo*-Gornjovaroška Ciglana.⁴⁴⁸

VII.5. *Horse gear buckles* (pl. 25/4–10) are commonly without plates and with rectangular loops. They were discovered in ten cemeteries.⁴⁴⁹ Most of them are simple (VII.5.1.), with six variations in shape (VII.5.1.1.; pl. 25/4, pl. 37/18; pl. 46/10; VII.5.1.2; pl. 25/5; pl. 85/5; VII.5.1.3.; pl. 25/6; pl. 46/12; VII.5.1.4.; pl. 25/7; pl. 57/1; VII.5.1.5.; pl. 25/8; pl. 82/4; pl. 79/6; VII.5.1.6.; pl. 25/9;

430 Stanojev (1989), pp. 69–69.

431 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 80.

432 Kovács (1992), p. 46.

433 Bejan, Moga (1979), pp. 159, 163, fig. 3/1.

434 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 151, pl. II/5.

435 Kovács, (1992), p. 46.

436 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 157, fig. 2/1.

437 Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 104, pl. 5/4.

438 Drașovean, Țeicu, Muntean (1996), p. 37.

439 Roska (1943), pp. 140, 141, pl. 1/1–2.

440 Kislégghi (1904), p. 420.

441 Bálint (1991), p. 243, not illustrated.

442 Bálint (1991), p. 243, not illustrated.

443 Bálint (1991), p. 243, not illustrated.

444 Bálint (1991), p. 243, not illustrated.

445 Bálint (1991), pp. 260–261, not illustrated.

446 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

447 Stanojev (1989), p. 68.

448 Bálint (1991), p. 246.

449 Oța (2008), p. 131.

pl. 67/11).⁴⁵⁰ There are also double, lyre-shaped buckles (VII.5.2.; pl. 25/10; pl. 85/6). All those specimens have been found on sites in the western part of the Banat.

VII.6. A fragment of a wooden *saddle* has been found in *Teremia Mare* in 1875 (pl. 78/20, 21, 23, 24).⁴⁵¹

VIII Weapons

VIII.1. *Battle knives* or *daggers* (pl. 26/1) are difficult to identify because of incomplete description. It is therefore possible that some of the artifacts labeled “daggers” are in fact merely utilitarian knives. Be as it may, such implements are commonly forged out of a single piece of iron with two cutting edges. Three daggers (VIII.1.1) are known from *Kiszombor*-B, grave 4 in *Novo Miloševo*-Izlaz,⁴⁵² and grave 2 in *Tiszasziget*-Petőfi u. 318 sz., (pl. 82/6).⁴⁵³ Another from *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (VIII.1.2.; pl. 26/1) had a scabbard.⁴⁵⁴

VIII.2. *Swords* (pl. 26/2–6; pl. 27/1–3; pl. 28/1–2) have been found on 18 sites:⁴⁵⁵ *Banatski Brestovac* (type Y, Petersen; pl. 41/8), *Bucova*-Stadion (Group B, Sub-type VIII a, KZP;⁴⁵⁶ mid-13th century; pl. 27/3; pl. 47/1⁴⁵⁷), *Cuvin* (type L–X, Petersen or Group A, Type.1, KZP, dated to the middle or second half of the 10th century; pl. 50/8; pl. 26/2),⁴⁵⁸ *Jimbolia* (10th century),⁴⁵⁹ *Kubekhaza*-Újtelep,⁴⁶⁰ *Novi Bečej* (type W, Petersen; pl. 68/10; pl. 26/4),⁴⁶¹ *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján (pl. 69/2), *Orșova* (11th century; pl. 72/1; pl. 27/1),⁴⁶² *Săcălaz*

450 Oța (2008), p. 131.

451 Hampel (1905b), p. 561; Hampel (1905c), pl. 387/3–6.

452 Stanojev (1989), pp. 67, 68.

453 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 80.

454 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 18.

455 For typology and chronology of the earlier specimens, see Kovács (1994/1995). For later specimens from Transylvania and the Banat, see Pinter (1999). For the distribution of swords within the Carpathian Basin, see also Bakay (1967).

456 KZP=Karl Zeno Pinter (1999).

457 Pinter (1999), pp. 134–137.

458 Pinter (1999), pp. 107–111; Kovács (1994/1995), p. 167.

459 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 179.

460 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 169.

461 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 165, pl. 8/5.

462 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 170, pl. 11/5, p. 172.

(10th to 11th century),⁴⁶³ *Sasca Montană* (pl. 74/15), *Vršac* (type x, Petersen; pl. 87/6; pl. 26/5),⁴⁶⁴ *Cheglevici, Becicherecul Mare* (type α, Petersen; dated to the 9th–10th centuries; pl. 42/10; pl. 26/6),⁴⁶⁵ *Poiana Prisăcii* (Group B, Type.v, KZP; 12th–13th centuries; pl. 73/5; pl. 27/2),⁴⁶⁶ *Timișoara* (pl. 82/2; pl. 28/1), *Timișoara-Pădurea Verde* (pl. 82/1), *Nerău-1899* (pl. 65/4; Group B, Sub-type VIII b, KZP; 13th–14th centuries),⁴⁶⁷ *Jupa* (Group B, Type. IX, KZP; dated to the second half of the 14th century; pl. 63/13; pl. 28/2).⁴⁶⁸ The classification I have used here is one that applies to other finds from Romania, Hungary, former Yugoslavia, and Slovakia. Earlier swords may be classified according to Petersen's criteria.⁴⁶⁹ Karl Z. Pinter has offered a detailed classification based on blade, guard and pommel types.⁴⁷⁰ Swords, typically Western weapons, were adopted by Magyars especially during the second half of the 10th century, instead of sabers. The specimens found in the Banat were either brought as booty from raids into Western Europe or imported from the Scandinavian area.

Unfortunately, no information exists on the circumstances in which the swords from *Zrenjanin*, *Cuvin*, and *Jimbolia*—all dated to the 9th–10th centuries—have been found. It is therefore not possible to establish whether those were grave goods. By contrast, all 10th to 11th century swords (*Kübekhaza-Újtelep*, *Nerău-1899*, *Săcălaz*) are from graves which also produced horse bones, quivers, bows, and pear-shaped stirrups. Judging from such combinations of artifacts, those swords are most likely from the second half of the 10th century. The circumstances in which 11th century swords have been found (*Sasca Montană*, *Orșova*, *Novi Bečeji*) are again not clear. The deposition of swords in graves was revived in the 13th century. It is therefore likely that 12th century swords known from the Banat have not been found in graves.

VIII.3. *Sabers* (pl. 28/3) are known from *Săcălaz*, *Tomnatic*—the brick factory, *Kiszombor-E*,⁴⁷¹ *Beregsău Mare-Gomilă*,⁴⁷² *Tomaševac* (82/16)⁴⁷³ and *Petnic-*

463 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 174.

464 Kovács (1994/1995), p. 165, pl. 8/7, p. 179.

465 Kovács (1994/1995), pp. 178, 179.

466 Pinter (1999), pp. 123–127.

467 Pinter (1999), pp. 139–140.

468 Pinter (1999), pp. 142–145.

469 Petersen (1919), pp. 124–159. As I did not have access to this paper, I have followed after the classifications of Kovács (1994/1995).

470 Pinter (1999), pp. 94–100.

471 Kovács (1990), pl. 2.

472 Medeleț, Bugilan (1987), p. 106.

473 Relić (2009), p. 292, fig. 2.

Dealu Țolii.⁴⁷⁴ Except for the specimen from *Tomaševac*, none of the others have any illustration or detailed description, and cannot therefore be properly classified. Sabers were popular weapons during the first half of the 10th century. Those were typically short, single-edge weapons with slightly curved blades. The handle is often slightly oblique or bent towards the blade in order to facilitate a stronger impact. Some of those handles were decorated with a bronze or silver plate. The guard has arms bent towards the blade, and it is also decorated. The saber from *Tomaševac* was found in the grave of a Cuman warrior. While its date may be late medieval, nothing is known about the circumstances in which the saber from *Petnic-Dealu Țolii* was found.

VIII.4. *Spear heads* (pl. 29/1–2) have been recovered from grave 1 in *Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron*,⁴⁷⁵ grave 6 in *Deszk-J* (pl. 51/9),⁴⁷⁶ *Tomnatic*-the brick factory,⁴⁷⁷ and *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján (pl. 69/1).⁴⁷⁸ All those specimens may be dated to the 10th–11th century. Two other spearheads are known from *Sânnicolau Mare*, but without further details.⁴⁷⁹ Only two specimens have published illustration, namely those from *Deszk-J* (pl. 29/1) and *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján (pl. 29/2).

VIII.5. *Battle axes* (pl. 29/3–4) are known from *Deszk-D* (grave 76),⁴⁸⁰ *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (pl. 29/4; pl. 56/2),⁴⁸¹ and *Timișoara-Cioreni* (grave B; pl. 29/3; pl. 81/12).⁴⁸² All are dated to the 10th century. The deposition of spear heads in graves was a widespread custom in the 9th century.⁴⁸³ The custom continued into the 10th century, perhaps even into the 11th century. Two variants are known, represented by the specimens from *Timișoara-Cioreni* (VIII.5.1; small, elongated, with a short blade) and *Dudeștii Vechi*-Dragomir's Mound (VIII.5.2.), respectively.

474 Țeicu (1982), pp. 265, 276.

475 Medeleț, Bugilan (1987), p. 123. For spear heads in the Carpathian Basin, see Kovács (1977).

476 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31; Kovács (1977), p. 62, pl. 58/2.

477 Kovács (1977), p. 65.

478 Stanojev (1989), p. 66.

479 Kúhn (1911), p. 183.

480 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

481 Bejan et al. (2005), pp. 28, 34, 39, fig. 4/2.

482 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), pp. 156, 173, fig. 18/3.

483 Bakay (1967), p. III.

VIII.6. A typology of *arrow heads* (pl. 29/5–11; pl. 30/1–4) have been proposed by the Hungarian archaeologist Károlyi Sebestyén.⁴⁸⁴ All known specimens are of iron (there are no bone or antler arrow heads). Tenth to eleventh-century specimens are diamond-shaped. Sebestyén divided them into several groups.

VIII.6.1. **Group A** has an upper part shorter than the lower part. In the Banat, Sebestyén's variant A1 (with straight cutting edges) is best represented (pl. 29/5; pl. 79/2; pl. 44/15; pl. 61/4–5).⁴⁸⁵ Variant A2 (with slightly curved cutting edges, pl. 29/6) is known from 8 cemetery sites (pl. 80/12; pl. 84/11; pl. 67/4), while variant A3 (with cutting edges curved outwards and with the lower half curved inwards, pl. 29/7) appears on 4 sites (pl. 80/10; pl. 67/6),⁴⁸⁶ much like variant A4 (with the active and the opposed parts curved outwards, pl. 29/8; pl. 46/7, 13).⁴⁸⁷ Only one example of variant A5 was discovered in *Kiszombor-F*.⁴⁸⁸

Group B (with the upper and lower parts of equal size) has five variants. Variant B1 (all edges are straight) is known from *Kiszombor-C*,⁴⁸⁹ B,⁴⁹⁰ and E.⁴⁹¹ Variant B2 (cutting edges slightly curved outwards, the others straight) appears in *Timișoara-Cioreni*,⁴⁹² and *Bucova Puszta-T.III* (pl. 44/14, pl. 29/9).⁴⁹³

Variant B3 with cutting edges slightly curved outwards and the others slightly curved inwards (pl. 29/10; pl. 80/11) is represented by specimens from six sites,⁴⁹⁴ just like subtype B4 (with all edges curved outwards) (pl. 80/3; pl. 29/11; pl. 45/5).⁴⁹⁵ Variant B5 (with cutting edges curved outwards and the others straight) is represented by one single specimen found in *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (pl. 46/4).⁴⁹⁶

Group C has the lower part shorter than the upper part. Variant C1 (with all edges straight, pl. 30/1) is known from 3 cemeteries (pl. 67/1; pl. 40/7),

484 Sebestyén (1932), pp. 193–205.

485 Oța (2008), pp. 133–134.

486 Oța (2008), p. 134.

487 Oța (2008), p. 134.

488 Sebestyén (1932), p. 205.

489 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48; Sebestyén (1932), p. 205.

490 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48; Sebestyén (1932), p. 205.

491 Sebestyén (1932), p. 205; Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

492 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 165, fig. 9/8, 9.

493 Bejan, Mare (1998), pp. 324, 338, pl. II/11; Kisléghi (1904), p. 420.

494 Oța (2008), p. 134.

495 Oța (2008), p. 134.

496 Kisléghi (1907), p. 275, fig. II/16.

while variant C2 (with cutting edges curved outwards and the others straight, pl. 30/2) appears on 5 sites (pl. 80/1; pl. 67/7).

Specimens of variant C3 (with cutting edges slightly curved outwards and the others inwards) have been discovered in 6 cemeteries (pl. 29/9; pl. 44/14), those of variant C4 (with cutting edges long and curved outwards and the others short and also curved outwards) in four.

Group D consists of V-shaped arrowheads such as found in *Kiszombor-E*, *Deszk-D*, and *Novi Kneževac (Törökkanizsa)*.⁴⁹⁷ According to Sebestyén, such arrow tips were employed for hunting fowl (as the V-shaped arrow heads broke the wings of the birds without killing them) or small mammals.

Group E consists of wide and curved arrow tips, such as found in *Kiszombor-E*.⁴⁹⁸ Such arrows were meant to inflict wide, but not deep wounds.

Group F consists of three-edged arrow heads found in four cemeteries. Such arrows are known since the Avar age.

Arrows of **group G**⁴⁹⁹ have a very long cutting edge (pl. 30/3). Only one specimen was discovered in *Timișoara-Cioreni* (pl. 80/2).⁵⁰⁰

Another arrowhead from *Dudeștii Vechi* cannot be classified according to Sebestyén's criteria (pl. 30/4; pl. 45/6). Other unclassifiable items are known from 12 cemeteries.⁵⁰¹ One of them is from *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*.⁵⁰²

In the Banat, the deposition of arrows in graves is typical only for the 10th–11th centuries. Only the three-edged arrowheads appear in Avar-age assemblages of the 8th century, which was often interpreted in ethnic terms.⁵⁰³

VIII.7. Only the bone or antler reinforcement plates have survived from *bows* deposited in graves. Those were composite bows.⁵⁰⁴ On the basis of their shape and position on the bow, Károlyi Sebestyén has divided bow reinforcement plates into two groups, each with three variants.⁵⁰⁵

Plates of the first group are placed at the handgrip in the middle of the bow and are therefore curved, with incised decoration at the ends. Those incisions were not merely decorative, but appear to have accommodated the deer

497 Sebestyén (1932), p. 205.

498 Sebestyén (1932), p. 205.

499 This group does not exist in Sebestyén's classification.

500 Rădulescu, Gáll (2001), p. 158, fig. 3/6.

501 Oța (2008), p. 135.

502 Ardeț, Ardeț (1995), p. 47.

503 Kovács (1991), p. 419.

504 Oța (2008), pp. 135–136.

505 Sebestyén (1932), pp. 169–191.

sinews, which bound the plates onto the wooden part of the bow. Sometimes, the plates were also perforated, perhaps for the same reason, as in *Deszk-D* or *Kiszombor-C*. There are three varieties of such plates (pl. 30/5; pl. 30/6; pl. 30/7) found in several cemetery sites: *Deszk-D* (pl. 51/2),⁵⁰⁶ *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (pl. 68/3–4), *Kiszombor-F* (pl. 64/15),⁵⁰⁷ *Voiteni* (pl. 84/12)⁵⁰⁸ and *Kiszombor-C* (pl. 64/13).⁵⁰⁹

The second group is made up of end plates, which are longer, but are attached to the bow in the same manner as the central plates. Just like them, end plates have also incisions to accommodate the deer sinews. Unlike plates of the first group, though, the ends are in this case straight or obliquely cut. One of them is always cut slightly obliquely, with a lateral indenture for the string. Two varieties have been identified (a; pl. 30/8; pl. 64/16;⁵¹⁰ pl. 84/13;⁵¹¹ b; pl. 30/9; pl. 51/5;⁵¹² pl. 68/1, 2, 5, 6⁵¹³) among the specimens found in *Kiszombor-E* (grave 39), *Voiteni* (grave 3), *Deszk-D* (grave 76) and *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (grave 1).

Other bone parts of the bow are known from *Deszk-Újmajor*, *Deszk-D* (graves 51, 57, 65, and 73),⁵¹⁴ *Kiszombor-B* (graves 12, 26, 217, and 284), *C* (graves 13 and 15), *E* (graves 13 and 39), *F* (grave 1),⁵¹⁵ and *Kübekhaza-Újtelep* (grave 11).⁵¹⁶ Depositing composite bows in graves is a custom most typical for the 10th–11th centuries.

VIII.8. *Quivers* were made of leather, with iron mounts as reinforcements. The quiver had a cover over the upper part. Károlyi Sebestyén distinguished three different variants:⁵¹⁷ a) oval quivers, b) quivers with one straight side and the other semicircular, and c) quivers with long sides curved (one inward, and the other outward) and short sides semicircular.

506 Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 1/a, p. 178.

507 Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 1/c, p. 178.

508 Medeleţ, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 102, pl. 3/3, p. 107.

509 Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 1/b, p. 177.

510 Sebestyén (1932), p. 177, fig. 2/a.

511 Medeleţ, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 102, pl. 3/4–7, pp. 107–108.

512 Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 2/b, p. 179.

513 Nadj (1953), p. 114, fig. 12/1, 2, 5, 6.

514 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31; Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 1/a, al, pp. 178, 179.

515 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), pp. 48, 49; Sebestyén (1932), p. 174, fig. 1/a, al, b, bl, fig. 2/a, al, pp. 176, 177, 178.

516 Bálint (1962), p. 60.

517 Sebestyén (1932), p. 214, fig. 17.

All fittings were mounted onto the lower part of the quiver, but both parts had long metallic stalks with diamond-shaped ends.

Belt tags were also attached onto the body of the quiver.

The cover was often reinforced with an iron plate. It goes without saying that more often than not, only the iron fittings survive, mostly those of the lower part of the quiver.

VIII.8.1. Tags (pl. 31/1–4) were used to attach the quiver onto the baldric. Several specimens are known from 11 graves from 10 cemeteries.⁵¹⁸ More such tags are known from *Dudeștii Vechi* (pl. 45/2, 4) and *Bucova Puszta-T.III*. Three variants may be distinguished (VIII.8.1.1; pl. 31/1–2; VIII.8.1.2.; pl. 31/3; VIII.8.1.3.; pl. 31/4).

VIII.8.2. Fittings of the lower part of the quiver (pl. 31/5–8) have been found on five cemetery sites, all in the western part of the Banat. Small-sized nails were used for their attachment onto the body of the quiver. I have been able to identify five variants (VIII.8.2.1.; VIII.8.2.2.; pl. 31/5; VIII.8.2.3.; pl. 31/6; VIII.8.2.4.; pl. 31/7; VIII.8.2.5.; pl. 31/8).

VIII.8.3. Quiver covers (pl. 31/9–12) are known from graves 65 and 76 in *Deszk-D* (pl. 51/3, 6; pl. 31/9–10), *Voiteni* (pl. 85/2),⁵¹⁹ and graves 26 and 284 in *Kiszombor-B* (pl. 64/4; pl. 31/11–12).⁵²⁰ Fragments of quiver fittings have been found in 17 graves from 8 cemeteries (pl. 85/1, 4).⁵²¹

VIII.8.4. Quiver mounts (pl. 32/1)⁵²² were made of bronze leaf (or sheet), decorated with incised floral and geometric motifs. Such mounts are known from *Novi Kneževac*-the property of Béla Talliján (pl. 71/1–2)⁵²³ and are very similar to mounts recovered from a grave in *Subbotitsa*.⁵²⁴ If that analogy is valid, then the specimen from *Novi Kneževac* may be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century. However, similarly decorated mounts are also known from an

⁵¹⁸ Oța (2008), p. 137.

⁵¹⁹ Medeleț, Tănase, Gáll (2001), pp. 99, 103, pl. 4/5.

⁵²⁰ Sebestyén (1932), pp. 219, 210, fig. 15/1–4, p. 211.

⁵²¹ Oța (2008), p. 137.

⁵²² Oța (2008), pp. 137–138.

⁵²³ Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 58; Hampel (1900), p. 115.

⁵²⁴ Spinei (1999), p. 46, fig. 9/9.

Avar-age burial assemblage in *Sziráki*.⁵²⁵ In any case, such mounts cannot be dated after ca. 950.

Decorated bone mounts have been found in *Kiszombor*-B (graves 26 and 167) and E (grave 13).⁵²⁶ Based on well-dated analogies, Péter Straub has assigned them to the first third of the 10th century.⁵²⁷ More bone mounts are known from *Deszk*-D (grave 76), but they appear to be of a later date.

IX **An iron helmet is known from a grave in *Tomaševac***
(pl. 32/2; pl. 82/12).

X **Fragments of a coat of mail have been found in that same grave**
dated to the 13th–14th centuries (pl. 32/3–5; pl. 82/13–15).

XI **Tools**

XI.1. *Whetstones* have been found in *Deszk*-T⁵²⁸ and *Kiszombor*-E.⁵²⁹ The deposition of whetstones in graves is a 10th- to 11th century phenomenon.

XI.2. One *needle* has been found on the pelvis of the skeleton in grave 24 of the *Szőreg*-Homokbánya cemetery.⁵³⁰ The practice of needle deposition in graves is well documented between the 8th and the 10th century. In most cases, however, the needles are found inside a bone or antler case as in *Obârșia*⁵³¹ and *Izvoru*.⁵³² Later, they appear in cemeteries attributed to the Alans (Yassi) and dated to the 14th century. However, even in those cases needles are found inside cases.⁵³³

XI.3. *Spindle whorls* have been found in *Gornea*-Țârcheviște, but not in closed finds.⁵³⁴ Because the deposition of spindle whorls in graves is not known from this period, it is likely that the specimens in questions are in fact of a much

525 Hampel (1897), pl. CCL/2.

526 Bálint (1991), p. 235, pl. LXI/a/3, 5, 12.

527 Straub (1999), pp. 411, 414; Dragotă (2006), p. 108.

528 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

529 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

530 Bálint (1991), p. 85.

531 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 171, 173, fig. 6–9.

532 Mitrea (1989), p. 150, fig. 6/grave 24/4, pp. 151, 152, fig. 7/grave 28/3 etc.

533 Szelmeczi (1992), p. 105, pl. I/10, p. 106, pl. II/18, 35, p. 107, pl. III/11, 23, 24.

534 Uzum (1975), p. 138, fig. 7.

earlier date, to be associated with the prehistoric settlement site underneath the medieval cemetery.

XI.4. A *sickle* (pl. 32/6) is known from grave 11 in *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara* (pl. 86/10).⁵³⁵ The cemetery on that site has been dated to the 11th–12th centuries. Sickles in graves have also been found in the second cemetery in *Vajuga-Pesak*, to the south from the river Danube.⁵³⁶ That cemetery has been dated to the 12th–14th centuries. An earlier burial assemblage with a sickle is known from the cemetery of the Köttlach culture excavated in *Zistersdorf*;⁵³⁷ and even earlier specimens have been found in *Fierbinți-Malul Roșu*,⁵³⁸ *Izvoru*,⁵³⁹ and *Obârșia*.⁵⁴⁰

XI.5. An *awl* was discovered in grave 1 in *Bucova Puszta-T.II*. It is the only find of its kind in the Banat, and may well be of a 10th century date.

XI.6. Individual *nails* were found in graves 23 in *Ilidia-Oblița*⁵⁴¹ and 1 in *Bucova Puszta-T.IV*.⁵⁴² The custom, which has been associated with vampirism, is well documented particularly in cemeteries in the northern Balkans.⁵⁴³

XII Utensils

XII.1. *Flint steels* (pl. 32/7–8; pl. 104) found in the Banat have a “B”-shaped body made of iron, with arms bent inwards. All of them have been found in the lowlands of the northwestern region. So far, no less than 17 graves in 14 cemeteries have produced flint steels (pl. 43/2–3; pl. 44/13; pl. 67/9; pl. 82/5).⁵⁴⁴ The number may be even higher, but not much is known about those from *Deszk-D*.⁵⁴⁵ In grave 43 of the *Szőreg-Homokbánya* cemetery, only the flint has been found.

535 Stanojev (1989), pp. 40, 42.

536 Marjanović-Vujović (1986), pp. 184–237.

537 Korošec (1979b), pl. 115/2.

538 Unpublished.

539 Mitrea (1989), pp. 167, 168, fig. 19/grave 108/1, p. 188, fig. 34/grave 198/2, p. 189.

540 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 171, 174, fig. 10/2–3.

541 Uzum (1979), p. 388.

542 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 142.

543 Marjanović-Vujović (1986), pp. 184–237.

544 Oța (2008), p. 139.

545 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

The B-shaped flint steels have been dated to the 10th–11th centuries. Since they never appear in association with coins, it is possible that their deposition in graves stopped shortly after 1000.

XII.2. I have distinguished three variants of *knives* (pl. 105).

1. Knives with the sharp part bent towards the tip (pl. 32/9) have been found in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*⁵⁴⁶ and *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (pl. 46/8), a total of four specimens. Another possible member of this variant is another knife from *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (pl. 46/1).⁵⁴⁷
2. Knives with blunt upper parts of the blade have been recovered from two graves (21 and 27) in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*⁵⁴⁸ and from grave 1 in *Nikolinci* (pl. 66/2).⁵⁴⁹
3. Knives with slightly bent stems (pl. 32/10–11) appear in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*,⁵⁵⁰ *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, (pl. 71/3),⁵⁵¹ *Arača* (pl. 34/10)⁵⁵² and *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* (pl. 67/8).⁵⁵³

More knives are known from another 31 graves from 15 cemeteries, but cannot be classified (pl. 32/12).⁵⁵⁴

After ca. 1100, the deposition of knives in graves ceased. In the lowlands, this custom can therefore be restricted to 10th and 11th centuries. The custom is known from 8th–9th century cemeteries in the Lower Danube region (*Obârșia*,⁵⁵⁵ *Frătești*,⁵⁵⁶ *Izvoru*⁵⁵⁷) or Dobruja (*Histria-Capul Viilor*).⁵⁵⁸

546 Bálint (1991), pp. 87, 90.

547 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 155, pl. VI/4.

548 Bálint (1991), pp. 587–88.

549 Živković (1997), pp. 143, 153, pl. II/grave 1/2.

550 Bálint (1991), p. 81.

551 Stanojev (1989), p. 67.

552 Stanojev (2004), pp. 36, 57, pl. III/28

553 Stanojev (1989), pp. 63, 65.

554 Oța (2008), p. 139, notes 1952–1961.

555 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 171, 173, fig. 9/11–13.

556 Dolinescu-Ferche, Ionescu (1970), p. 428, fig. 6/7–9.

557 Mitrea (1989), p. 157, fig. 11/grave 52/3, p. 160, fig. 13/grave 63/3, p. 162, fig. 15/grave 81/2 etc.

558 Zirra (1963), p. 392, pl. 28/8–13, p. 398.

XIII Bone Items

XIII.1. *Bone cylinders* of unknown use have been found in *Deszk-D*.⁵⁵⁹

XIII.2. *Sheep or goat astragals* are known only from grave 1 in *Deszk-Olaj*.⁵⁶⁰ Astragals, some decorated with incisions appear in 9th–10th century graves in Transylvania, for example, in *Blandiana-La Brod*.⁵⁶¹ In *Majs*, no less than 58 specimens have been found in grave 752, all placed by the left foot.⁵⁶² The practice is well documented in the Lower Danube area as well, for example in *Obârșia*,⁵⁶³ as well as in Moldavia (*Hansca-Limbari*,⁵⁶⁴ *Brănești*,⁵⁶⁵ and *Ivanovca*⁵⁶⁶).

XIII.3. *Perforated animal bones* have been in two graves (1 and 37) of the *Kiszombor-E* cemetery.⁵⁶⁷ They may well have served as amulets.

XIII.4. Another *perforated bone artifact*, was found in grave 8 in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*.⁵⁶⁸ Its precise function remains unknown; perhaps it was a musical instrument.

XIV Metal artifacts that cannot be classified (pl. 32/13).

Seven cemetery sites produced such artifacts, which were found in the pelvic area, on the ribs and under the cervical vertebrae.⁵⁶⁹ Most such assemblages are from cemeteries located in the lowlands, but such artifacts are also known

559 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

560 Bálint (1991), p. 218, without illustration.

561 Ciugudean, Dragotă (2002), p. 34.

562 Kiss (1983), pp. 127, 169, fig. 81, p. 375, pl. 67, p. 376, pl. 68, p. 377, pl. 69.

563 Toropu, Stoica (1972), pp. 171, 173, fig. 9/4.

564 Tentiuc (1996), p. 187.

565 Tentiuc (1996), pp. 187, 254, fig. 11.

566 Spinei (2009), fig. 47/7–8.

567 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49, without illustration.

568 Bálint (1991), p. 81.

569 Oța (2008), p. 140.

from *Moldova Veche*-Malul Dunării,⁵⁷⁰ *Ilidia-Cetate*,⁵⁷¹ and *Reșița-Ogășele* (pl. 74/11; pl. 32/13).⁵⁷²

**XV Fragments of wire have been found in *Banatsko Arandjelovo*,⁵⁷³
Bucova Puszta-T.IV,⁵⁷⁴ and *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7.⁵⁷⁵**

The fragment from *Banatsko Arandjelovo* (pl. 32/14, pl. 37/15) may have been a hook.

XVI Burial Furniture

XVI.1. *Coffin nails* are known from the *Mehadia-Zidină*⁵⁷⁶ and *Ilidia-Oblița*⁵⁷⁷ cemeteries.

XVI.2. *Coffin mounts* have been found in *Szóreg-Homokbánya*.⁵⁷⁸

**XVII Containers were deposited inside graves together with food.
All known containers are ceramic.**

XVII.1. A *mug* (pl. 33/1) is known from grave II in *Gornea-Țârcheviște* (pl. 58/16).⁵⁷⁹

XVII.2. A *pitcher* (pl. 33/2) has been found in grave 49 of that same cemetery (pl. 58/17).⁵⁸⁰

570 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 54.

571 Uzum, Lazarovici (1971), p. 160.

572 Unpublished artifact in the collection of the Museum of the Mountain Region of the Banat in Reșița.

573 Stanojev (1989), pp. 15, 17.

574 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 142.

575 Bálint (1991), pp. 260–261.

576 Macrea (1949), p. 140.

577 Uzum (1979), p. 388.

578 Bálint (1991), p. 82, pl. XXV/11, 15, p. 92, pl. XXXI/13–15.

579 Uzum (1973), p. 136, fig. 2.

580 Uzum (1973), pp. 136, 137, 138, fig. 6.

XVII.3. *Pots* (pl. 33/3–7) appear in larger numbers. They are known from *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* (pl. 46/27)⁵⁸¹ and *Cenad-Catholic Church* (10th–11th centuries),⁵⁸² *Banatsko Arandjelovo-1906* (10th century,⁵⁸³ pl. 40/10⁵⁸⁴), *Klárafalva*, *Kiszombor*, *Deszk-J*,⁵⁸⁵ *Teremia Mare*,⁵⁸⁶ *Tomnatic-the brick factory*,⁵⁸⁷ *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*,⁵⁸⁸ *Mehadia-Ulici*,⁵⁸⁹ *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (pl. 65/7),⁵⁹⁰ *Bucova-Stadion*,⁵⁹¹ *Sânnicolau Mare*,⁵⁹² *Dudeștii Vechi-Dragomir's Mound* (pl. 33/6; pl. 54/2; pl. 33/7; pl. 56/1),⁵⁹³ More pots, without any further description have been found in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* (12th–13th centuries),⁵⁹⁴ *Mehadia-Ulici* (14th–15th centuries),⁵⁹⁵ *Klárafalva-Faragó* (10th century),⁵⁹⁶ *Teremia Mare*,⁵⁹⁷ and *Kiszombor-E* (10th century),⁵⁹⁸ *Pavliš-Kudelište* (9th–11th centuries).⁵⁹⁹ The absence of illustration makes any further considerations useless. The deposition of pottery in graves during the Middle Ages is not common.⁶⁰⁰

XVII.4. A fragment of a *clay caldron*⁶⁰¹ is known from grave I in *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*.⁶⁰² Most scholars believe that clay caldrons appeared in the Iron Gates region of the Danube between *Belgrad* and *Turnu Severin* only during

581 Kisléghi (1907), p. 273, fig. 27, p. 277.

582 Iambor, Matei, Bejan (1982), pp. 90–91.

583 Kiss (1969), map 1.

584 Kovács (1991/1992), p. 48, pl. 10/134.

585 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

586 Kiss (1969), map 1.

587 Kiss (1969), map 2.

588 Țeicu (1993), p. 249.

589 Țeicu (1998), p. 143; Țeicu (1993), p. 249.

590 Radu, Țeicu (2003a), p. 213.

591 Pinter (1999), p. 134.

592 Kúhn (1911), p. 183.

593 Bejan et al. (2005), pp. 27, 28, 30, 37, fig. 2/2, p. 39, fig. 4/1.

594 Țeicu (1993), p. 249.

595 Țeicu (1993), p. 249.

596 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

597 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 77.

598 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

599 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 222.

600 Kiss (1969), pp. 175–182.

601 Takács (1986); Takács (1993), pp. 447–482; Lukács (1984), pp. 320–330; Cosma (1992), pp. 231–235; Spinei (1990a), pp. 327–342; Ioniță (1996/1998), pp. 305–382.

602 Boroneanț (1985), p. 113.

the late 11th century, together with the first Pechenegs.⁶⁰³ However, such caldrons have been found on the left bank of the river in *Coronini*.⁶⁰⁴

XVII.5. Fragments of *unidentifiable ceramic containers* have also been found in two graves (11 and 14) of the *Szőreg-Homokbánya* cemetery.⁶⁰⁵ Potsherds are also mentioned as having been recovered from *Bucova Puszta*,⁶⁰⁶ *Cenad-Mound Tarnok*,⁶⁰⁷ *Gârbovăț-Seliște*,⁶⁰⁸ and *Mokrin-Odaja Humka*.⁶⁰⁹ Pottery finds are also reported from the cemetery site in *Banatski Karlovac*,⁶¹⁰ but nothing is known about the exact circumstances of such finds.

XVII.6. A very interesting find is that of *Neolithic bowls* found in *Bucova Puszta-T.IV*.⁶¹¹ They were very likely discovered in the *tell* during the excavation of the grave and then re-deposited with the 10th century burial (grave 17). Three of them were found upside down, one inside the other, with a few broken and partially burned animal bones underneath. Two other bowls were found next to grave 18, also deposited upside down, with bone fragments underneath. In one of them was also a round buckle, like that found in grave 18. Burials made in Neolithic tells are not an exception, especially in the easily flooded plain.

The custom of depositing ceramic recipients inside the graves (with food offerings) or within the territory of a necropolis is well documented in the archaeological sites of both the Middle Basin and the Lower Basin of the Danube. Several Bulgarian, Serbian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian scholars believe that the deposition of pottery in graves was a typically Slavic custom associated with pagan traditions. Whether or not one can attach any ethnic labels to such practices, which appear in many other parts of Western, Northern, and Central Europe, some of which were not inhabited by the Slavs, this custom has most certainly a pre-Christian roots.

603 Marjanović-Vujović (1974), pp. 183–188.

604 Matei, Uzum (1973), p. 146, fig. 5/a, b, p. 147.

605 Bálint (1991), p. 83.

606 Bejan, Mare (1997), p. 143.

607 Medeleț, Bugilan (1987), p. 116.

608 Bozu, Săcărin (1979), p. 556.

609 Girić (1995/1996), pp. 139, 140, 145.

610 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 211.

611 Bejan, Mare (1997), pp. 143–144; Kisléghi (1907), pp. 266–279.

XVIII Food offerings were placed either directly in the pit, or in containers. Such practices appear frequently in the Balkans between the 9th and the 14th century.

XVIII.1. *Shells* have been discovered in *Kiszombor*-south of the village⁶¹² and *Szóreg*-Homokbánya (graves 4 and 9).⁶¹³ In the former case, it is not clear whether the shells in question were of oysters deposited as food offering or part of some necklaces.

XVIII.2. *Egg shells* are known from grave 269 in *Kiszombor*-B⁶¹⁴ and from *Deszk*-D.⁶¹⁵ The deposition of eggs in graves of both children and adults (males and females) is a practice well documented for the Avar age.⁶¹⁶ It also appears in many parts of East Central and Eastern Europe between the 6th/7th centuries and the 12th/13th centuries. Most scholars attribute a magical function to this custom, thus rejecting the idea of a food offering. That eggs were treated as amulets in Rus' results, among other things, from the use of painted egg-shaped clay objects (*pisanki*). Such objects stood as symbols of birth, health, and wealth. In Poland, egg shells appear in 10th to 12th century weapon burials, while in Bohemia the custom appears in cemeteries dated between the 9th and the 11th century.⁶¹⁷

XVIII.3. *Animal bones* were found in 8 cemeteries. In the absence of any zooarchaeological analysis, it is very difficult to assess the potential role of particular species in food offerings.⁶¹⁸ However, bird bones are known from grave 271 in *Kiszombor*-B⁶¹⁹ and grave 8 in *Szóreg*-Homokbánya.⁶²⁰

XVIII.4. *Field bindweed seeds* were found inside grave 22 of the *Szóreg*-Homokbánya cemetery.⁶²¹

612 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 49.

613 Bálint (1991), pp. 81, 83.

614 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

615 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 31.

616 Roth (1986), p. 515.

617 Krumphanzlová (1986), pp. 516–518.

618 Oța (2008), p. 142.

619 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 48.

620 Bálint (1991), pp. 81, 83.

621 Bálint (1991), p. 85.

XIX Coins

XIX.1. After Hungarian coins, the Byzantine ones (pl. 109) are the most commonly found in burial assemblages. Those dated between the late 9th and the 11th century appear in all parts of the Banat. By contrast, 12th century appear primarily in the south-east and in the south. After 1200, Byzantine coins are only rarely found in burial assemblages. The only exceptions are those struck for Alexios III Angelos⁶²² and John III Dukas Vatatzes⁶²³ from *Cuptoare-Sfocea*, and the unidentified (but clearly later) Byzantine coins from *Ilidia-Funii*⁶²⁴ and *Cetate*.⁶²⁵

XIX.2. Hungarian coins (pl. 109) are by far the most numerous. The series begins with those struck for King Stephen I (1000–1038). Eleventh-century coins struck until the reign of King Solomon (1063–1074) were found only in the northern part of the Banat. Later coins, beginning with the reign of Ladislav I (1077–1095) appear also in the south, e.g., in *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării*.⁶²⁶ In fact, during the subsequent century, they are more common in the south: an 11th century, unidentifiable coin in *Mehadia-Zidină*;⁶²⁷ a coin of Coloman in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*;⁶²⁸ a coin of Stephen II in *Satchinez*;⁶²⁹ another of Géza II in grave 49 of the *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* cemetery;⁶³⁰ anonymous Hungarian coins struck during the second half of the 12th century and found in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*;⁶³¹ a coin of Ladislav II in *Orșova*;⁶³² two other of Béla III in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*⁶³³ and *Omolicea*;⁶³⁴ 12th century coins in *Făget-Cetate*.⁶³⁵

The deposition of coins in graves seems to have become less popular in the 13th century. Only a few such coins are known from the Banat: one of

622 Bălănescu (1985), p. 176; Velter (2002), p. 290.

623 Țeicu (1993), p. 234; Bălănescu (1985), p. 174.

624 Velter (2002), p. 300.

625 Velter (2002), p. 293.

626 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 51.

627 Macrea (1949), p. 140.

628 Țeicu (1993), p. 241; Bălănescu (1990), p. 193.

629 Velter (2002), p. 349.

630 Bălănescu (1993), p. 324 (wrongly indicated as having been found in grave 69). For clarification, see Oța (2008), pp. 144, 247.

631 Velter (2002), p. 346.

632 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánszky (1962), p. 60.

633 Țeicu (1993), p. 241; Bălănescu (1990), p. 193; Bălănescu (1993), p. 325.

634 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2005), p. 266.

635 Velter (2002), p. 345.

Ladislav III in *Kikinda-Oluš*;⁶³⁶ another of Andrew II in *Omolica*;⁶³⁷ coins of Béla IV in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*⁶³⁸ and *Baziaș-Monastery*;⁶³⁹ and a coin of Stephen V in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*.⁶⁴⁰ A fragment of an unidentified penny has also been found in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*.⁶⁴¹

The practice was reactivated in 14th century, particularly in the southeast-ern: a 14th century penny in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*;⁶⁴² coins of Charles I Robert of Anjou in *Ciclova Română-Morminți*,⁶⁴³ *Cuptoare-Sfogea*,⁶⁴⁴ *Ilidia-Cetate*,⁶⁴⁵ and *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*;⁶⁴⁶ coin of Louis I in *Reșița-Ogășele*;⁶⁴⁷ coins of Queen Mary in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*,⁶⁴⁸ *Reșița-Ogășele*,⁶⁴⁹ and *Vrani-Dealul Morâșchii*.⁶⁵⁰ The coins struck for Sigismund I of Luxembourg appear in late 14th and early 15th century burial assemblages: (*Caransebeș-City center*,⁶⁵¹ *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*,⁶⁵² *Cuptoare-Sfogea*,⁶⁵³ *Gornea-Țărcheviște*, *Reșița-Ogășele*,⁶⁵⁴ and *Ilidia-Oblița*.⁶⁵⁵ An unidentifiable 14th century coin was also found in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*.⁶⁵⁶

Only a few 15th century coins have been found, all of them in the mountain region of the Banat: a coin of Vladislav I in *Reșița-Ogășele*;⁶⁵⁷ another

636 Girić (1995/1996), p. 149.

637 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2005), p. 266.

638 Țeicu (1993), pp. 233, 234; Bălănescu (1985), pp. 174–176, the coin from grave 276 was struck in 1270.

639 Țeicu, Rancu (2002), p. 49.

640 Țeicu (1993), p. 234; Bălănescu (1985), pp. 175–176.

641 Bălănescu (1985), p. 176.

642 Bălănescu (1985), p. 175 (grave 216).

643 Uzum, Țeicu (1981), p. 215.

644 Coin struck in 1330. See Țeicu (1993), p. 233; Bălănescu (1985), p. 175.

645 Coin struck in 1330. See Țeicu (1993), p. 237.

646 Ardeț (1996), pp. 416, 421, fig. 3/b.

647 Țeicu (1996a), pp. 7–8; Bălănescu (1985), p. 177. The coin from grave 17 was struck between 1358 and 1371, that from grave 34 between 1373 and 1382.

648 Țeicu (1993), p. 234; Bălănescu (1985), p. 175.

649 Țeicu (1996a), p. 8; Bălănescu (1985), p. 178.

650 Bălănescu (1993), p. 325.

651 Bona (1993), p. 75.

652 Țeicu (1996c), p. 57; Bălănescu (1993), p. 323.

653 Țeicu (1993), pp. 232, 233; Bălănescu (1984), pp. 132, 135.

654 Țeicu (1996a), pp. 7–8; Bălănescu (1985), p. 177. The coins found in graves 9 and 29 were struck between 1427 and 1437.

655 Bălănescu (1984), p. 132.

656 Bălănescu (1993), p. 324.

657 Țeicu (1996a), p. 7; Bălănescu (1985), p. 178.

struck during the interregnum of 1444–1446 in *Reșița-Ogășele*;⁶⁵⁸ coins of John Hunyadi in *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*⁶⁵⁹ and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*;⁶⁶⁰ and a coin of Matthias Corvinus in *Reșița-Ogășele*.⁶⁶¹

XIX.3. Serbian coins appear only exceptionally in burial assemblages. So far, only one such coin is known—an issue of Stephen IV Dragutin (1276–1282/1316) from *Cuptoare-Sfocea*.⁶⁶²

XIX.4. Equally rare are Central European coins (pl. 109). A coin of Charles the Bald (840–875) is known from *Deszk-Ambrus J.*⁶⁶³ Another 9th century penny was discovered in *Orșova*⁶⁶⁴—a coin struck for Louis the German (855–875). There are no Central European coins until ca. 1200. A Friesach penny struck in the late 12th or early 13th century is known from *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*,⁶⁶⁵ while a coin struck for Bernard II is known from *Cuptoare-Sfocea*.⁶⁶⁶

XIX.5. In addition, a denar struck for Geta (203–208) was found in a grave from the *Cuptoare-Sfocea* cemetery.⁶⁶⁷

Unidentified 14th century coins have been found in the cemetery excavated in 1975 in *Banatski Karlovac*.⁶⁶⁸ Coins struck in the 14th and 15th centuries are also known from *Duplijaja-Veliki Prokop*⁶⁶⁹ and *Idvor* (a coin struck for Sigismund of Luxemburg between 1427 and 1430).⁶⁷⁰

Coins deposited in late 9th and early 10th century graves served as oboles. All finds from the Banat cluster in the lowlands. Those are primarily Byzantine coins, with a few Western additions. This strongly suggests that the communities who buried those individuals with coins had regular access to coins.

658 Bălănescu (1985), p. 178.

659 Țeicu (1996c), p. 57; Bălănescu (1993), p. 324 (3 coins).

660 Țeicu, Rancu (2003), p. 456.

661 Țeicu (1996a), p. 8; Bălănescu (1985), p. 178. The coin was struck either in 1489 or in 1490.

662 Țeicu (1993), p. 233.

663 Fehér, Éry, Kralovánzsky (1962), p. 31; Kovács (1989), p. 25.

664 Kovács (1989), p. 51.

665 Bălănescu (1993), p. 325.

666 Țeicu (1993), p. 234; Bălănescu (1985), p. 175.

667 Bălănescu (1985), p. 176.

668 Barački, Brmbolić (1997), p. 211.

669 Janković, Radičević (2005), p. 278.

670 Djordjević, Djordjević, Radičević (2005), p. 262.

But coins were also used as ornaments, especially when perforated and worn as pendants. One such pendant made of a coin struck for the emperors Romanos I and Constantine VII between 919 and 921 was found in *Foeni*.

Between the mid-10th century and the first decades of the following century, coins were deposited both as oboles and as dress accessories (as in *Pančevo*). The latter practice stopped in the the 11th century. From this moment onward, the predominant coins deposited in graves are Hungarian, even though Byzantine coins continued to be used until the 13th century.

Burial Horizons in the Medieval Banat

In order to make the distinctions between burial horizons understandable, it may be useful to begin with their definition. I start from the premise that every cemetery has been used for a relatively long period of time, in any case, for more than a generation. Therefore, in some of them there may be more characteristic features than in others, depending on the religious factors that influenced any given community over time. That community may sometimes be ethnically and religiously heterogeneous. This explains why some cemeteries may display elements typical for more than one burial horizon. However, there may be several reasons for such variability. Some communities may have undergone several transformations of their burial customs and fashions over time. In others, variability may be the result of the coexistence of several groups with different burial customs—all using the same cemetery at the same time. In principle, the latter case should be identified as such before assessing the burial horizons in that cemetery, in order to differentiate it from cemeteries in which the variation is chronologically sensitive. Assigning entire cemeteries to burial horizons may thus be a difficult task, primarily because between the 10th and the 14th century, one can notice a general simplification of burial customs for all groups coexisting in the Banat: a gradual abandonment of grave goods and offerings (such as horse bones and gear, or weapons), including the deposition of food with or without containers, and beginning with the 13th century, the gradual abandonment of burials with jewellery and dress accessories.

On the other hand, burial horizons may at times share several characteristics, either because they reflect the same beliefs about afterlife and proper burial, or because some characteristics were more resistant to historical change than others, and are therefore present in more than one burial horizon. “Steppe horizon” is the name I have chosen for a particular set of practices and grave goods most typical for nomadic populations moving into the Banat from the northern Black Sea region.¹ The distinction between this horizon and the ones in

1 The main characteristics of the “steppe horizon” in the Carpathian Basin have been first mapped by Attila Kiss in 1985. Without any ethnic attribution, those characteristics nonetheless signal a dramatic cultural change taking place in the region in the late 9th and the 10th century. Some of the artifacts on Kiss’s list have been also found outside the Carpathian Basin, especially in the Balkans and appear to have had a much broader chronology than

existence prior to its appearance is also visible in Slovakia and in Transylvania. In both areas, the earlier horizon dated to the 9th century is well documented on several cemetery sites. In Slovakia, a distinction between the so-called “Slavic-Moravian,” 9th-century horizon and the “steppe horizon” has therefore been successfully established.² By contrast, in the Banat, it is often difficult to identify burial assemblages dated between the collapse of the Avar Khaganate in the early 9th century and the appearance of the “steppe horizon” in the early 10th century, either because of rare or even no grave goods, or because, when present, such goods are chronologically non-sensitive. Nonetheless, in contrast with this rather bleak picture, the new “steppe horizon” stands out in the Banat as well in terms of ritual practices and the abundance and quality of the grave goods.

The main characteristics of the “steppe horizon” in the Banat are basically the same as those identified for the rest of the Carpathian Basin: deposition of horse bones (skull and legs) and gear (saddles, bits, stirrups, bridle mounts); the deposition of typically Oriental weapons (sabers, replaced by swords only after the mid-10th century; composite bows and quivers); specific dress accessories (especially mounts and appliqués with palmette ornaments, twisted band bracelets, specific types of finger-rings, and so-called Saltovo-type earrings).

For the identification of the “steppe horizon” I looked for the presence of at least one of those characteristics in each grave (pl. III; pl. 127). I first set aside graves with weapons most typical for the steppe populations, and those with horse bones and gear. On the basis of several studies published by such scholars as Zdeněk Váňa, Jochen Giesler, Béla Szóke, and Attila Kiss, I then separated graves with ornaments and dress accessories they had identified as originating in the northern Black Sea region. I then looked for graves with similar ornaments or dress accessories, the dating of which was secured by coins. In the case of cemeteries with mixed traditions, which produced also artifacts not typical for the “steppe horizon,” I looked for elements of ritual that also appear in graves of that horizon. A particular group resulting from this exercise was that of the isolated graves, even though in most cases one cannot establish with any degree of certainty whether the “isolation” is the result of poor or no investigative research strategies, or a genuine phenomenon. Several isolated graves have been found in the lowlands (*Tomnatic*-the brick factory, *Tomnatic*-1898, *Săcălaz*, *Comloșu Mare*-Hunca lui Șofron, *Novi Bečej*-Matejski

initially proposed. Some weapons or even dress accessories do not appear to have been typical for the steppe milieu, but in fact used by other populations.

2 Hanuliak (2000), pp. 133–147.

Brod, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III, *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7, *Vizejdia*-T.VI, *Sânpetru German*), and they are all inhumations.

On five sites, those were graves dug into pre-existing, most likely prehistoric tells or mounds (*Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron*; *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*; *Bucova Puszta*-T.III; *Vizejdia*-T.VI; *Tomnatic*-1898). In only three cases has the grave orientation been observed, and that is west-east for two grave (*Bucova Puszta*-T.III; *Sânpetru German*-1968; *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7), and northwest-southeast for another (*Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*).

The skeletons in those graves were laid in the supine position, with the arms alongside the body (as in *Sânpetru German*-1968) or with one hand on the abdomen and the other on the chest (as in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*).

Only a few combinations of ornaments are known from those graves: lock-, and earrings (*Tomnatic*-the brick factory; *Bucova Puszta*-T.III), earrings and bracelets (*Vršac-Vizi* str. 7), or only earrings (*Sânpetru German*-1968). Dress accessories are equally rare: footwear appliqués (*Sânpetru German*-1968), dress appliqués (*Sânpetru German*-1968), buttons (*Sânpetru German*-1968; *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7), and tags (*Sânpetru German*-1968). It is important to note that no belt fittings are known from isolated graves. Astragals have been found in *Deszk-Olaj* (six specimens), bead amulets in *Sânpetru German*. Only the grave in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III has produced evidence of food deposition in the form of animal bones. Similarly, only one coin is known from *Tomnatic*-1898, a penny struck for King Ladislas I. Much more frequent is the deposition of weapons: sword (*Săcălaz*-?), saber (*Tomnatic*-the brick factory), or spear (*Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron*). Bows and arrows are only known from *Bucova Puszta*-T.III and *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*.³

Equally common is the presence of the horse gear: *Sânpetru German*, *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*, *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7, *Săcălaz*, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III and *Tomnatic*-mound to the west of Kleinhügel (1898). Horse bones have also been documented in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*, *Bucova Puszta*-T.III, *Vizejdia*-T.VI and *Săcălaz*.

It is interesting to note that lock- and earrings appear in combination with "Oriental" weapons, such as sabres and composite bows with quivers in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III and *Tomnatic*-the brick factory, but also with horse gear in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod*, *Tomnatic*-mound to the west of Kleinhügel (1898), and possibly *Săcălaz*. There is no association with any of those characteristics for the sword found in *Comloșu Mare-Hunca lui Șofron*. Similarly, dress accessories

3 The grave in *Novi Bečej-Matejski Brod* also produced a knife. Weapons of an unknown kind are said to have been found in *Tomnatic*-1898.

other than lock rings appear without weapons in *Sânpetru German*, *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7, and *Vizejdia*-T.VI.

The bridle appliqués found in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III rarely appear in burial assemblages. Those from *Sânpetru German*-1968 are most common in such assemblages dated to the first half of the 10th century. The dress appliqués from *Sânpetru German*-1968 have the same chronology.

The flint steel found in *Bucova Puszta*-T.III points to the same chronological bracket, as the deposition of such artifacts in graves is most typical for weapon graves of the 10th century, e.g., graves 243 and 340 in *Szalbocs*,⁴ grave 12/55 in *Sered-II* (which is dated with a coin struck for Berengar I between 888 and 915),⁵ several graves from the *Sered-I* cemetery,⁶ or from cemeteries in Slovakia (*Nesvady*,⁷ *Červeník*⁸). The custom is also documented elsewhere in the Banat, namely in *Szőreg*-Homokbánya,⁹ and in the Crișana.¹⁰

The Saltovo-type earrings discovered in *Sânpetru German*-1968 are also typical for assemblages dated to the 10th century, especially to its first half.

By contrast, earrings with grape-shaped pendant and two pairs of astragals on either side, such as found in *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7,¹¹ remained in fashion until the early 11th century, much like bracelets with animal head-shaped ends (Kovács's type 4a).¹² The evidence available in the Banat shows that the earrings in question are not typical for the "steppe horizon."

The grave found in *Vršac-Vizi* str. 7 stands out in terms of the combination of dress accessories of Balkan origin or manufacture (earrings with grape-shaped pendant with two pairs of astragals on either side).

Isolated graves appear therefore throughout the 10th and 11th centuries, although most of them seem to be dated earlier rather than later. None of them has produced dress accessories or any other elements typical for the Bjelo Brdo horizon. It should be noted that early warrior graves in the Carpathian Basin tend to be rather poor in grave goods, with only a few ornaments, mostly Saltovo-type earrings—a rather primitive variant—or simple bronze bar bracelets. It is difficult to explain the isolation of those burials in social

4 Kovács (1994), p. 57, fig. 15, grave 243, pp. 58, 73, fig. 21, grave 340, p. 74.

5 Točík (1968), pp. 54, 56, 114, pl. XLVIII/2, p. 115, pl. XLIX/4.

6 Točík (1968), pp. 41–43, 49, 96, pl. XXX/11, p. 97, pl. XXXI/23, p. 108, pl. XLII/27, p. 110, pl. XLIV/6.

7 Točík (1968), pp. 36–37, 90, pl. XXIV/2, 6.

8 Točík (1968), pp. 17, 18–19, 74, pl. VIII/1, p. 76, pl. X/46.

9 Bálint (1991), pp. 90, 92, pl. XXXI/9, p. 93.

10 Cosma (2001), p. 195, pl. 7/6, p. 237.

11 Kovács (1994), pp. 129, 136.

12 Kovács (1994), p. 129.

terms, for judging by grave goods, such graves are both of common warriors, and of men of higher rank (who were buried with belt fittings and sabers or swords). Unlike the Alföld, no sabretaches have so far been found in the Banat. The “steppe horizon” has also been identified in the following cemeteries: *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-barrow 1898, *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*, *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, *Deszk-Ambrus J. and J*, *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*, *Kiszombor-C*, E and F, *Kláralfalva-Faragó*, *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*, *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.*, *Deszk-T*, *Teremia Mare*-1839 and 1875 (quite possibly one and the same site). There are altogether 143 graves from 15 cemetery sites, all in the lowlands of the Banat. Four cemeteries have been dug into prehistoric tells, three into sand dunes.

The graves in question have a general west-east orientation.

Little is known about the position of the arms, but some of the skeletons found in those graves show evidence of interventions (3 graves in *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*, *Bucova Puszta*, at least one grave in *Kiszombor-E*, 8 graves in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, 4 graves in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*, and one in *Tiszasziget*).

Food deposition is documented in *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV, *Kiszombor-E*, and *Kláralfalva-Faragó*. Animal bones were found only in *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz* and *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*.

In some cemeteries, the number of graves with weapons and/or horse gear is quite large (*Kiszombor-C*, with 6 out of 17 graves; E, with 14 out of 17 graves; *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*, with 4 out of 12 graves; and *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, with 4 out of 13 studied graves). In others, there are only a few such graves: *Bucova Puszta*-T.IV (out of 19 graves, two had weapons), *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija* (out of 20 tombs, three had weapons), *Deszk-Ambrus J.* (at least four graves), *J* (out of 12 graves, four had weapons), *Kiszombor-F* (out of eight studied graves, two had weapons), *Kláralfalva-Faragó* (out of seven studied graves, one had weapons and another had horse gear), *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* (out of ten graves, one had harness items). It should be remembered, though, that most sites have not been fully or systematically excavated, so the actual percentage of such burials may in reality be different. This is most likely the case of the cemeteries excavated (only partially) in *Kiszombor-C*, *Kláralfalva-Faragó*, *Tiszasziget-Molnar A.*, and *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*.

The weapons most typically found in those graves were bows with quivers and arrows, sometimes associated with knives. Such weapons are often found together with horse bones and/or gear (*Bucova Puszta*-T.IV; *Deszk-Ambrus J. and J*; *Kiszombor-C*, E, and F; *Kláralfalva-Faragó*; *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*). There are also graves in many of the same cemeteries, which did not produce evidence of bows or arrows, but had either horse bones, or horse gear (*Kiszombor-C* and F, *Kláralfalva-Faragó*, *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*, *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, and *Teremia Mare*-1875). It is important to note that graves with bows and arrows tend to

appear on the same cemetery sites as those with horse bones or gear, which strongly suggest that all those graves may safely be attributed to the “steppe horizon.” It should also be noted that the deposition of knives in graves without bows and/or arrows is typical for cemeteries with horse bones and/or gear. Such graves can also be treated as elements of that same horizon, when horse bones and/or gear are present. In the absence of horse bones or gear, such graves as those found in *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*, *Deszk-J* and *T*, *Kiszombor-C* and *E*, *Novo Miloševo-Izlaz*, and *Szóreg*-Oil refinery, must however be excluded from the “steppe horizon,” as they are well documented in previous horizons, both in the Balkans and in Slovakia.

Lock rings appear in weapon graves (grave 7 in *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*; grave 18 in *Bucova Puszta-T.IV*; grave 2 in *Tiszasziget-A*. Molnar), but also in assemblages without weapons (grave 4 in *Deszk-J*; graves 2, 4, 6, and 9 in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*).

Similarly, belt buckles appear both in graves with weapons and horse gear (graves 17 and 18 in *Bucova-Puszta-T.IV*; grave 7 in *Deszk-J*; and grave 13 in *Kiszombor-C*) and in those without such artifacts (grave 13 in *Deszk-D*; grave 25 in *Kiszombor-C*; grave 6 in *Kláralfalva-Faragó*). The same is true for dress appliqués, buttons, earrings, torcs, beads, bracelets, and tags or hooks.

By contrast, simple rings and coins appear only in graves without either weapons or horse gear. The presence of coins distinguishes isolated graves of the “steppe horizon” from those in cemeteries, but further differences may be observed in the deposition of ear- or lock rings with S-shaped end and of double heart-shaped appliqués. This suggests that despite commonality of ritual, there may be chronological differences. Burials with horse gear such as the isolated grave in *Sânpetru German-1968* or grave 3 in the *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* cemetery may be treated as warrior graves. Such graves are altogether rare, one in ten in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica*. Moreover, burial assemblages with double heart-shaped appliqués did not produce lock rings with S-shaped bent end. Graves 5 and 7 in *Jazovo-Proleterska Ulica* are an important indication that double heart-shaped appliqués coexisted with circular or flower-shaped dress appliqués. The presence of coins, on the other hand, points the existence of new cemeteries with new burial customs. Small cemeteries may have been abandoned when communities moved to different locations.

One of the most interesting characteristics of groups of graves of the “steppe horizon” is that graves with no weapons, horse gear or bones nonetheless produced artifacts, the origins of which may be placed in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea: Saltovo-type earrings, torcs, silver foil heart-shaped medallions, and lock appliqués). By contrast, there are very few artifacts with analogies in

the Balkans or in the Carpathian Basin. Most exceptions have been found either on the bank of the river Danube or not too far from it. Equally exceptional are dress accessories of the Bjelo Brdo horizon, especially lock rings with S-shaped end (*Kiszombor-C, Klárafalva-Faragó*).¹³ Moreover, none of those rare artifacts have been found in a grave displaying burial rituals typical for the steppe populations. This strongly suggests that although the latter undoubtedly with graves with “rare adornments,” they probably represent different communities using the same cemetery. The phenomenon is visible archaeologically particularly in large cemeteries.

In terms of chronology, there are no substantial differences from isolated graves. Only the ornamental variety is greater. Interestingly, graves without weapons, horse gear or bones are the richest in that respect. It is difficult, however, to decide whether such graves may signal an ongoing process of Christianization within a population, which had abandoned the practice of displaying social status, particularly that of warriors, through the deposition of weapons, horse bones or horse gear.

To be sure, later graves of warriors, such as that found in *Vršac*, produced artifacts dated to the second half of the 10th century (double heart-shaped appliqués, and bracelets with animal head-shaped ends). Similar artifacts from the southern Banat and with the same chronology have been found in *Pančevo*. This suggests that if the process of Christianization was the driving force behind the abandonment of the deposition of weapons and horse gear and bones, that was by no means universally accepted. Equally interesting is the observation, according to which most belt mounts and dress appliqués found in such burial assemblages have only a few analogies in the Balkans. Only in the mid-10th century were ornaments of Byzantine origin or inspiration (such as the earrings from *Teremia Mare-1878*) been adopted (pl. 126). The presence of torcs in *Deszk-Ambrus J. and T*, as well as in *Klárafalva-Faragó* suggests that the graves in question must be dated after 930. Such torcs are also known, albeit in small numbers, from the northern Balkans, Dalmatia and Transylvania.

Judging from the existing evidence, both common people and warriors were buried in those small cemeteries. Only in *Kiszombor-C* and *Klárafalva-Faragó* can one surmise the coexistence of communities with different burial rituals, although it is also possible that the one used the cemetery only after the other.

13 Silver or bronze rings made of twisted or interwoven wires, occasionally appear in assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo culture, but they seem to have been adopted there from the Byzantine world, as such adornments appear also in the central Balkans.

Why were some cemeteries so small? The answer depends, I think, on the presence—often conspicuous—of relatively large numbers of warriors. Those, in other words, were cemeteries of a certain social group. Even if small cemeteries also produced burial assemblages without weapons, the dress accessories and ornaments found in them are not different from other graves in those cemeteries. In other words, those may have been cemeteries of ethnically homogenous or relatively homogeneous communities led by prominent warriors. A special note is needed for graves without any goods. Unlike those with grave goods, in which skeletons have been found with arms alongside the body or with hands on the pelvis, in graves without goods, skeletons have arms folded and placed on the chest. Although no explanation may be advanced for this ritual difference, there is no evidence to suggest a chronological difference. Another characteristic of the groups of graves is the practice of different beliefs or the existence of different funerary practices within the same community that used a common burial place. This may not necessarily indicate an ethnic difference. However, the use of the same necropolis by populations different in terms of their funerary practices suggests a tendency towards the mixing of the communities. The fact that there are also distinct cemeteries in terms of social categories may mean that they could have also included individuals with different funerary customs. The presence of certain different dress items in some sites may suggest the infiltration of a new population within the said communities, therefore their ethnically homogeneous characteristics could be questionable. Graves from cemeteries attributed to the “steppe horizon” fall into one of two chronological groups: one dated to the late 9th century or the first decade of the 10th century (those graves have fewer or poorer ornaments, and almost no dress accessories of Byzantine inspiration) and another dated to the 930s or shortly after that, when new ornaments came into fashion, which were innovations originating in the Carpathian Basin (certain kinds of double heart-shaped appliqués, new belt appliqués, rings of Byzantine inspiration, dress appliqués, cast bracelets with animal head-shaped ends) making use of large quantities of silver and gold brought into the region as plunder from raids into Central and Western Europe. The fact that some small cemeteries or groups of graves may be dated as early as the beginning of the 10th century, while others are as late as the mid-11th century strongly suggests that the social structures underpinning those burial practices remained the same for more than a century. The martial posturing signalled by weapons, horses and horse gear is a distinct feature of such cemeteries, as is also the combination of pagan practices with earlier notions of Christianity. This latter aspect remains an object of debate, particularly since the absence of grave goods is not necessarily an indication of Christian ritual practices. However,

the occasional presence of artifacts known from the Bjelo Brdo horizon shows that those communities were sometimes mingling with other population elements or at least were open to influences from the outside.

It is important to note that weapon graves rarely appear in large cemeteries. In the Banat, the only known case is that of 6 out of 32 graves excavated so far in *Timișoara-Cioreni*. This was a row grave cemetery, in which different family groups probably used separate rows. Some of the graves without weapons appear to be earlier than, or have coincided in time with those attributed to the “steppe horizon.”¹⁴

In addition to isolated graves and cemeteries of that horizon, a number of finds are known from accidental discoveries. Some may be from burial assemblages with weapons, horse bones and gear and only accidentally double heart-shaped appliquéés (*Banatsko Arandjelovo*-five sites; *Čestereg*?, *Cheglevici*; *Comloșu Mare*; *Cuvin*; *Deszk*-Ambrus J., J and T; *Felnac*-1901; *Jimbolia*; *Kiszombor*-E and F; *Kübekhaza-Újtelep*; *Nerău*-1899; *Novi Bečej*-unspecified site; *Novi Kneževac*-Béla Talliján's property; *Orșova*; *Periam*-Régiposta Str. (1909); *Săcălaz*?, *Săcălaz*; *Sasca Montană*; *Tomnatic*; *Vrșac*; *Vizejdia*-T.VI; *Becicherecul Mare*; *Tomnatic*-1898, 1911, 1898, mound to the west of Kleinhügel), others from assemblages with hair links with S-shape bent end and double heart-shaped appliquéés (*Banatsko Arandjelovo*-three sites, *Deta*-1882 and *Felnac*-unknown location).

Judging from all this evidence, the “steppe horizon” may be securely dated between the 930s and the reign of Ladislav I (1077–1095).

Several 10th century burial assemblages are known from the Banat, which cannot be attributed to the “steppe horizon.” The main difference is either the absence of grave goods, or the presence of rather common grave goods (*Austere-Funerary horizon I*; pl. 115; pl. 126).

The deposition of coins, for example, while rare in the “steppe horizon” is known from a number of graves excavated in *Deta*-1882 and *Uivar*.¹⁵ The coin in the grave found in *Deta*-1882 has been deposited in the mouth of the deceased, a clear indication of the practice known, for lack of a better name, as “Charon's obole.” Such a practice is utterly foreign both to the “steppe horizon” and to the Bjelo Brdo culture. Equally unusual is the north-south orientation of the two graves found in *Uivar*.¹⁶

14 Oța (2012). “Several observations on the earrings with grape-like pendants (9th–11th centuries),” in press.

15 Some of the coins found in *Orșova* may also be from graves.

16 By contrast, the remains of a food offering in the pot found in a grave in *Pavliš-Kudelište* may not, after all, be that exceptional as initially thought. The deposition of ceramic

Utterly different from the “steppe horizon” is what I call the “first South Danubian horizon” dated between the 9th and the early 11th century (pl. 112; pl. 125). Much like the “steppe horizon,” this one is also documented through both isolated graves and cemeteries. The “first South Danubian horizon” may be distinguished from the Bjelo Brdo horizon in terms of the absence of such diagnostic artifacts as lock rings with S-shape bent end. In a few cases, cemeteries of the “first South Danubian horizon” were located next to cemeteries of the “steppe horizon” *Pančevo* and *Vršac*. In all likelihood, those cemeteries were in use at the same time or in chronologically succession by different populations. Cemeteries of the “first South Danubian horizon” have been so far identified only in the southern region of the Banat even though ornaments most typical for that horizon have been found elsewhere as well *Novi Kneževac*, *Bočar-Budjak-ekonomija*, *Timișoara-Cioreni*, and *Vršac-Vizi str. 7*). As a matter of fact, the presence of ornaments of the “first South Danubian horizon” or of Byzantine inspiration on sites of the “steppe horizon” is a strong indication of chronological overlap, at least during the 10th century. Ornaments of the “first South Danubian horizons” have also been found in cemeteries such as *Deszk-D*, *Kiszombor-B*, and *Szóreg-Homokbánya*, which may be dated to the early 11th century, because they have produced artifacts most typical for the Bjelo Brdo horizon.

As the name shows, the “first South Danubian horizon” represents Balkan traditions with roots in the Byzantine culture. Whether or not this horizon represents also a different population, no connection can so far be drawn between the Balkan-influenced horizon and earlier assemblages with few if any grave goods. An interesting similarity between burial assemblages of the “first South Danubian horizon” and of the “steppe horizon” is the absence of coins, even though coin circulation is well attested in the Balkans during the 10th and the 11th centuries.

Köttlach-type finds has so far been found in the Banat only in *Deta*-1882 (pl. 125). The only artefact from that site which can be securely attributed to that culture is a single find of a lunula-type of earring.¹⁷ Such earrings are believed to be typical for assemblages in the Eastern Alpine region of south-

containers appears in both “Slavic” assemblages of the 9th century and the “steppe horizon” post-dating them. It is also documented for assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo horizon. Food offerings are also known from *Nikolinci*, a cemetery dated between the 8th and the 10th century and attributed to a Turkic-speaking population (Živković [1997], pp. 143, 144, 145, 146, 153, pl. II).

17 Călin Cosma also attributes to the Köttlach culture the cross pendant and two disc-brooches from *Deta*. While the latter are indeed typical for that culture, all analogies for

eastern Austria and northern Slovenia, and attributed to Carantanians known from the early medieval written sources. However, cast, lunula-type of earrings, and earrings with tapered ends, are also known from assemblages of the Bjelo Brdo culture. Köttlach-type cemeteries have graves with a west-east orientation, arranged in rows, and with skeletons in supine position, with arms alongside the body. Grave goods typically consist of earrings, lock rings, fibulae, rings, beads, and sometimes knives. Such assemblages have been dated between the mid-9th and the late 10th century, with a *floruit* in the mid-10th century.¹⁸

The artifacts found in *Deta*-1882 have been dated to the second half of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century. Belt appliqué and an earring with bludgeon-like pendant were also there, both with good analogies in the Balkans. A lock ring with S-shaped bent end is of course of a later date and points to a Bjelo Brdo environment. However, bracelets of bronze interwoven wire (pl. 126), such as found in *Pančevo* or *Crna Bara*-Prkos and dated to the second half of the 10th century, may be of western origin, as they appear in Köttlach-type cemeteries, such as *Judenburg*.¹⁹ Given the scarcity of finds, it is nonetheless impossible to speak so far of a “Köttlach horizon” in the Banat (pl. 110; pl. 125).

By contrast, one can clearly distinguish a “Bjelo Brdo horizon” (pl. 114; pl. 132).²⁰ Most typical is the row arrangement of graves in cemeteries, and the mix of ornaments, dress accessories, weapons, horse gear, and utensils among the grave goods.²¹

The hallmark of the “Bjelo Brdo” horizon, however, is the lock ring with S-shaped bent end.²² Most other ornaments found in Bjelo Brdo cemeteries are either imitations of Byzantine prototypes or typical for assemblages of the steppe populations in the northern Black Sea area (various variants of the double heart-shaped appliqué, torcs, stirrups, bits, twisted-wire bronze bracelets, bracelets with animal heads). On the other hand, there is a large number of artifacts with good analogies in 9th century assemblages (bracelets of bars

the former are from the Balkans. For Köttlach-type finds in Romania, see Cosma (2006), pp. 857–883.

18 Korošec (1979a), pp. 334–371.

19 Korošec (1979b), pl. 77/1–2.

20 Paula Korošec (1979a), p. 371 believed that the Bjelo Brdo culture originated in the Köttlach culture.

21 Bálint (1991); Váňa (1954), pp. 51–104; Szóke (1962).

22 It has been considered that the earrings with the end bent in the form of a simple loop are the precursors of the hair links or the earrings with one S-shaped bent end. These older variants were attributed to the Slavs, and more recently, to the Romanic population mixed with the Slavic one.

with circular section, notched finger rings, knives, flints, segmented, spherical, or tubular beads). Scholars currently agree therefore that the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” resulted from the blending of several cultural traditions. There is some chronological overlap with the “steppe horizon” (grave F in *Timișoara-Cioreni*; grave 217 in *Kiszombor-B*; the graves of the *Hodoni-Pocioroane* cemetery), but the latter pre-dates most assemblages of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” Several types of Bjelo Brdo cemeteries have been found in the Banat. Some are large, and have produced weapons, horse bones, and horse gear. Could such cemeteries have started as graveyards of the “steppe horizon”? Sixty years ago, Zdeněk Váňa has given a negative answer to this question.²³ According to him, there was a substantial difference between graves with weapons and horse gear in Bjelo Brdo cemeteries, which he regarded simply as graves richer than others, and graves with weapons and horse gear in small cemeteries, which are to be linked to the steppe traditions. Béla Szőke, on the other hand, believed that 10th to 11th century cemeteries were organized along social distinctions, with richer graves being marked with “Magyar” artifacts, and poorer ones being “Slavic.” Jochen Giesler, however, pointed out that some of the weapons that appear in graves of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” were known to the population in the Carpathian Basin long before the arrival of the Magyars. Giesler has distinguished two chronological groups in this horizon. Coin-dated assemblages range from the 1030s to just before or shortly after 1100. Giesler also noted that while grave-goods typical for both chronological groups may appear within one and the same cemetery, they never occur together within one and the same grave. The explanation for this distinction, however, may also be social or ethnic. On the other hand, the relative uniformity of burial rituals speaks volumes about the continuity of religious beliefs within communities. At any rate, that, unlike graves of warriors of the “steppe horizon,” those of the “Bjelo Brdo” horizon have produced fewer, if any ornaments at all suggests a chronological difference between them.

In the Banat, cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” have been found in *Deszk-D* (204 graves, of which seven with weapons, horse bones or gear), *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (18 graves, of which two with weapons, horse bones or gear), *Kiszombor-B* (78 graves, of which 13 with weapons, horse bones or gear), and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (45 graves, of which five with weapons)—all sites in the lowlands. Only a few graves with weapons or horse bones and/or gear have been discovered on any of those sites.

On the other hand, no distinction exists between weapons recovered from those graves and those found in graves of the “steppe horizon.” However, no

23 Váňa (1954), pp. 51–104.

deposition of either weapons or horse bones/gear is documented after the third quarter of the 11th century. Given the current state of research, it is difficult to decide whether the presence of graves with weapons and horse gear/bones should be interpreted as the earlier presence of a population different from that of the rest of the cemetery, or as the same population the burial customs of which changed over time. Conversely, the presence of some other populations within cemeteries of the “steppe horizon” may be signalled by ornaments and dress accessories most typical for the “Bjelo Brdo” horizon. At any rate, there can be no doubt about the chronological overlap during the last quarter of the 10th century between the two horizons. However, in large cemeteries, the mixture of artifacts from both horizons within individual assemblages is minimal. This suggests that, despite the coincidence in time, each population group represented by each horizon kept its own dress and ornament traditions.²⁴

Some of the graves excavated in *Kiszombor-B* (one) and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (four) have produced coffins, a feature which is not typical for the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” but is believed to have characteristic for the burial custom of Turkic Bulgars.²⁵

Most skeletons have been found in supine position with a great variety of arm disposition: alongside the body (*Szőreg-Homokbánya*-15 cases; *Nikolinci*-six cases; *Hodoni-Pocioroane*-one case); alongside the body with hands on the pelvis five cases in *Szőreg-Homokbánya* and *Hodoni-Pocioroane*), alongside the body, with only one hand on the pelvis (*Szőreg-Homokbánya*-eight cases, *Nikolinci*-four cases), one arm alongside the body and another missing (one case each in *Hodoni-Pocioroane* and *Nikolinci*; two graves in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*), one arm alongside the body, the other folded and placed with the hand the abdomen (two graves at *Szőreg-Homokbánya*), one arm alongside the body and the other folded and placed on the chest (one grave at *Hodoni-Pocioroane*), one arm alongside the body, the other arm folded and placed on the collar bone (one grave at *Hodoni-Pocioroane*), one forearm on the abdomen and the other arm missing (one grave in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*).

There is therefore a tendency to lay the body with arms, but it is interesting to note that the position of the arms is different for graves of the “steppe horizon” and of the “Bjelo Brdo” horizon, respectively. While the folding of the arms either on the chest or on the abdomen have been sometimes regarded

24 To be sure, beginning with the second quarter of the 11th century, burials of the “steppe horizon” cannot be identified with certainty any more.

25 Khalikova (1971), p. 179. In *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, a layer of reed has been found underneath the skeleton. A wooden plank was discovered in *Kiszombor-B*.

as a sign of Christian burial, such a position has not documented in association with the deposition of horse parts, horse gear, or weapons. Nonetheless, graves of both horizons are known, which have produced evidence of coffins. A skeleton found lying on the right or left side was found at *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, and two crouched skeletons of children are known from *Hodoni-Pocioroane*. Several cases of interventions on corpses have also been documented.

An interesting phenomenon is also the deposition of food, often in ceramic containers (two graves in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*), or without them in the form of shells (two cases in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*), eggs (*Deszk-D* and one grave in *Kiszombor-B*), and bird bones (one grave in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, and another in *Nikolinci*). Musical instruments are known from *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, coins from no less than 12 graves. The latter have more often been found in the mouth, but also under the pelvis, near the left elbow, or on the chest. In one grave of the *Szőreg-Homokbánya* cemetery, there were seeds of convolvulus on one leg, a phenomenon that may reflect fear of revenants.

No graves with weapons have produced either double heart-shaped appliquéés or lock rings with S-shaped bent ends. While the former may have been exclusively female ornaments, the latter were largely equivalent to lock rings otherwise attested in warrior graves. Weapon graves have nonetheless produced such ornaments as beads, rings, and bracelets, but altogether fewer than in weapon graves of the “steppe horizon.”

A larger quantity and variety of ornaments may be found in graves of commoners. Most conspicuous are the ear- or lock rings with S-shaped bent end, new types of double heart-shaped appliquéés, torcs, medallions, pendants, rings, buttons, and various bracelets. When found in graves with horse bones and/or gear, double heart-heart appliquéés are never associated with coins. This suggests that such burials must be dated before the practice of depositing coins in graves came into being, namely shortly before or shortly after AD 1000, when Byzantine coins were no longer deposited in graves, while Hungarian coins have not yet started to appear. On the other hand, since pagan burial customs appear to have persisted longer in the lands to the east of the Tisza River, it is not altogether impossible that the practice of coin deposition—a Christian custom—would appear only sporadically. In most other cemeteries of the Bjelo Brdo culture outside the Banat, coins are rare, if at all present between 970/975 and the 1030s.²⁶

26 The absence of coins from a cemetery of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” may therefore signal an early date.

Other items used at that time, most likely together with torcs, are the bracelets of twisted wire with loops or hooks at the ends.²⁷ However, they are rare and were recovered only from the *Kiszombor-B* cemetery. Besides torcs, they were associated with flat links, tags, beads, cowrie shells, hollow buttons, bar or lock bracelets.

Several types of beads, bracelets of bars with circular or diamond-shaped section (some of which have been found in association with coins struck for Andrew I), flat links (found in association with coins struck for the Byzantine emperors Romanos II and Constantine VII, as well as for the Hungarian King Solomon), simple lock links (found together with coins struck for King Ladislav I), links with loop-shaped end (in association with coins minted for King Stephen I), and bar rings (in association with coins struck for Ladislav I),—all ornaments originating in the “steppe horizon” were also used later and appear in assemblages of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” up to the second half of the 11th century. Two graves with weapons and horse gear have been dated with coins struck for the Hungarian kings Andrew I or Solomon, and Ladislav I, respectively (grave in *Kiszombor-B*; the grave discovered in *Tomnatic*-mound to the west of Kleinhügel). Similar associations are known from *Batajnica*, in Vojvodina.²⁸ This suggests that the graves with characteristics of the “steppe horizon” could be dated between the 930s and the late 11th century. Beginning with the late 10th, graves with typically Bjelo Brdo items appear next to graves of the “steppe horizon.”

By that time, a significant number of lock rings with S-shaped bent end appear in cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” Together with them, rings of bronze or silver, twisted or interwoven wire have also been found. The sudden appearance of those ornaments may be the result of a fashion spreading within the ethnically diverse population of the Carpathian Basin. In the Banat, the earliest lock rings with S-shaped bent end are associated with coins struck for the Hungarian kings Stephen I (1000–1038) in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, Andrew I (1046–1060) in *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, or Solomon (1063–1074) in *Kiszombor-B*. It is very interesting to note that the association between such rings and coins is in fact quite rare. This suggests that they remained in fashion only during the first quarter of the 11th century. Lock rings with S-shaped ends appear in association most often with ornaments typical for the “steppe horizon.” Thus, they may have become fashionable already by the late 10th century. Much more difficult to establish is the chronology of twisted or braided wire rings from the Banat. They rarely appear together with lock rings with S-shaped end and

27 They are frequent in the graves of the steppe horizon.

28 Parović-Pešikan (1981), p. 191.

may have become fashionable after them, namely in the mid-11th century. This type of ornaments represents one of the earliest imitations, within the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” of Byzantine ornaments. Their popularity may well be associated with the Byzantine *reconquista* of the northern Balkans.

A separate group of cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” have produced no evidence of ornaments typical for the “steppe horizon.” Such cemeteries are known from *Taraš-Selište*, *Kikinda-Vešalo*, *Oluš*, *Cenad*-near the Catholic Church, *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-16 June 1903, *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Funii*. The cemetery excavated in *Ilidia-Cetate* has produced both ornaments typical for the Bjelo Brdo culture (e.g., lock rings with S-shaped bent end) and ritual elements of the “second South Danubian horizon,” such as skeletons laid with arms folded and placed with hands on the neck or on the collar bones. Judging from its stratigraphy, this cemetery had at least two phases. In the first phase, grave goods are typically Bjelo Brdo, but the laying of the dead with arms folded already occurs. Those buried with lock rings with S-shaped end had arms folded and hands placed on the abdomen. Both cemeteries excavated in *Ilidia* (Cetate and Funii) may have come into existence in the 12th century.

Not all cemeteries believed to be of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” have produced the characteristic lock rings with S-shaped ends. On others, such as *Pojejena* (in the hilly region of the Banat), such rings appear quite late, namely in the early 12th century. This points to a late development of this horizon in the southeastern part of the Banat. On the basis of those observations and the conclusions drawn by other scholars,²⁹ there seems to be several phases of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” in the Banat. Sometimes, those phases appear in one and the same cemetery.

The first phase begins in the last quarter of the 10th century. The main characteristic of this phase is the association (combination or co-occurrence) of artifacts typical for the “steppe horizon” and lock rings with S-shaped bent ends. This phase ends in the 1030s with the appearance of the first coins in graves, which have been struck for King Stephen I (1000–1038). Thereafter, the increasing number of coins coincides with the decrease in the number of artifacts of the “steppe horizon.”³⁰ A characteristic of this phase in the Banat is the association of finger rings of Giesler’s class 29, which are coin-dated at the reign of King Andrew I (1046–1060) in cemeteries excavated in western Hungary, with double heart-shaped appliquéés and torcs of Giesler’s class I b,

29 Zdeněk Váňa, Jochen Giesler, Milan Hanuliak, Mária Rejholcová, Željko Tomičić, etc.

30 It is important to note that in the absence of published excavation plans for most cemeteries in the Banat, any conclusion needs to be treated with great caution.

e.g., in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*. This suggests that in the Banat, the first phase of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” lasted until the mid-11th century.

Another peculiarity of the development of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” in the Banat is that elements that have been regarded as defining features of the second phase of that horizon (for example, by Jochen Giesler) are either absent, or quite rare (e.g., notched finger rings). Moreover, judging by the presence of lock rings with S-shaped end and grooved ornament, the second phase began only in the late 11th century. However, in the Banat, such diagnostic types are not that well represented, and different variants of the lock rings with S-shaped ends remained in use until the early 13th century. In the absence of more detailed information, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusion, but the current state of research suggests that the second phase of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” was longer and was almost invariably characterized by lock rings with S-shaped ends, sometimes found in association with coins, finger rings, or simple hair links.

Several cemeteries of the first phase of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” have also produced grave goods of a much earlier date. This raises the question of their chronology, particularly the possibility of at least some cemeteries being already in use during the first half of the 10th century. The presence of artifacts typical for the “steppe horizon,” on the other hand, is quite common for the earliest Bjelo Brdo cemeteries. Some of those cemeteries found in the Banat (with the possible exception of *Hodoni-Pocioroane*) end at some point in the last quarter of the 11th century (*Kiszombor-B* and *Szóreg-Homokbánya*), or even in the 12th century (*Deszk-D*).³¹ At this stage of the research, it is not easy to establish the coincidence in time between the initial “steppe horizon” and the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” To judge from the absence of any Bjelo Brdo influences in small cemeteries of the “steppe horizon,” that horizon must pre-date the onset of the Bjelo Brdo culture. In *Kláralfalva-Faragó*, no lock or ear-rings with S-shaped bent ends have been found in association with artifacts typical for the “steppe horizon.” However, that association is attested for grave 29 in *Kiszombor-C*. Moreover, while coins are occasionally found in burial assemblages of the “steppe horizon,” but typically perforated in order to be worn as pendants, they have been deposited as “Charon’s oboles” in graves of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” but never in warrior graves or in those with artifacts most typical for the “steppe horizon.” This strongly suggests a chronological gap between the two phenomena. It is no doubt possible that for a while, the two horizons co-existed, as implied by the mixture of artifacts in the assemblage found in

31 As suggested by coins struck for Ladislav I and by lock links with S-shaped bent end and grooved ornament.

grave 29 in *Kiszombor-C*. But soon after that, Bjelo Brdo assemblages came to include a number of specific items, such as lock rings with S-shaped ends, rings made of twisted or interwoven wires, finger-rings with bezels decorated with images of birds (eagles?) or with the pentagram, or certain types of bracelets—many of which were imitations of Byzantine prototypes.

Cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” (pl. 113; pl. 128) appear primarily in the highlands, even the mountain region of the Banat (*Cuptoare-Sfocea*; *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*; *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*; *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării*, Rât and Ogașul cu spini; *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*; *Caransebeș-Măhala*; *Caransebeș-City center (?)*; *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*; *Drencova*; *Broșteni(?)*), as well as on the Danube line (*Banatska Palanka* and *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*). Another cemetery that may be attributed to this horizon is *Arača*.

They stand out by means of the large quantity of ornaments of Balkan origin or inspiration, as well as by the custom of folding the arms of the body laid in the grave. Based on observations made in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă* and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, graves in those cemeteries were arranged in rows, the significance of which may be linked to family groups.³² Most such cemeteries begin in the late 11th century or even after 1100, and continue until 1215 or 1220. There are no weapons in those cemeteries, and no containers for food offering either.³³ Most ornaments have no previous parallels, an indication that this is either a completely new fashion or a new population coming into the region from an area under a strong Byzantine influence. Equally new is the custom of folding the arms of the deceased, with hands placed on the collarbones, the neck, or the shoulders.³⁴ Some ornaments, such as finger-rings with bezels decorated with crosses, have an explicitly Christian decoration, while others remind one of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” e.g., lock rings with S-shaped ends. The study of those cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” shows that artifacts of Byzantine inspiration or origin, as well as those of Balkan tradition, became rare towards the end of that horizon. The phenomenon seems to coincide with the fluctuations of the Byzantine coin circulation in the Banat, which is illus-

32 However, there are also graves not aligned in rows within one and the same cemetery.

33 The fragment of a clay cauldron from a grave excavated in *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004* can hardly be regarded as container.

34 Such a custom has no parallel in cemeteries of the “steppe horizon” and is only rarely found in those of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” By contrast, folded arms are common in cemeteries excavated in the Balkans. Because of its southern origin, Romanian scholars (Gh. Cantacuzino, Silviu Oța, and Eugen Glück) have treated this custom as a sign of Bogomil identity, while the Slovak archaeologist Milan Hanuliak attributed it to beliefs in vampires. Hanuliak notes that the folding of the arms appears in Slovakian cemeteries dated after ca. 900, and had no previous parallels.

trated both by isolated finds and by hoards, such as *Duplijaja*.³⁵ A Byzantine influence is also visible in ornaments found on settlement sites (*Ilidia-Funii*, *Gornea-Zomonită*, and *Berzovia-Pătruieni*), as well as in occasional finds of Byzantine pottery. In spite of changes in burial customs affecting the “second South Danubian horizon” after ca. 1250, the combination of dress accessories first attested in cemeteries of that horizon continued to appear in the Banat, and are documented even in much later hoards, such as *Dubovac*, *Duplijaja*, *Banatski Despotovac*, *Tomaševac*, *Gelu*, *Dobrica* and *Macoviște*.³⁶

It is important to note in this respect that cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” excavated in the highlands coincided in time with cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” in the lowlands of the Banat. Moreover, the abandonment of burial with personal ornaments and dress accessories took place simultaneously in both groups of cemeteries. Very few elements of the South Danubian tradition are found in cemeteries in the lowlands, and, vice versa, only a few Bjelo Brdo elements have been identified in cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon.” The latter may have lasted until the late 12th or early 13th century.³⁷

It is worth examining briefly the presence of Bjelo Brdo elements (primarily lock rings with S-shaped ends) in cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon,” such as *Cuptoare-Sfogeia*, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*, *Arača* and *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*.³⁸ Some of those sites are in the mountains, others have been found in the western part of the Banat. In terms of ritual, it is worth mentioning that skeletons in a few graves that have produced lock rings with S-shaped ends had arms slightly bent with hands placed on the pelvis. It is possible that the lock rings with S-shaped ends signal contacts with communities in the lowlands. Particularly revealing is the similarity of the interventions of the body in all those regions (the low- and highlands, as well as the valley of the Danube and the northern Balkans), a sign that the practice may have been linked to similar beliefs or fears of revenants.³⁹ Whether that needs to be interpreted as common ethnic identity

35 Personal information from Dejan Radičević.

36 Țeicu (2009), p. 113.

37 For this matter, see Oța (2005), pp. 171–215; Oța (2006c), pp. 229–272; Oța (2006d), pp. 240–242.

38 The mixture of traditions in some of those cemeteries is worth noting: a few Bjelo Brdo elements (pl. 2/9, 5, 4), the deposition of sickles, a custom otherwise typical for Köttlach assemblages, rings (pl. 86/5–8), bracelets (pl. 86/3–4), and earrings of South Danubian tradition (pl. 86/1–2), in addition to arms folded on the neck or on the upper chest.

39 Even food offerings in ceramic containers may be explained in similar terms, as the practice may have aimed at providing food for the dead, so that their souls would not return.

is a matter of much debate. Scholars studying the Bjelo Brdo “horizon” believe that both Slavs and Hungarians buried their dead in those cemeteries.⁴⁰ In the Balkans, the Bjelo Brdo culture is attributed almost exclusively to the Slavs. There are of course obvious problems with both ideas. The “steppe horizon” is very different from both previous and contemporary burial assemblages in the Carpathian Basin. But artifacts regarded as typically “Magyar” are found more often together with “Byzantine,” not “Slavic” artifacts. The key issue here is that few archaeologists in the regions have come to the realization that artifacts are not badges of ethnic identity. The Bjelo Brdo cemeteries may well represent an ethnically mixed population, but came into being only at the moment when the “steppe horizon” had come to an end, and when social and cultural changes must have taken place, which made previous markers of ethnic identity irrelevant. To draw lists of “Slavic” and “Magyar” artifacts from Bjelo Brdo cemeteries is therefore to miss a crucial point about the social changes reflected by those cemeteries. On the other hand, if “Slavic” is what one would otherwise describe as “Balkan” or “South Danubian,” then it is quite clear that contacts between the supposedly “Hungarian” Bjelo Brdo culture and the “second South Danubian horizon” were rather insignificant. Elites on both sides imitated Byzantine fashions, although Byzantine traditions seem to be stronger in the case of the South Danubian horizon. How did that horizon spread in the lands to the north from the river Danube, in the mountain region of the Banat? Whether cultural influence mediated by the Byzantine *reconquista* of the northern Balkans, or a movement of population, the mixture of populations in the Banat led to the emergence of certain local aspects of burial practices. If a new population entered the mountain region, then it was quickly assimilated, thus contributing to the adoption of new fashions with no local traditions in the 9th or 10th centuries. Other elements, such as the folding of the arms, point to Balkan roots. A very similar phenomenon is believed to have taken place in the Slovakia in the 930s, as graves attributed to the Magyars may be distinguished from others in terms of a specific position of the arms in relation to the body.⁴¹

See Premk, Popović, Bjelajac (1984), pp. 118–124; Minić (1978), pp. 87–95. In that respect, the absence of food deposition in ceramic containers, as in cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” may point to a radical difference in beliefs, most likely also to a different population.

40 Ercegović-Pavlović (1970), pp. 41–58; Váňa (1954), pp. 51–104; Bálint (1991); Szóke (1962), etc.

41 For this see Hanuliak (2000), pp. 133–147, where there are explanations on the funerary ritual transformations that took place in the Slovak area after the arrival of the Hungarians and the comparison with the previous period.

That grave goods, particularly ornaments, began to appear in other horizons may indicate that beginning with the late 11th century, but especially with ca. 1200, the population in the mountains was more exposed to outside influences and homogenizing tendencies. The mixture of burial practices and traditions is the defining feature of the “second South Danubian horizon” in the highlands of the Banat. A few cemeteries, such as *Caransebeș-Măhala*, *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*, *Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Arača* and probably *Caransebeș-City center* (the graves around the church), *Drencova*, and *Moldova Veche-Rât* conspicuously combine elements of the “second South Danubian” and Bjelo Brdo horizons. A similar mixture of cultural elements is documented in *Banatska Palanka*, *Vojlovica-Humka Azotara*, as well as on the settlement sites at *Ilidia-Funii* and *Berzovia-Pătruieni*. The existence of the “second South Danubian horizon” raises some interesting historical questions. How were Byzantine artifacts transported into the lands north of the river Danube? More importantly, how can one explain the cultural uniformity on both sides of that river, which constituted an important political boundary at that same time?

The latter question gains significance in the light of such observations as the folding of the arms being a particularly conspicuous trait of the “second South Danubian horizon,” which is also present in the Balkans. It is quite possible that this practice reflected well-established religious beliefs, possibly also ecclesiastical policies. Unfortunately, little is known about the 10th century in the highlands of the Banat. As a consequence, the “explosion” of Byzantine artifacts in the late 11th century, which is believed to have lasted until the 13th centuries has been interpreted in terms of a movement of population from the south to the north. It is possible, however, that the cultural ties between the two sides of the river Danube pre-dated that “explosion,” even though the Byzantine *reconquista* of the early 11th century must certainly have contributed greatly to the strengthening of those ties. It is of course a matter of further discussion whether or not the common culture of the lands to the south and to the north from the river Danube is an indication of one and the same population. On the other hand, the presence of Bjelo Brdo elements in cemeteries excavated south of the Danube points to the infiltration in the northern Balkans and, one may assume, in the mountain region of the Banat of an ethnically distinct population originating in the Hungarian kingdom. Those may have been opportunistic infiltrations, as they took advantage of the 12th century military conflicts between Hungary and Byzantium. They seem to have continued well into the 13th century, when Byzantium withdrew from the northern Balkans to leave room for the Second Bulgarian Empire. There is absolutely no correlation between those political changes and those noted in material culture, as known from cemeteries.

Cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” contain rows, but also graves that do not seem to have followed any particular arrangement. Row graves are known from both the “steppe horizon” (*Timișoara-Cioreni*), and later cemeteries excavated in the Balkans ones (*Niš*). There is therefore no way of linking cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon” to a specific ethnic group or type of population. Instead, they represent an interesting mixture of traditions and rituals, which may very well reflect also an ethnic and religious mixture. At the same time as the “second South Danubian horizon,” namely between the late 11th century and the early 13th century, another group of cemeteries was in use (Austere-Funerary horizon 2; pl. 116; pl. 129), the most important characteristics of which are the use of coffins and the absence of grave goods (with the notable exception coins deposited as “Charon’s obole”). The general orientation of the graves is west-east, and bodies were laid in the graves with arms alongside the body, slightly bent and with hands resting on the abdomen, or folded on the chest. Such cemeteries have been excavated in *Mehadia-Zidină*, *Nikolinci*, *Bucova Puszta-T.IV* and *Nerău-Hunca Mare* and none of them had a church. In *Mehadia-Zidină*, only one grave produced a coin. In *Nikolinci*, a number of skeletons were found with arms alongside the body, a position known more from sites in the Carpathian Basin than in the Balkans. Band rings, and rings imitating twisted wire also point to the Bjelo Brdo environment. Another cemetery of this group was found in *Cenad-Catholic Church* next to a church built in what was in the Middle Ages an urban area. However, in many respects, this is the same kind of cemetery: the west-east orientation, the absence of grave goods, burials in coffins, and the deposition of bodies with arms alongside the body. A particular detail of the *Cenad-Catholic Church* cemetery is the presence of a ceramic container for food offering in grave 3. In the absence of grave goods, the chronology of those cemeteries remains unclear. Given the occasional deposition of coins, they may be associated with such burials as those found in *Deta-1882* and possibly *Uivar*. The problem, however, is that no evidence exists for this group of cemeteries in the in the 10th century. Judging by the position of the arms in relation to the body, which reminds one of either the “steppe horizon” or of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” as well as the deposition of coins, the population using those cemeteries must have been Christian. The presence of coffins points to an early date, most likely within the 11th century, as coffins become rare in the 12th century.⁴²

A few graves discovered in the western part of the Banat, in *Tomaševac* and *Botoš-Živančevića dolja* constitute what I would call the “second steppe horizon” (pl. 119; pl. 130). The grave goods recovered from one of the graves

42 Coffins were again used on a large scale only in the 16th century.

excavated in *Tomaševac* indicate the burial of a high-ranking warrior, but of a much later date than the first “steppe horizon.” On the basis of analogies, this is believed to be the burial of a Cuman chieftain. To the same horizon may now be attributed the finds from *Botoš-Živančevića dolja*, especially the torcs. The latter are different from those in use in the 10th century in the Carpathian Basin and from those found on sites of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” The torcs of the “second steppe horizon” have analogies in the northern Black Sea area,⁴³ specifically in those assemblages attributed to the Turkic-speaking population known from the written sources to have migrated to Hungary in the course of the 13th century. Finally, after 1200, another group of cemeteries came into being, which, to distinguish from the others, I would call “Late Arpadian.” Many such cemeteries have no church and are dated to the 13th century on the basis of diagnostic types: *Timișoara* (signet ring), *Bucova-Stadion* (sword and jar), *Timișoara* (sword in the collection of the Banat Museum), *Timișoara-Pădurea Verde* (sword), *Nerău* (sword), *Poiana Prisăcii* (sword), *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (coins), and *Tiszasziget*.

“Late Arpadian” (Austere-Funerary horizon 3; pl. 117; pl. 129) is also the cemetery excavated in *Ciclova Română-Morminți*, if we are to trust the chronology of the silver ring found there. Moreover, a number of graves produced coins struck after 1225.

Two other cemeteries with churches—*Ilidia-Cetate* and *Oblița*—may be of the same date.

The “Late Arpadian horizon” witnessed the disappearance of many of the ornaments in use during the “Bjelo Brdo horizon,” especially the lock rings with S-shaped ends, the rings of silver or bronze twisted or interwoven wire, hair links and beads. The deposition of knives in graves and food offerings in ceramic container become rare. Finger-rings, on the other hand, became badges of social rank, either ecclesiastical (rings decorated with lilies) or secular (rings decorated with double crosses).⁴⁴ Incidentally, this change is also attested in cemeteries of the “second South Danubian horizon”. More than in any other previous horizon, the Late Arpadian one is characterized by a great number of coins deposited in graves (no less than 10 cases in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*). Different are also the ornaments with which the dead were laid in the grave. Belt mounts were now more ornamental than socially significant, and the deposition of belts in graves gradually disappeared. Chronologically, the “Late Arpadian horizon” must be placed between the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” and the “second South Danubian horizon,” on one hand, and cemeteries devoid of any

43 Pletneva (1974), p. 46, pl. 20/13, 14.

44 Lovag (1980), pp. 221–237.

grave goods that may be dated to the 14th or later centuries. Isolated graves with a similar date have been found also in *Reșița-Ogășele* (dated by means of a Tokaj-type of earring to the second half of the 13th century), *Obreja-Sat Bătrân* (dated by means of a fragmentary band bracelet to the second half of the 12th century or the 13th century), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (grave 4, with a finger-ring with dome-shaped bezel decorated with granulation and filigree and dated to the 13th century). Some of those cemeteries were new, with no relation to previous graveyards of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” or the “second South Danubian horizon.”

The late medieval cemeteries (pl. 131), which may be dated after the first decade of the 14th century and to the following century form the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon.” Many had churches, but some did not.⁴⁵ Although the deposition of coins continued in those cemeteries (the earliest being struck for Charles I Robert of Anjou, the latest for Matthias Corvinus), the associated ornaments were different. For example, 13th century finger-rings were either cast or hammered. On some sites, church graveyards of the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon” are simply the later phase of older cemeteries (e.g., *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Oblița*). In such cases, cemeteries typically have two phases, one prior to the building of the church, the other after that. The chronological difference is further substantiated by a different organization of the graves inside the cemetery. Graves in existence before the building of the church tend to cluster in certain areas, after the church appeared on the site, all graves were aligned to its axis and clustered around the building.⁴⁶

Moreover, some of the new church graveyards appear in cities (*Caransebeș*-City center) or next to monasteries, such as that in *Caransebeș*. In urban graveyards, crypts were used for burials, which imposed certain restrictions on the burial ritual (e.g., the supine position with legs outstretched, arms folded with hands placed on the chest). This is also true for a few rural cemeteries as well, e.g., *Arača*. However, urban cemeteries stand out by means of the wealth and quality of the associated ornaments.

45 Church graveyards of the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon”: *Cârncea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Ilidia-Oblița* and *Cetate*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Caransebeș*-City center, *Cenad*-Catholic Church, *Frumușeni*-Bizere monastery, *Jupa*-Sector Țigănești, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Mehadia-Ulici*, *Berzovia-Pătruieni*, *Baziaș*-Monastery, *Gornea-Gavrina*, *Socol*-House no. 15, *Banatska Topola*, *Bašaid-Gavričeva* humka, *Kikinda-Oluš*, *Majdan-Bašte* ulica Maršala Tita, 46–50, and *Novi Kneževac-Bajičeva* humka.

46 Graves existed inside the church as well, but in most cases known from the Banat, they have been destroyed by later interventions.

Several such cemeteries are known from towns in the Banat. Those parish cemeteries (*Berzovia-Pătruieni*) or family graveyards used by noble clans (*Ilidia-Oblița*, found near a group of manorial buildings). In terms of burial ritual, one can notice that the number of cases with arms slightly bent and hands placed on the abdomen or arms folded on the chest is higher than for any of the previous horizons. Moreover, the custom of burying bodies with arms alongside the body, or with hands on the pelvis, was gradually abandoned. The deposition of food in the grave is recorded only exceptionally (*Gornea-Țărcheviște*). Rural cemeteries were either parish graveyards (*Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Ilidia-Cetate*, *Gornea-Țărcheviște*, *Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004*, *Jupa-Sector Țigănești*, *Mehadia-Ulici*) or noble family graveyards, most likely of local *kenezes* (*Reșița-Ogășele*, a cemetery located next to a tower house).

Besides rectangular grave pits, some with rounded corners, some of those cemeteries have produced evidence of oval grave pits or pits with rounded sides. Unlike previous horizons, most bodies were laid in the grave without any grave goods. The only exceptions are coins and a few ornaments, mostly finger-rings. Dress accessories are extremely rare—just two buckles from *Gornea-Țărcheviște* and a few buttons from *Reșița-Ogășele* and *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*. Judging from such finds, burial in none of those church graveyards began before the 14th century.⁴⁷

Twelve cemeteries of the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon” had no church (*Ciclova Română-Morminți*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Botoș-Živančevića dolja*, *Banatski Karlovac*, *Deta-1882*, *Moldova Veche-Vama Veche*, *Petnic-Dealul Țolii*, *Svinița*, *Vrșac-Podvrșac*, *Vizejdia*, *Vrani-Lunca Carașului* and *Vraniuț-Pârâu Ciclova*). Most produced very few, if any grave goods, primarily finger-rings and coins. In the *Ciclova Română-Morminți* cemetery, graves are spread out, with little overlapping. By contrast, the cramming of graves within a restricted area led to many superpositions, as well as the destruction of earlier by more recent graves in *Cuptoare-Sfogea*. There are no differences between church graveyards (Austere-Funerary horizon 4; pl. 118) of the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon” and cemeteries without churches (Austere-Funerary horizon 4; pl. 118) in terms of burial ritual, especially the position of the body inside the grave, and of the arms in relation to the body.

A new aspect, however, is the practice of the re-inhumation of bones recovered from graves disturbed by more recent inhumations. A good example is grave 229 in the *Cuptoare-Sfogea* cemetery.

47 The earring from *Reșița-Ogășele* may be dated, however, to the last quarter of the 13th century.

Also noteworthy is the conservatism of the southeastern part of the Banat, a region in which ornaments of Byzantine tradition continued to appear in late cemeteries excavated in *Vršac*, *Svinița*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Arača*, and *Reșița-Ogășele*. That such conservatism was not restricted to burial customs results from the analysis of contemporary hoards (*Macoviște*, *Banatski Despotovac* and *Dubovac*), many of which contained ornaments with clear Byzantine parallels (e.g., the tiara elements in the *Macoviște* hoard).⁴⁸

A number of cemeteries found in the Banat cannot be attributed to any horizon, because of the complete lack of grave goods. In some of them (*Gornea-Păzăriște* and *Ogașul lui Udrescu*, *Pojejena-Nucet*), bodies were laid in the grave with arms folded and hands placed on the shoulders, the neck or the collar bones, which suggests that such cemeteries may be dated to the 12th century, when such position of the arms was preferred in the Banat.

On the other hand, the absence of grave goods points to a rather late date, possibly in the late 13th or 14th century. None of those cemeteries had a church, but I would suggest that they are in fact of the “Angevin and post-Angevin horizon.”

Three other cemeteries—*Divici*, *Frumușeni*-Hadă and *Stenca*-Ogașul lui Megheleş—pose different problems (without grave-good; pl. 120). In *Divici*, bodies were laid in the grave with the arms alongside the body in three cases. In *Stenca*, one skeleton was found lying face down. None of those cemeteries (or groups of graves) was associated with a church (undetermined cemeteries, without church; pl. 122). The graves excavated in *Frumușeni* have been dated to the 12th century, but little evidence supports that dating, as the graves may well be of a later date.⁴⁹ Other 14 undetermined cemeteries had church (pl. 122).

Unfortunately, monastery cemeteries have not been studied in much detail (pl. 121). Most of them appear in rural areas: *Baziaș*-Monastery, *Frumușeni*-Bizere monastery, *Partoș*, and *Novi Kneževac*-Bajinieva humka. As expected, graves inside those cemeteries typically have no grave goods at all. Only a coin has been found in grave 1 of the *Baziaș*-Monastery cemetery. However, a feature conspicuously associated only with monastery cemeteries is the lining of

48 A workshop for the production of such tiara plates may have operated somewhere in the region of *Vršac*.

49 Burials without any grave goods have also been found on 15 sites in the lowlands: *Banatsko Arandjelovo*-kota 88 m., *Cenad*-Mound Tarnok and on one side of the Aranca River, *Dudeștii Vechi*-T.V and T.VIII, *Mokrin*-Ladičiorbičeva humka and *Odaja* humka, *Tomnatic*-Kleinhügel and *Köpfhügel*, *Vizejdia*-T.III, *Idjoș*-four sites and *Jazovo*-Hoszuhát.

the grave pit with bricks. One of the bricks found under such circumstances in *Frumușeni* had a cross carved on it.

A few graves were found inside rural settlements excavated in *Gornea-Zomoniță* and *Țărmuri*, as well as in *Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț*. None of them had grave goods. In one case (*Gornea-Țărmuri*), the body was found face down. The chronology of those graves therefore depends entirely on the dating of the settlements within which they were discovered. The site at *Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț* has been dated between the 8th and the 10th centuries, that in *Gornea-Zomoniță* to the 12th–13th centuries, and that *Țărmuri* between the 9th and the 12th centuries. On the basis of the existing evidence, no explanation may be advanced for those isolated burials inside settlements (pl. 124).

Conclusions

The analysis of the burial customs in use in the medieval Banat (10th–14th centuries) has revealed seven funerary horizons (pl. 132; 133). Those horizons, although discussed separated in the previous chapter, overlap to some extent both chronologically and at a micro-regional. There is no way to assess the distribution of population in the medieval Banat on the basis of the written sources. Besides the possibility of two or more cemeteries coinciding in time, of following each other chronologically, some cemeteries may reflect more than one funerary horizon. For example, the Frankish annals mention a Slavic population possibly living in the 9th century in the Banat, called *Praedenecenti*. It is impossible to narrow down the area of the Banat in which those people lived. Archaeologically, the 9th century is poorly represented in the archaeological record from the Banat. The only such remains known so far for the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century are elements of the so-called Köttlach culture, which although attributed to the Slavs by some (and to Slavs and to a Romance-speaking population by others),¹ it would be very difficult to associate with the *Praedenecenti*. The ornaments-bracelets of twisted wire, lock rings with one loop-shaped or twisted end, earrings with bludgeon-like or grape-like pendants, enamelled lunula earrings—which are known to have analogies on sites in Slovenia and southeastern Austria attributed to the Köttlach culture have been discovered in the Banat on cemetery sites which have produced evidence of other horizons. Moreover, the artifacts in question are also known from other sites in Southeastern Europe, which cannot be attributed to the Köttlach culture.

The cemetery excavated in *Deta*, which has produced several Köttlach-type ornaments (earring with bludgeon-like pendant, lunula earring, fibulae), but also others (a mount and a fibula) which appear to be earlier, has been attributed to a community of Alpine Slavs, believed to have moved into the Banat in the early 9th century, following the destruction of the Avar Khaganate by the Franks. Moreover, that the site also produced grave goods of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” has been interpreted as an additional argument in favour of a Slavic ethnic attribution. According to such views, *Deta* would thus illustrate the transition from the Köttlach to the Bjelo Brdo culture. In the Banat, assemblages mixing late Köttlach and early Bjelo Brdo material (pl. 126) are

1 Cosma (2006), pp. 857–858.

also known from *Pančevo* (interwoven-wire bracelets, hemstitched earrings, with grape-like pendant), *Banatska Palanka-Rudine* (hemstitched earrings with bludgeon-like pendant, lock ring with one simple loop-shaped end, earrings with bludgeon-like pendant on which there are four rows of spines), *Crna Bara-Prkos* (lock ring with one loop-shaped end, interwoven-wire bracelets) *Hodoni-Pocioroane* (lock rings with one loop-shaped end, lock ring with one twisted end), and *Szőreg-Homokbánya* (lock rings with one loop-shaped end). Such artifacts, however, are also known from the Balkans and Pannonia, where they can hardly be attached either to a specific horizon, or to a specific population. In most cases, the assemblages in which they were found have been dated between the 9th and the early 11th century, which suggests a relatively long period during which they were in fashion, which is unlikely to be associated with discrete historical moments, such as the movements of population in the early 9th century. If there is anything that makes those assemblages stand out, it is the absence of any finds typical for the “first steppe horizon” as well as of coins. Under such circumstances, it is altogether not impossible that at least some of them may be dated to the 10th century. Since the Praedenecenti are not mentioned in any source pertaining to the 10th century, it is therefore wrong to associate the the “Köttlach horizon” with them. Two other horizons that coincide in time, at least partially, with the Köttlach culture—the first horizon of burials without grave goods and the “first South Danubian horizon”—are equally impossible to link to any specific population known from the written sources to have lived in the Banat in the 9th and early 10th century. Nonetheless, it is obvious from the discussion in chapter 5, that those horizons represent communities with very different burial customs.

Another population mentioned in the Banat by the written sources is that of the Turkic Bulgars. Some have attributed individual assemblages to them on the basis of a hasty and not altogether justified comparison with burial assemblages on the middle course of the Volga River. It was thus believed that burials in coffins or on stretchers, as well as the deposition of meat in the grave are typically Bulgar. To be sure, coffins are known from several sites in the Banat (26 graves in nine cemeteries). They are rather isolated cases, which cannot be lumped together within one and the same horizon. They thus appear at different chronological moments, some as late as the 14th or even the 15th century), even though there is a concentration of finds between the 10th and the 11th and within the lowland region of the Banat. On the other hand, the deposition of meat in the grave could hardly be attributed only to the Bulgars, as it is well documented for other populations in the area, e.g., for the Avars. It is interesting to note that graves with coffins and/or meat offerings cluster along the river Mureş, the main axis for the transportation of salt from Transylvania.

Two other cemeteries with large numbers of coffin graves not found in the Mureș valley may have also been located next to trade routes (*Mehadia-Zidina*, north of *Orșova* on the Danube, and *Nikolinci*, to the south-west from *Vršac*). However, the fact that such graves may be attributed to more than one horizon suggests that the practice was not restricted to any one population. It is difficult to assess at this moment the origin of the practice (burial in coffin with meat offering) and the direction from which it was adopted, but there can be no doubt that the practice was shared by communities with different burial traditions.

Similarly difficult is to pinpoint archaeologically the Romance-speaking population (Romanians) mentioned in later sources as living in the Banat since the 10th century. This is primarily because nothing is known about any specific burial traditions of that population. The deposition of coins in 10th century graves (*Deta*, *Uivar*, *Orșova*) is a regionally specific phenomenon, but it would be hard to link it to any given population. Nor can ornaments be used for ethnic attribution. The presence of Byzantine or South-Danubian artefact on such sites of the “first South Danubian horizon” as *Orșova*, *Banatska Palanka*, *Pančevo*, *Orešac* or *Vatin* is definitely an indication of a strong influence from the south (the Balkans) especially since some of those sites were key commercial or military centers (an unusually large number of Byzantine coins struck in the 9th century is known from *Orșova*, while *Vršac* is specifically mentioned as one of the strategic locations in the area in the 10th century).² The possibility of one or several centers of power in the region cannot be excluded, and if so such centers must be associated with the expansion of the Bulgar power in the region during the 9th century. Such centers are definitely mentioned in the sources for the 10th century, but it is not altogether clear at what point in time they had come into being. At any rate, it is important to note that, instead of being the index-fossil for a Romanian population in the Banat, the finds associated with the “first South Danubian horizon” are restricted to a rather narrow chronological window beyond which neither the material culture nor the political and social structures they mirror are known to have continued.

Another elusive population that have troubled historians and archaeologists alike are the so-called “black Magyars,” whom some have regarded as Kabars. According to the written sources, *Tourkia*, the land of the Magyars, began in the 10th century from the settlements of the Black Magyars in the Banat. Csanád Bálint has noted in that respect that burials with weapons, horse bones, or horse gear cluster in the northwestern part of the Banat. Whether those burials

2 Bizerea, Bizerea (1978), pp. 4–6; Oța (2008), p. 20.

should be attributed to communities of Kabars or Magyars, they all belong to the same “first steppe horizon.” Moreover, in *Timișoara-Cioreni*, such burials appear within one and the same cemetery that has also produced artifacts of a typically Balkan influence. Furthermore, such graves have also been found on sites known for cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.”

Nor has the attempt been very successful to associate the archaeological information regarding the “first steppe horizon” with place names—particularly with those supposedly derived from names of Magyar tribes. On most sites whose names are mentioned in this respect, there has been little, if any archaeological excavation. On a few others, cemeteries with remains most typical for the “first steppe horizon” are indeed close to places whose names have been derived from those of the Magyar tribes, but it is impossible to generalize on such a basis.

The “Bjelo Brdo horizon” is documented primarily on sites in the northwestern part of the Banat. Beginning with the 11th century, this horizon expanded into the lowlands. On some early sites, rings, but especially earrings with grape-shaped pendant, such as found in *Hodoni-Pocioroane*, *Szőreg-Homokbánya*, and *Kiszombor-B* appear together with artifacts of Balkan origin or inspiration. By contrast, lock rings with S-shaped ends do not appear on sites in the southeastern part of the Banat until the late 11th century, almost at the same time as Hungarian coins. Whatever the impact of the Bjelo Brdo culture on the southeastern part of the Banat, it was a rather minor and short-lived influence. Early 11th century sword finds, particularly from sites of strategic significance such as *Sasca Montană* and *Orșova*, may be linked to the expedition(s) led by King Stephen (1000–10038) against Achtum (Ajtony). It should be noted, however, that early 11th century swords appear also on sites with cemeteries of the “first steppe horizon” known to have begun at some point during the second half of the 10th century, e.g., *Vršac*. This, however, has no implications on the political control exercised by the Hungarian kings in the mountain region of the Banat. It is more likely that the deposition of swords in that region is to be associated to the ephemeral presence of the Hungarian armies during the conflict with Achtum.

The authority of the Hungarian king seems to have stopped at the limit of the first hills, an area in which cemeteries were found, such as *Ilidia-Cetate* and *Funii*, which produced ornaments most typical for the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” Such ornaments appear during the second half of the 11th century, or even in the 12th century together with others of Balkan origin, and later with Hungarian coins. Balkan influences are also visible in burial customs. It is important to note that the “second South Danubian horizon” appears in the

same area in which, up to the early 11th century, the “first South Danubian horizon” was visible.³ Both horizons coincide in time with episodes of Byzantine return to the Middle Danube region. It is also interesting that the population in the southeastern region seems to have been very receptive to political changes. For example, Byzantine jewels or ornaments of Byzantine inspiration were seldom deposited as grave-goods after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, then after the creation of the Banat of Severin, when the southeastern frontier of Hungary moved on the Danube. While in neighbouring Bulgaria, Byzantine jewellery continued to be in fashion even after the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders, such ornaments disappeared from the southeastern part of the Banat after the Hungarian occupation of the region. On the other hand, the return of the Byzantine power on the Middle Danube, however episodic, also influenced communities in the lowlands, when communities existed in the 11th and 12th centuries, whose burial customs were very different from those in the rest of the Hungarian kingdom, including the western parts of the Banat. Whether such phenomena could be explained in terms of the survival of local elites—(Orthodox) Romanian or Slavic—remains unclear, but if so, such elites clearly had royal approval for maintaining such cultural distinctions. As long as the Byzantine presence provided cultural models to emulate, artifacts of Balkan origin or inspiration continued to be deposited in the cemeteries used by those communities. After 1204, burying someone with Byzantine or even Byzantine-looking jewellery must have been a very different kind of statement. Similarly, the choice of a particular position of the arms in relation to the body laid in the grave does not seem to have been neutral. The return of the Byzantine power to the Middle Danube in the early 11th century coincides in time with a surge of graves in the southeastern Banat, in which bodies were laid with arms folded on the shoulders or the collarbones. Although this particular position is sporadically attested for the previous period as well, its sudden appearance in great numbers after ca. 1000 has baffled archaeologists. In search for an explanation, some, especially in Romania, have attributed the practice to a migration of Bogomils from the Balkans, while others, especially in Slovakia, have treated it as a mirror of specifically Slavic beliefs in afterlife.

The southeastern region of the Banat, and specifically *Ilidia* was part of the dowry of Margaret, King Andrew II's sister, who married Isaac II Angelos in 1185. By contrast, nothing is known about the lands to the east, especially the

3 According to the available data, the earliest cemetery in the region is *Pojejena-Șuşca*, which may be dated to the second half of the 11th century, on the basis of analogies in Pannonia for a silver ring of twisted wire.

hills. Historians have recently showed that a march of the Second Bulgarian Empire may have existed in that area in the late 12th century, known as Craina.⁴ The cemetery excavated in *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a may have been within that march. Indeed, it has its own peculiarities in terms of ornaments, most of which are of Balkan origin. Although the march was in fact a small territory, its cultural influence may have spread beyond its borders. This may be the explanation for the presence of Balkan ornaments farther up to the north, in *Caransebeș*, *Obreja* and *Berzovia*, or to the south and west in *Banatska Palanka*, *Vojlovica-Humka* Azotara, but also *Arača* have produced evidence of the same influence. The discovery of a hoard of Balkan ornaments in *Duplija*ja indicates that influence, far from limited, may have been more significant culturally, and perhaps politically, than previously thought. To the east, in Oltenia, such ornaments were also popular at about the same time. Shortly before 1200, Byzantine ornaments were preferred to any other over a large swathe of the northern Balkans, right before the Bulgarian take-over of the region. This makes communities depositing such ornaments in graves stand out in contrast to those burying their dead in cemeteries of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon.” Besides the interesting aspect of a “Byzantine cultural language” being in use by communities in the northern borderlands of the Empire, the sharp contrast between the “first South Danubian horizon” and the “Bjelo Brdo horizon” strongly suggests that the Hungarian kings did not effectively control the eastern part of the Banat either in political or in religious terms. Moreover, the presence of Byzantine or Byzantine-inspired ornaments on sites in the lowlands of the western Banat speaks volumes about the influence of the “Byzantine cultural language” in use in the eastern parts of the region. While the former may be explained in terms of the interaction across the Byzantine-Hungarian frontier, a different issue is raised by the explosion of Byzantine material in the mountain parts of the Banat: could it be that that region was still under the political control of Byzantium, maybe as recruiting grounds of the imperial troops? The end of this phenomenon, whose explanation requires further study, coincides in time with that of the “Bjelo Brdo horizon”—the early 13th century. Such a coincidence suggest that at work were political and religious forces which attempted to standardize burial customs and bring them in line with accepted norms. However, while the deposition of ornaments of Byzantine or Balkan origin stopped in the Banat, it continued in the northern Balkans and in Oltenia. This new contrast must be explained against the background of the Arpadian conquest in the region and the establishment of the Banat of Severin. Where the deposition of ornaments of South Danubian tradition survived, it was rather

4 Achim (2000i), pp. 174–175.

limited (*Cuptoare-Sfoge*, *Svinița*, *Vrșac-Podvrșac*, *Dubovac*, *Macoviște*, *Orșova*, *Arača*, *Banatski Despotovac*). However, it has been suggested that it was exactly at this time that a regional workshop for the production of such ornaments began to operate somewhere in the region of *Vrșac*. Despite the fact that fewer such ornaments were deposited in graves, there seems to have been a higher demand for them in a region in which the Arpadian encroachment must have created political tensions and drawn new lines of allegiance.

Inside the Banat, new cemeteries came into being at this time, only a few of which continued on the sites of the old ones. A large number of church and monastery graveyards appeared, in which very few grave goods have been found, except coins and rings. Only rarely would such cemeteries produce dress appliqués (*Arača*) or star-shaped buckles (*Arača*, *Det*). Some ornaments, such as beads or lock rings completely disappeared from burial assemblages (they would reappear only in the 16th century); others, such as earrings, became rare. Such drastic changes were undoubtedly the result of the disciplining of burial customs by the Church, and earlier instances of grave with few or no grave goods may be explained in similar ways. However, the absence of grave goods may also be linked to a general impoverishment of the population. During the 13th century, the uniformization trend, which is responsible for the elimination of the previous differences between the burial customs of various, neighboring communities coincided in time with a general pauperization. The only conspicuous exception were the Cuman “guests” who entered the kingdom of Hungary in the mid-13th century and enjoyed a privileged status for a long while. It is only burial assemblages associated with the Cumans that produced an abundance of goods in the 13th century. Customs forgotten in the Banat since the 10th century were revived in the 13th and early 14th century because of the Cumans: the deposition of torcs, belt with metal fittings, sabers, helmets, and coats of mail. It is interesting to note that most sites attributed to this “second steppe horizon” are outside the lands granted to the Cumans by the king. The only sites that may be linked to such lands are *Botoș-Živančevića dolja* and *Tomaševac*, on the lower courses of the rivers Bega and *Timiș*, at a short distance from each other. Not far from there, is an old arm of the Danube, named after the Cuman tribe *Borchool*, which was established in the 13th century in the *Timiș* County. The fact that burial assemblages of the “second steppe horizon” appear outside the borders of the known area of Cuman settlement is no surprise, and should be interpreted as evidence of the fact that the Cumans did not abide completely by the terms of their agreements with the king. That the process of sedentization took a relatively long while may also account for their presence outside those lands, for the Cumans needed grazing fields for their herds.

By 1300, new changes took place in the burial customs of the southeastern part of the Banat. The most important is the appearance of church graveyards. Churches were often built in the middle of old cemeteries. Moreover, unlike the lowlands, the deposition of typically female ornaments is exceptionally documented on a few sites (earrings in a grave at *Ilidia-Oblița*, choker at *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*).⁵ Much more common were buttons (*Reșița-Ogășele*, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*, *Arača*) and buckles (*Deta*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Arača*). Even the old practice of depositing food in ceramic containers is documented in two graves from *Gornea-Țârcheviște*. In short, unlike the lowlands, the disciplining of the burial customs does not seem to have been very successful, or even to have reached rural cemeteries in the southeastern part of the Banat. A rather different picture results from the analysis of urban (*Caransebeș*) or monastery cemeteries in that same region, in which burying the dead with arms folded on the chest or on the abdomen appears to have been the rule. But even there, the new trend visible in the lowlands translated into the deposition of luxury ornaments, especially gilded silver rings, some with gemstones. This is true even for monasteries, such as *Arača*. In addition, burials in crypts appear for the first time in *Caransebeș*-City center and *Arača*.

There is still very little data on burial practices in late medieval monasteries. We do not know what, if any, rules were followed, and to what extent. This may be due to the fact that lay people were buried in monastic graveyards as well. The lack of any grave goods does not make the task easier. Only the presence of bricks next to the head of the skeleton, some with crosses incised upon them, may provide some clues as to the difference between monks (or nuns) and lay people buried within one and the same cemetery. Given the uniformization of the burial practices, it is of course impossible to advance any ethnic attribution of any 14th and 15th century cemetery. Abundant written sources (at least in comparison to the previous period) seems to suggest that urban communities, for example, were ethnically diverse. In principle, for example, we should count on the presence of Romanian noblemen in *Caransebeș*. However, there is nothing in the archaeological record of late medieval cemeteries in that city that would make it possible to distinguish the graves of Romanian noblemen. The cemetery in *Berzovia-Pătruieni* (the former medieval village of *Remete*) is presumed to be a church graveyard, much like those in *Ilidia*, *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, *Ciclova Română-Mormiști*, and *Mehadia-Ulici*. Nothing is known about the ethnic composition of the population using those cemeteries. Things are little better in the case of the cemeteries excavated in *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Obreja-Sat*

5 Stray finds of earrings dated to this period, such as those from *Vrșac-Podvrșac* and *Vărădia* may also come from destroyed burial assemblages.

Bătrân, and *Cârnecea-Dealul Bisericii*, all three locations on which the written sources attest the existence of a Romanian population. However, those were relatively remote and isolated places, even though contact with outside groups may still not be excluded. Caution is also required in the case of such cemeteries in the valley of the Danube River as *Gornea-Țârcheviște*, given that Serbian communities are known to have established there in the late 14th century.

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Illustrations



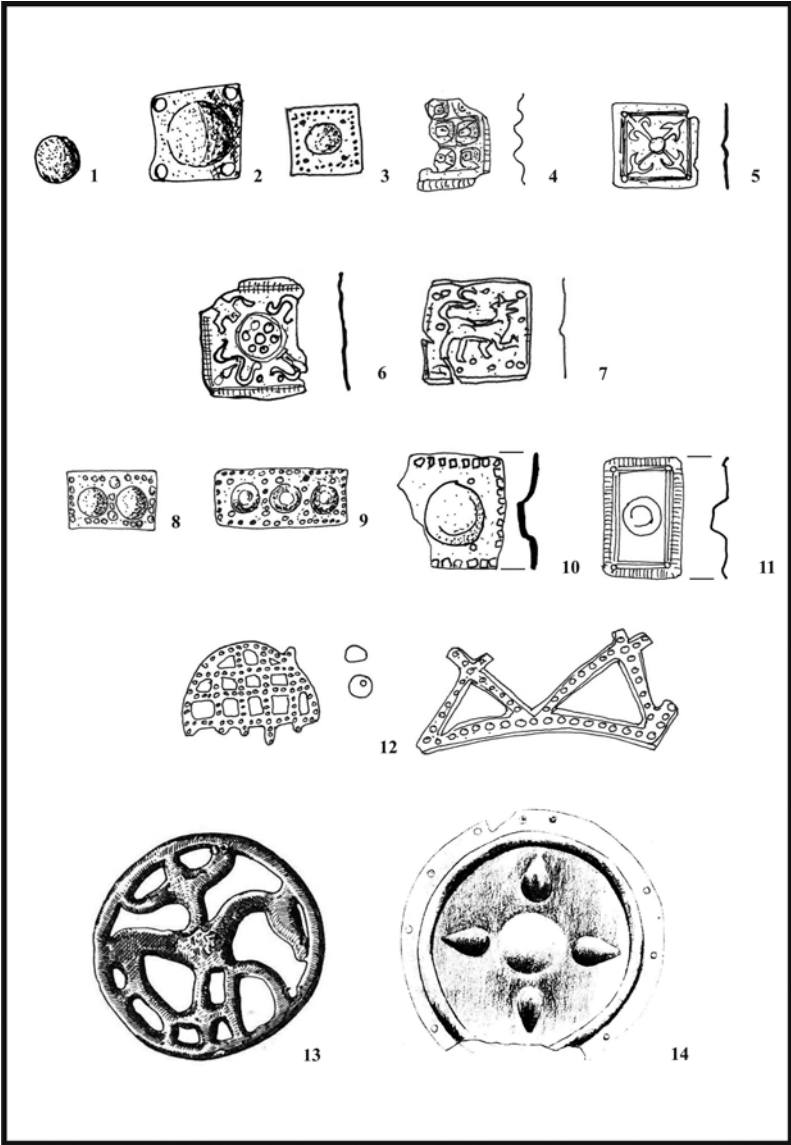


PLATE 1 *Typology. 1-12. Tiara plates, 13-14. Hair appliqués.*

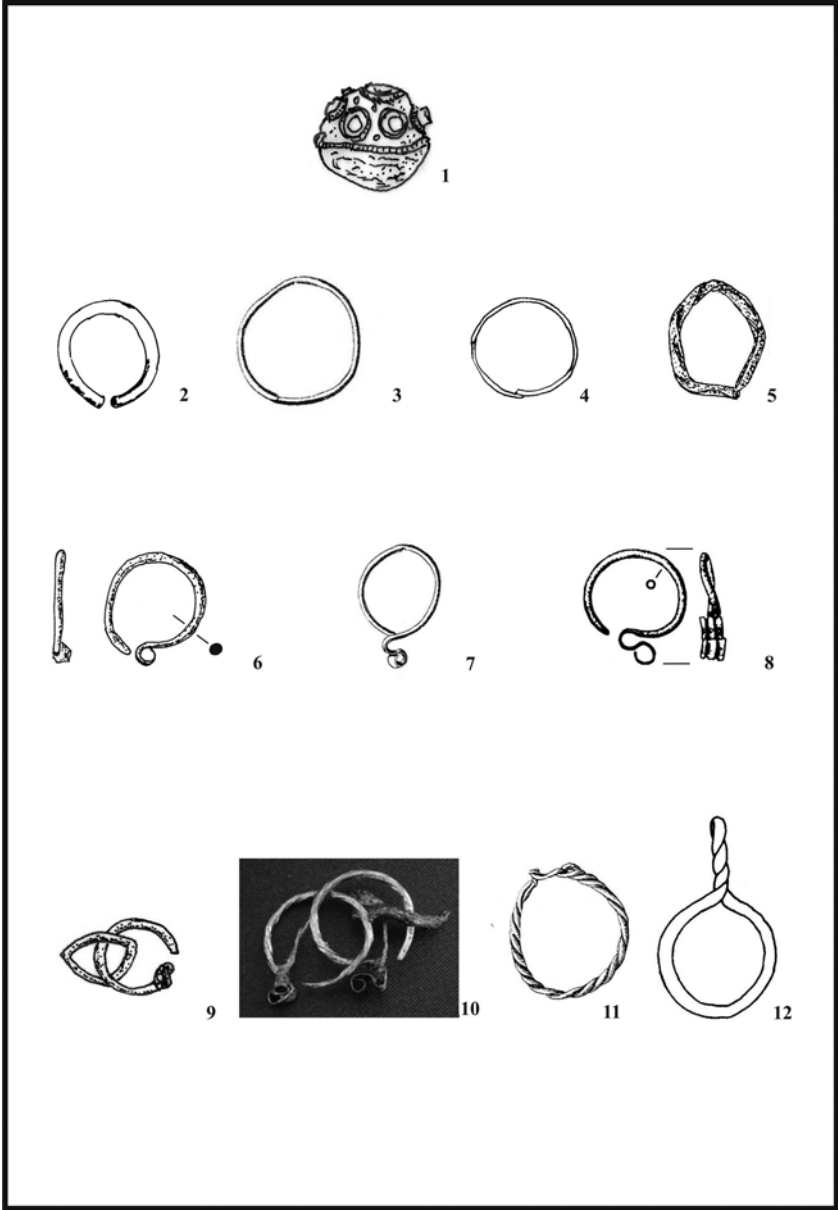


PLATE 2 *Typology. 1. Hairpin (knob), 2-12. Hair links.*

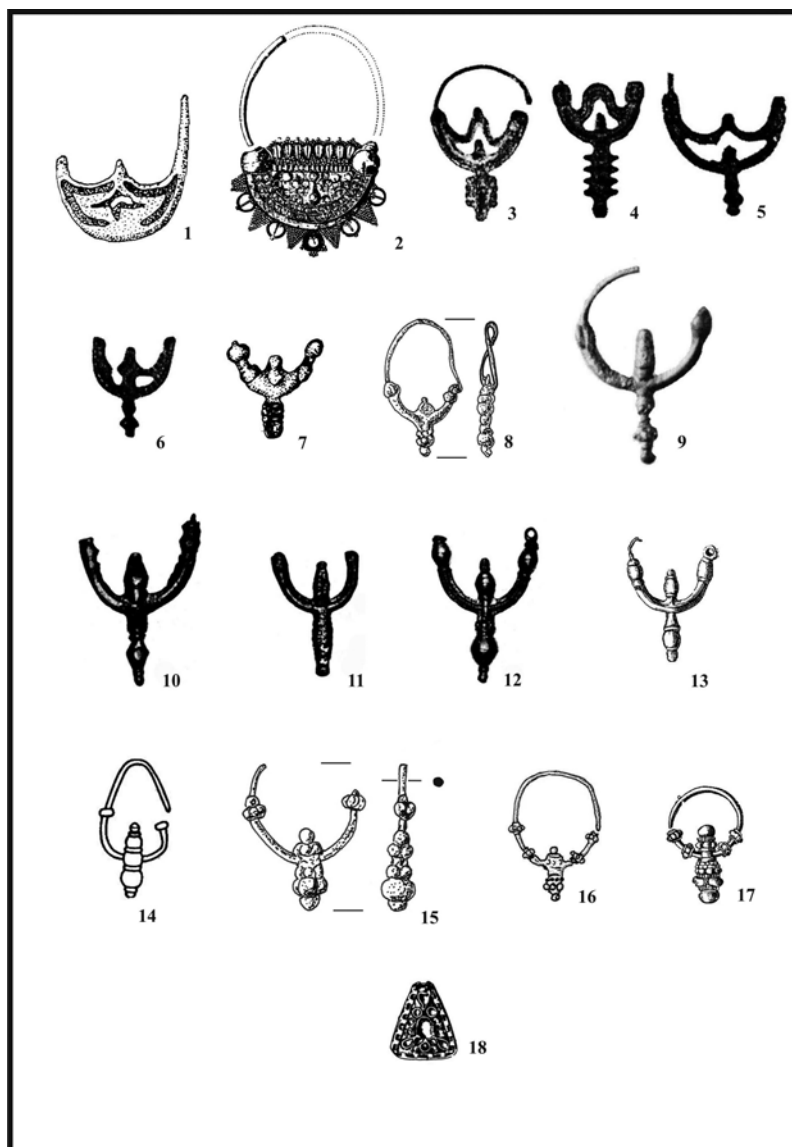


PLATE 3 *Typology. 1-2. Lunula earrings, 3-6. Lunula earrings with pendant, 7-13. Earrings with grape-like pendant (I.6.3.1.), 14-17. Earrings with grape-like pendant (I.6.3.2.), 18. Earring with triangular pendant.*

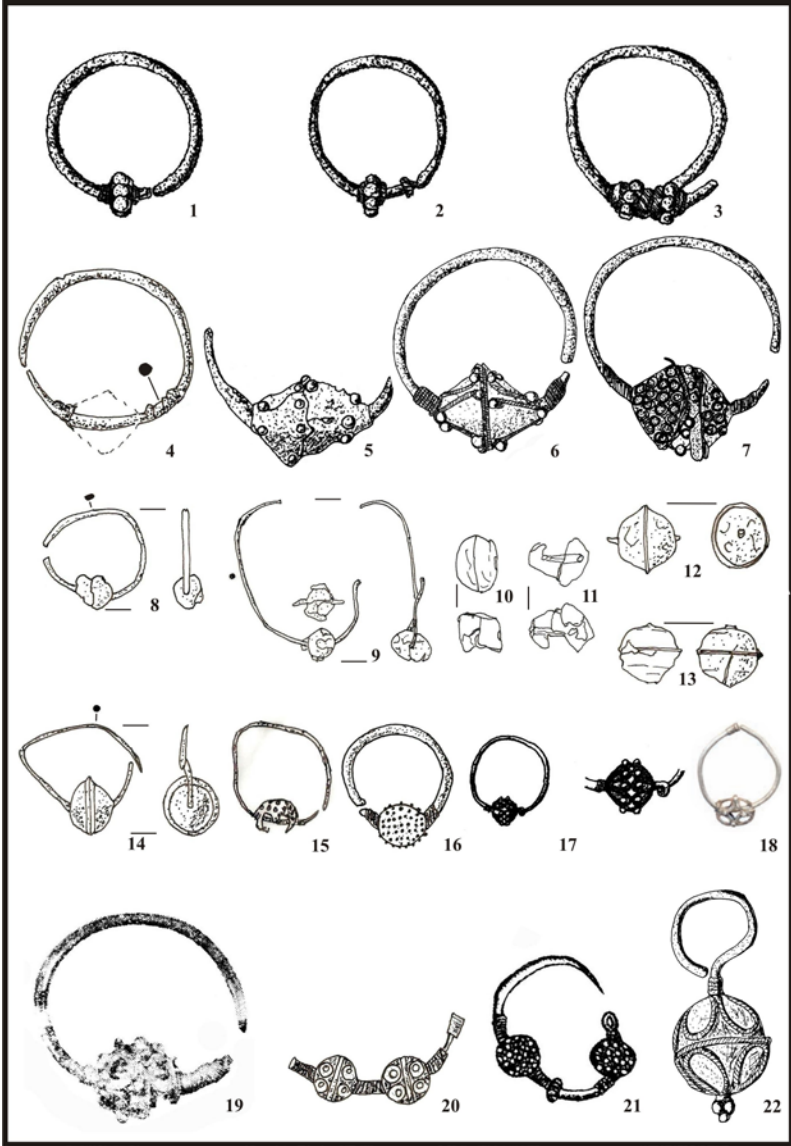


PLATE 4 *Typology. 1-3. Earrings with astragals, 4-7. Earrings with bi-conical setting, 8-19. Earrings with spherical pendant, 20-21. Earrings with two spherical pendants, 22. Earring with spherical pendant on a question mark-type rod.*

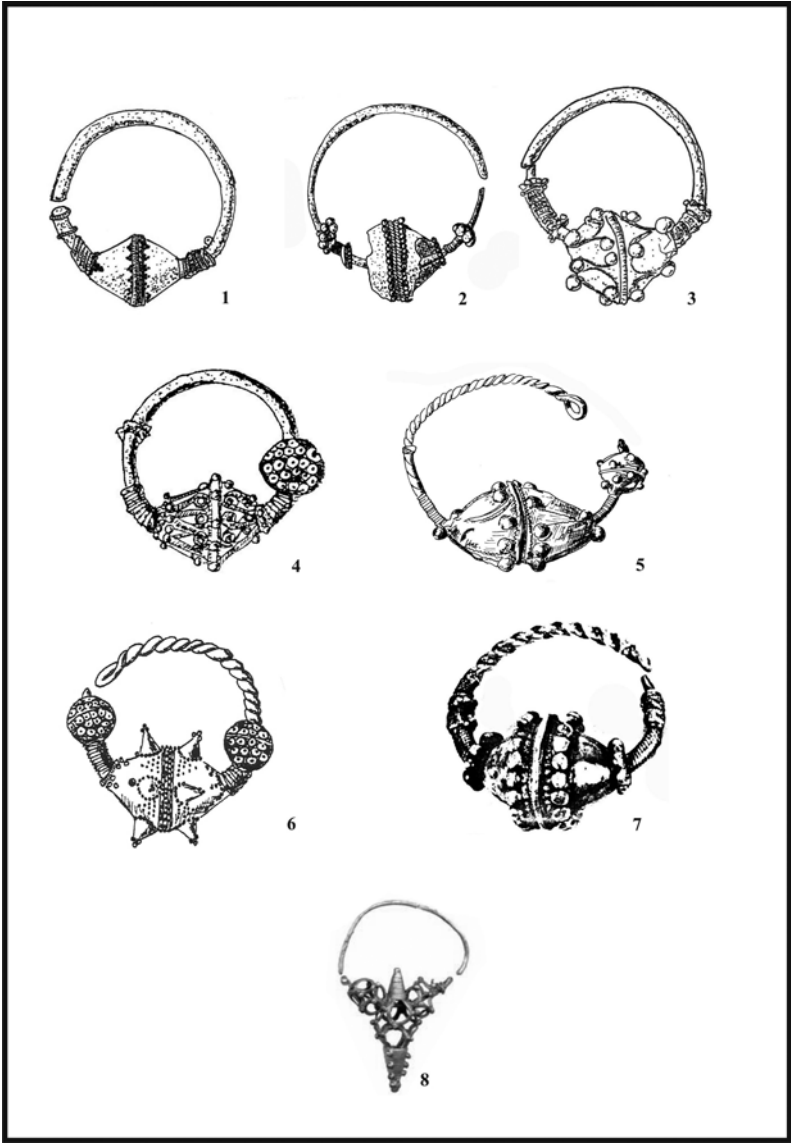


PLATE 5 *Typology. 1-8. Earrings with three ornaments on the link.*

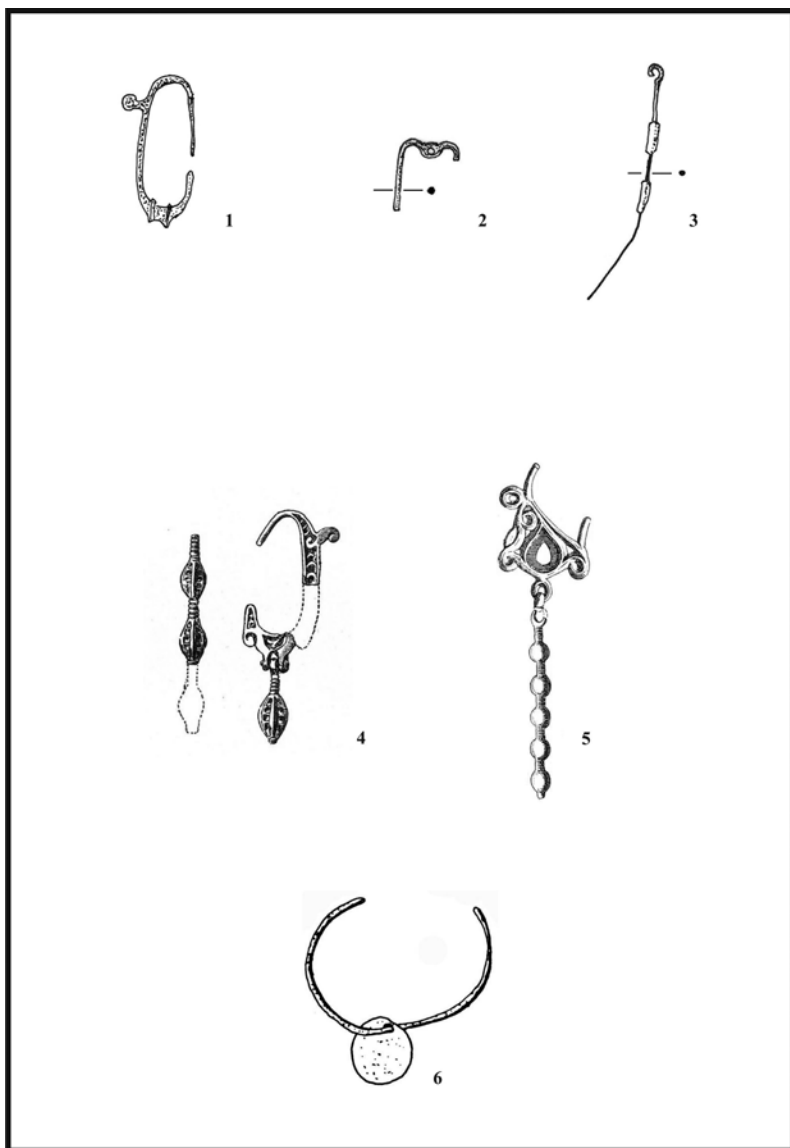


PLATE 6 *Typology. 1-3. Saltovo-type earrings (trimmings), 4-5. Saltovo earring, 6. Earring with coin pendant.*

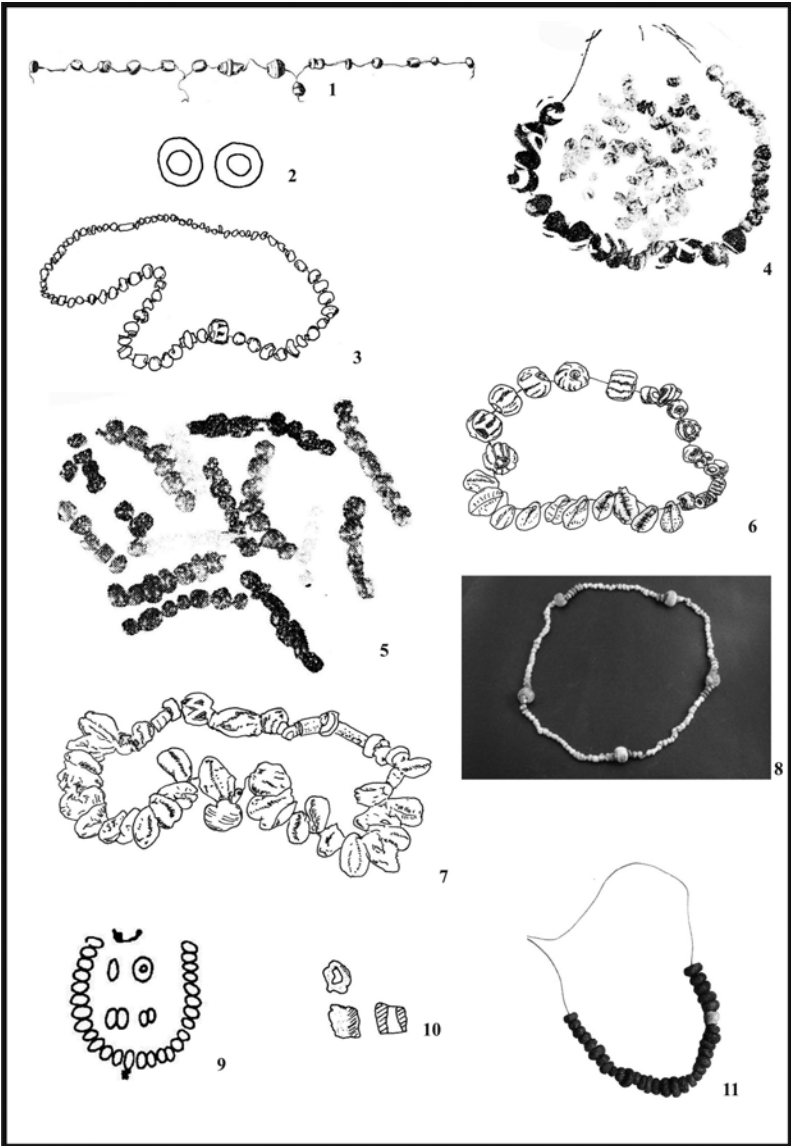


PLATE 7 *Typology. 1-II. Beads and strings of beads.*

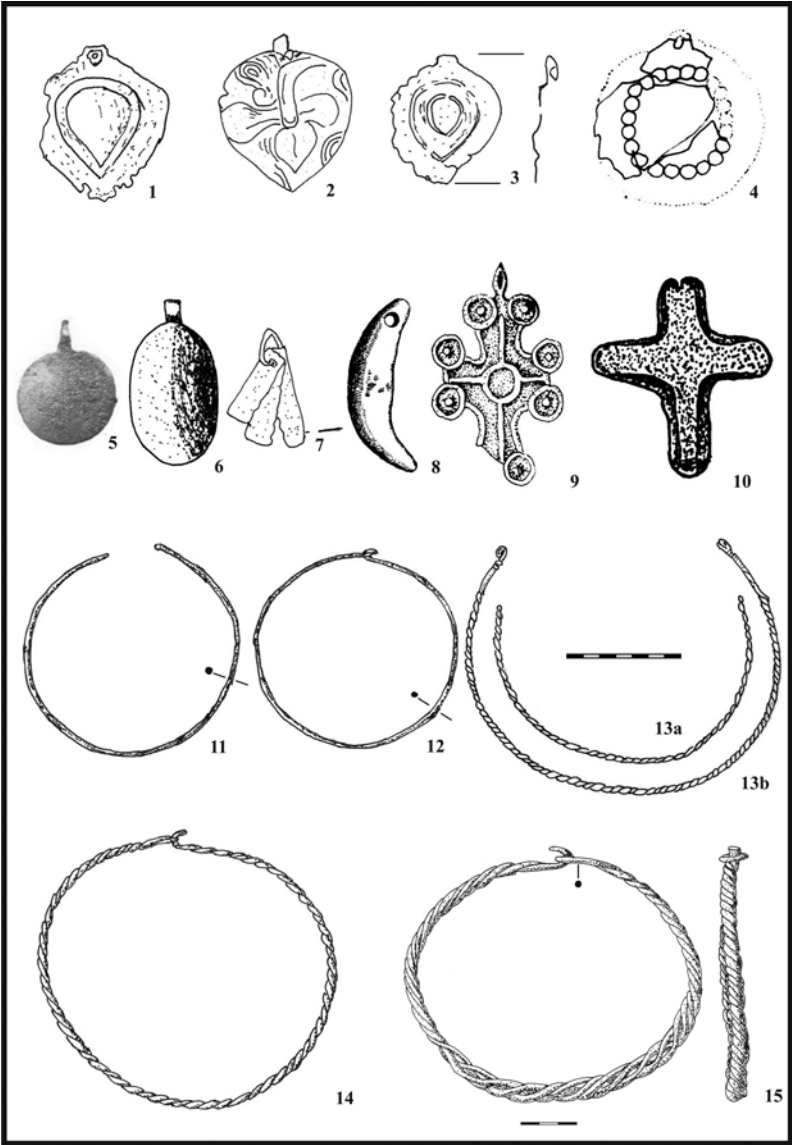


PLATE 8 *Typology. 1-6 Medallions, 7-8. Amulets, 9-10. Pectoral crosses, 11-15. Torques.*

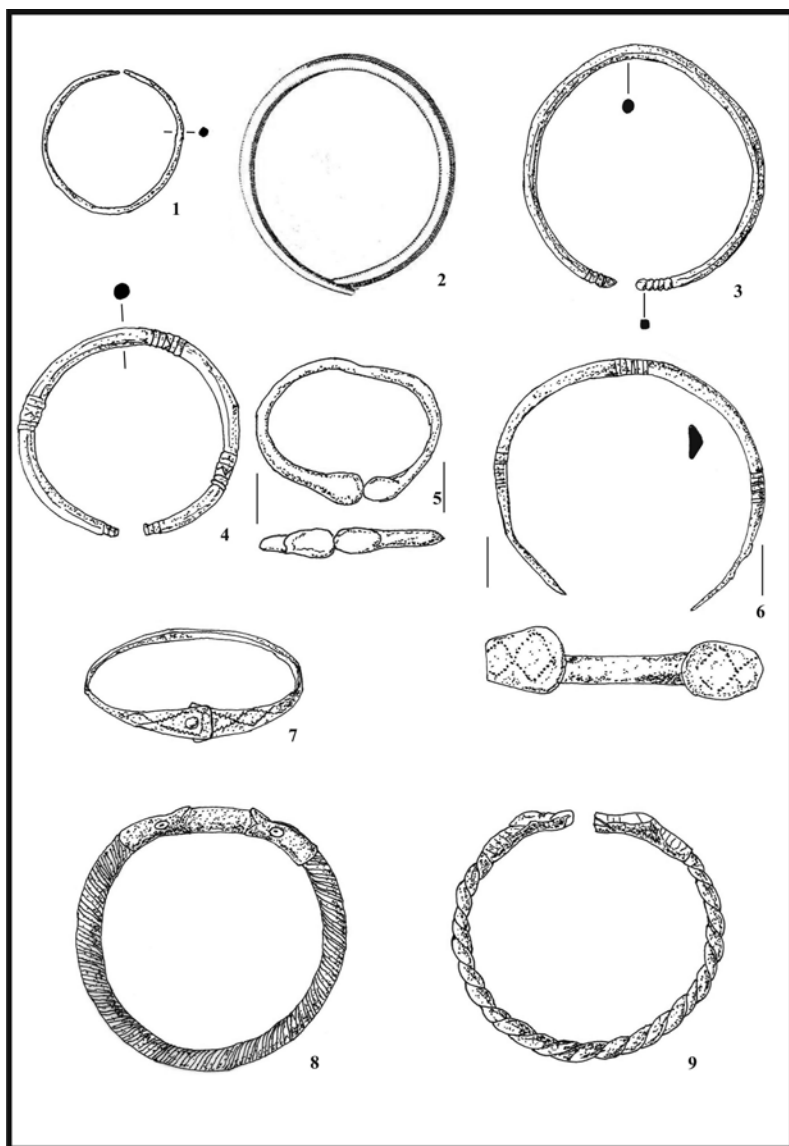


PLATE 9 *Typology. 1-4. Bracelets made of bars, 5-7. Bracelets made of bars, with widened ends, 8-9. Bracelets with head animals.*

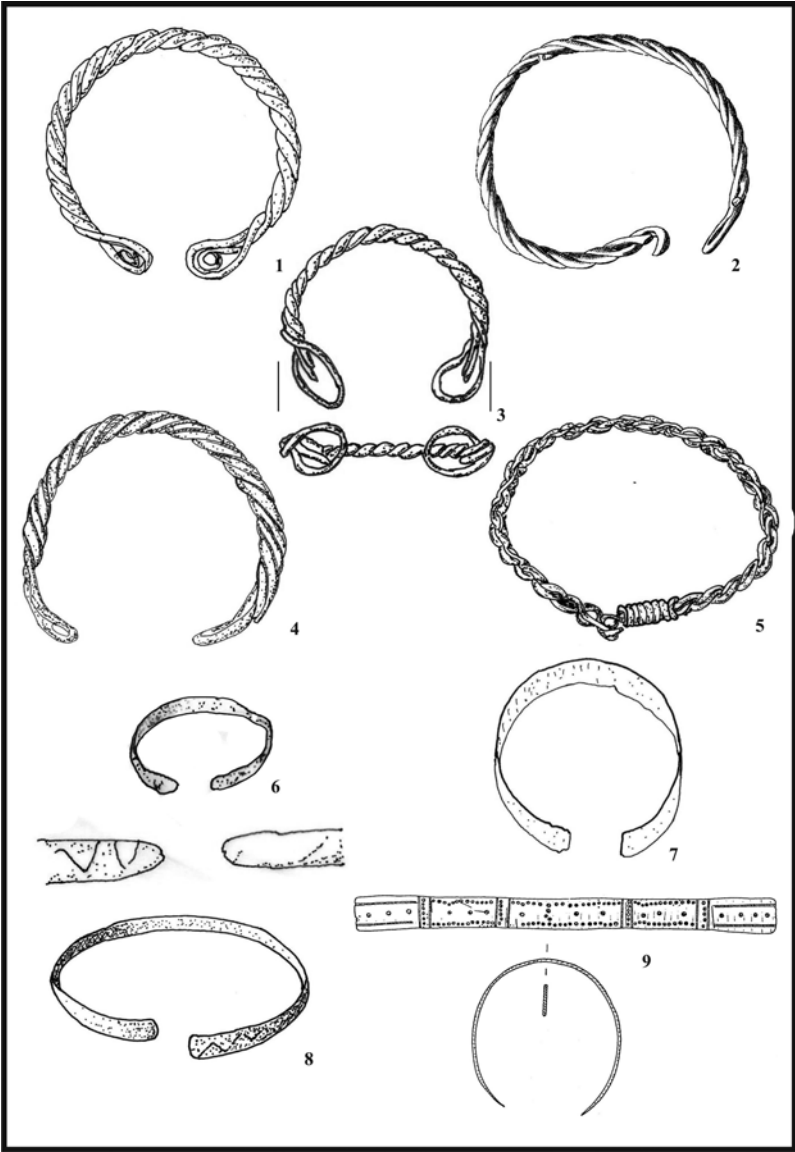


PLATE 10 *Typology. 1-4. Twisted wire bracelets, 5. Braided-wire bracelet, 6-9. Band bracelets.*

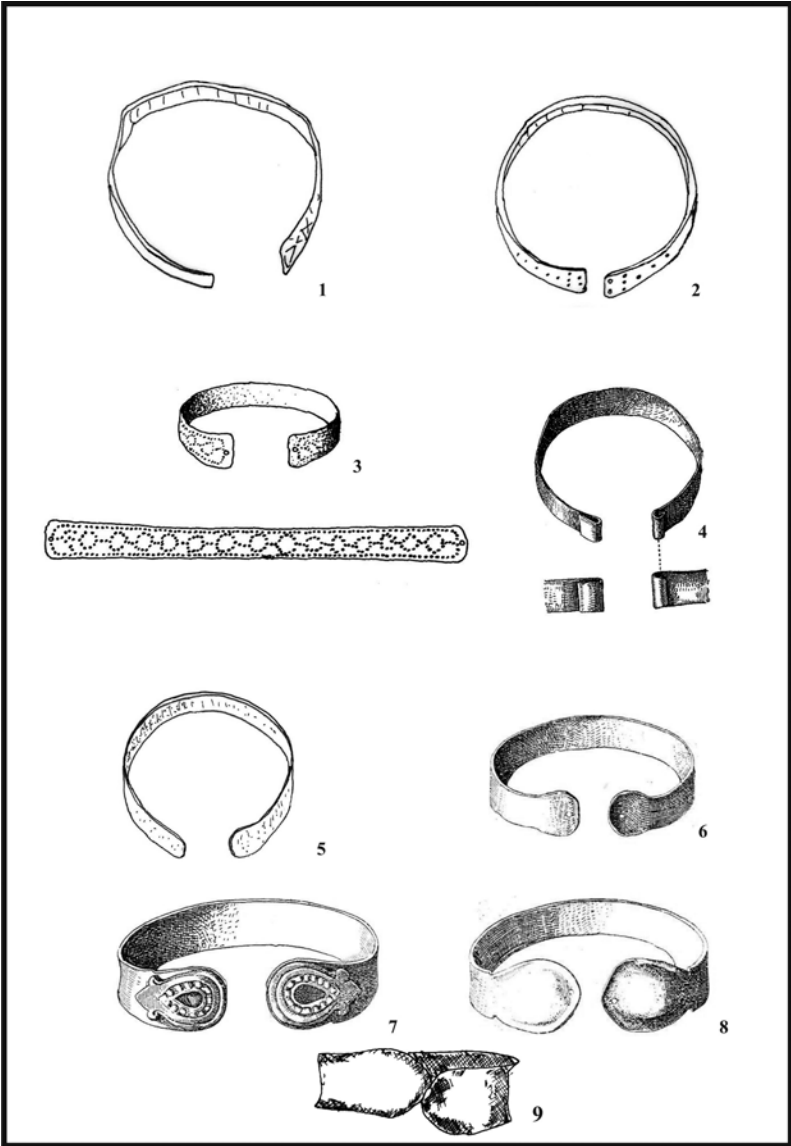


PLATE 11 *Typology. 1-9. Band bracelets.*

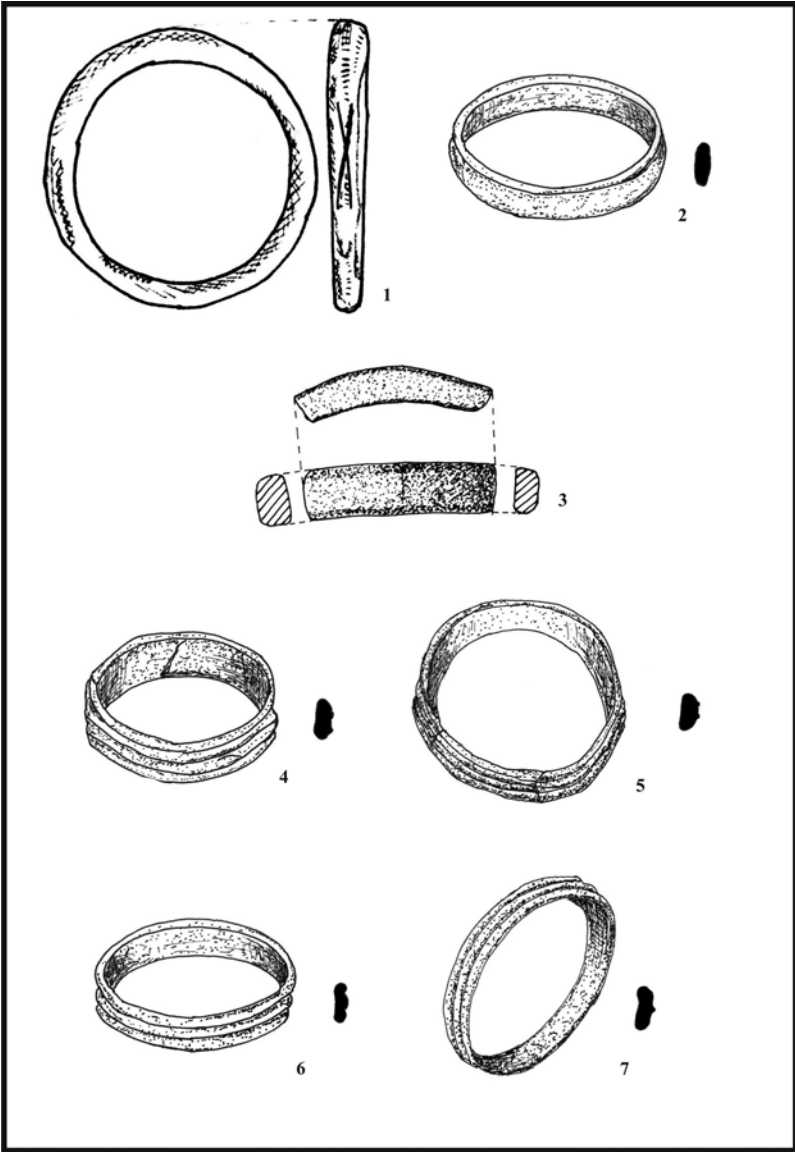


PLATE 12 *Typology. 1-7. Glass bracelets.*

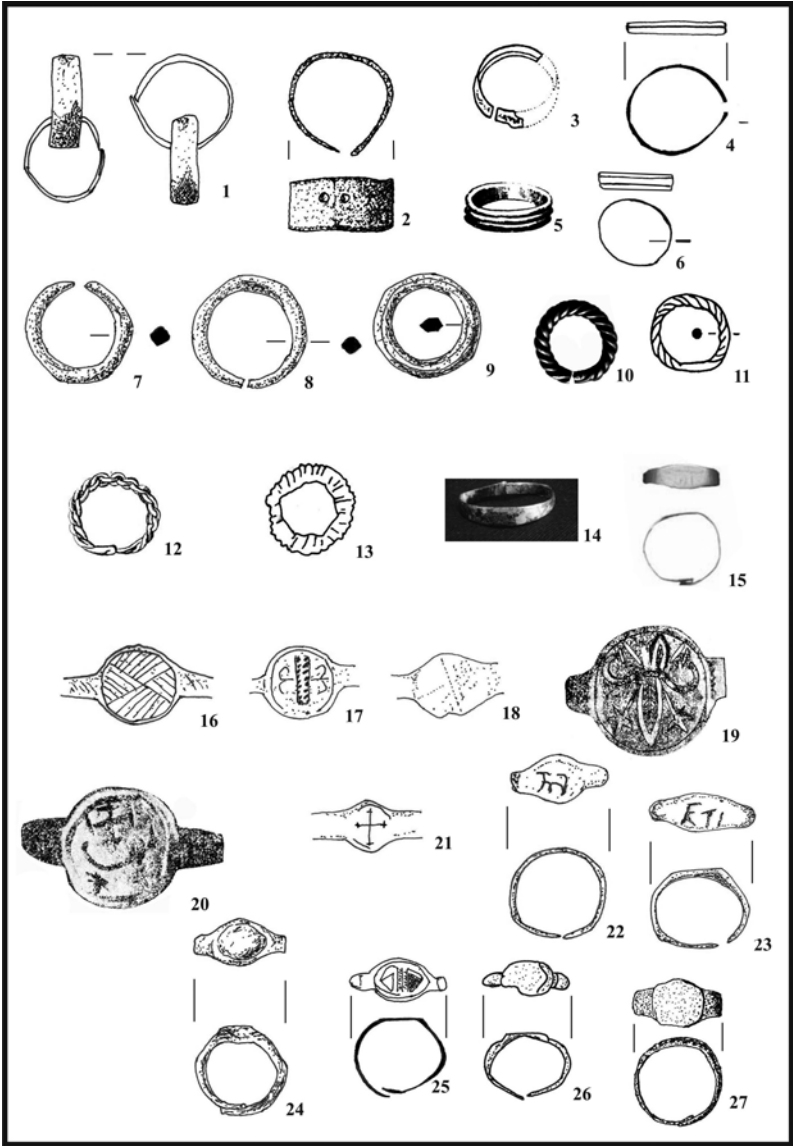


PLATE 13 *Typology. 1-27. Rings.*

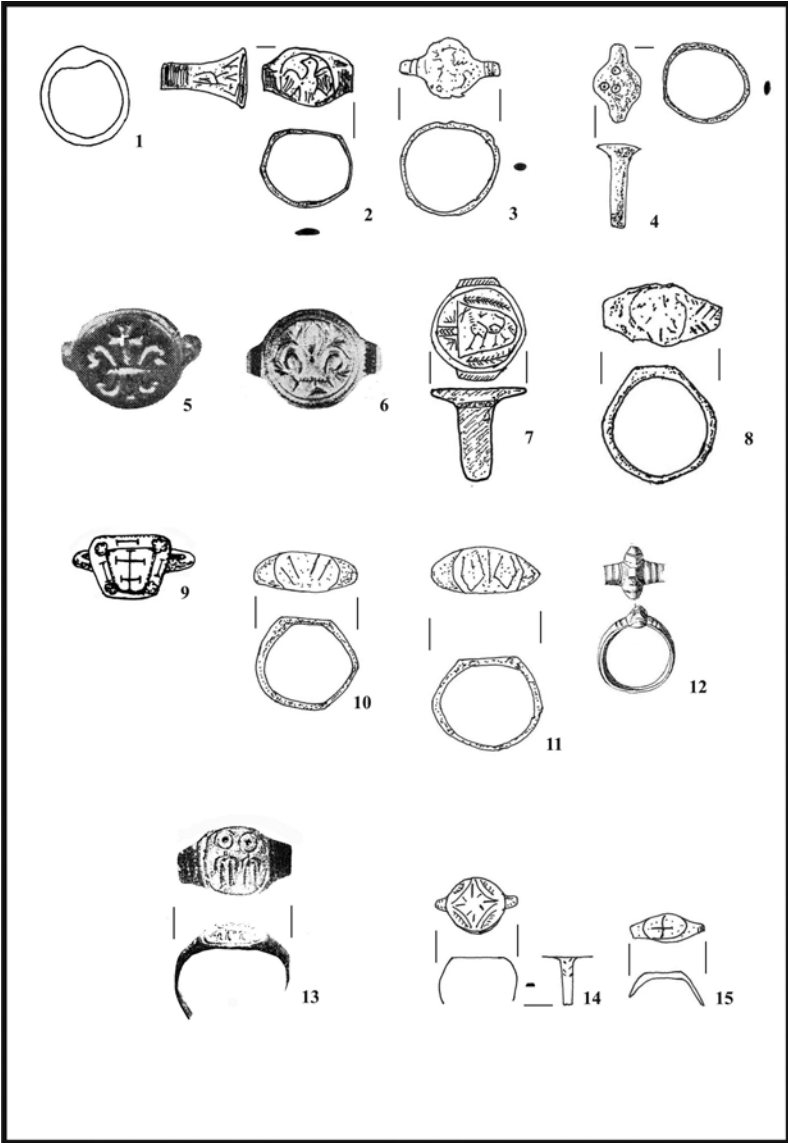


PLATE 14 *Typology. 1-15. Rings.*

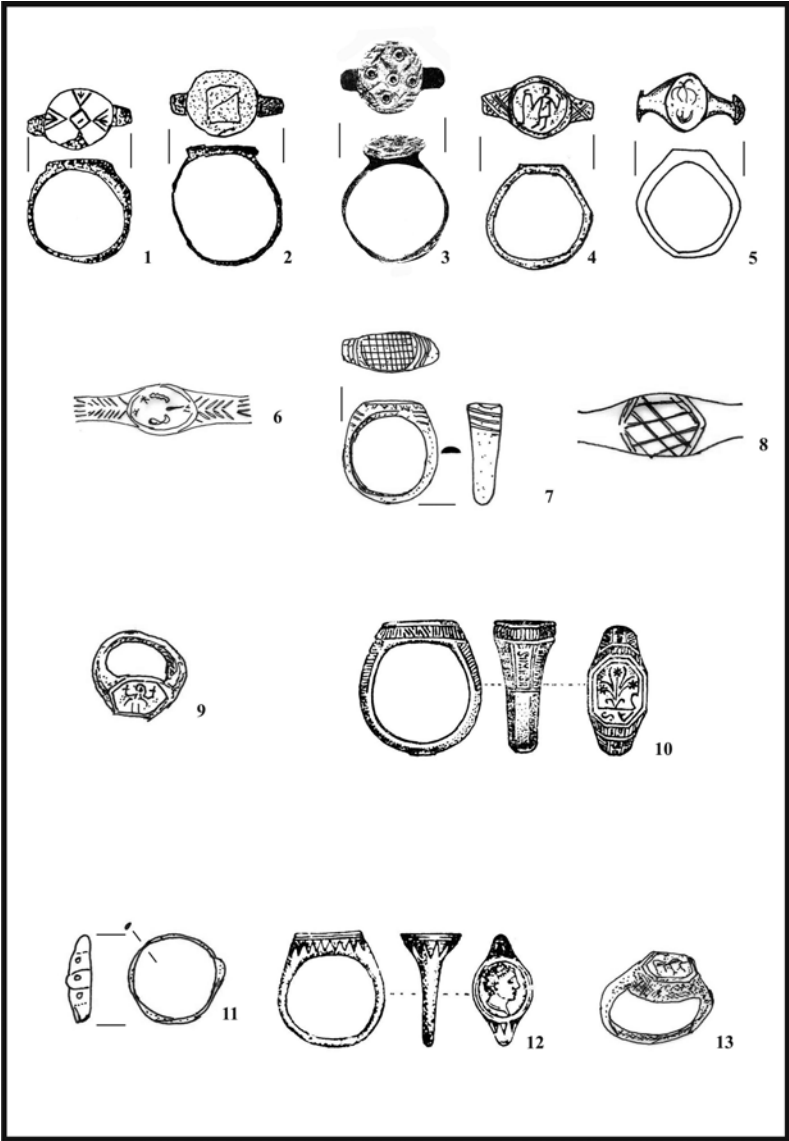


PLATE 15 *Typology. 1-13. Rings.*

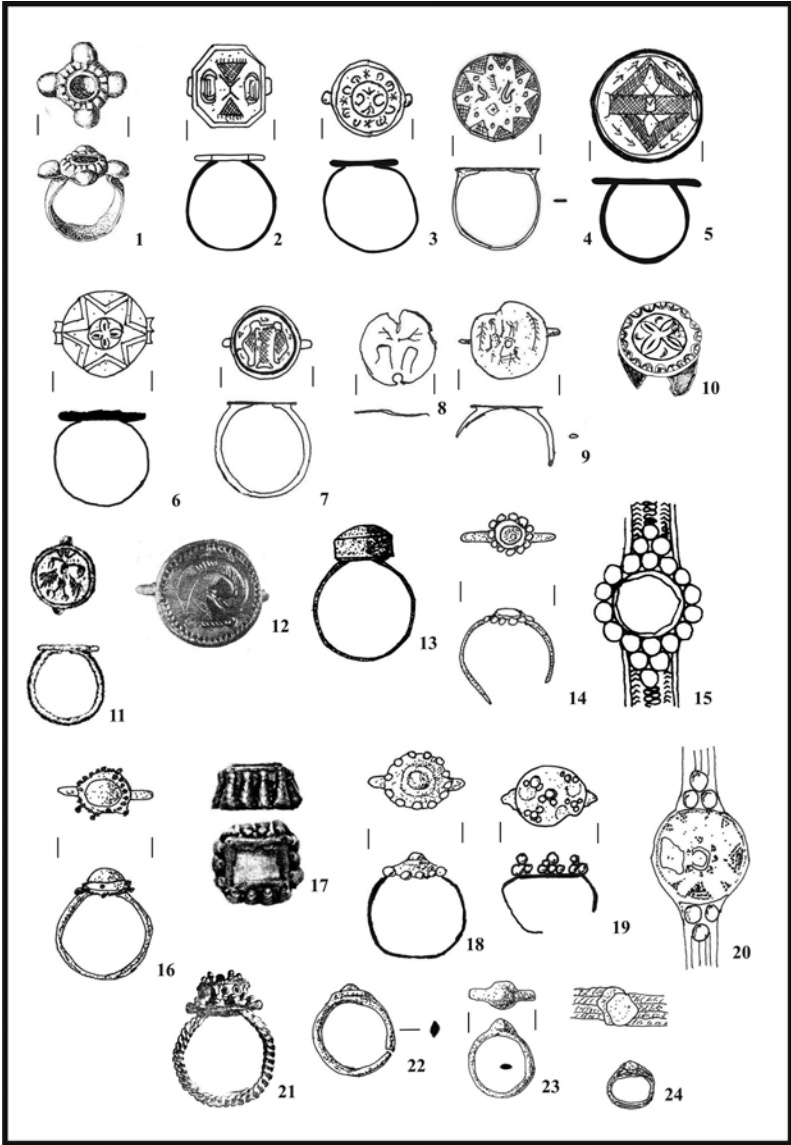


PLATE 16 *Typology. 1-24. Rings.*

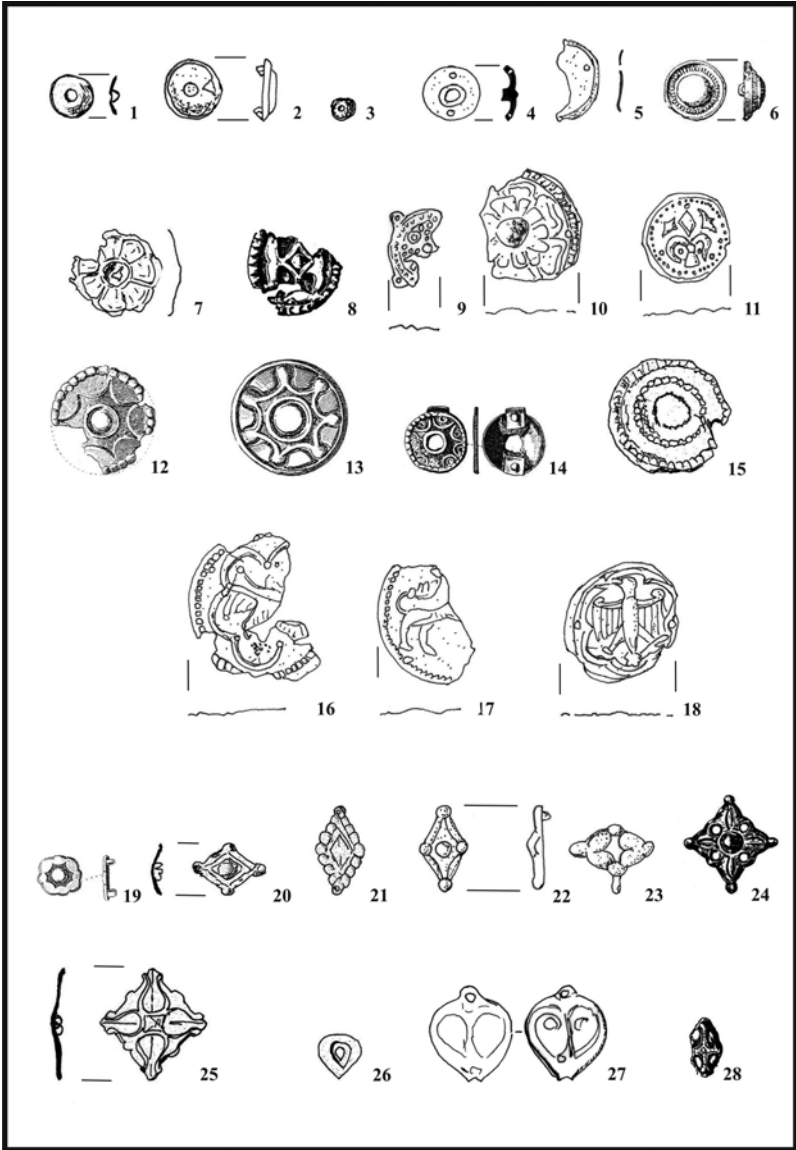


PLATE 17 *Typology. 1-28. Dress-appliqués.*

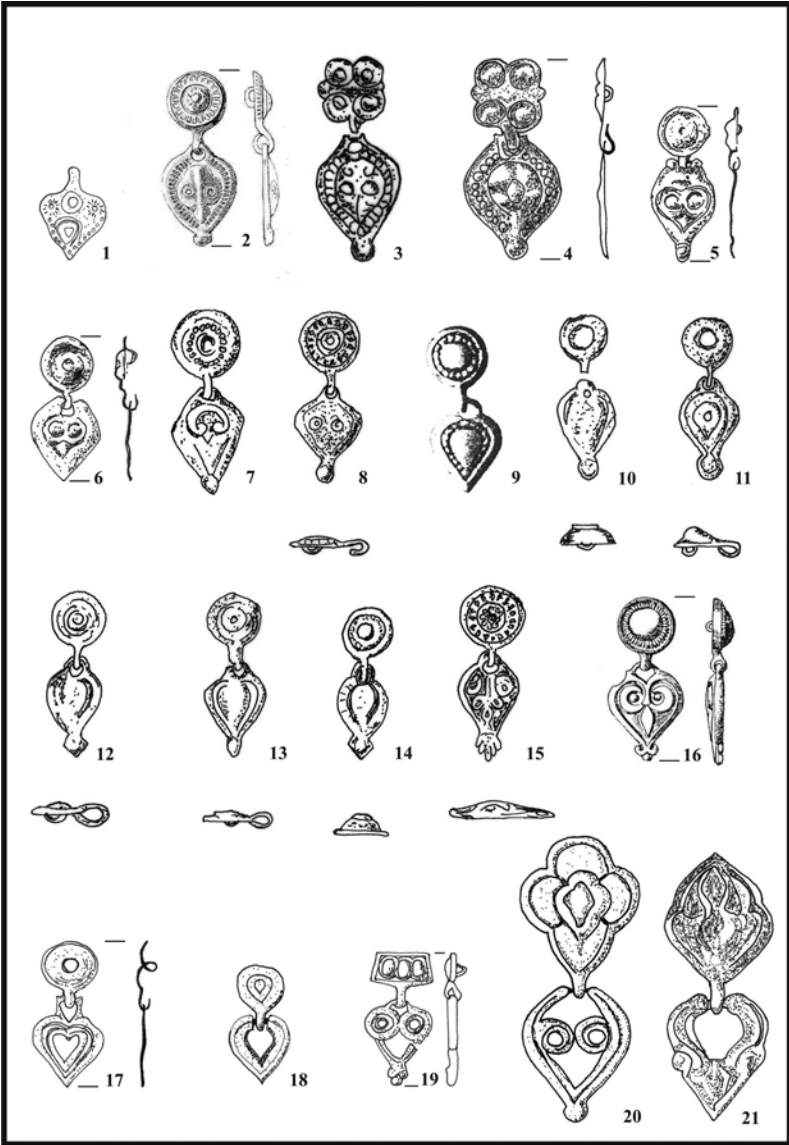


PLATE 18 *Typology. 1-21. Double heart-like pendants.*

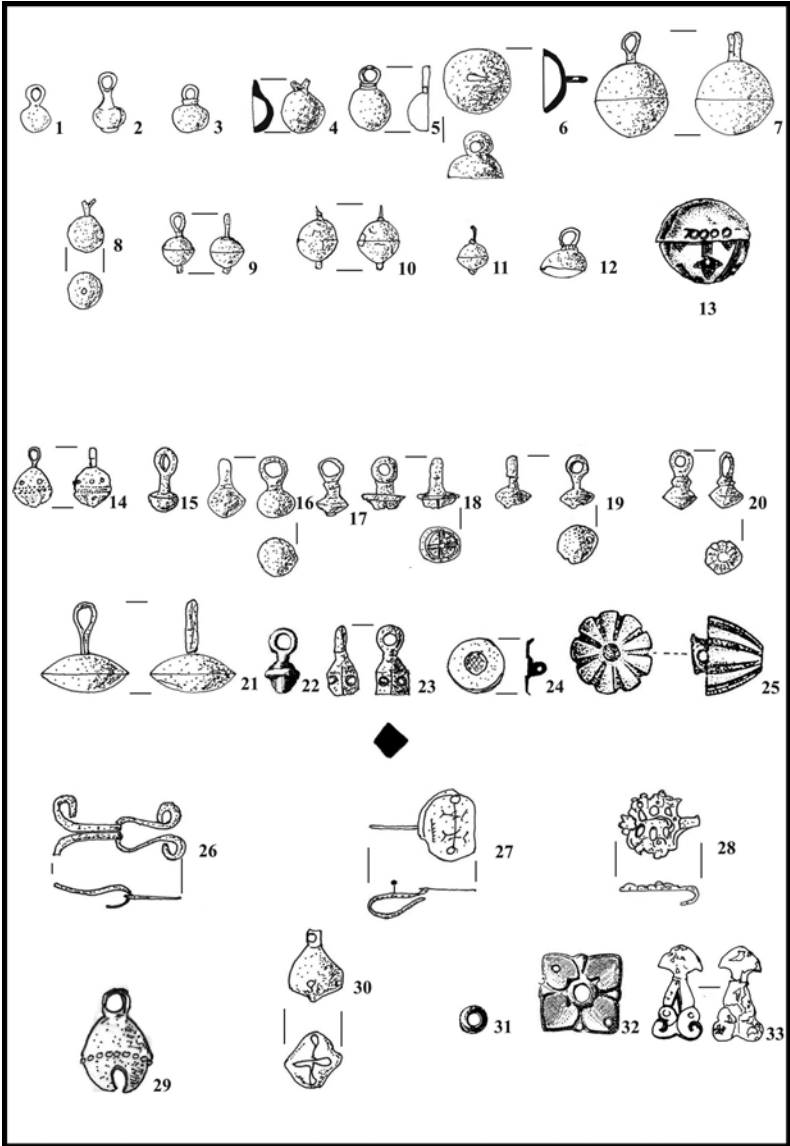


PLATE 19 *Typology. 1-25. Buttons, 26-28. Clasps, 29-30. Bell pendants, 31-33. Footwear appliqués.*

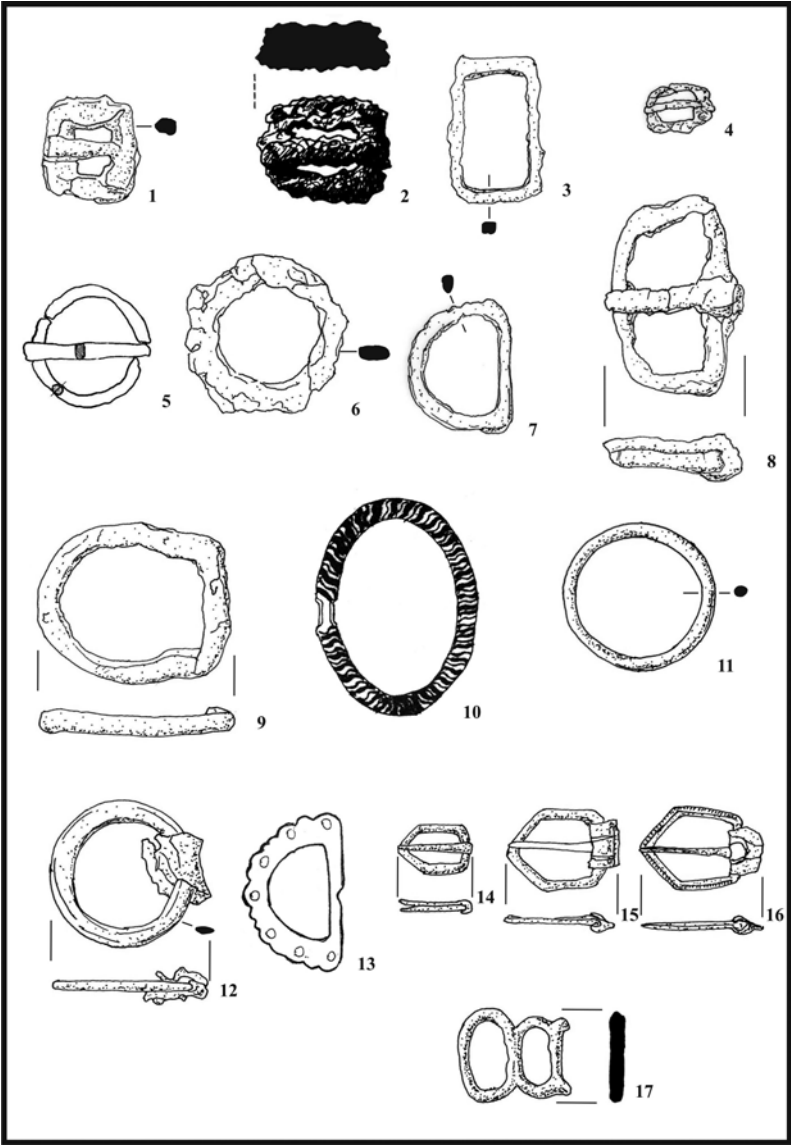


PLATE 20 *Typology. 1-17. Buckles.*

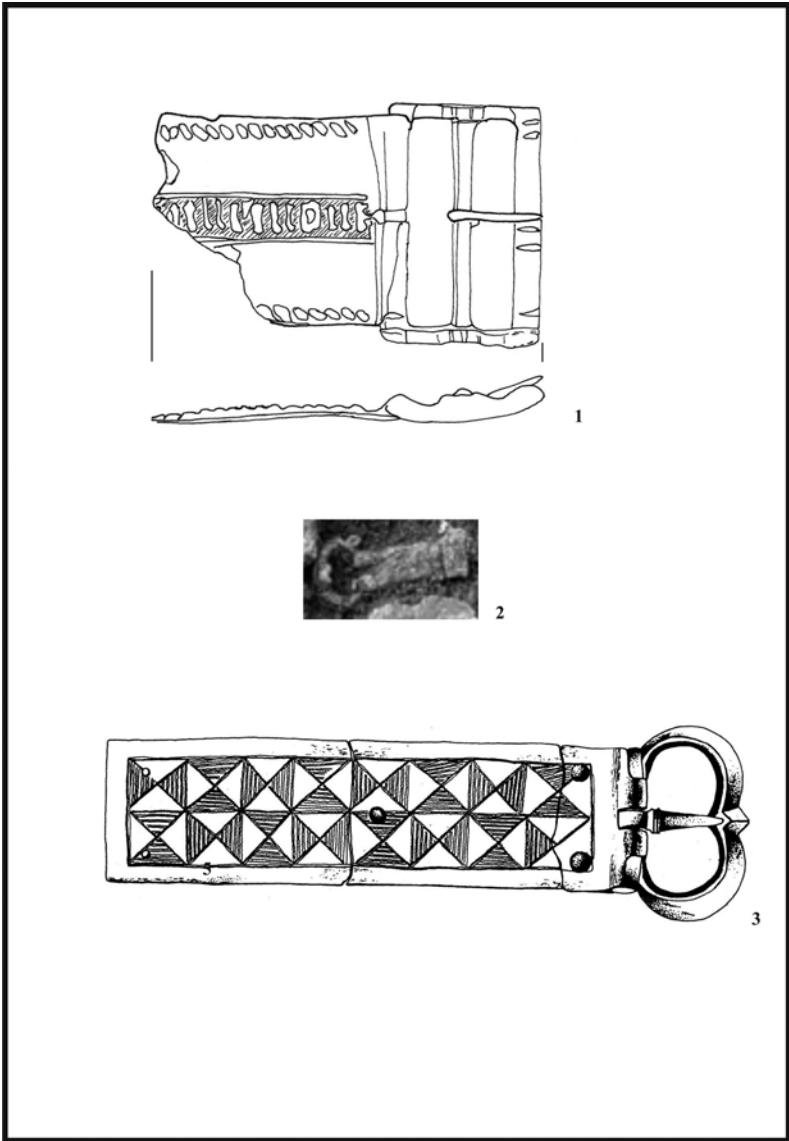


PLATE 21 *Typology. 1-3. Buckles with plates.*

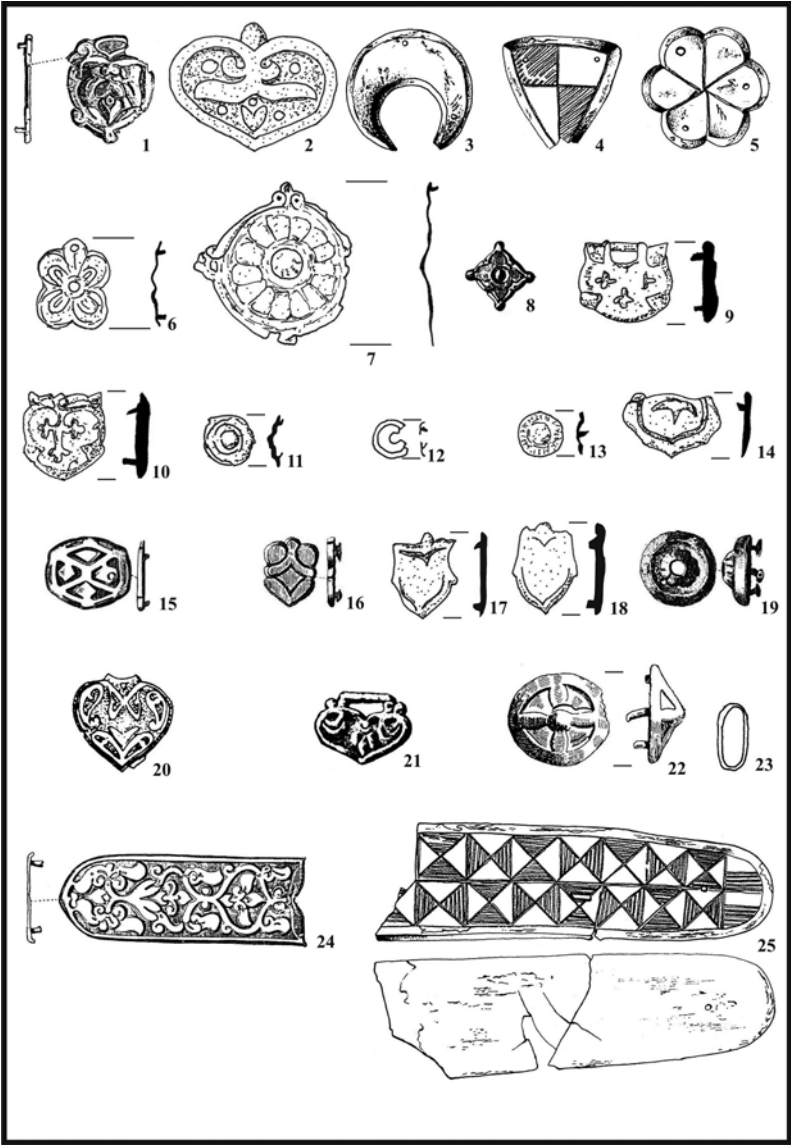


PLATE 22 Typology. 1-22. Belt appliques, 23. Belt item, 24-25. Belt flaps.

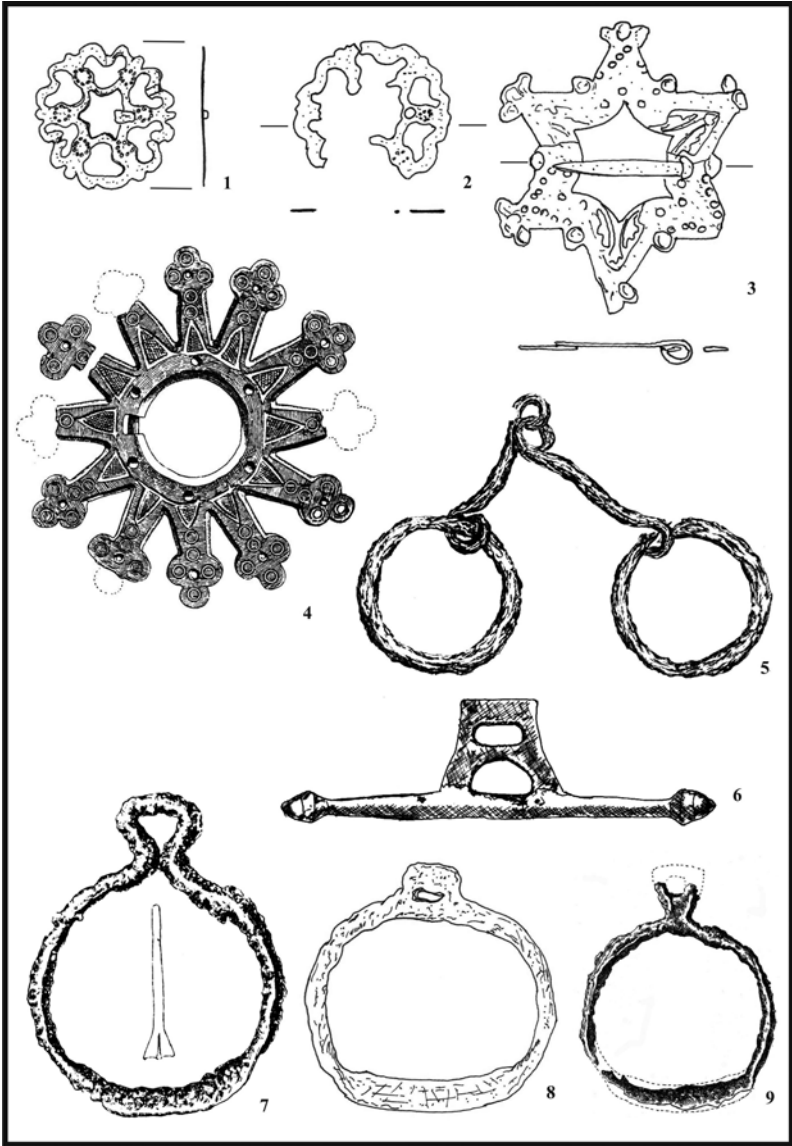


PLATE 23 *Typology. 1-4. Star-like buckles, 5. Bit, 6. Articulated bit, 7-9. Stirrups.*

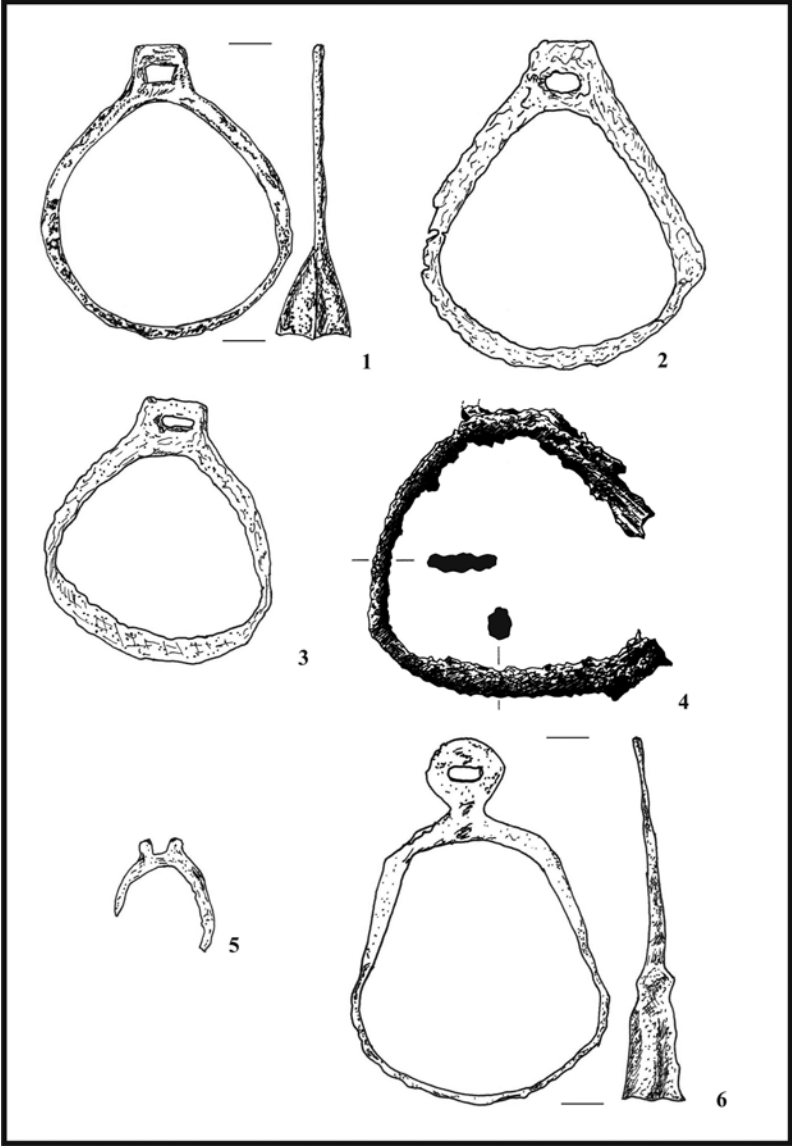


PLATE 24 *Typology. 1-6. Stirrups.*

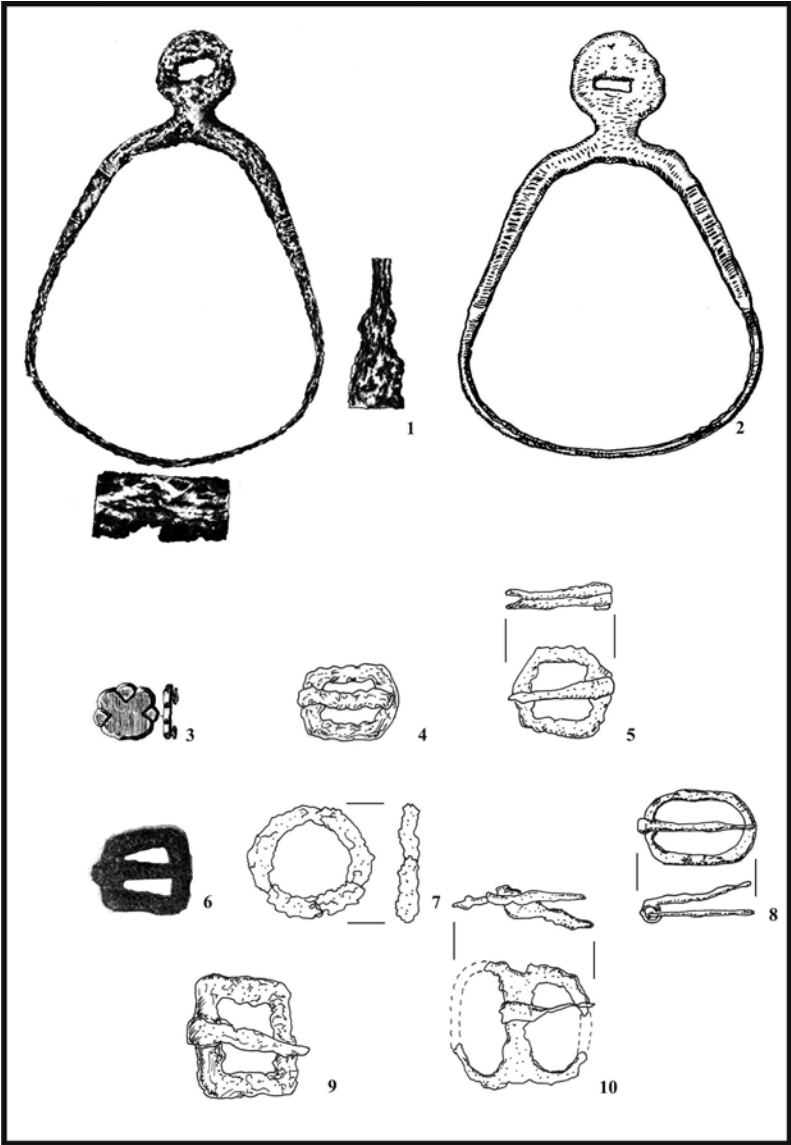


PLATE 25 *Typology. 1-2. Stirrups, 3. Harness appliqué, 4-10. Harness buckles.*

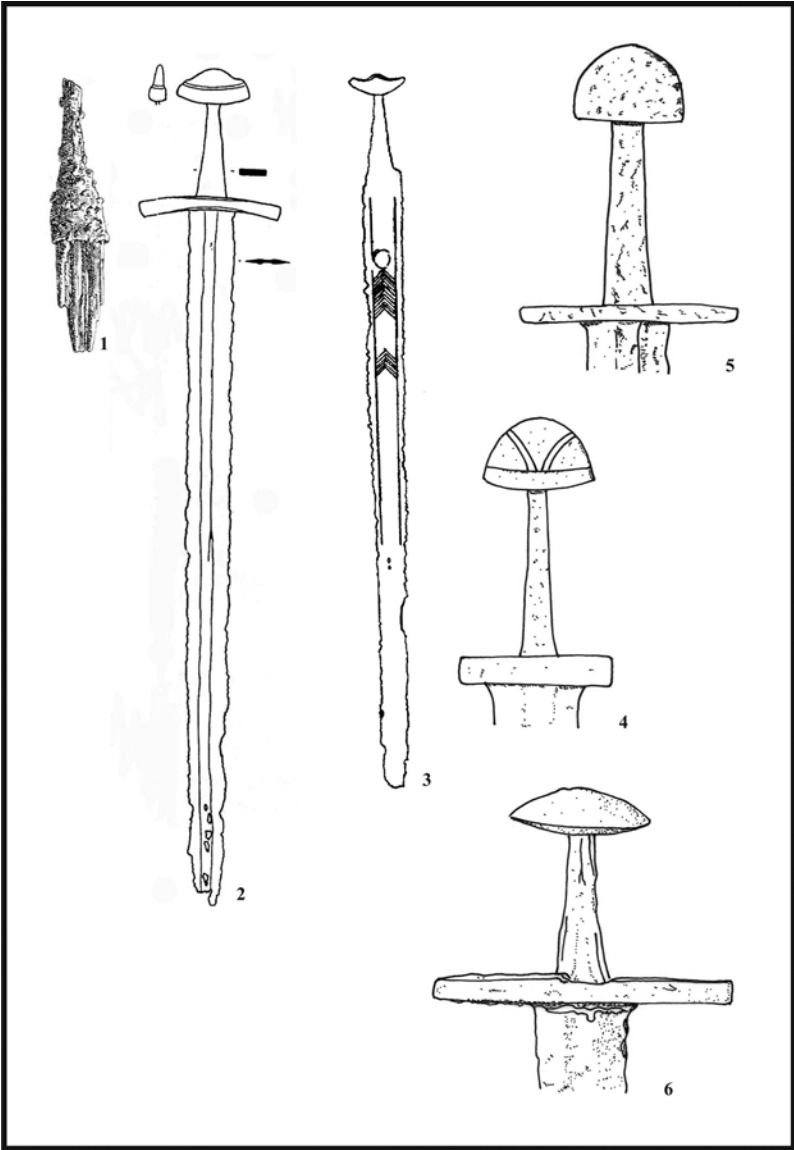


PLATE 26 *Typology. 1. Dagger, 2-6. Swords.*

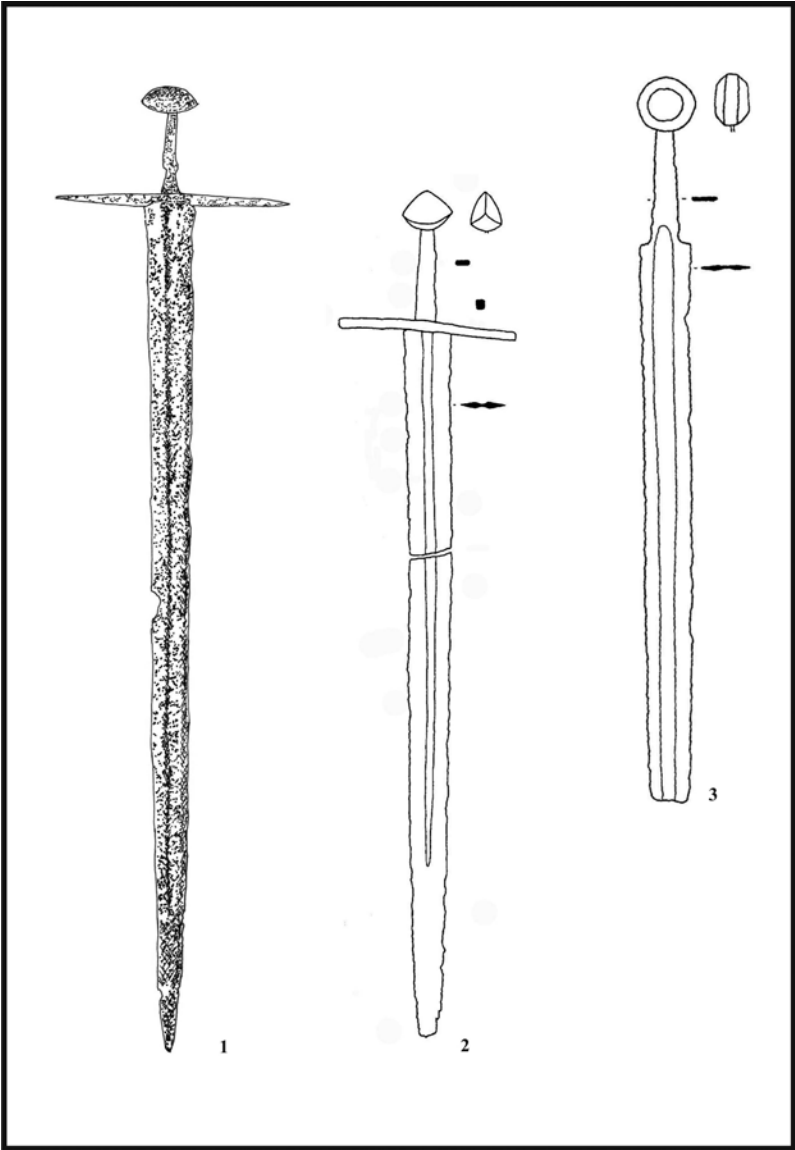


PLATE 27 *Typology. 1-3. Swords.*

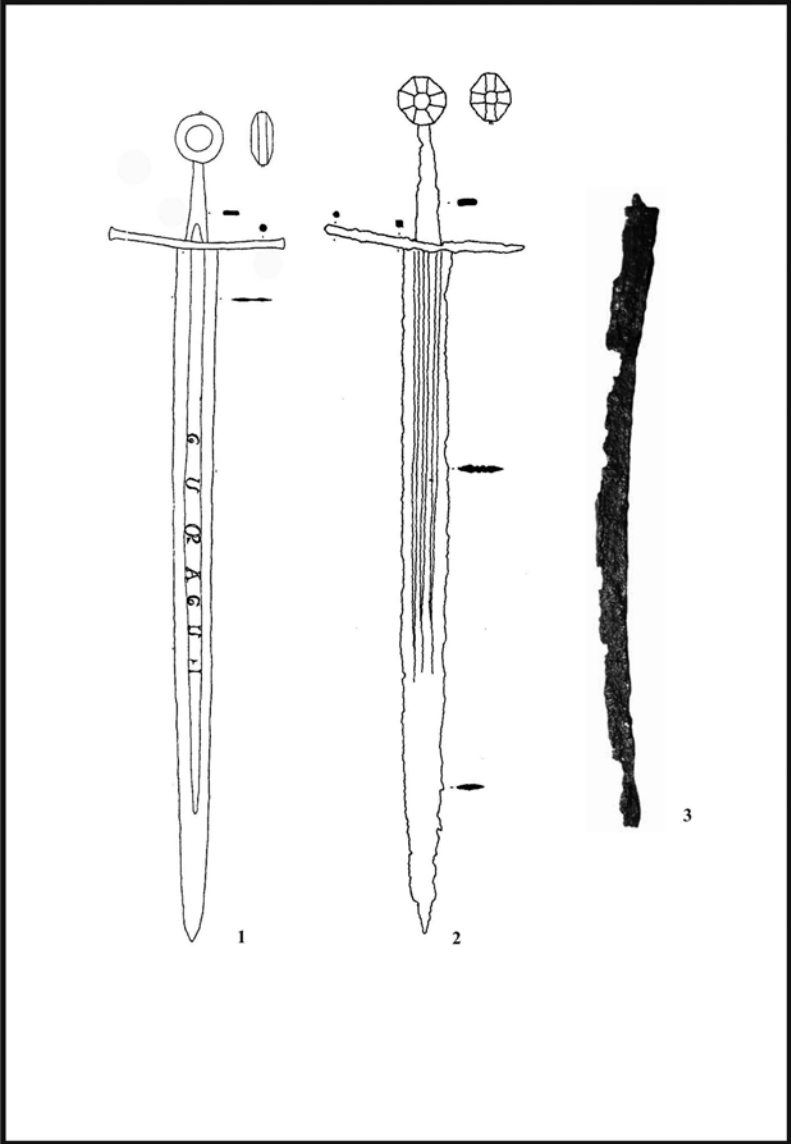


PLATE 28 *Typology. 1-2. Swords, 3. Sabre.*

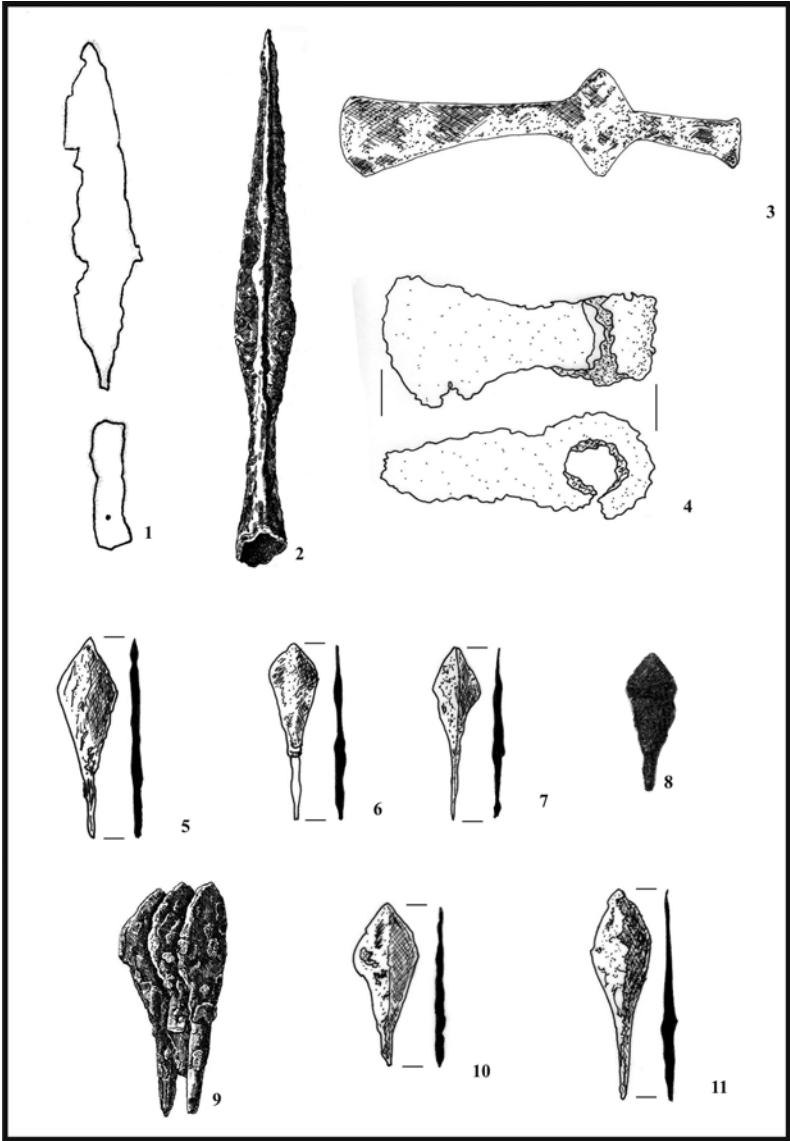


PLATE 29 *Typology. 1-2. Spearheads, 3-4. Axes, 5-11. Arrowheads.*

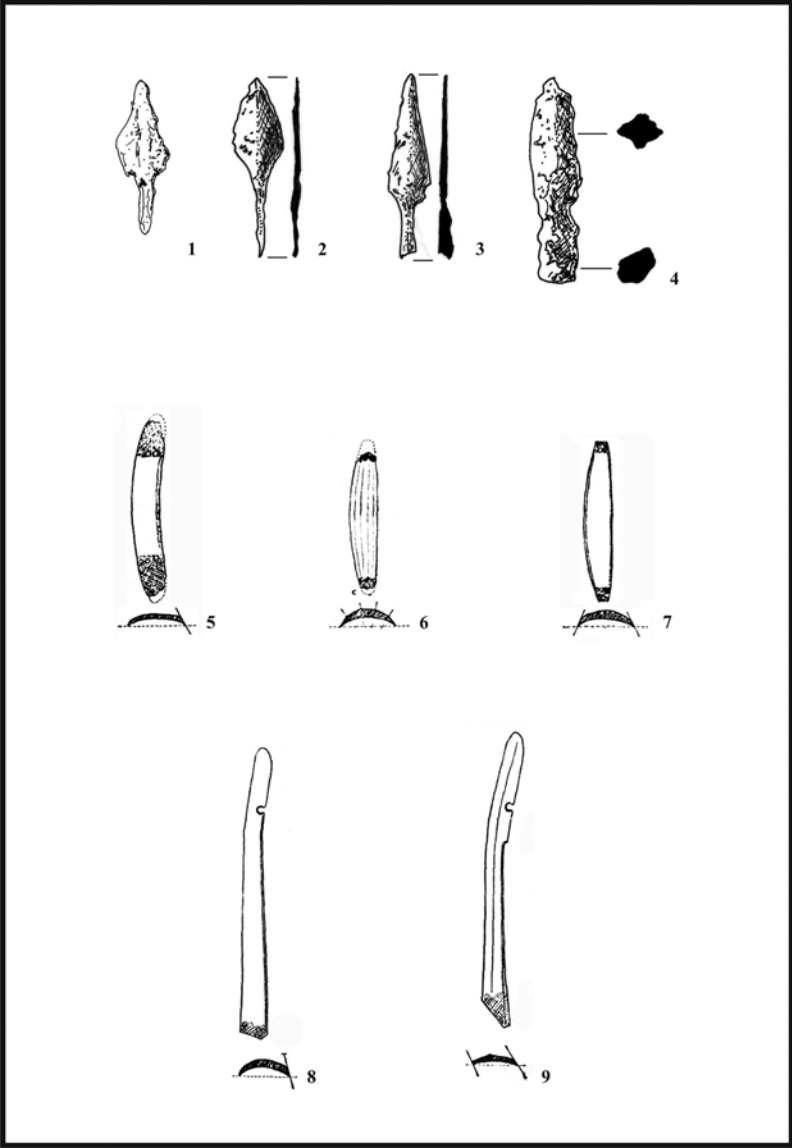


PLATE 30 *Typology. 1-4. Arrowheads, 5-9. Bow-plates made of bone.*

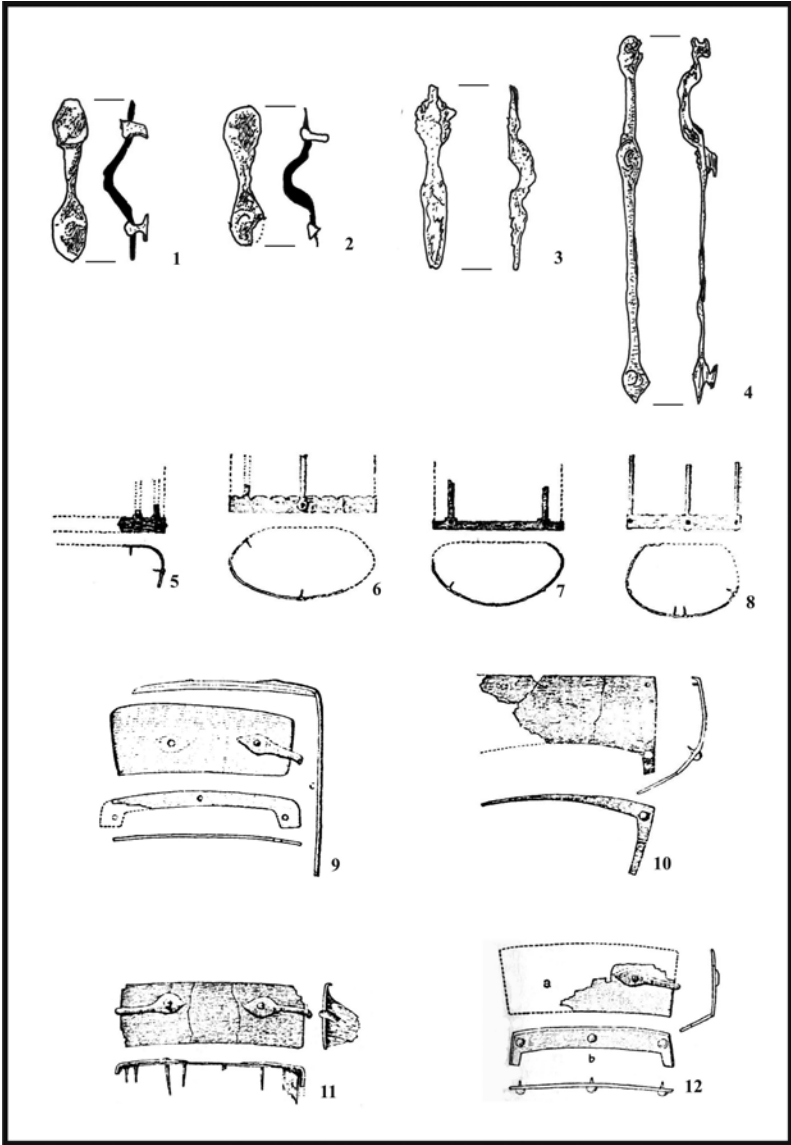


PLATE 31 *Typology. 1-4. Tags, 5-8. Quiver fittings, 9-12. Quiver covers.*

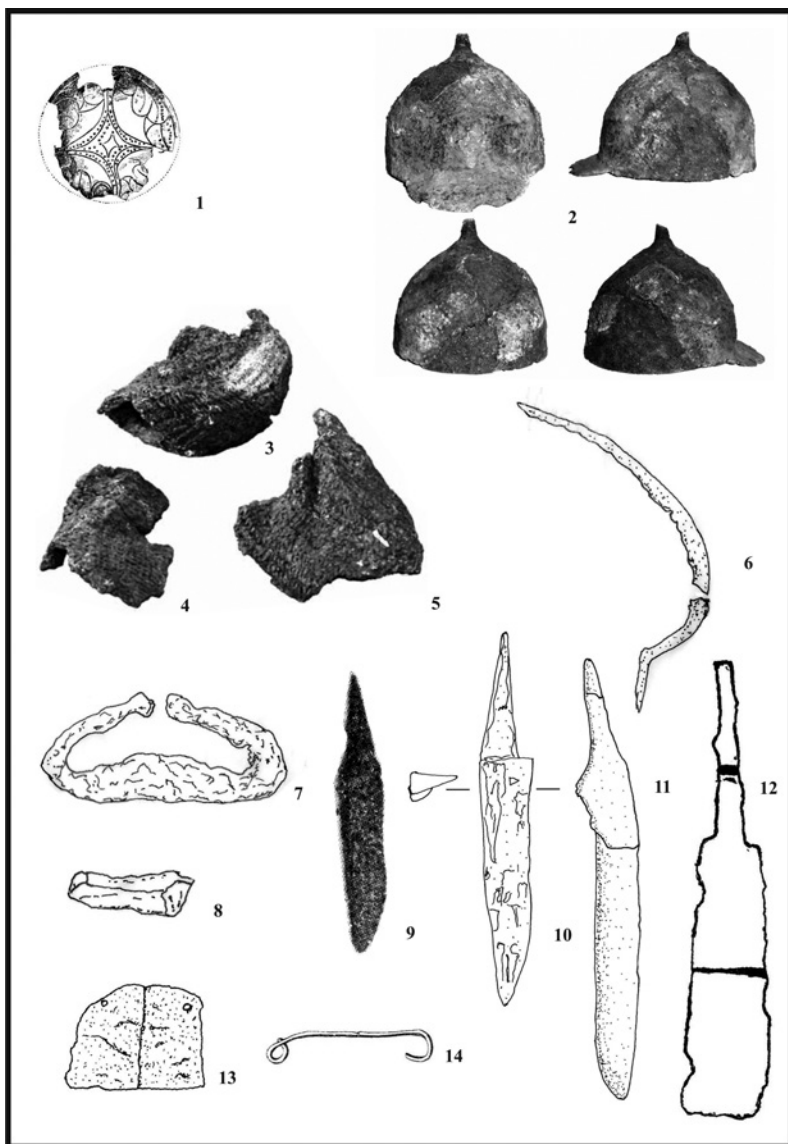


PLATE 32 *Typology.* 1. Quiver appliqués, 2. Helmet, 3–5. Fragments of a mail shirt, 6. Sickle, 7. Flint, 8. Flint stone, 9–12. Knives, 13. Silver plate, 14. Wire.

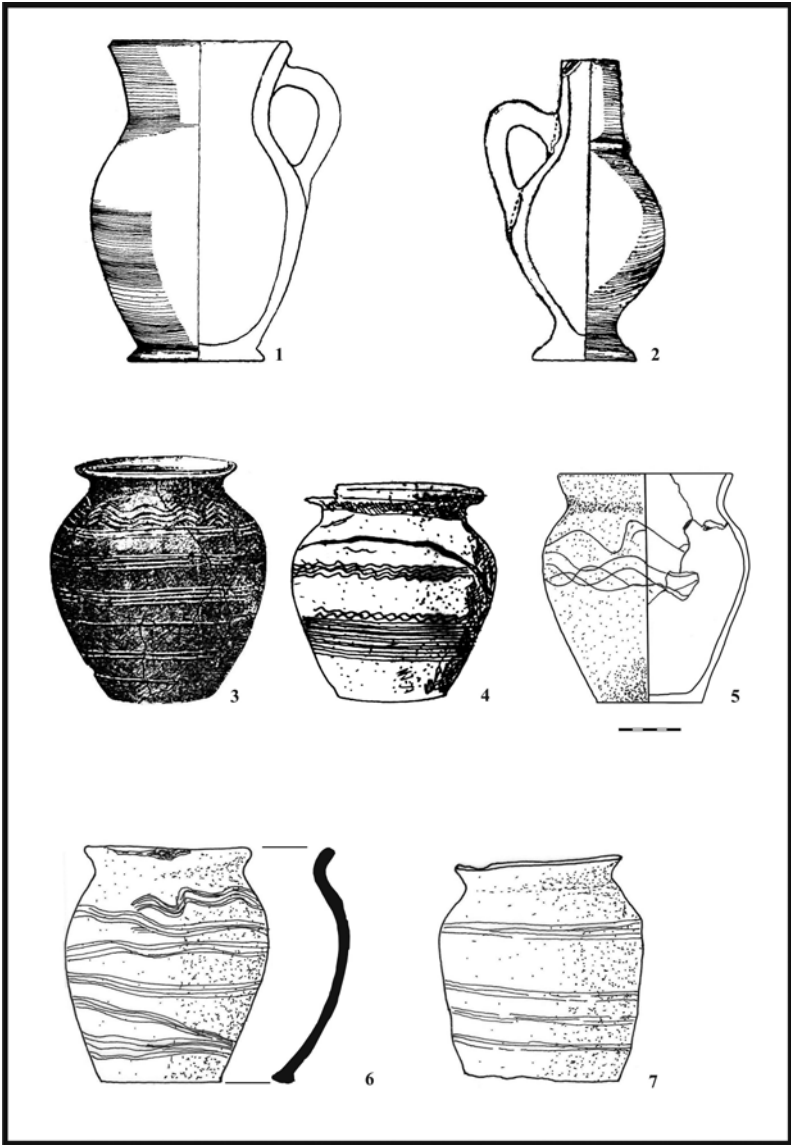


PLATE 33 *Typology. 1. Mug, 2. Jug, 3-7. Jars.*

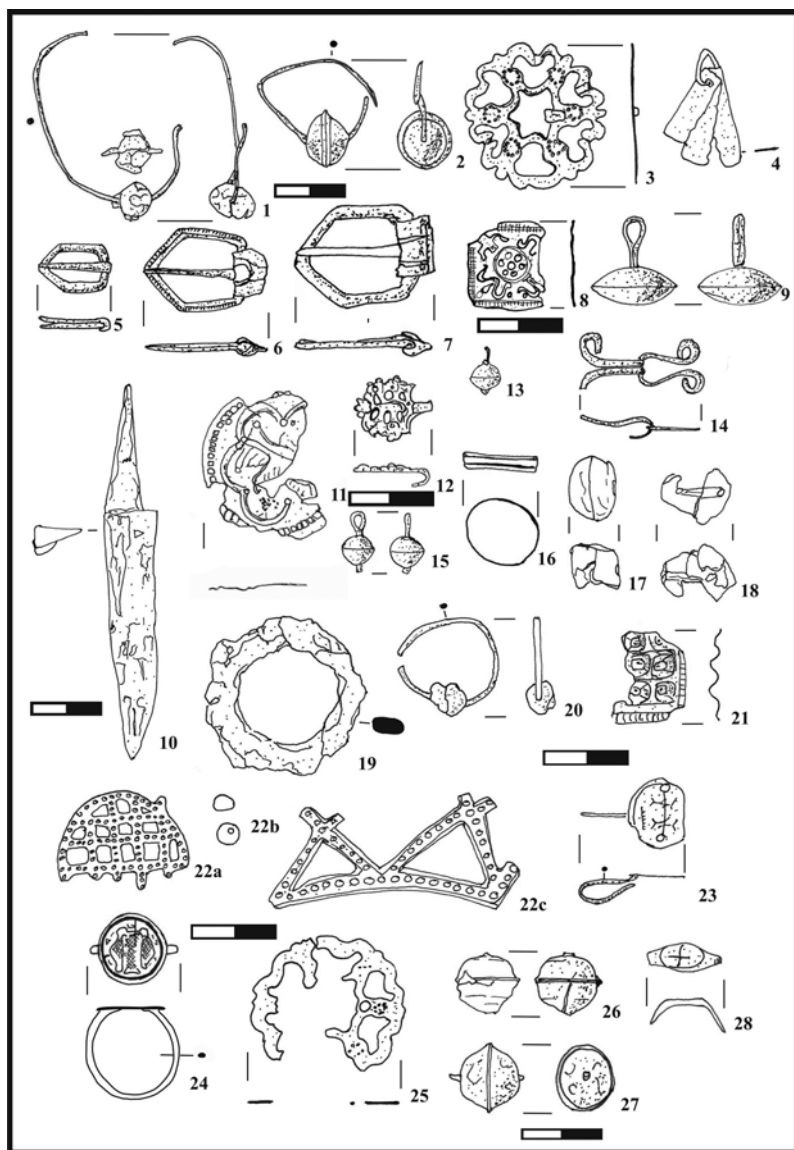


PLATE 34 *Arača*. 1. G. 1, 2–3. G. 4, 4. G. 11, 5–7. G. 8, 8–9. G. 35, 10. G. 11, 11. G. 13, 12–13. G. 39, 14. G. 51, 15. G. 62, 16. G. 67, 17–19. G. 69, 20–21, 23. G. 70, 22. G. 82, 24. G. 80, 25. G. 91, 26. Pit no. IV, 27. Inventories found in destroyed graves, 28. Crypt VIII (redrawn after Stanojev 2004).

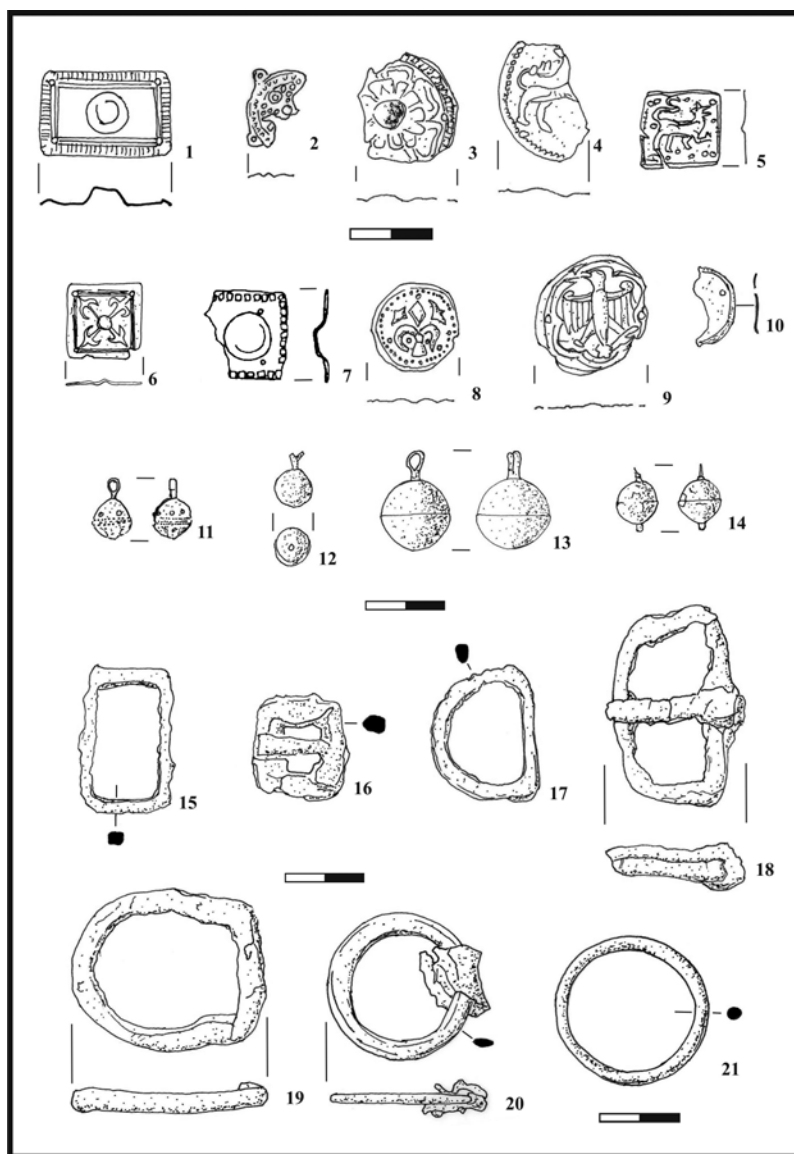


PLATE 35 *Arača*. 1–21. Inventories found in destroyed graves (1–5, 8–21. redrawn after Stanojev 2004 and 6–7. according to Minić 1995/1996).

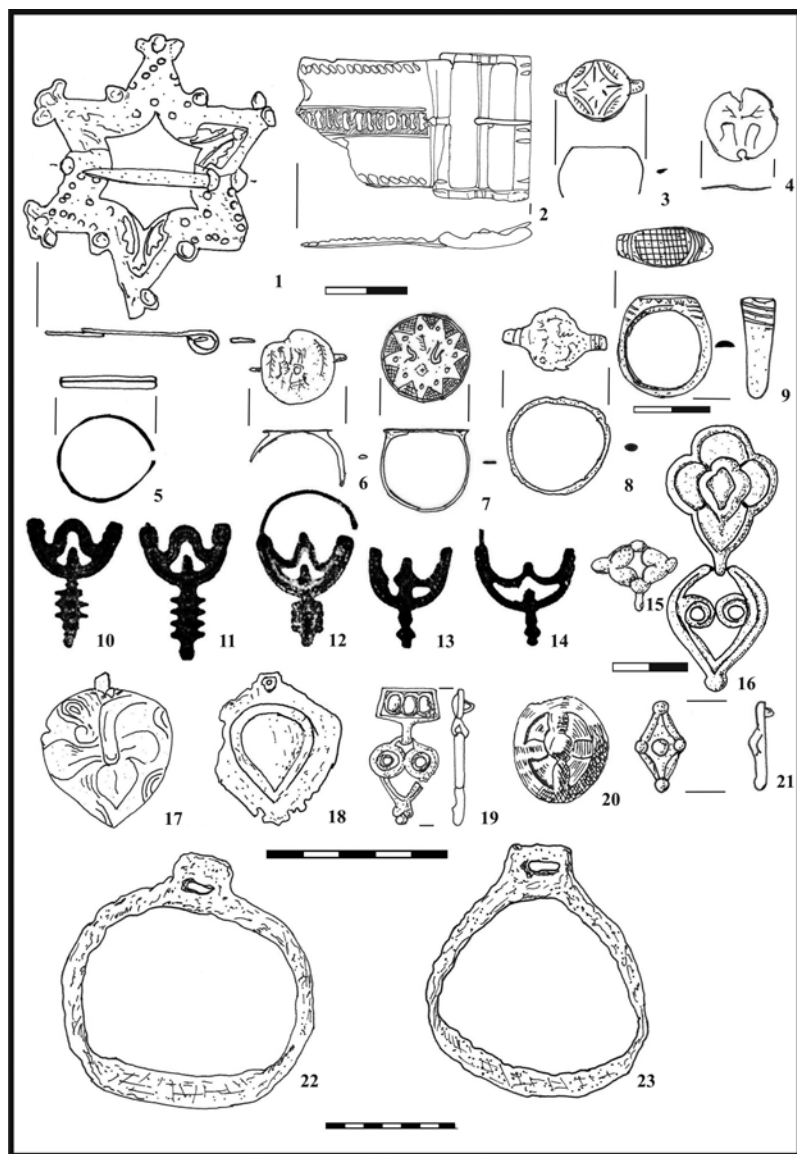


PLATE 36 1–9. Arača (redrawn after Stanojev 2004), 10–14. Banatska Palanka-Rudine (according to Barački, Brmbolić 1997—no scale), 15–16. Banatski Despotovac (redrawn after Stanojev 1989—no scale), 17–21. Banatsko Arandjelovo-1898 (17–19, 21. redrawn after Stanojev 1989, 20. according to Vaňa 1954—no scale), 22–23. Banatsko Arandjelovo-1899 (redrawn after Stanojev 1989).

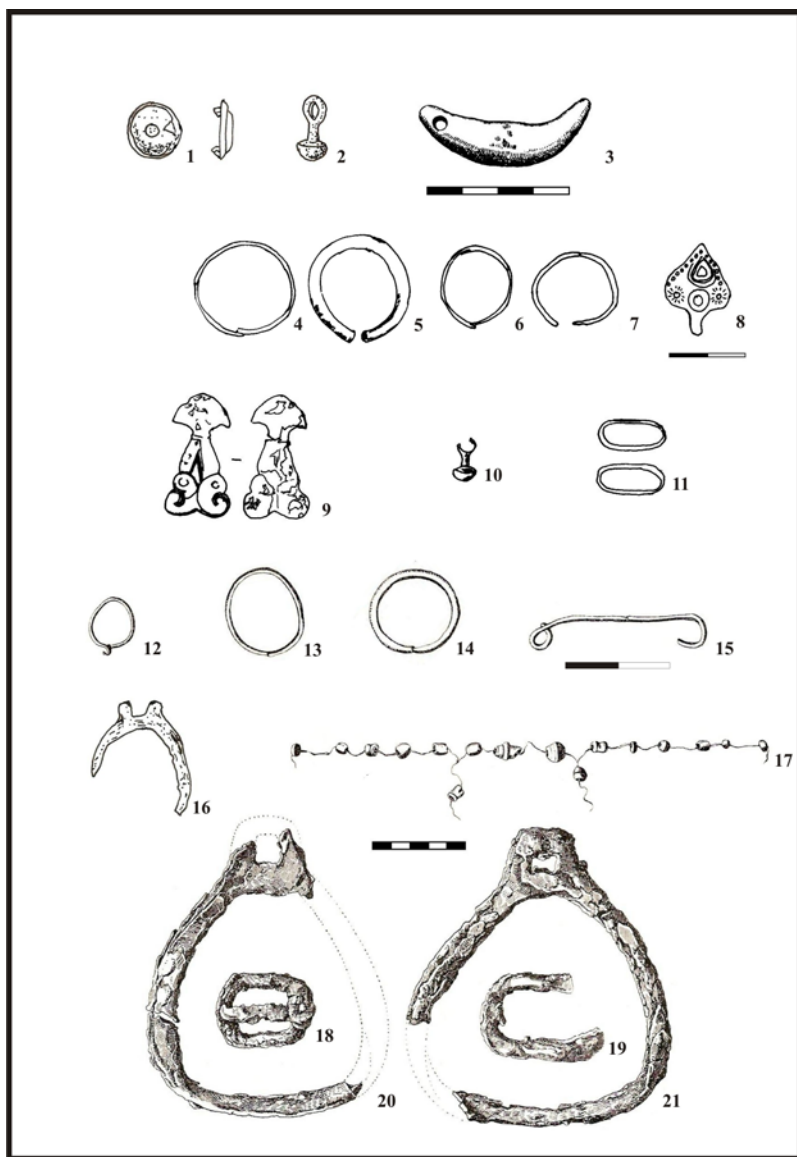


PLATE 37 1-7. Banatsko Arandjelovo-10 December 1898 (1-2. redrawn after Stanojev 1989, 3. according to Hampel 1904, 4-7. redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992), 8-11, 16. Banatsko Arandjelovo-1900 (redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992), 12-15, 17-21. Banatsko Arandjelovo-summer of 1903 (12-15, 17-21. according to Tömörkény 1904, 16. redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992).

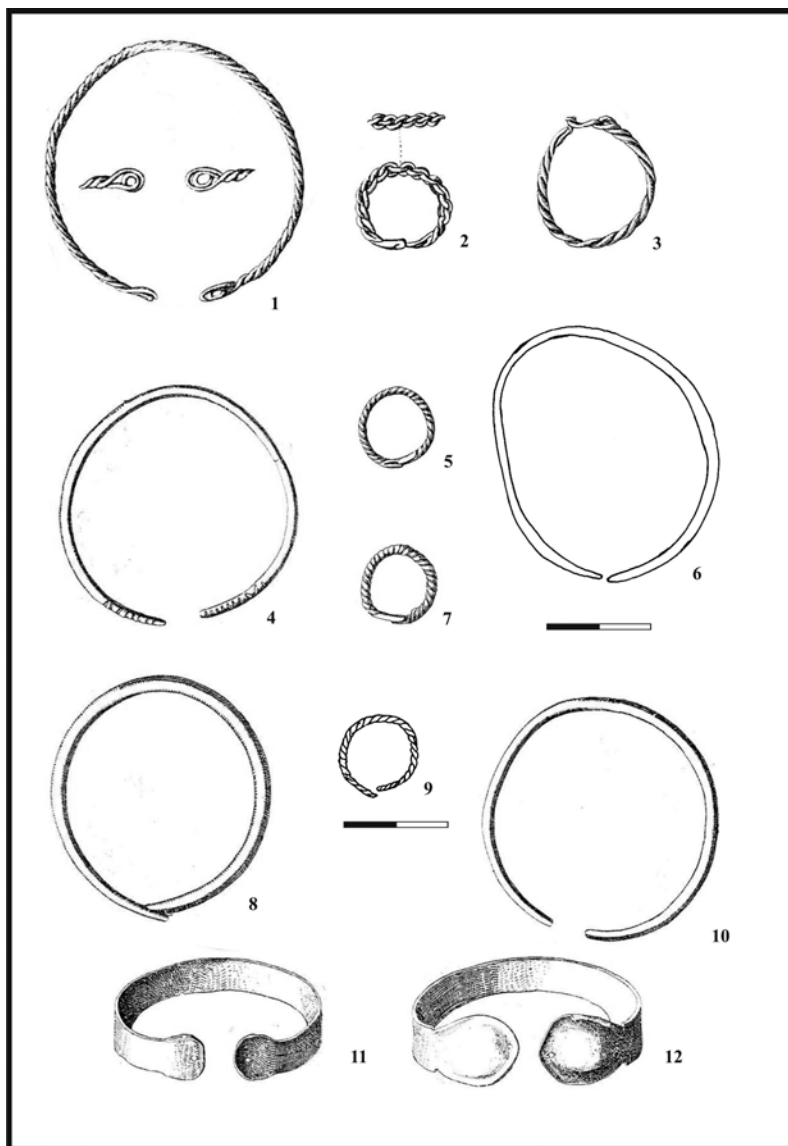


PLATE 38 1–12. Banatsko Arandjelovo—summer of 1903 (1–5, 7–8, 10–12. according to Tömörkény 1904 and 6, 9. redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992—no scale).

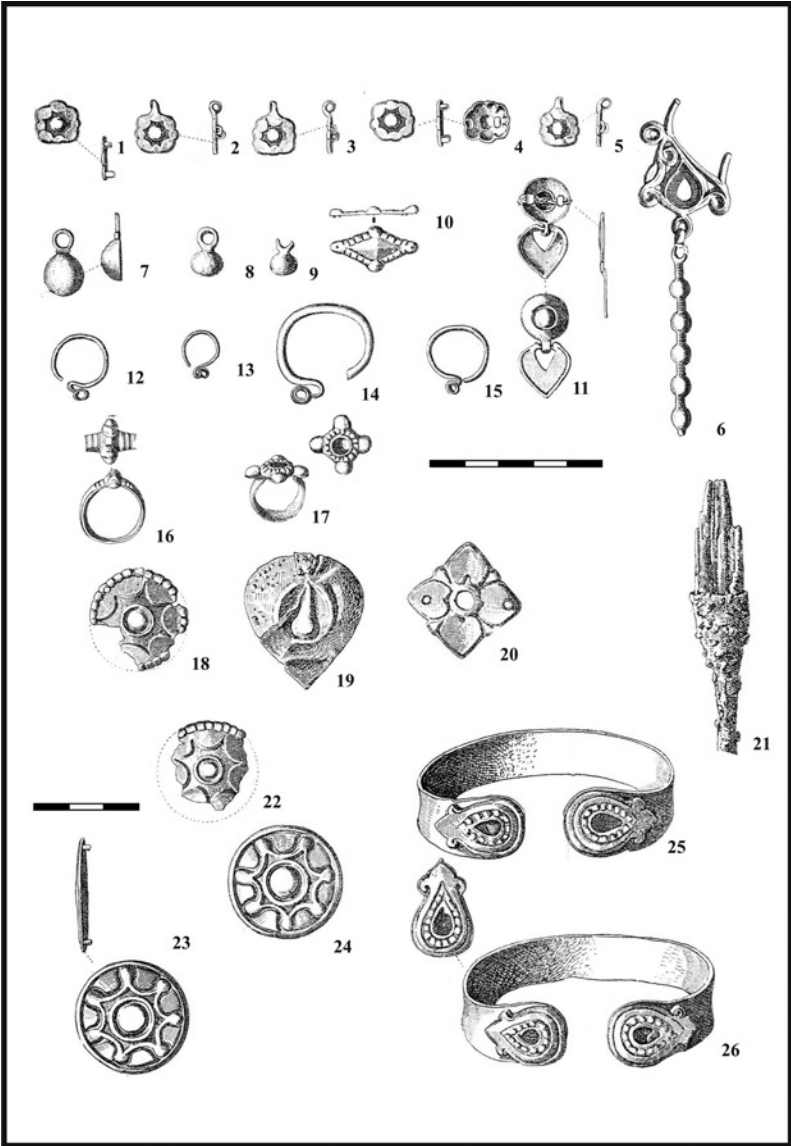


PLATE 39 1-26. Banatsko Arandjelovo-summer of 1903 (according to Tömörkény 1904).

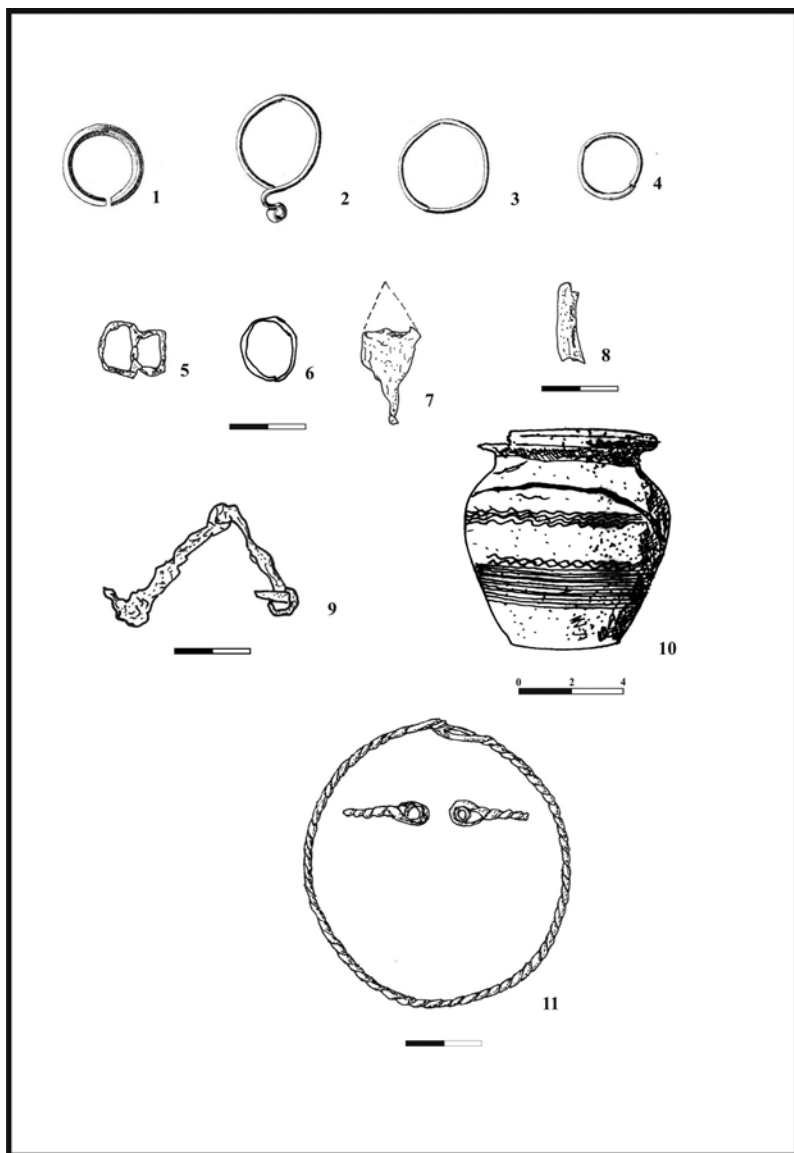


PLATE 40 1. Banatsko Arandjelovo-The 16th of June 1903, G. 1, 2-4. G. 3 (1-4. according to Tömörkény 1904), 5-11. Banatsko Arandjelovo-1906 (redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992).

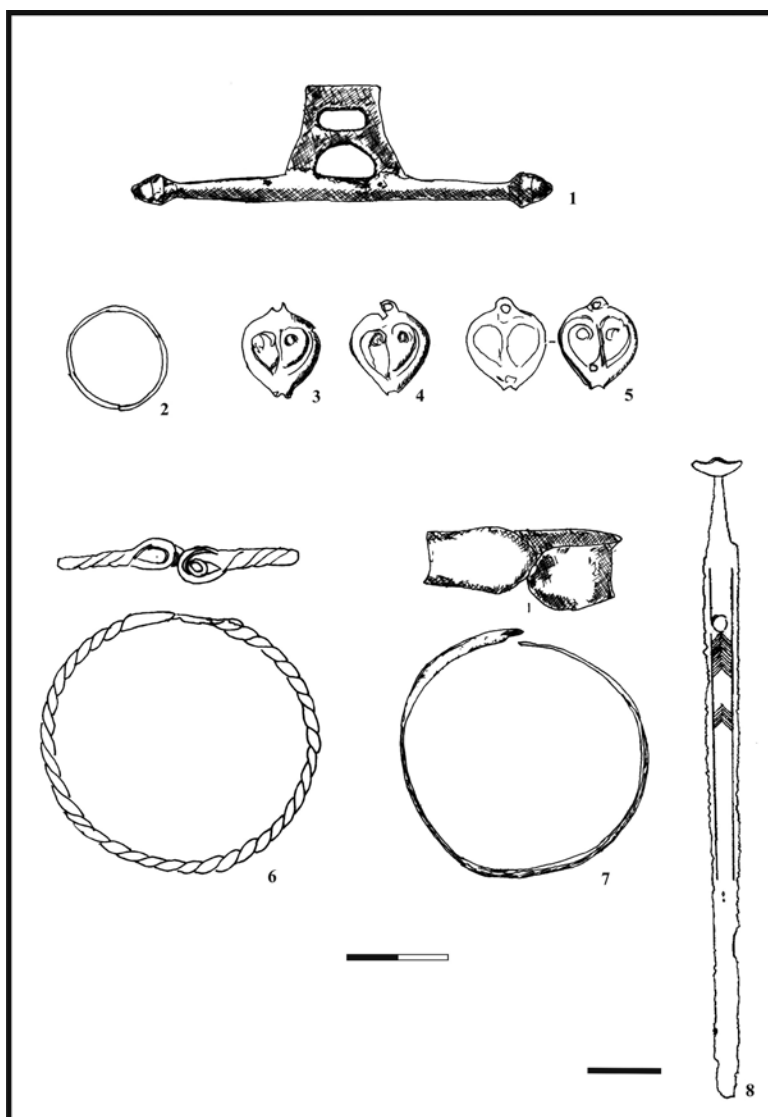


PLATE 41 1–5. *Banatsko Arandjelovo-1907*, 6–7. *Banatsko Arandjelovo-1909* (redrawn after Kovács 1991/1992—1–5.—no scale), 8. *Banatski Brestovac* (according to Aleksić 2004).

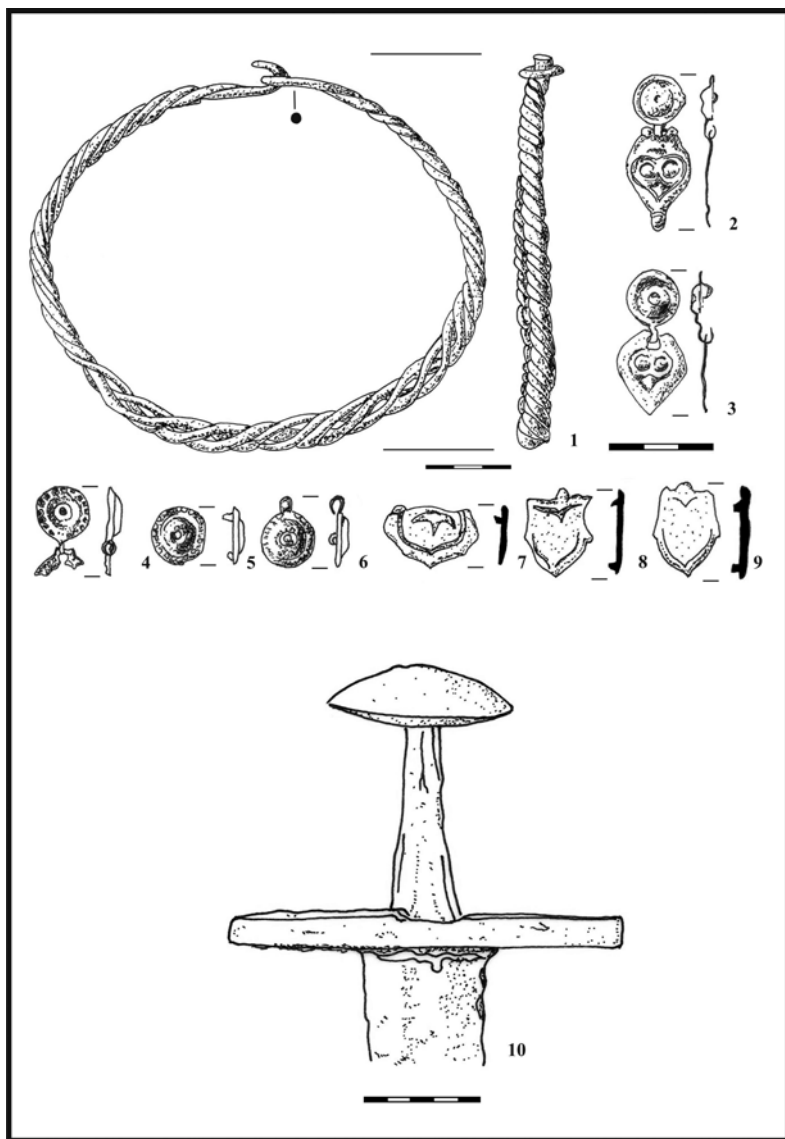


PLATE 42 1–9. *Beba Veche* (redrawn after Tănase, Gáll 1999/2000—4–9.—no scale).
10. *Becicherecul Mare* (Zrenjanin; redrawn after Kovács 1994/1995).

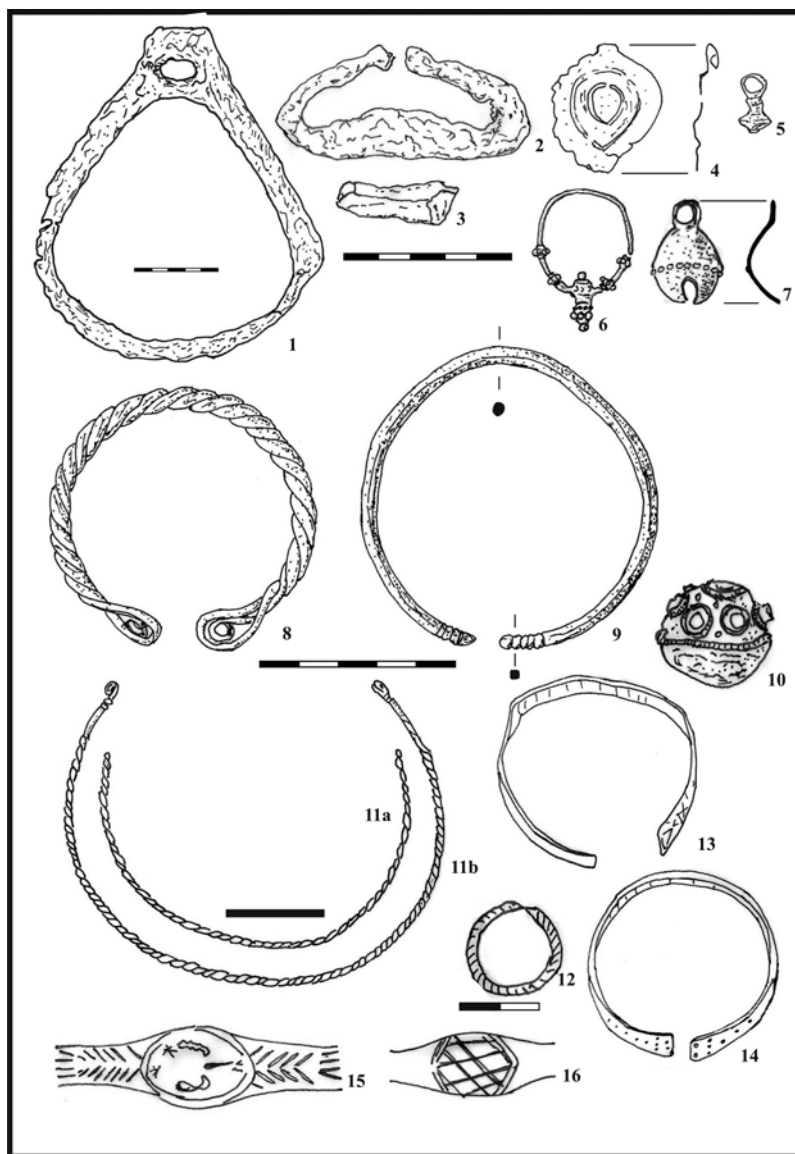


PLATE 43 1. Bočar-Budjak ekonomija. Stirrup found in cemetery, 2–3. G. 7, 4–9. Bočar-Budjak ekonomija, 10, 12, 13. Botoš-Mlaka, 11, 14–16. Botoš-Živančevića dolja (redrawn after Stanojev 1989).

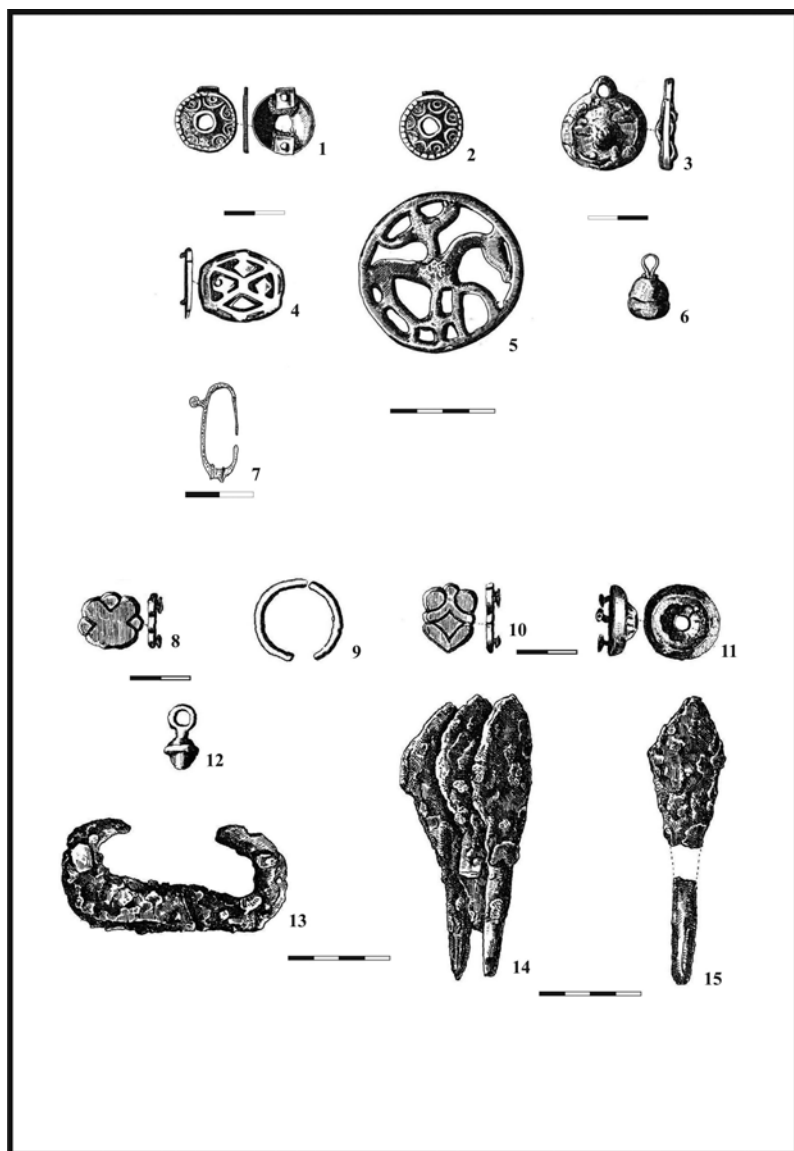


PLATE 44 1–6. *Bucova Puszta-T.II, G. 1* (according to Kisléghi 1904), 7. *Bucova Puszta-T.II* (redrawn after Kisléghi 2010), 8–15. *T.III, G. 1* (according to Kisléghi 1904).

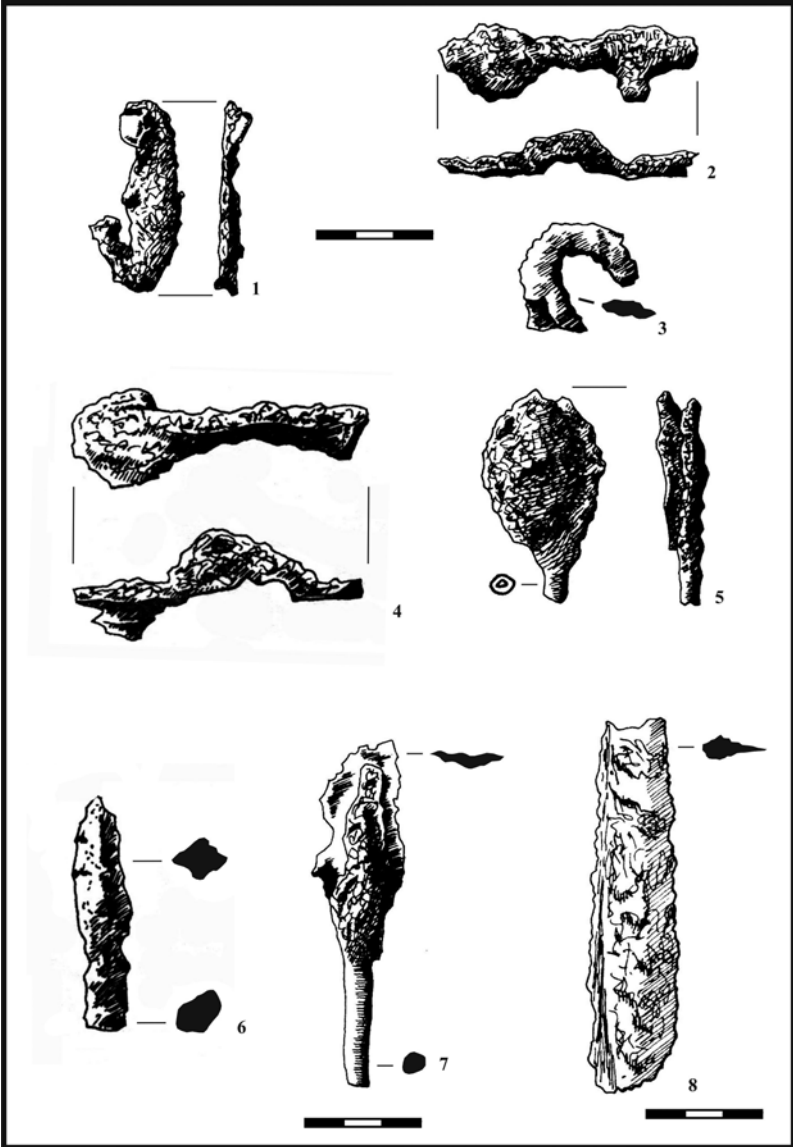


PLATE 45 1-3, 5. *Bucova puszta-T.III* (1-3, 5. according to Bejan, Mare 1997), 4, 6. *Bucova puszta-T.IV, G. 3*, 7, 8. *Bucova puszta* (according to Bejan, Mare 1997).

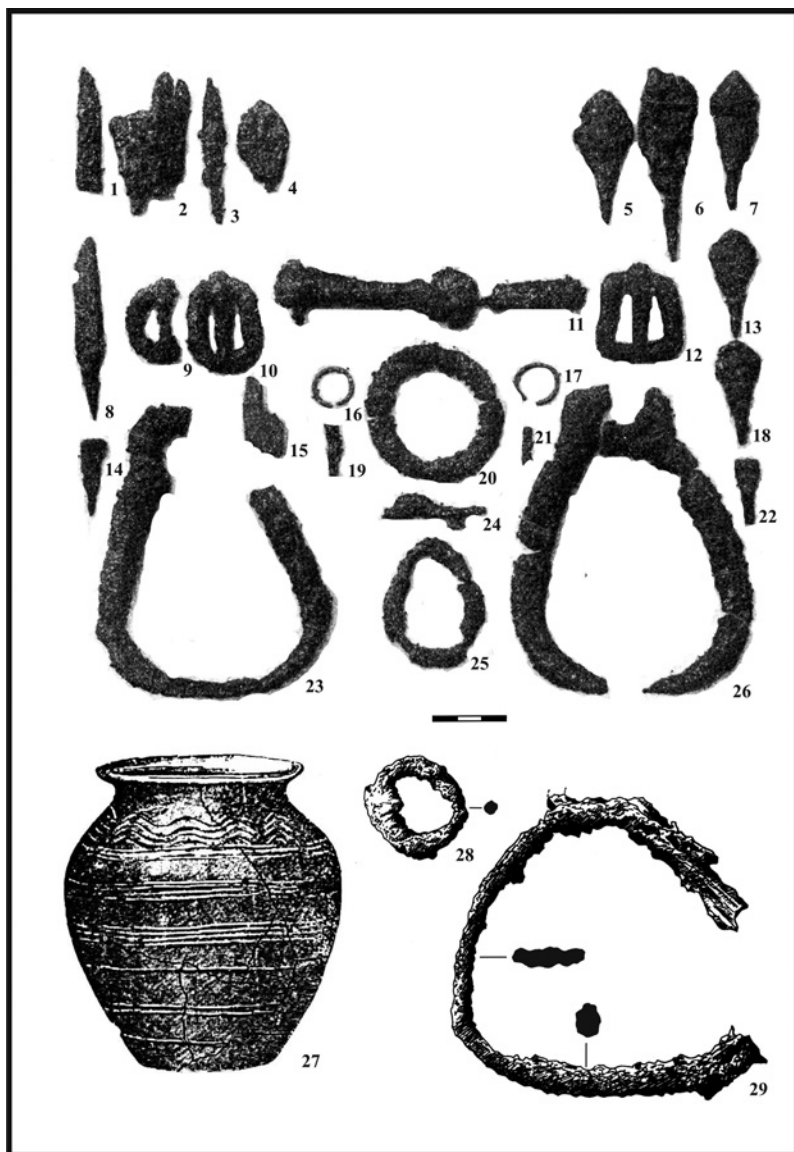


PLATE 46 1-26. Bucova puszta-T.IV, G. 17-18, 27. T.IV (according to Kislégghi 1907—no scale),
28-29. Bucova puszta-Hunca Mare (according to Bejan, Mare 1997).

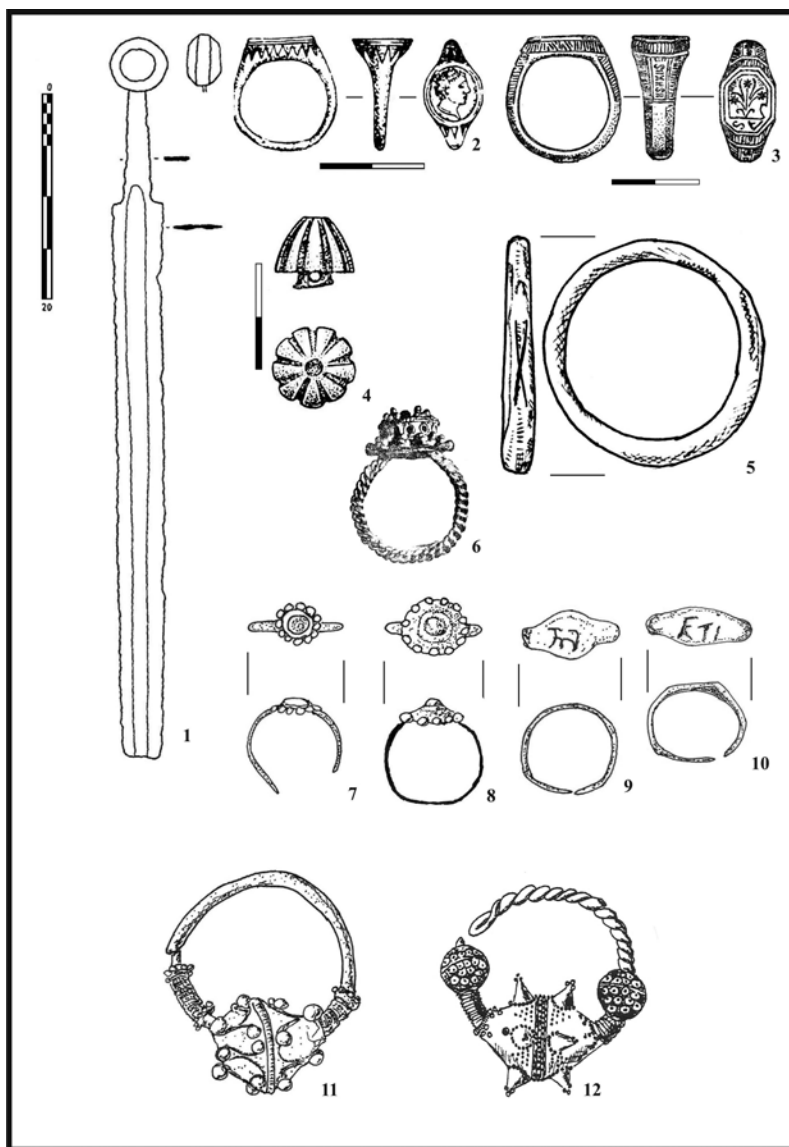


PLATE 47 1. Bucova-Stadion (according to Pinter 1999), 2. Caransebeș-Center, G. 7/Crypt 5, 3–4. G. 8/Crypt 5 (according to Bona 1993), 5. Caransebeș-Măhala G. 3 (according to Iaroslavschi 1975—no scale), 6. Ciclova Română-Morminți, G. 4 (according to Uzum, Țeicu 1981—no scale), 7–10. Cuptoare-Sfogea. Rings, 11. Cuptoare-Sfogea. G. 17, 12. G. 189 (redrawn after Țeicu 1998—no scale).

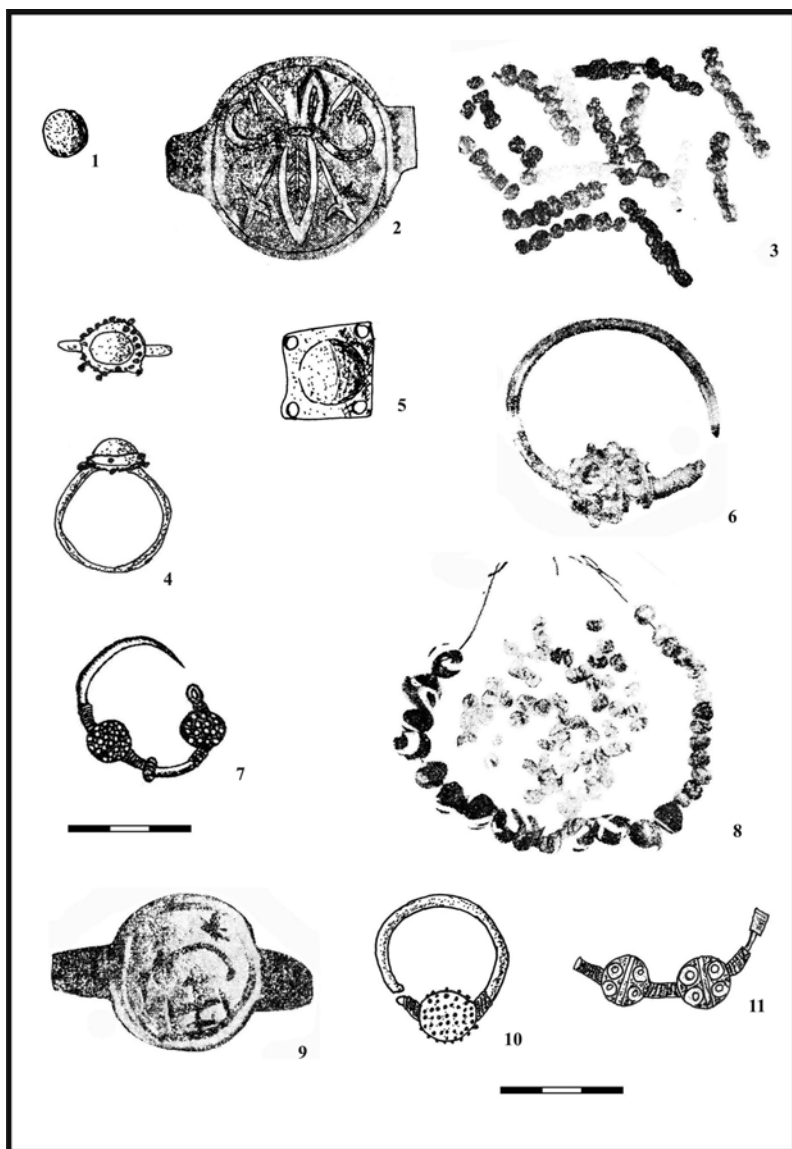


PLATE 48 1. Cuptoare-Sfogea. G. 214, 2. G. 217, 3. G. 218, 4–5. G. 225, 6. G. 228, 7. G. 252, 8. G. 328, 9. G. 241 (7. according to Țeicu 1998 and 4 redrawn; 2, 3, 6, 8, 9. according to Uzum 1987 and 1, 5. redrawn—1–6, 8–9.—no scale), 10–11. Cuptoare-Sfogea. Earrings found in the cemetery (redrawn after Țeicu 1998).

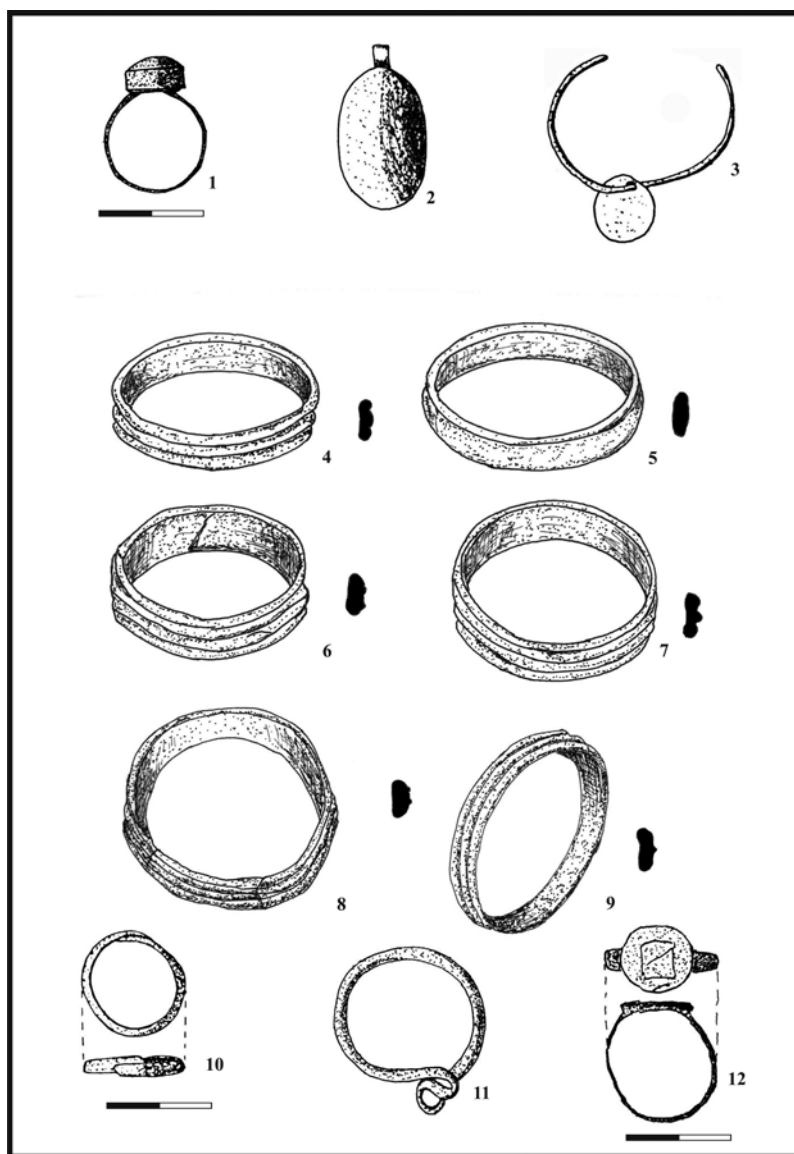


PLATE 49 1–12. Cuptoare-Sfogea—Adornments found in the cemetery (redrawn after Țeicu 1993—4–9.—no scale; redrawn after Uzum 1987—2, 3, 11.—no scale; 1, 10, 12. according to Oța 2008).

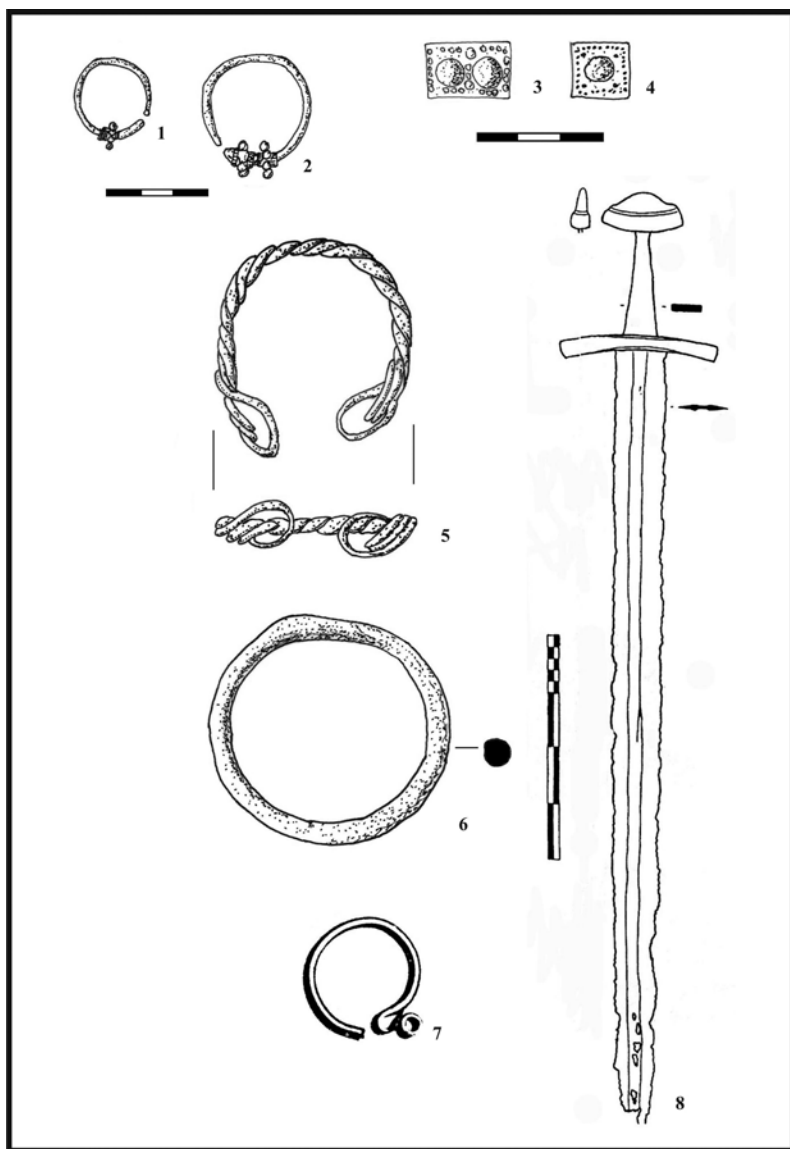


PLATE 50 1–2. Cuptoare-Sfogea. Earrings found in the cemetery, 3–4. Tiara plates, 5. Twisted-wire bracelet, 6. Glass bracelet (redrawn after Ţeicu 1998—no scale), 7. Cuvin-Grad (according to Kovács 1991—no scale), 8. Cuvin (according to Pinter 1999).

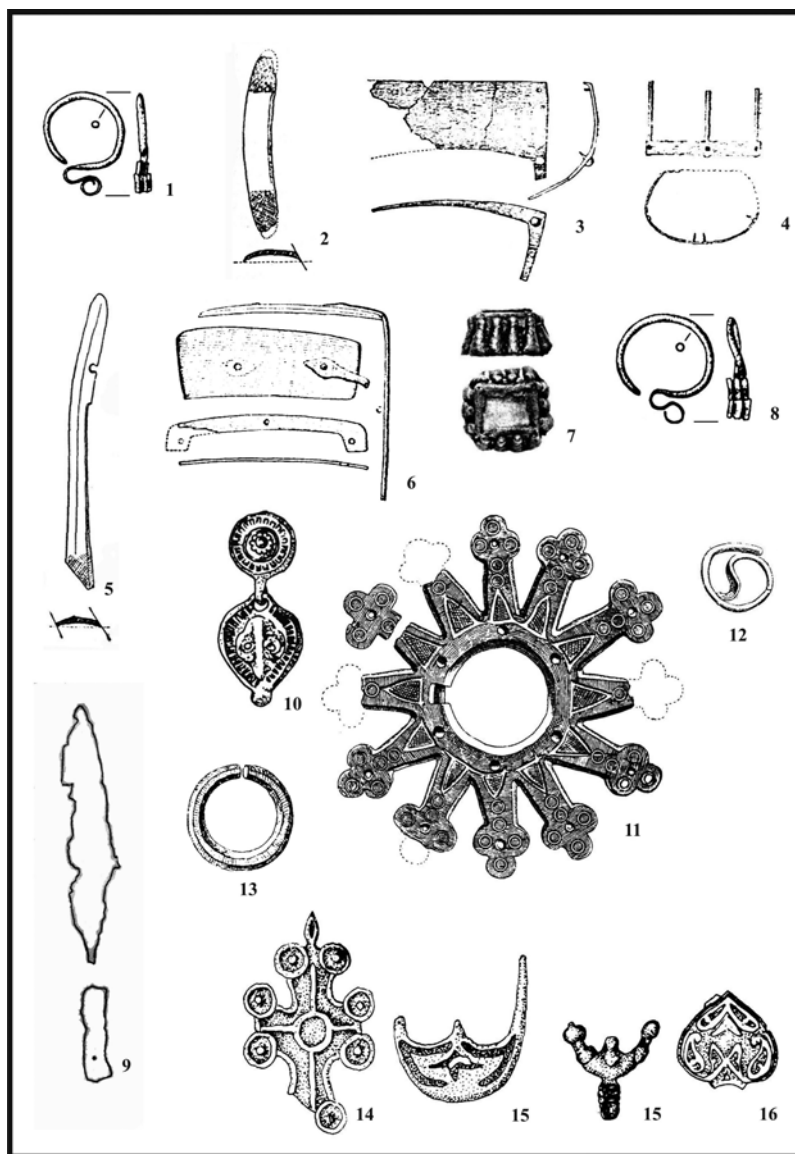


PLATE 51 1. Deszk-D, G. 11 (according to Mesterházy 1983—no scale), 2. G. 51, 3 G. 65, 4–6. G. 76 (according to Sebestyén 1932—no scale), 7. G. 97 (according to Mesterházy 1991—no scale), 8. G. 152 (according to Mesterházy 1983—no scale), 9. Deszk-J, G. 6 (according to Kovács 1977—no scale), 10–16. Deta (according to Kárász 1896—no scale).

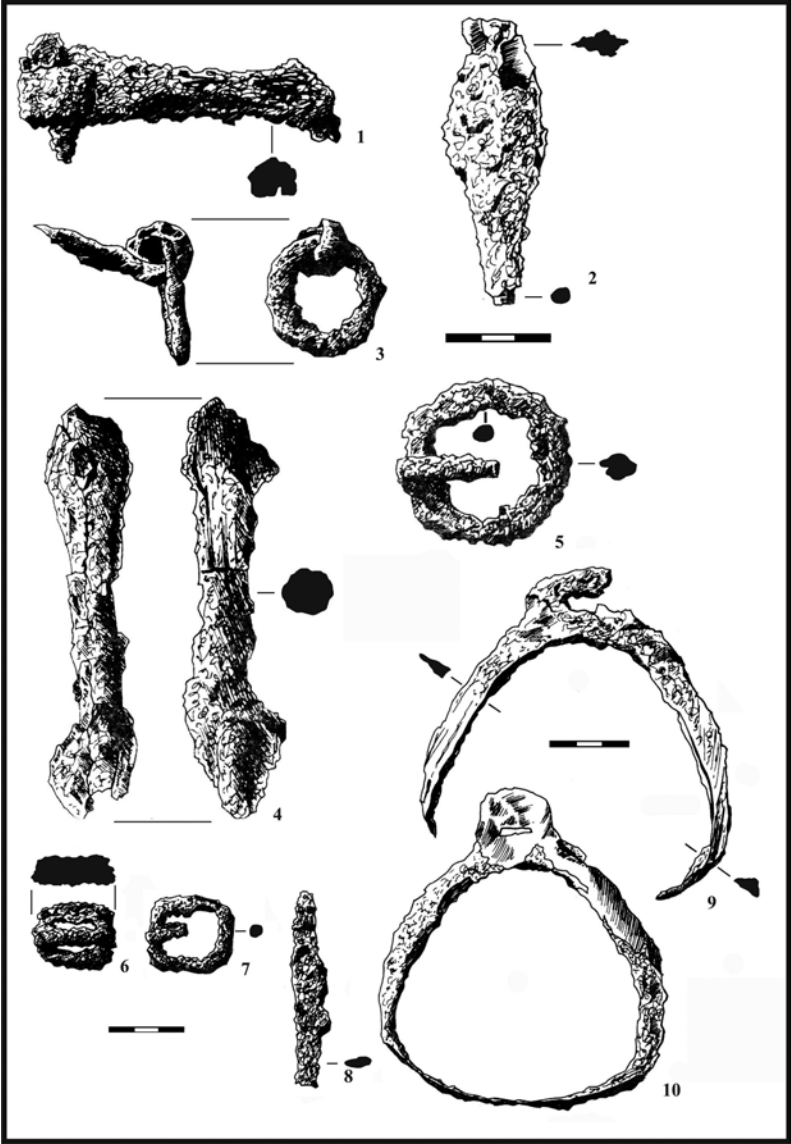


PLATE 52 1-10. Dudeștii Vechi-T.I (according to Bejan, Mare 1997).

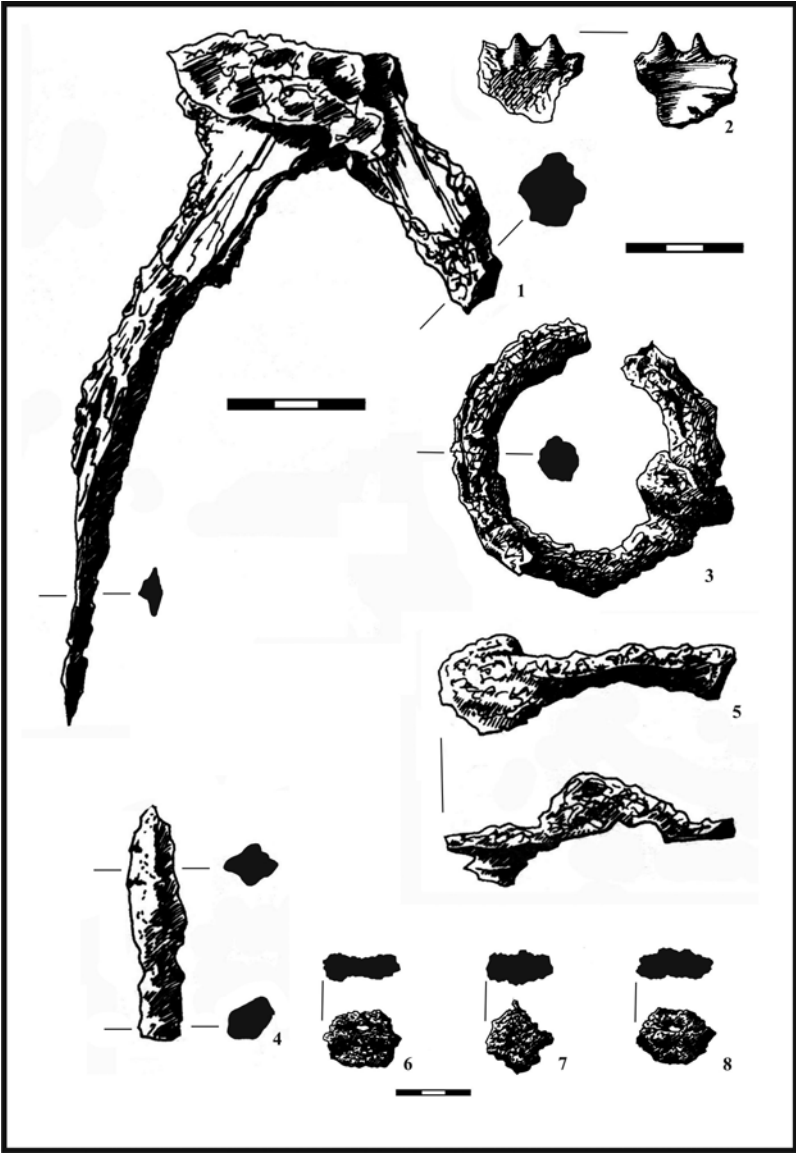


PLATE 53 1-8. *Dudești Vechi* (according to Bejan, Mare 1997).

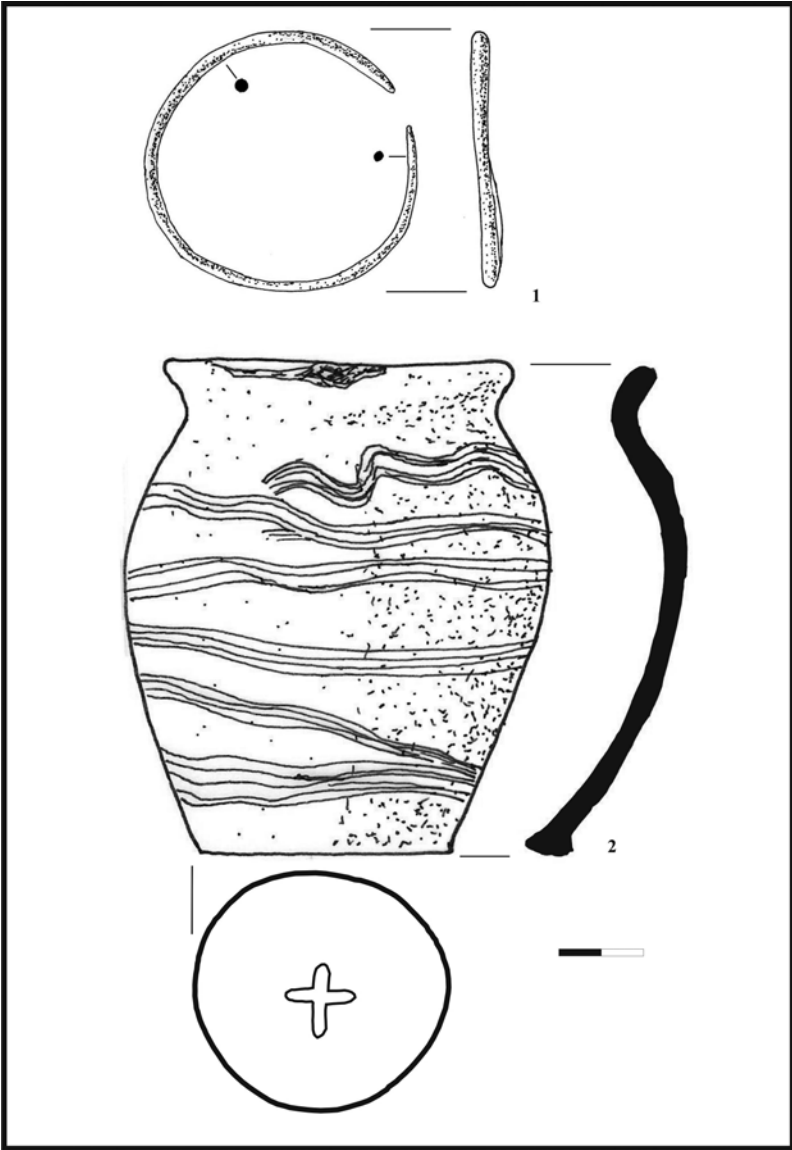


PLATE 54 1-2. Dudeștii Vechi-Movila lui Dragomir: G. I (redrawn after Bejan et al. 2005).

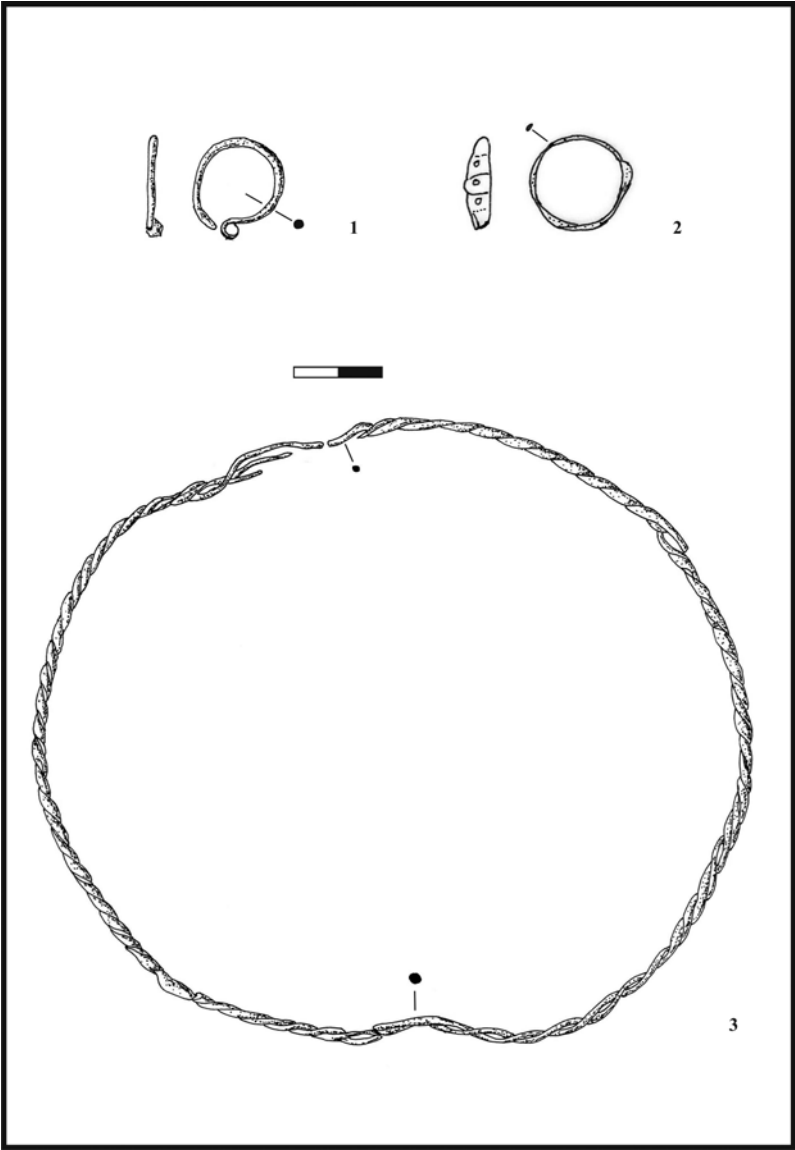


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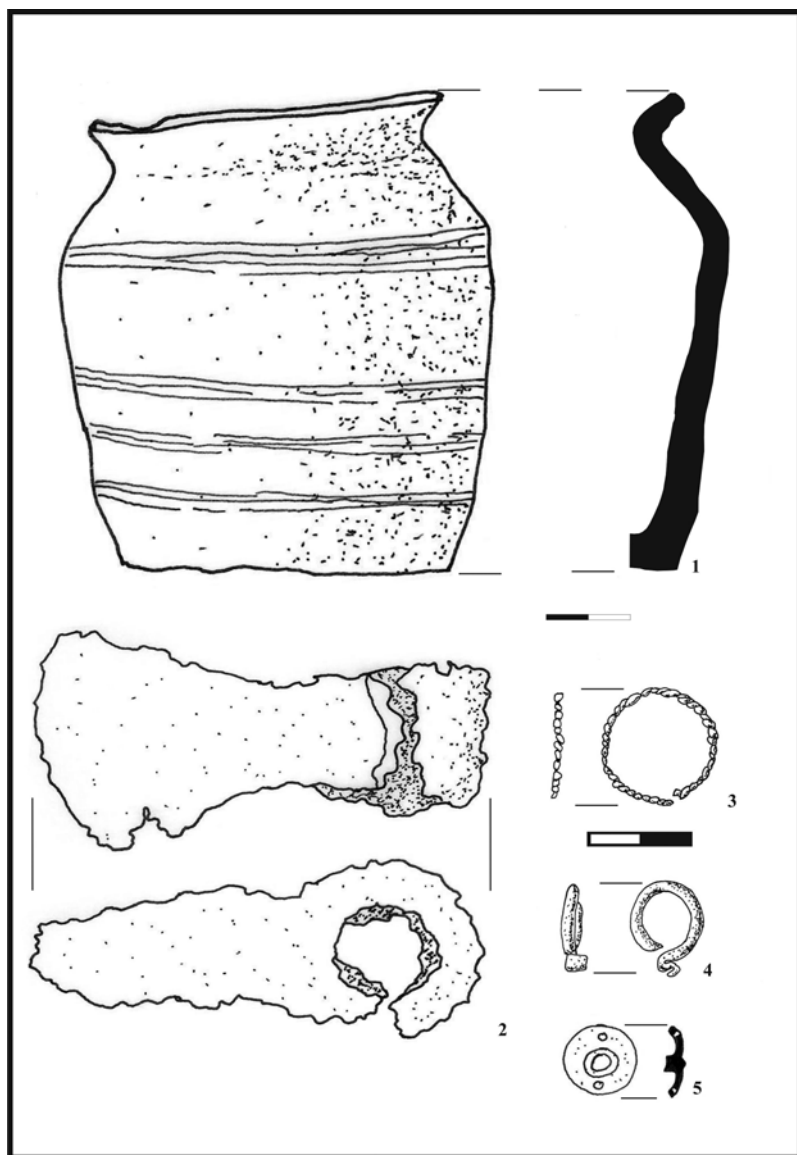


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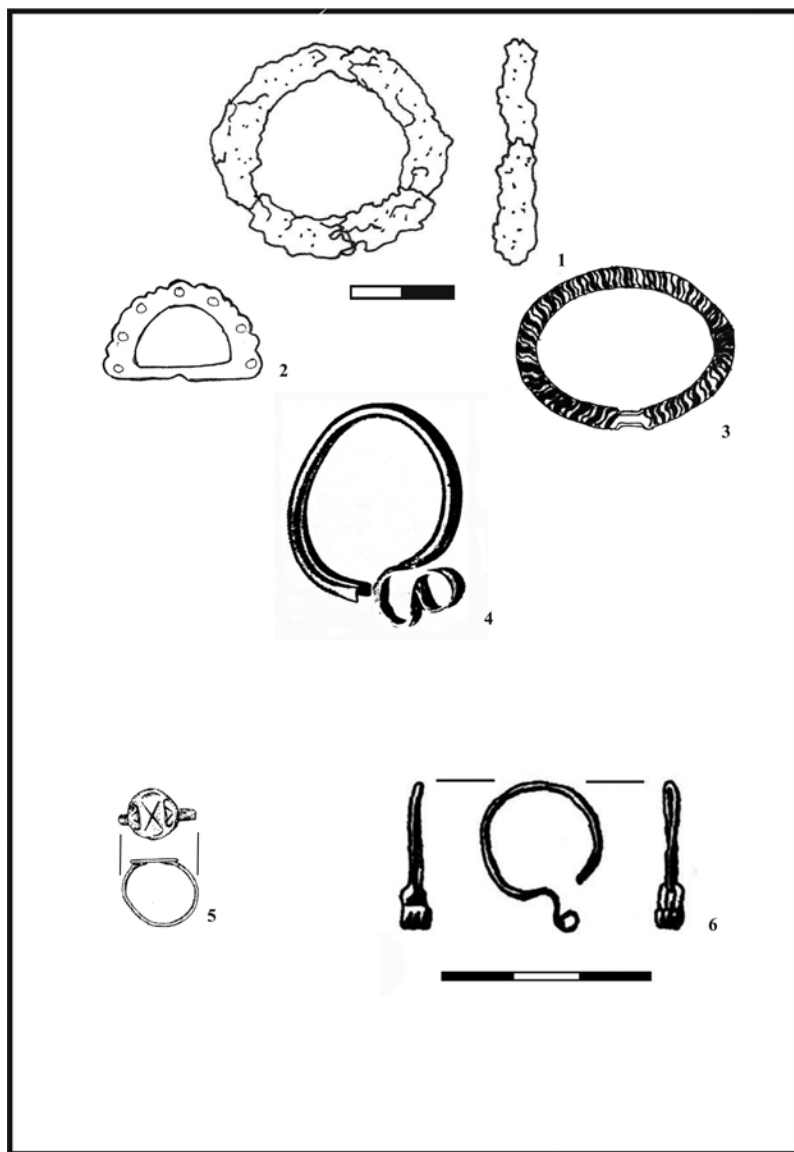


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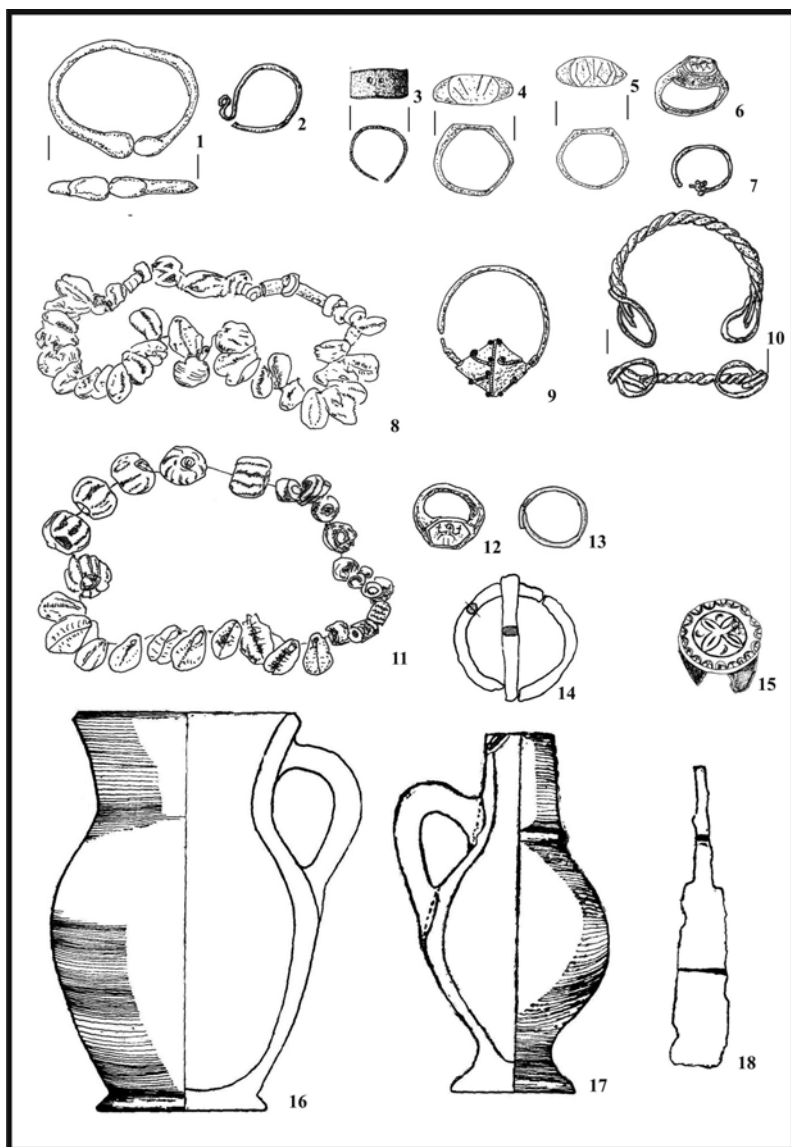


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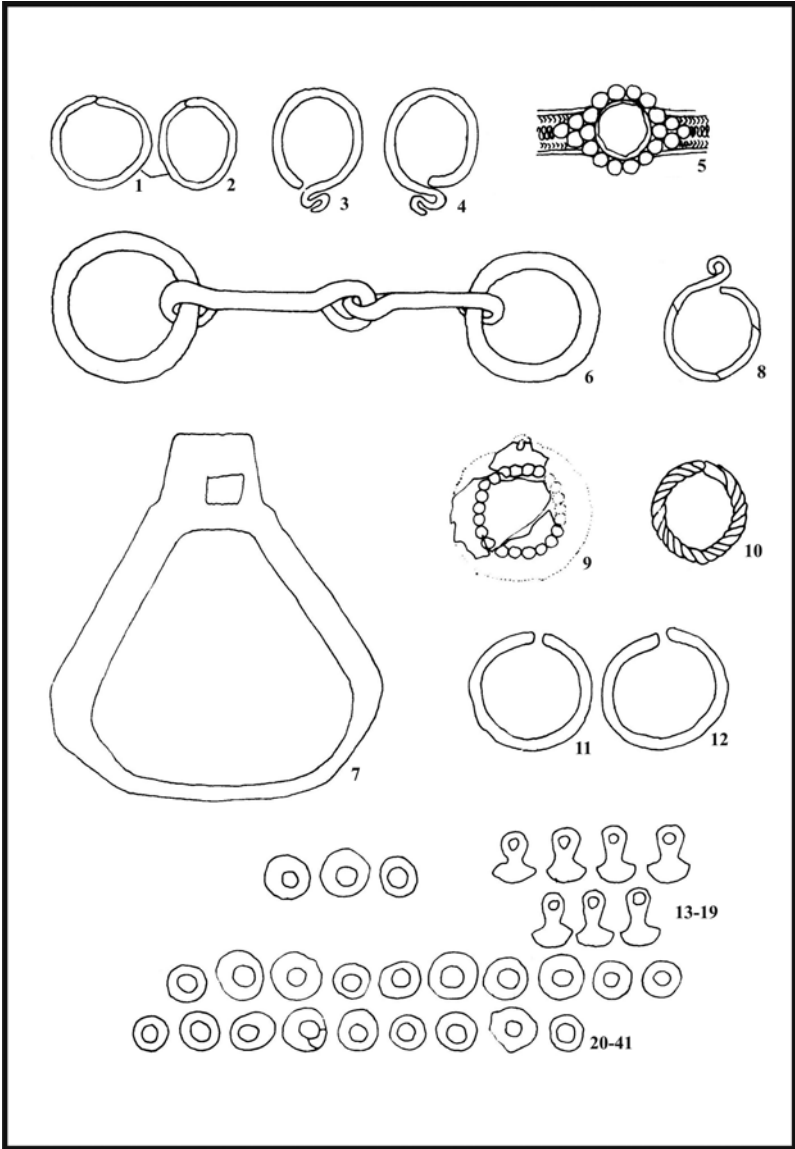


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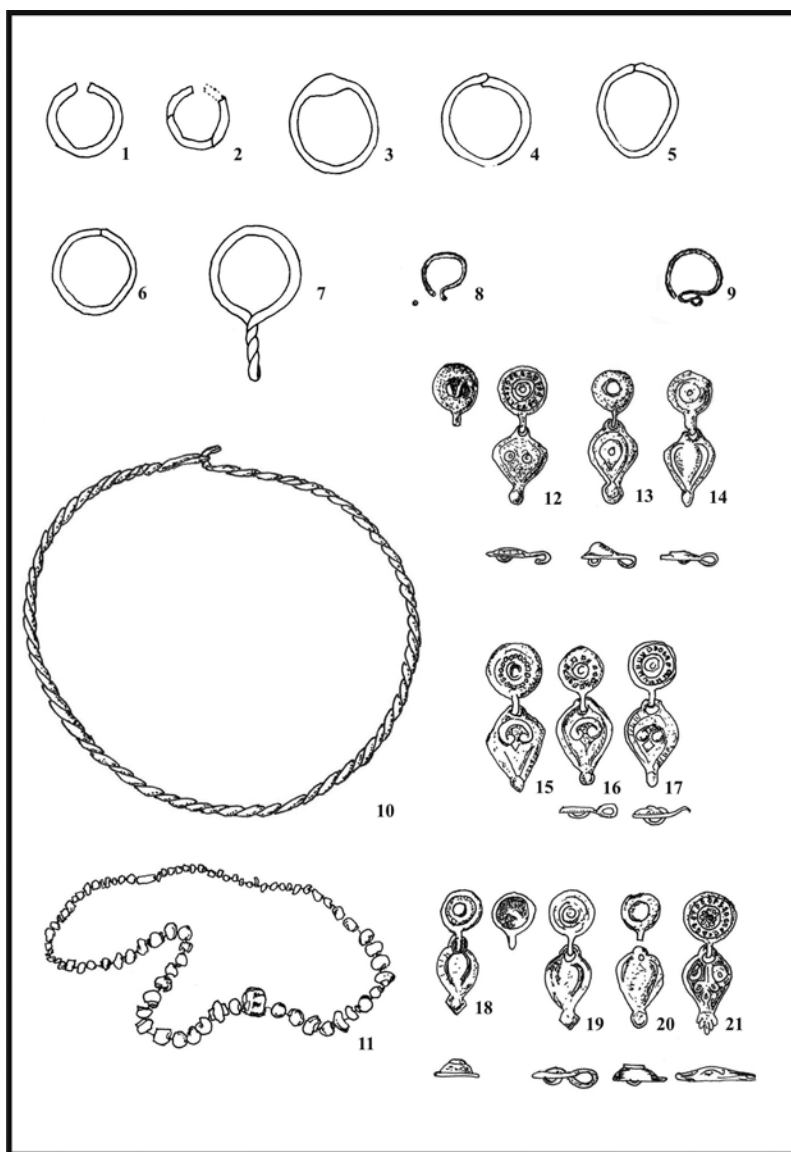


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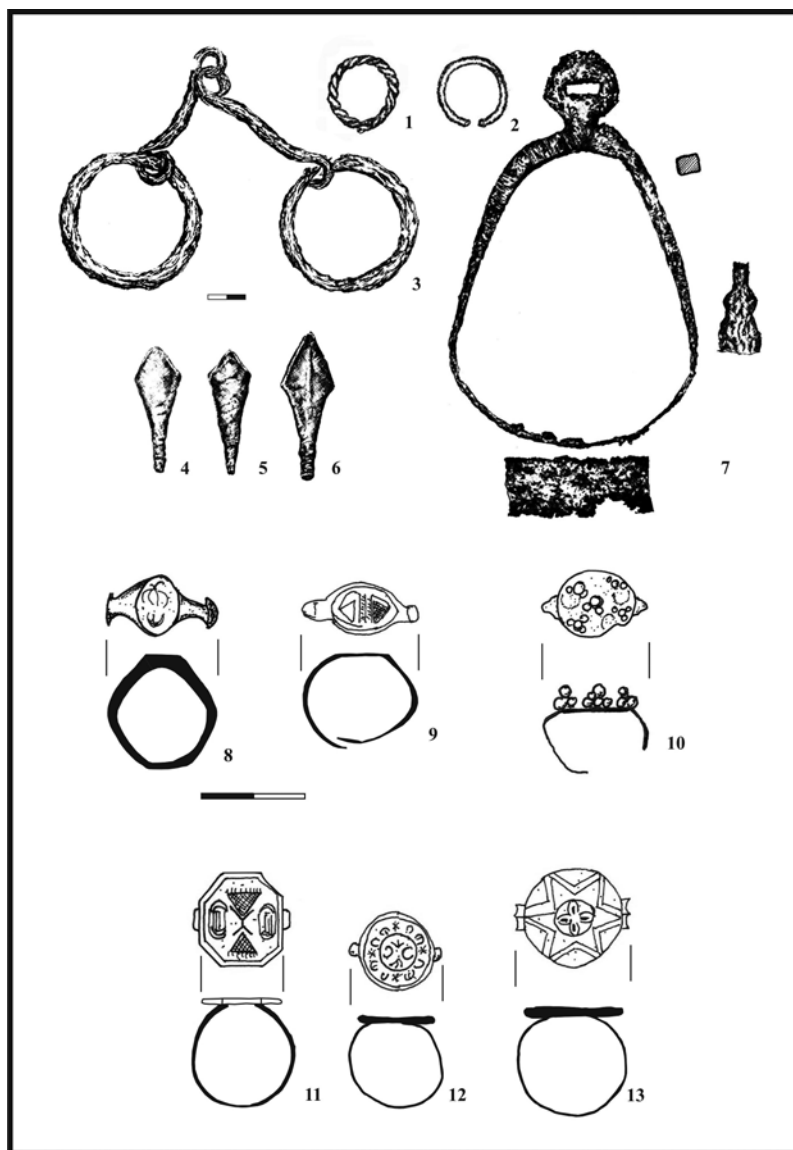


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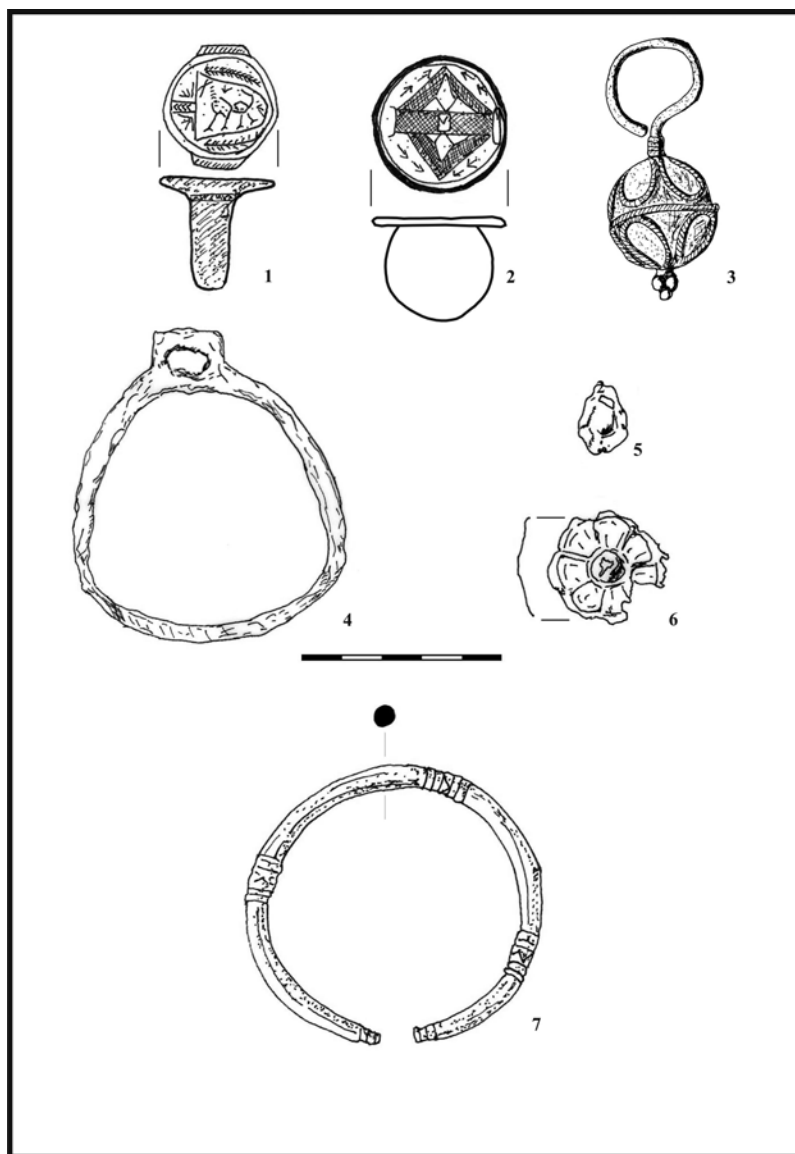


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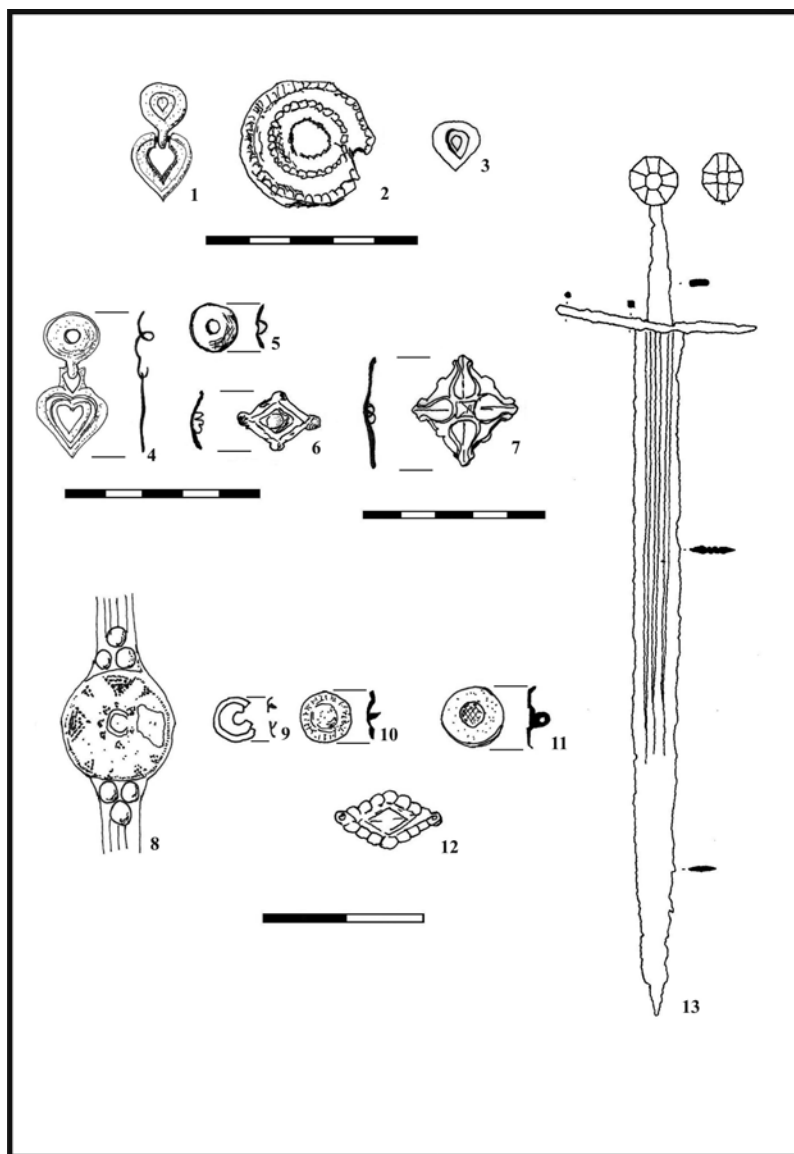


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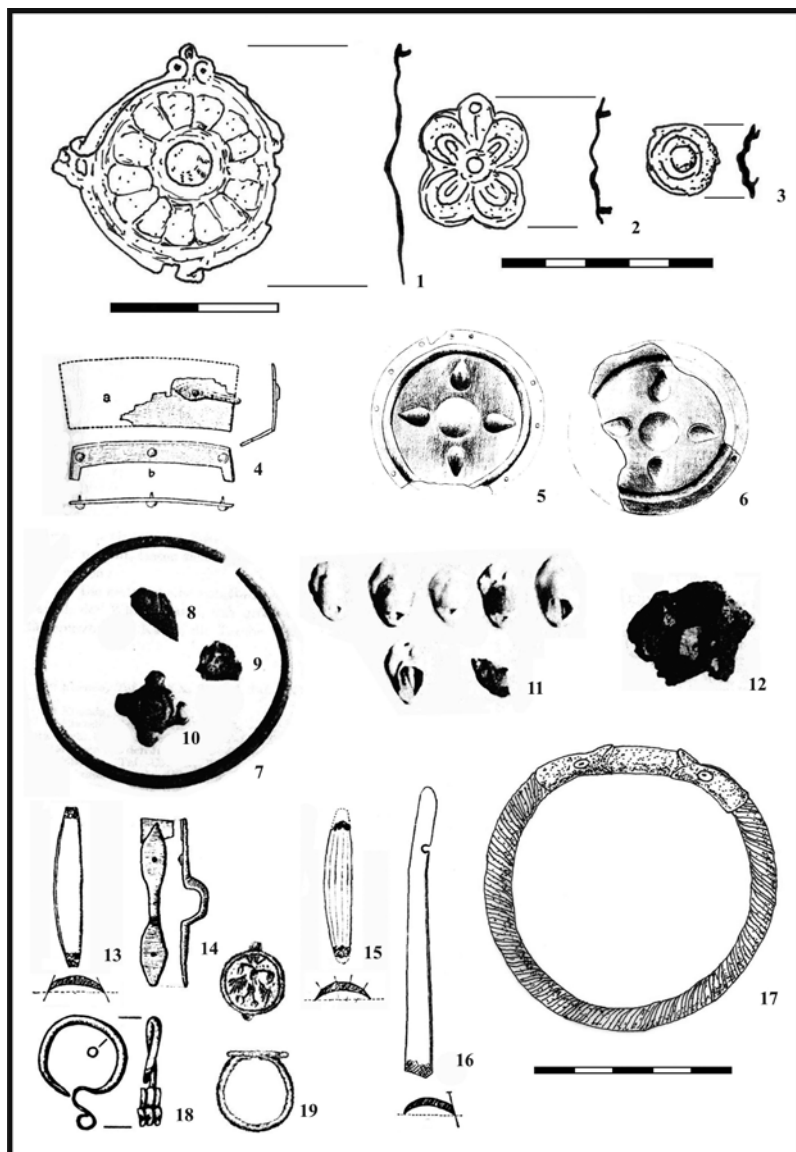


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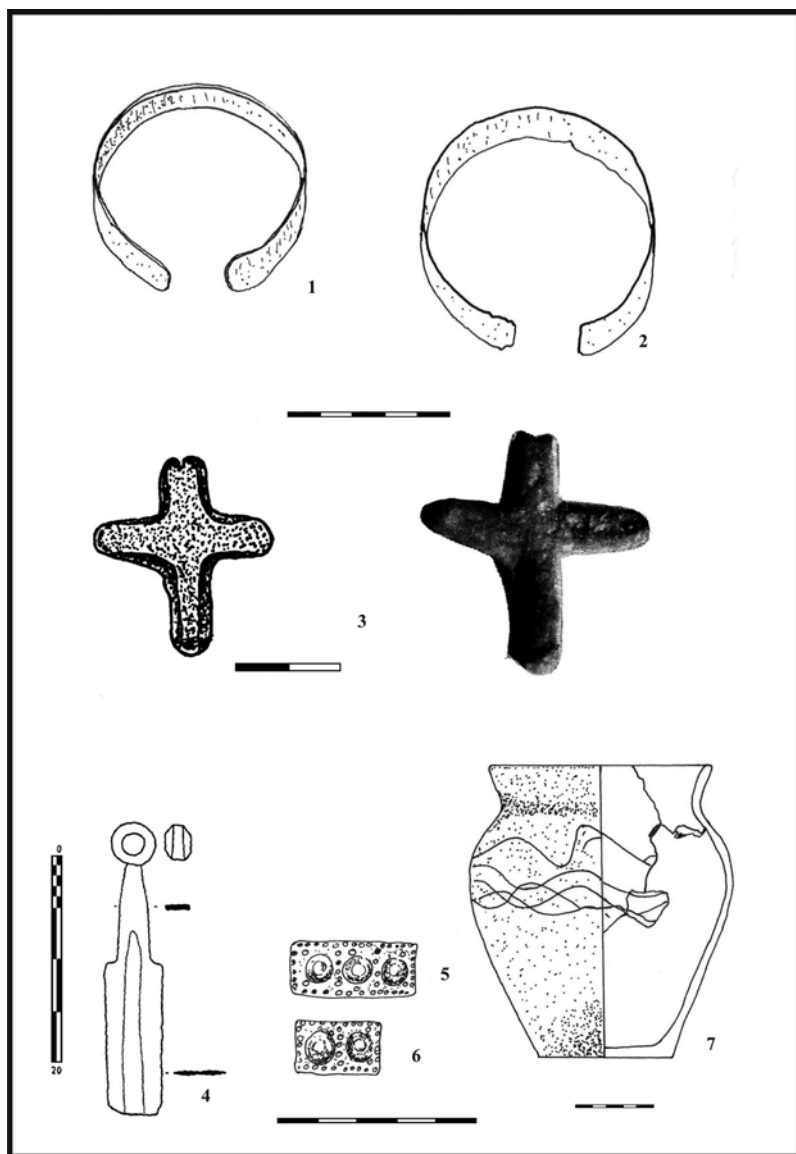


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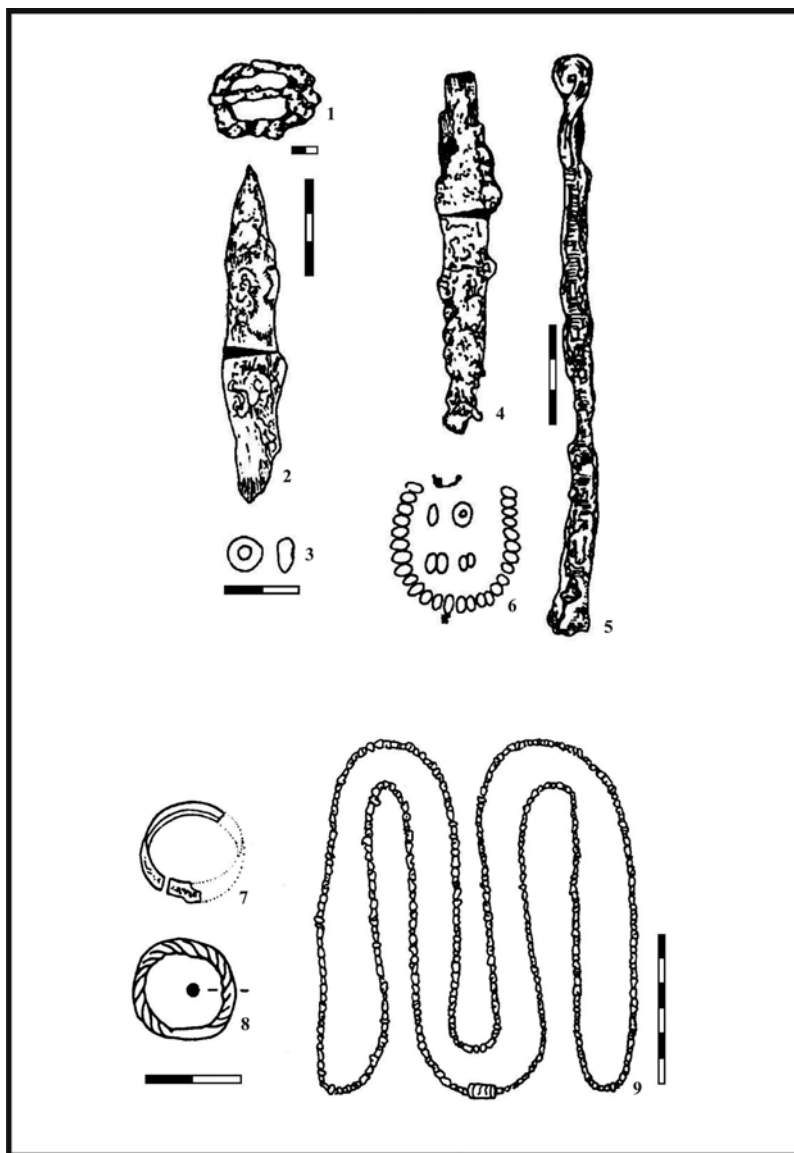


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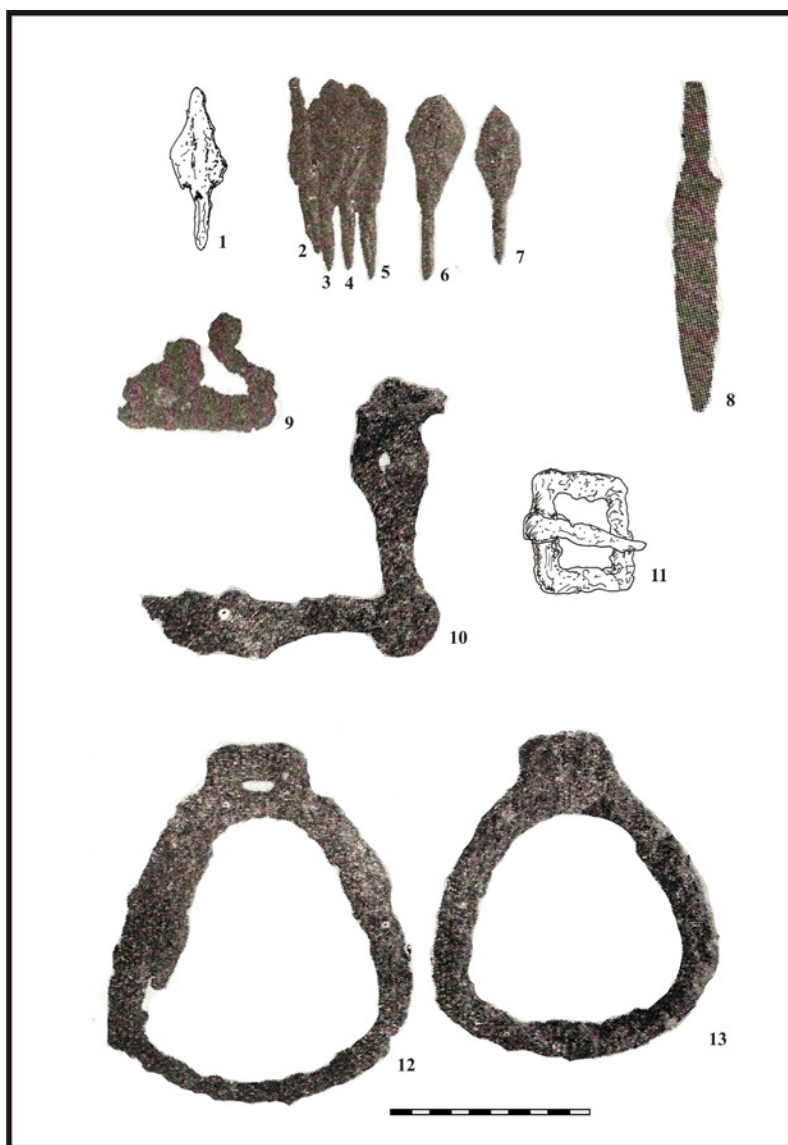


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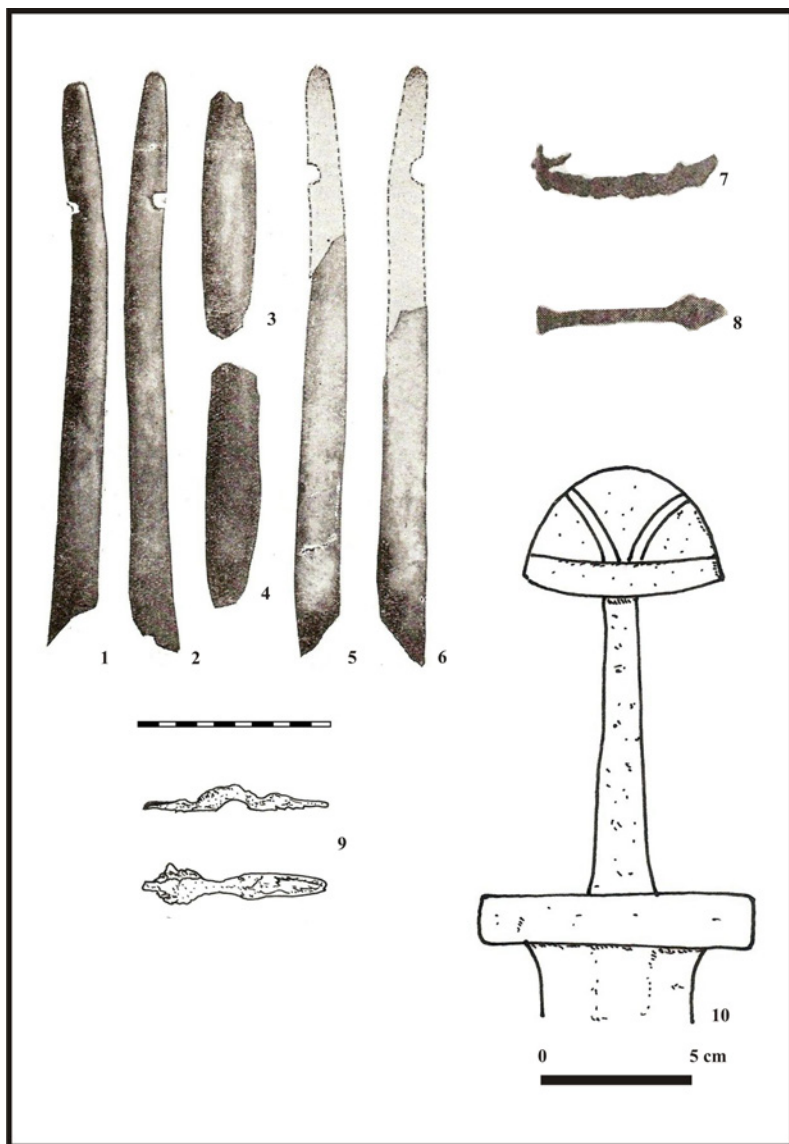


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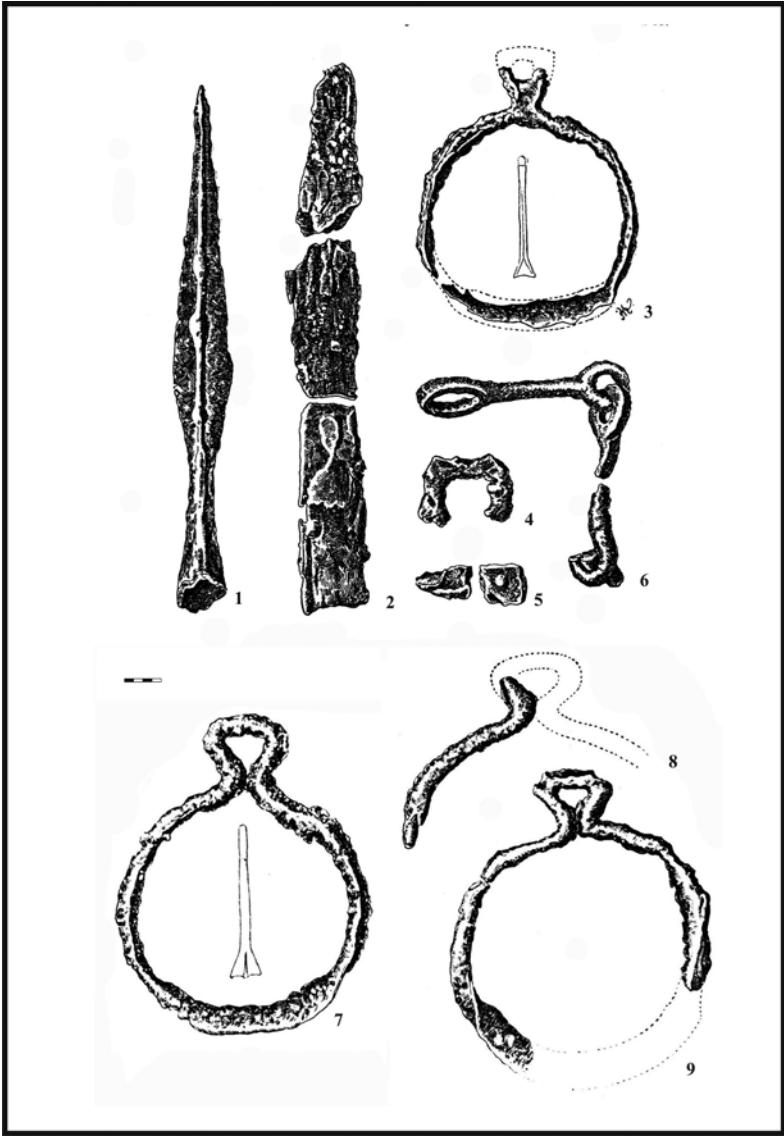


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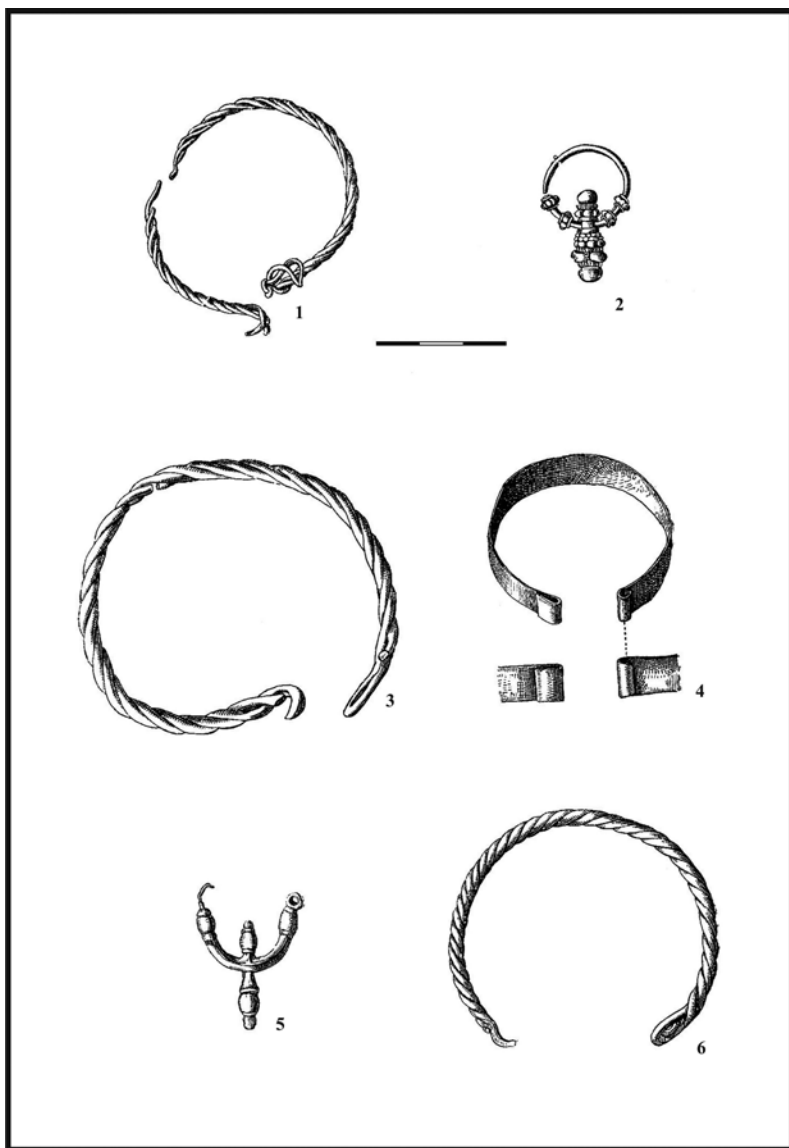


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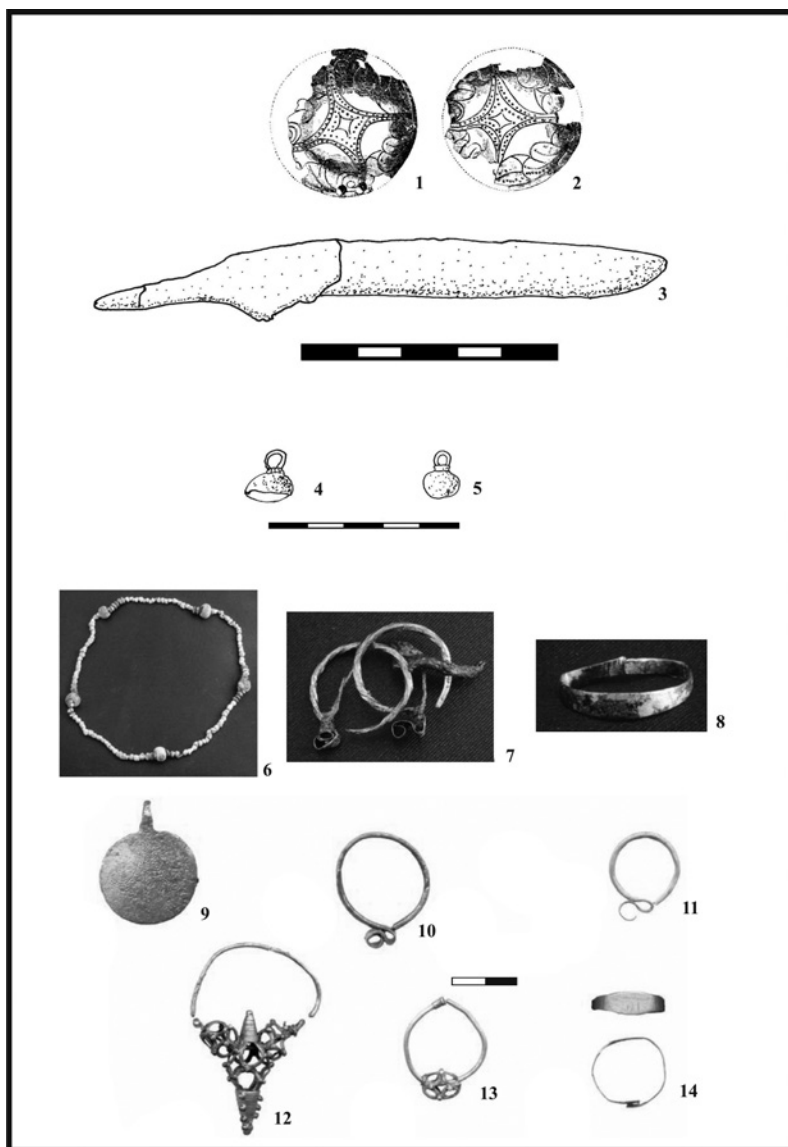


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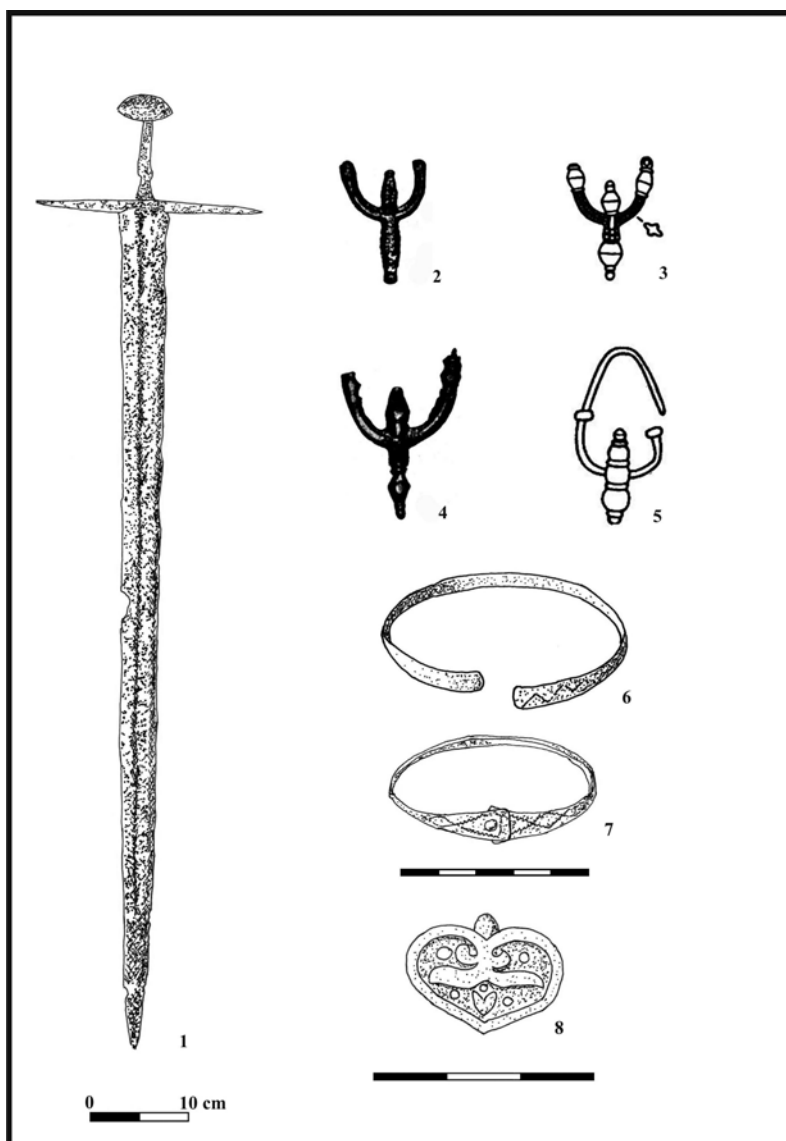


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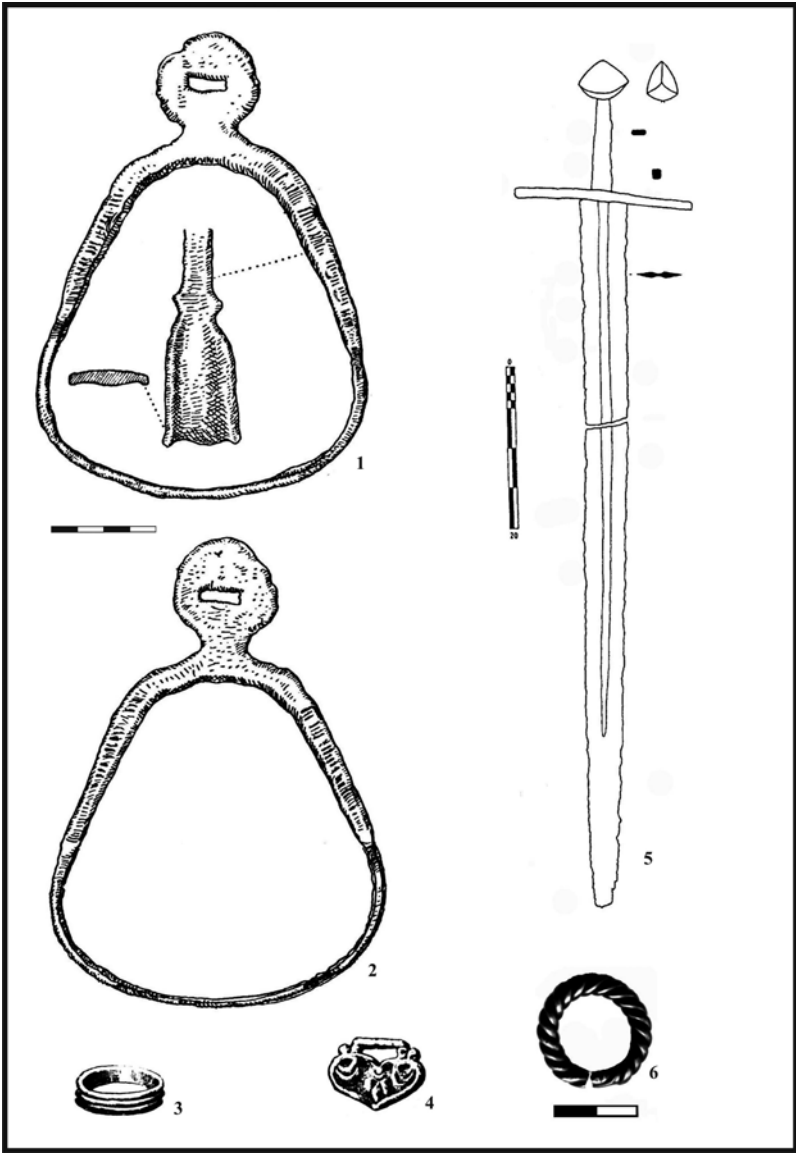


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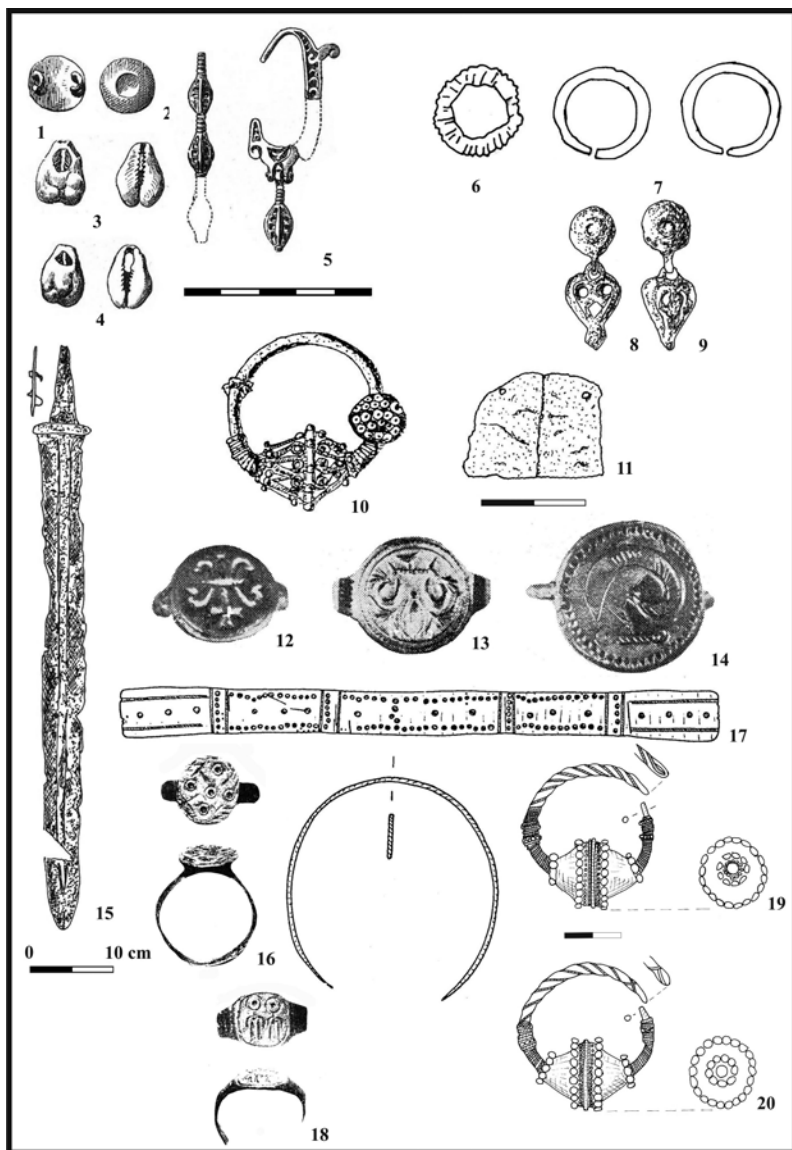


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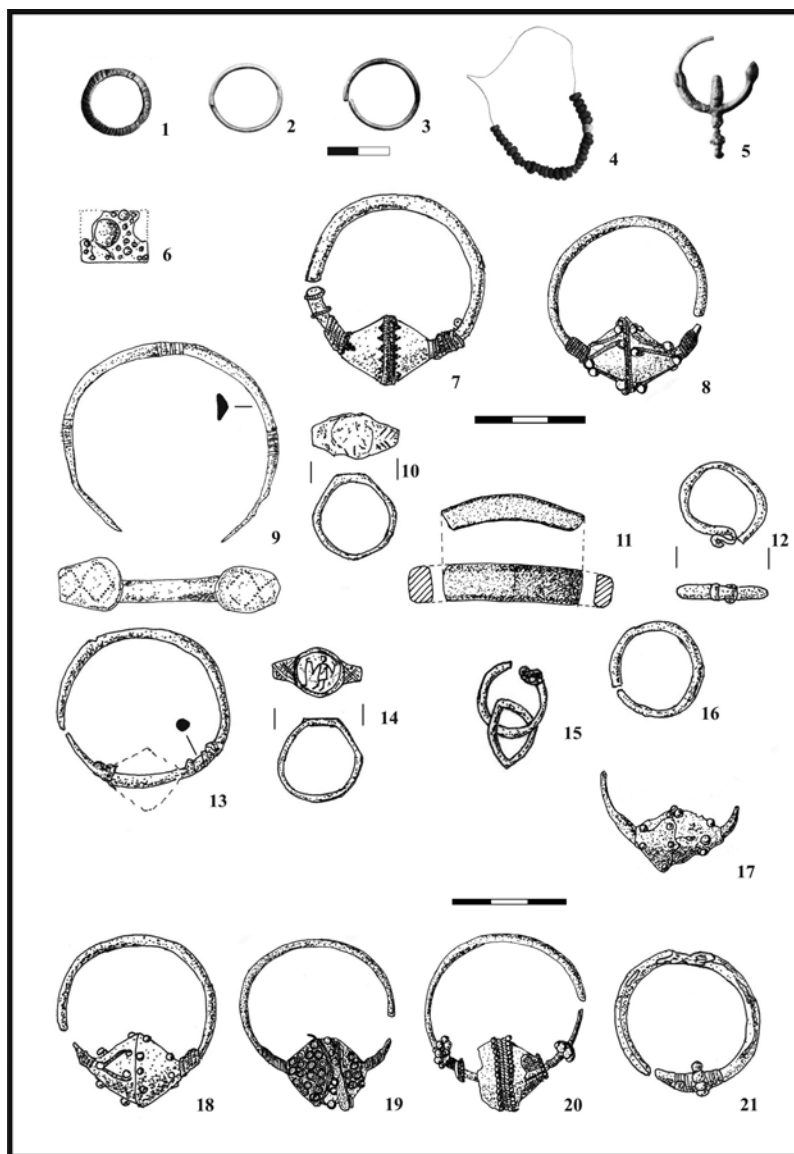


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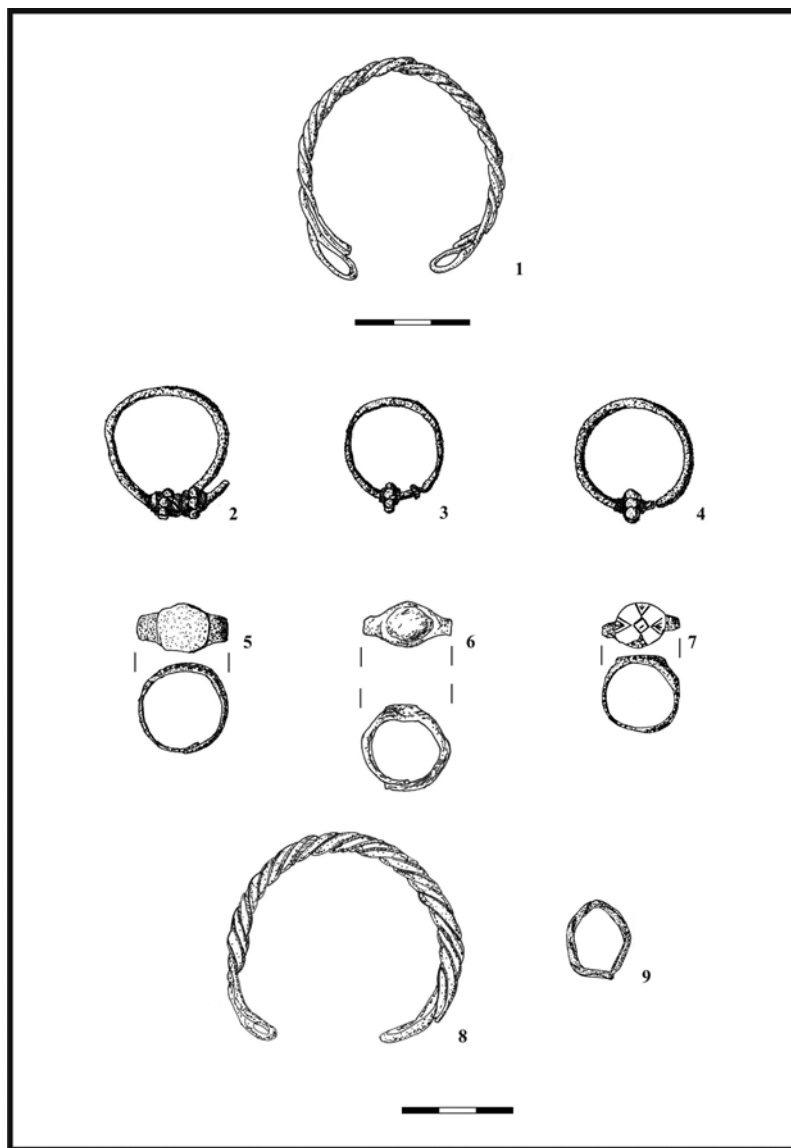


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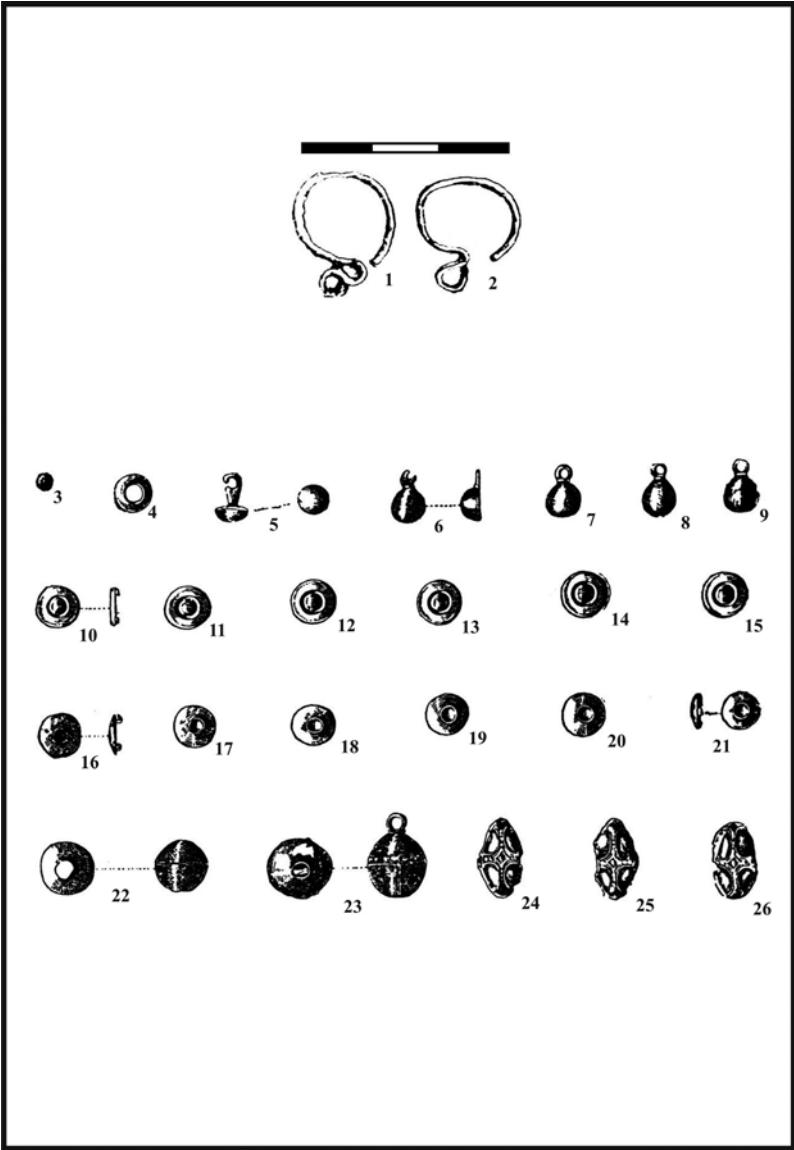


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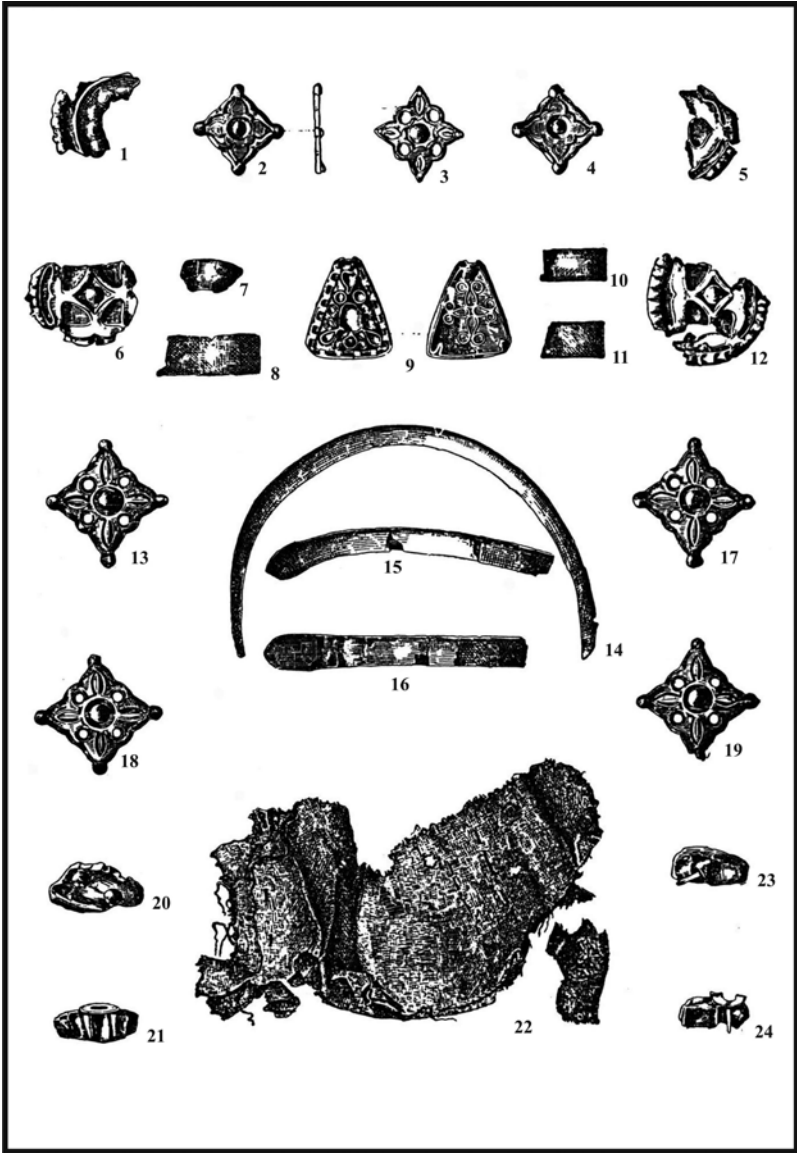


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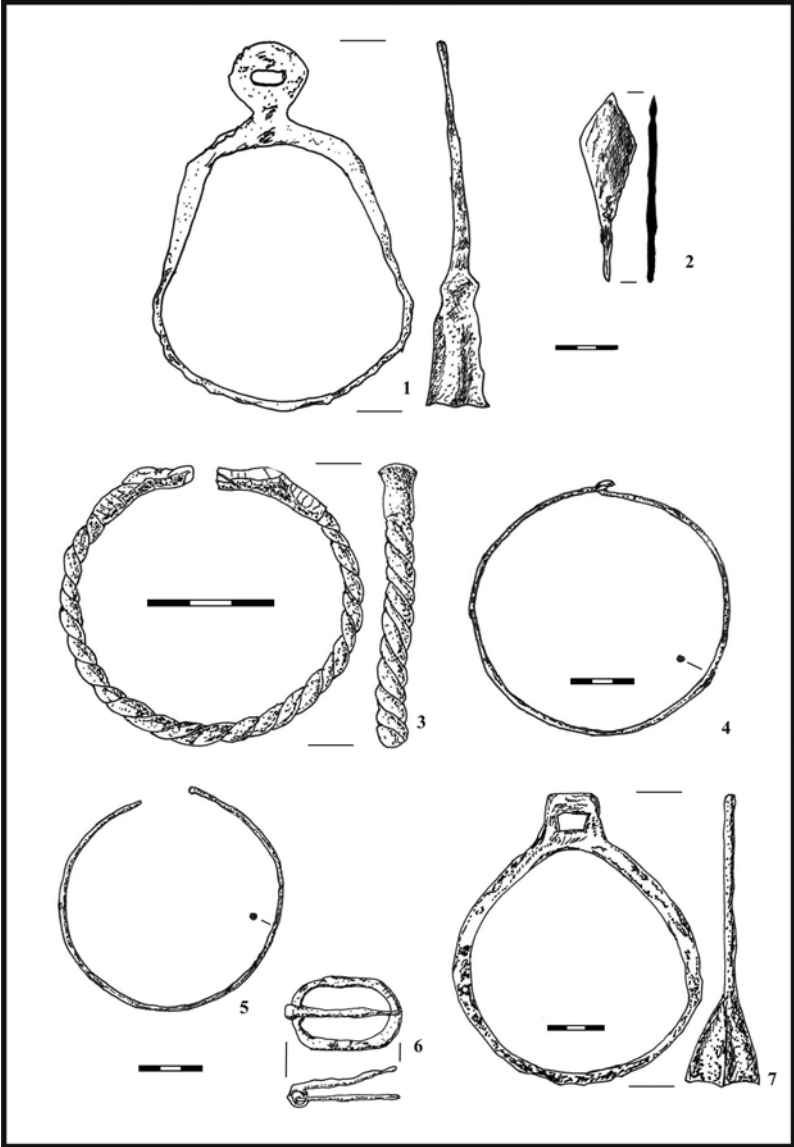


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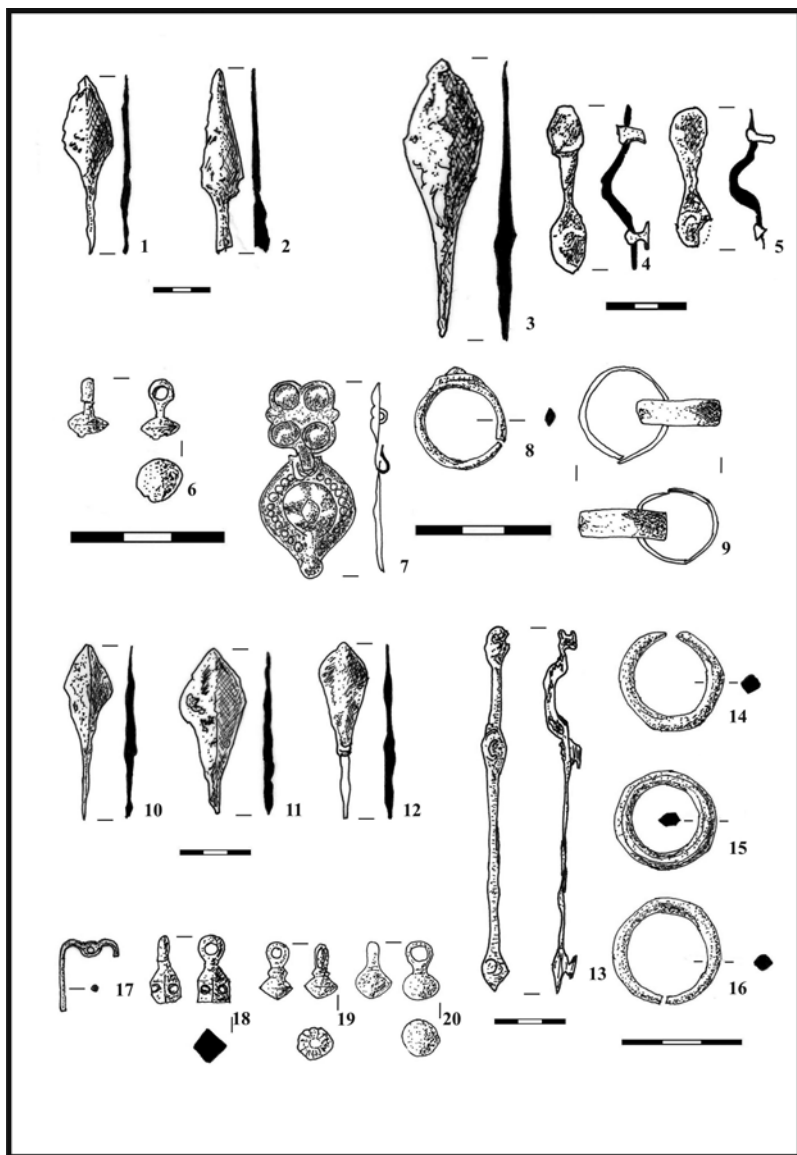


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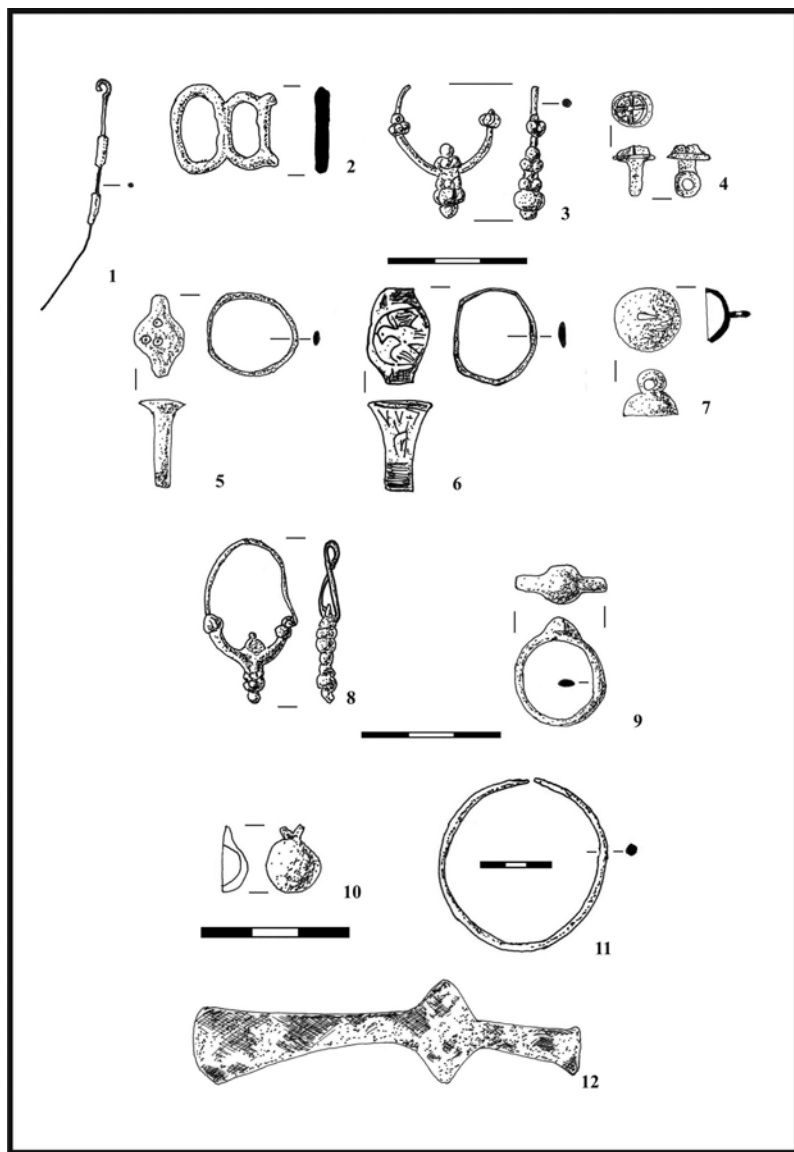


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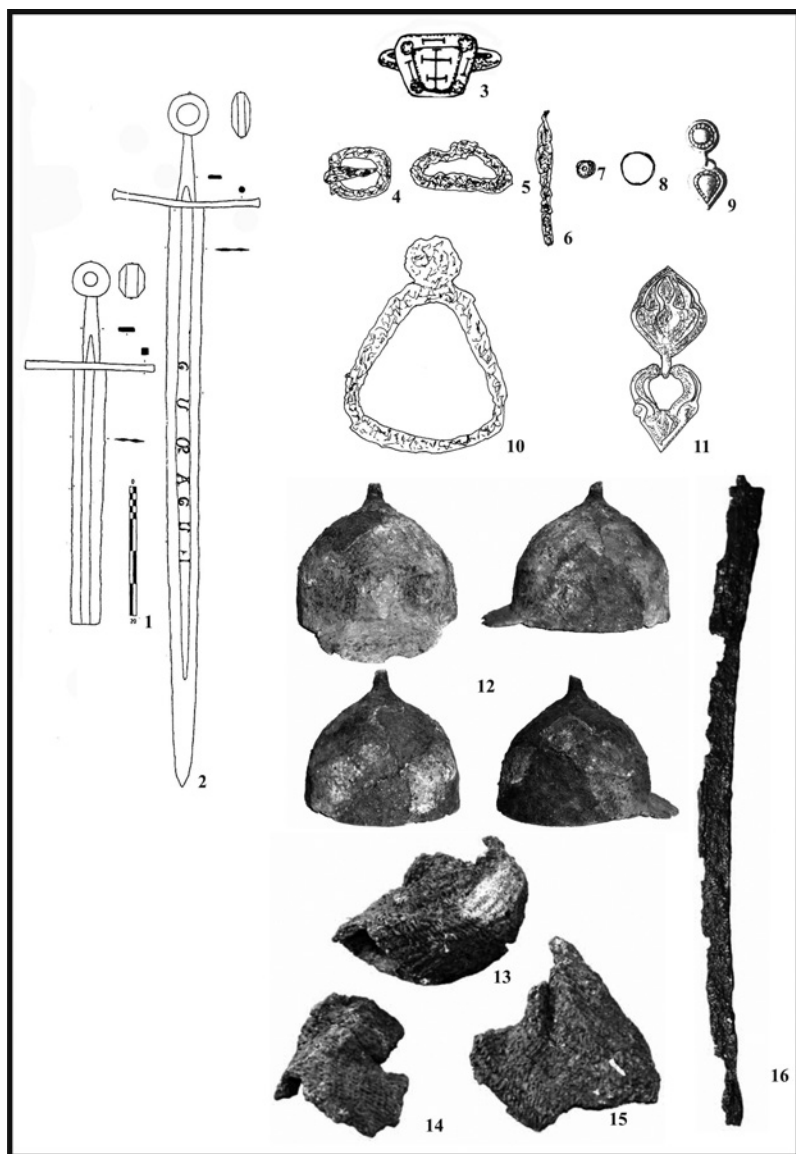


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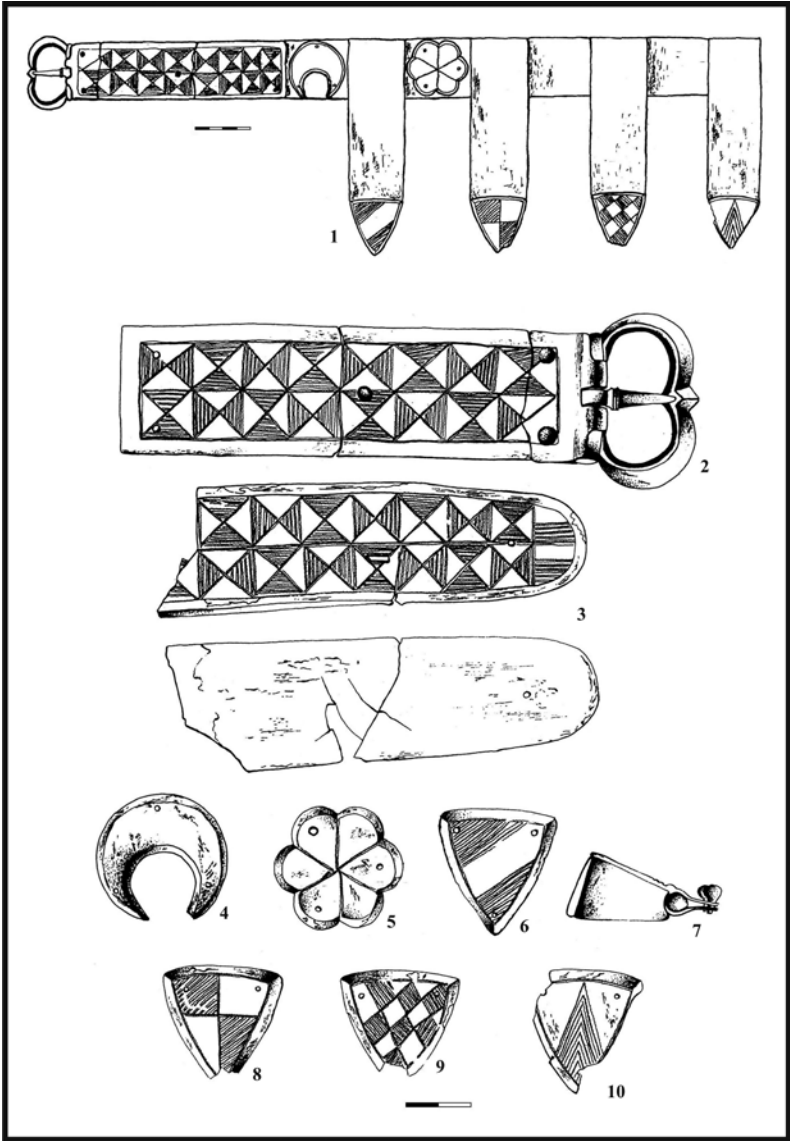


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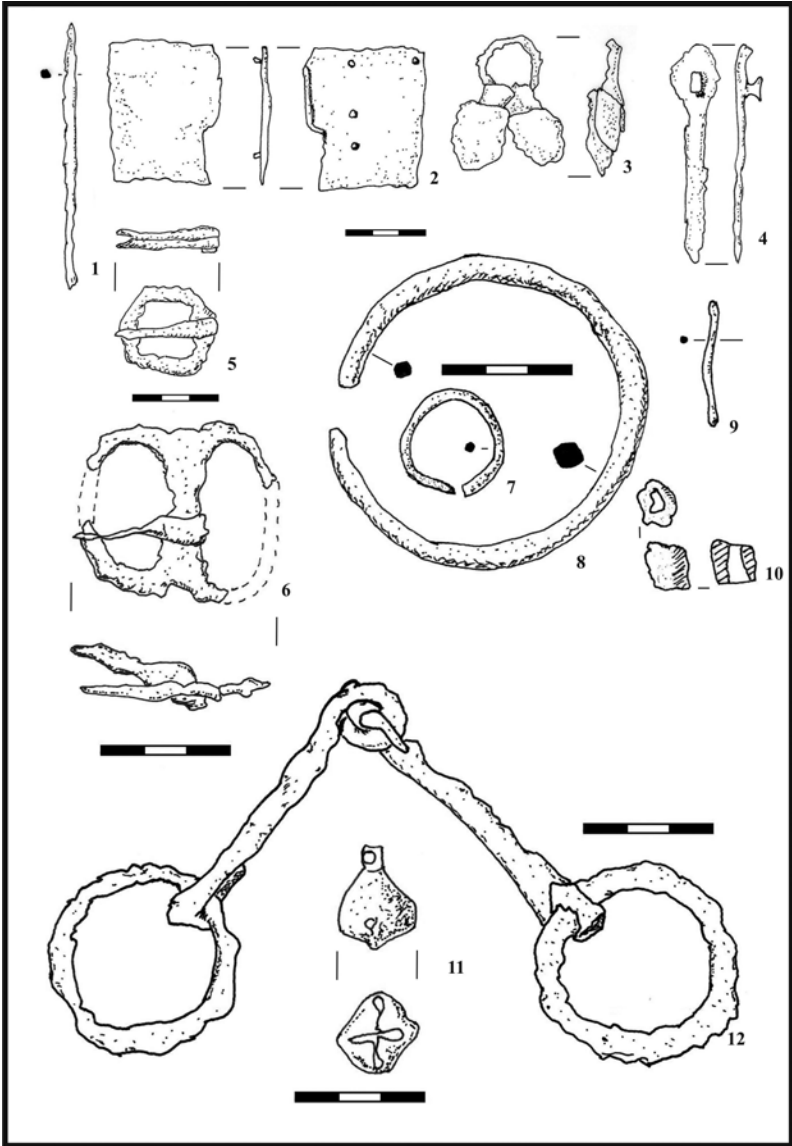


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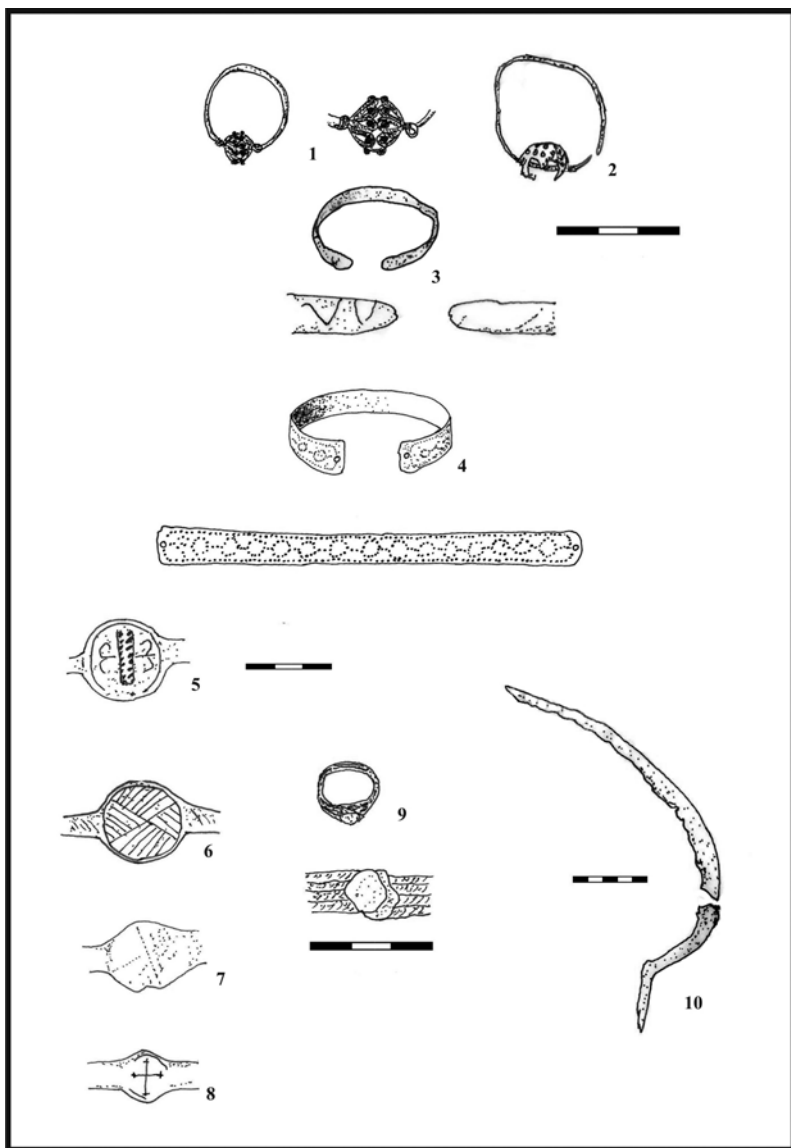


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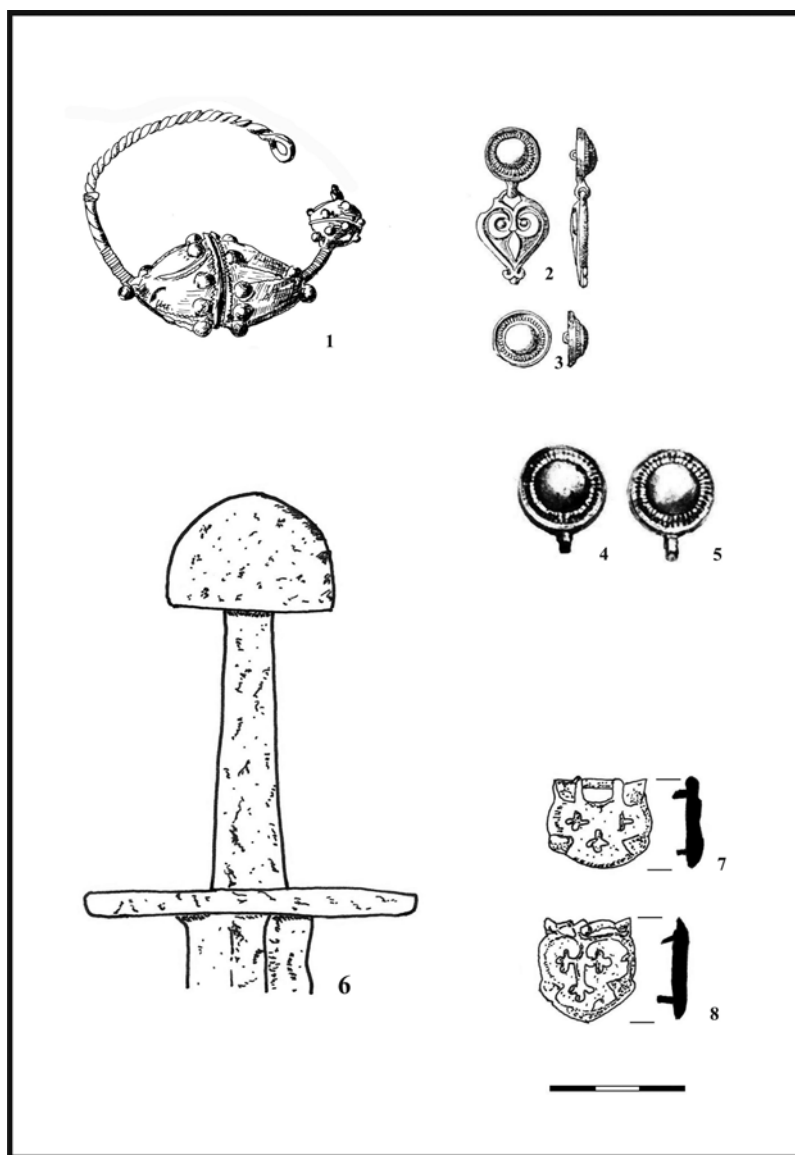


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117. *Vărădia*, comm. of Vărădia, Caraș-Severin County
118. *Vizejdia*, comm. of Lovrin, Timiș County

119. *Voiteni (Voiteg)*, comm. of Voiteni (Voiteg), Timiș County
120. *Vojlovica*, Pancevo District
121. *Vrani*, comm. of Vrani, Caraș-Severin County
122. *Vrăniuț*, comm. of Răcășdia, Caraș-Severin County
123. *Vrșac*, Vrșac District
124. Unspecified location, from Banat

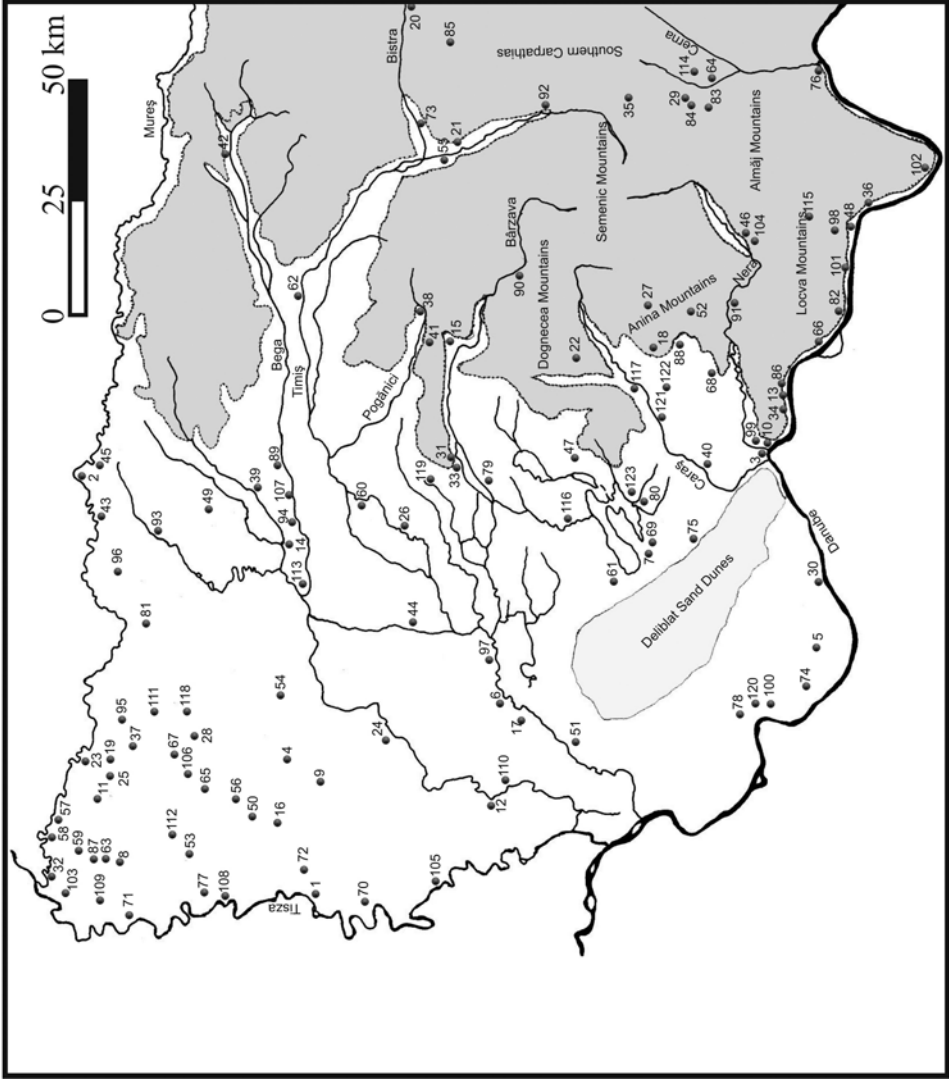


PLATE 88 Cemeteries and funerary discoveries in the Historical Banat (10th–14th centuries).

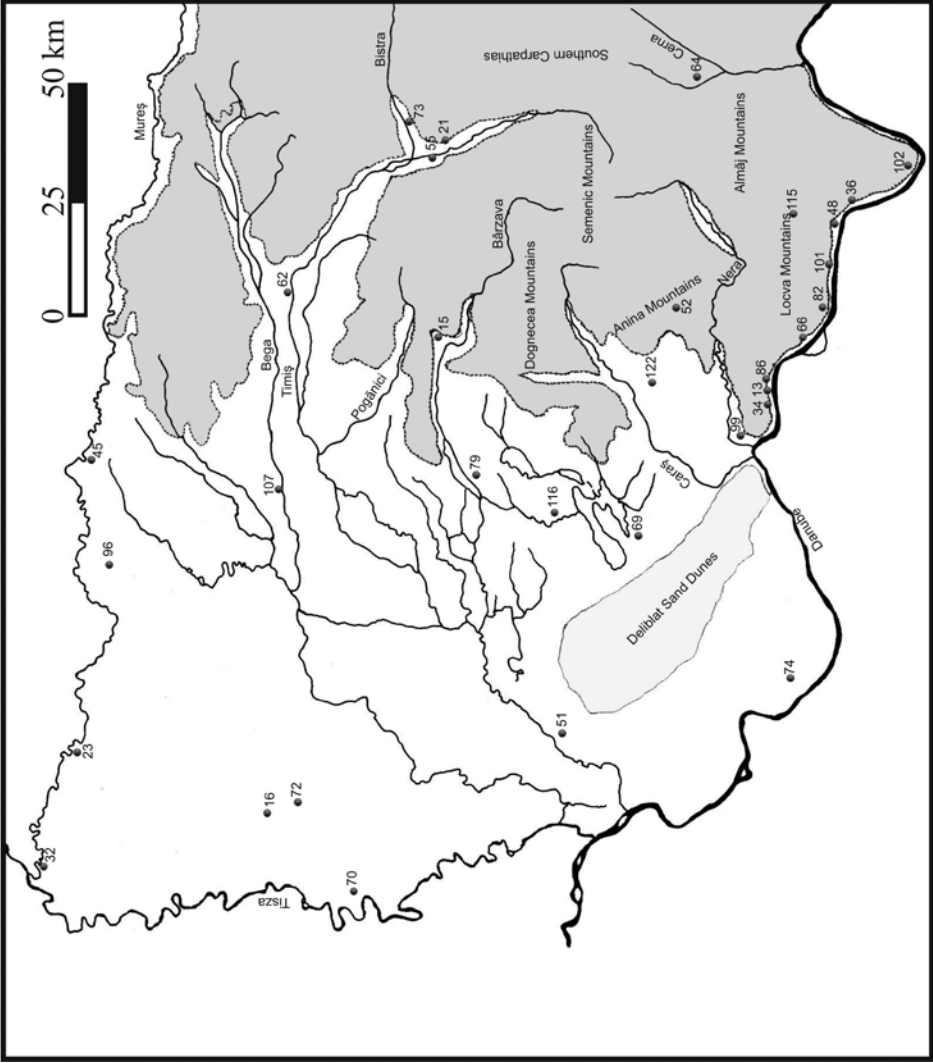


PLATE 89 Flat cemeteries.

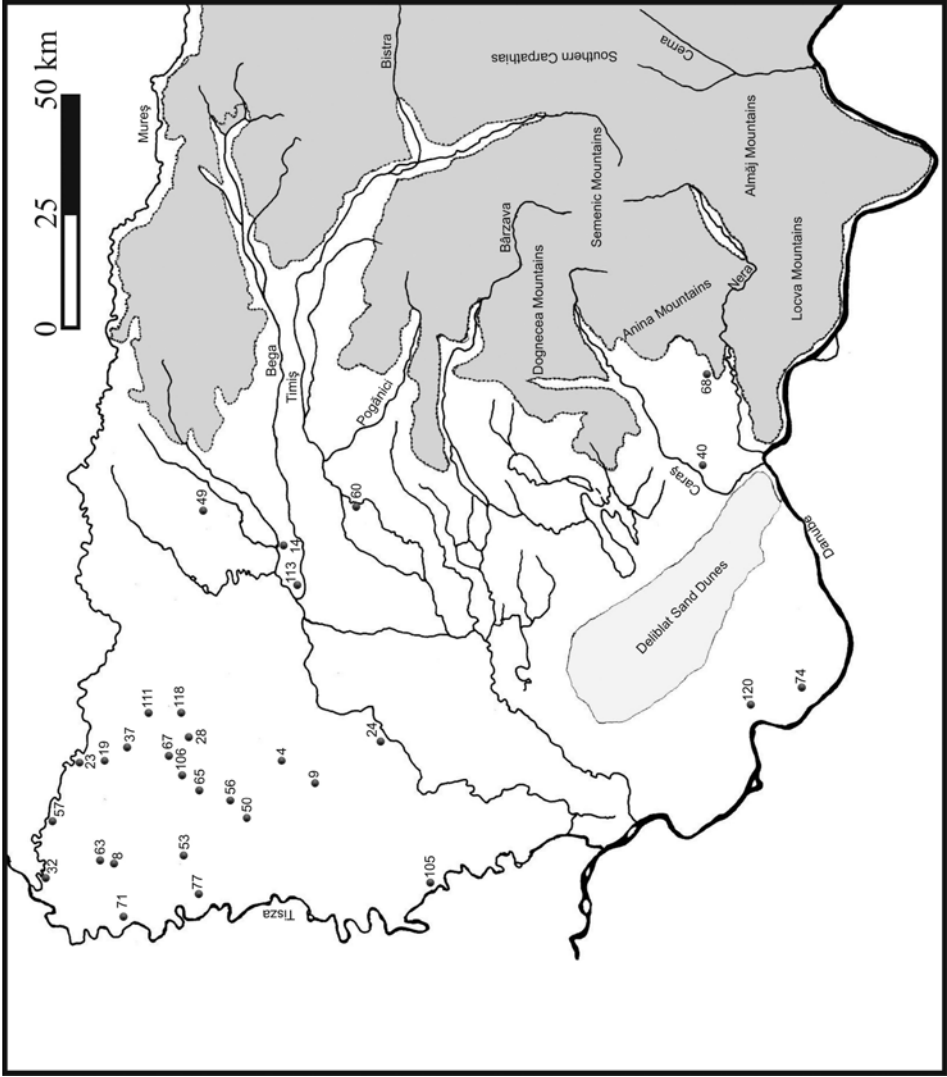


PLATE 90 Cemeteries in mounds.

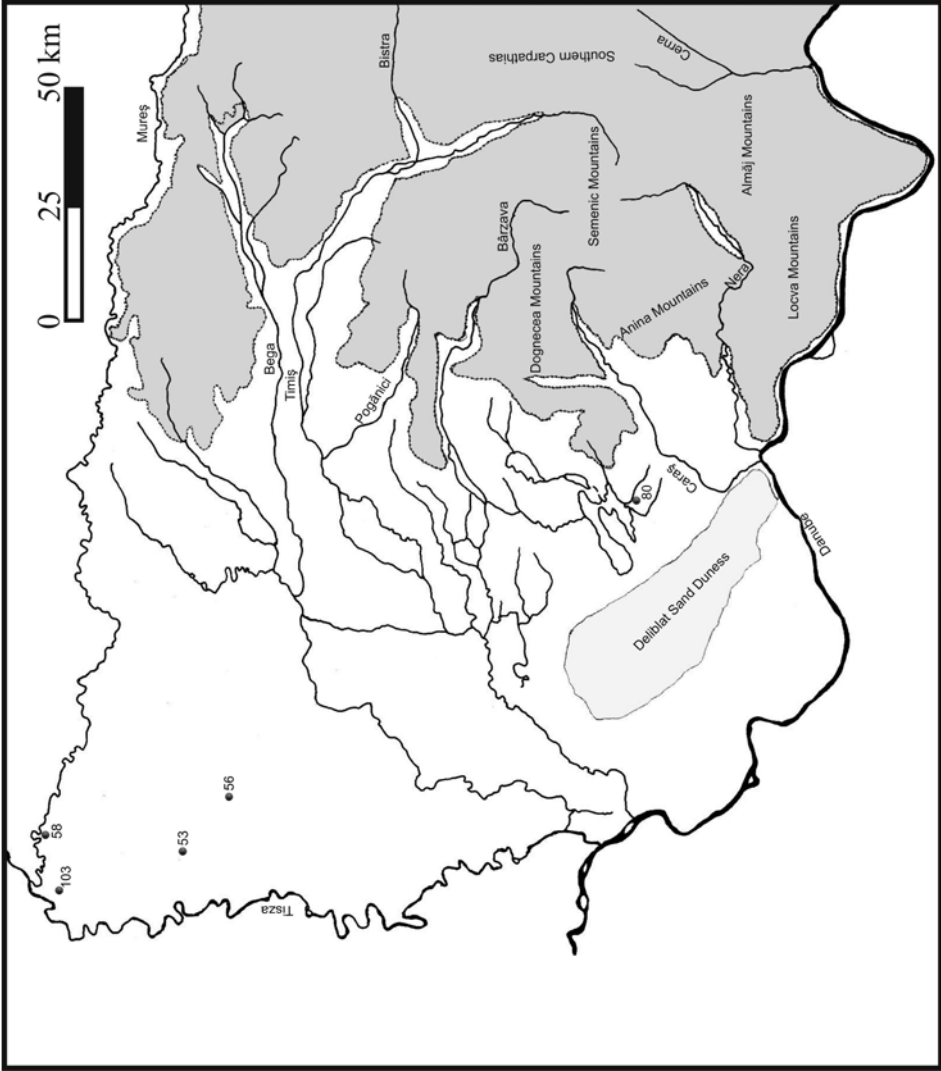


PLATE 91 *Cimeteris* in sand dunes.

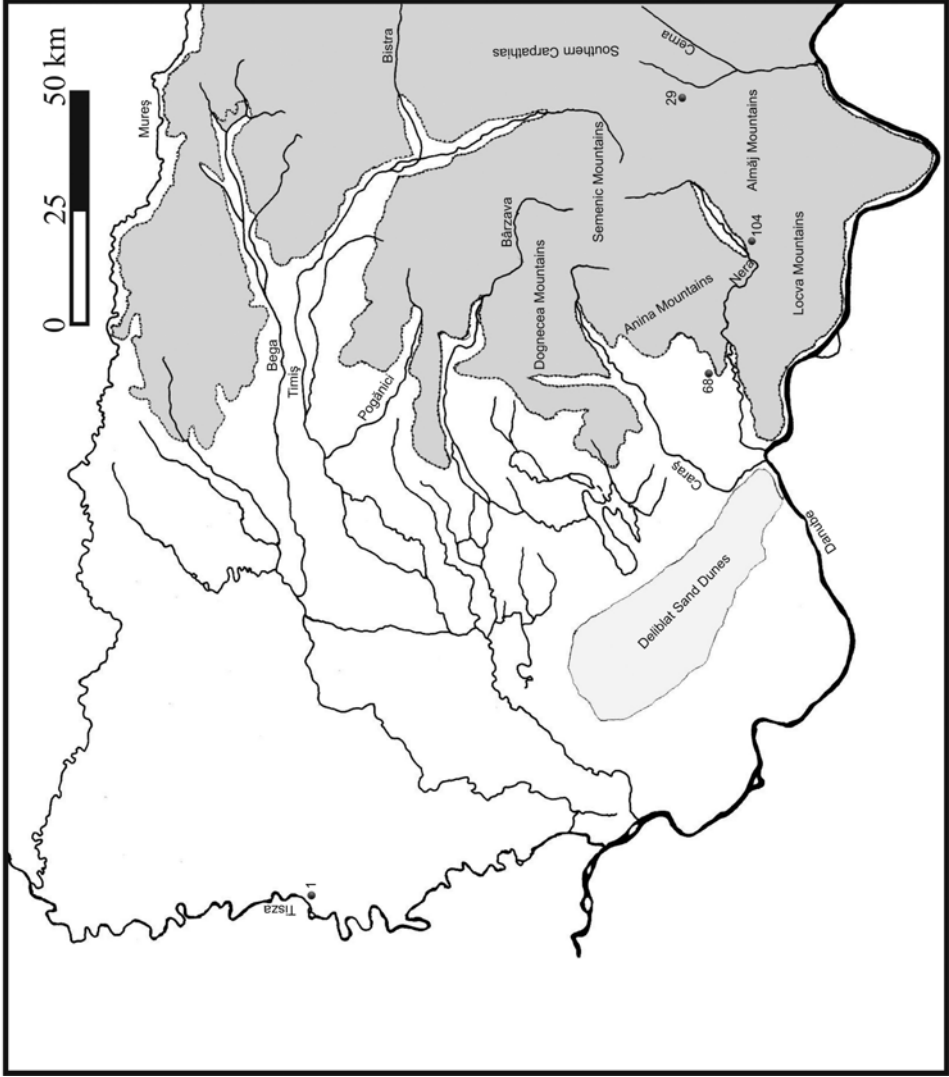


PLATE 92 Deceased buried in coffins.

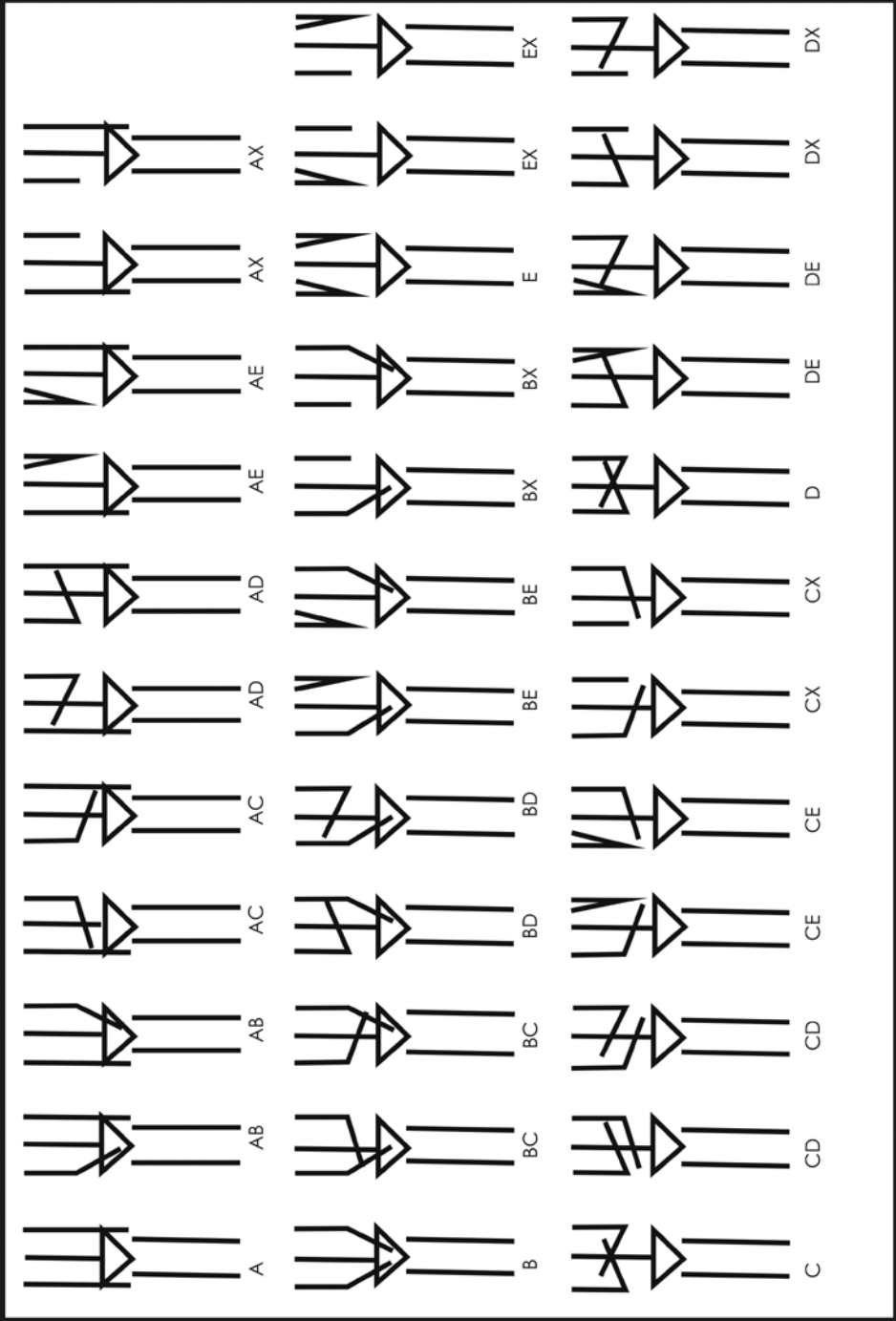


PLATE 93 Arm position of the dead.

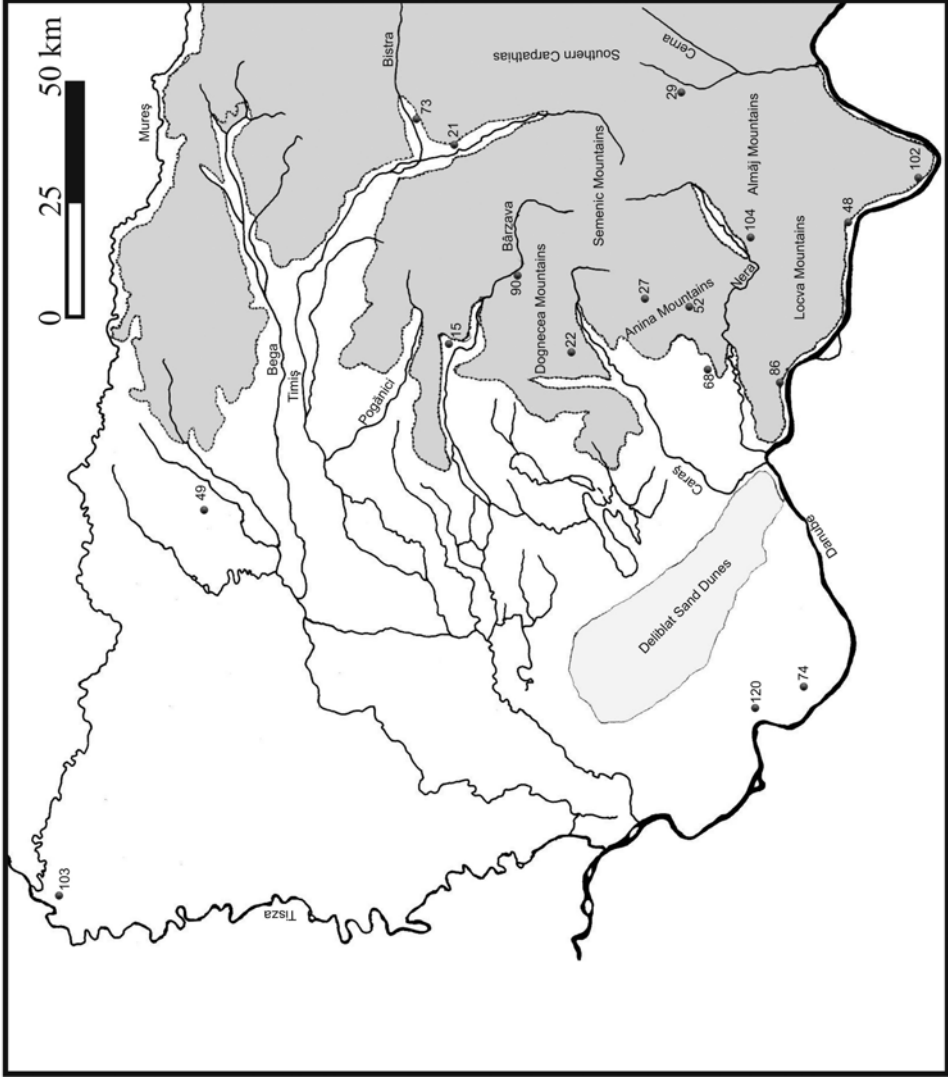


PLATE 94 Arm position E of the dead and its variants.

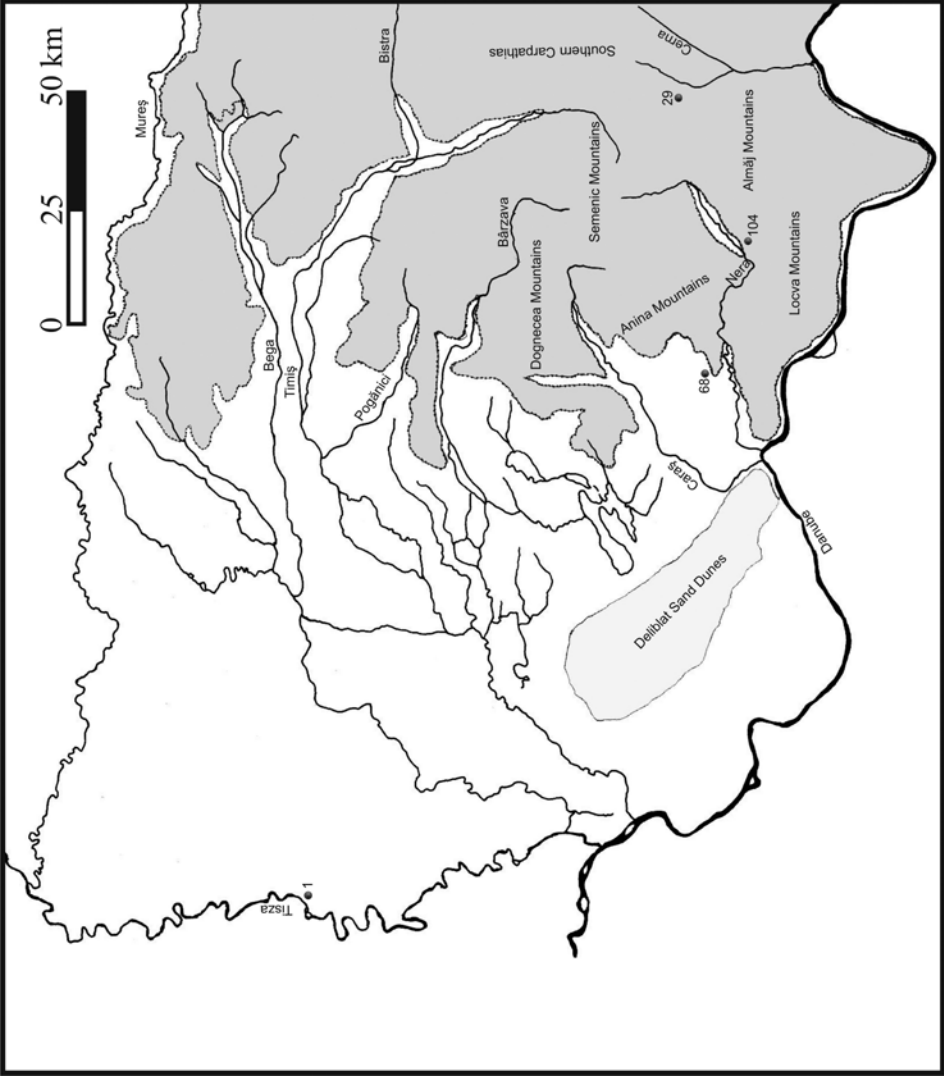


PLATE 95 *Tiaras found in graves.*

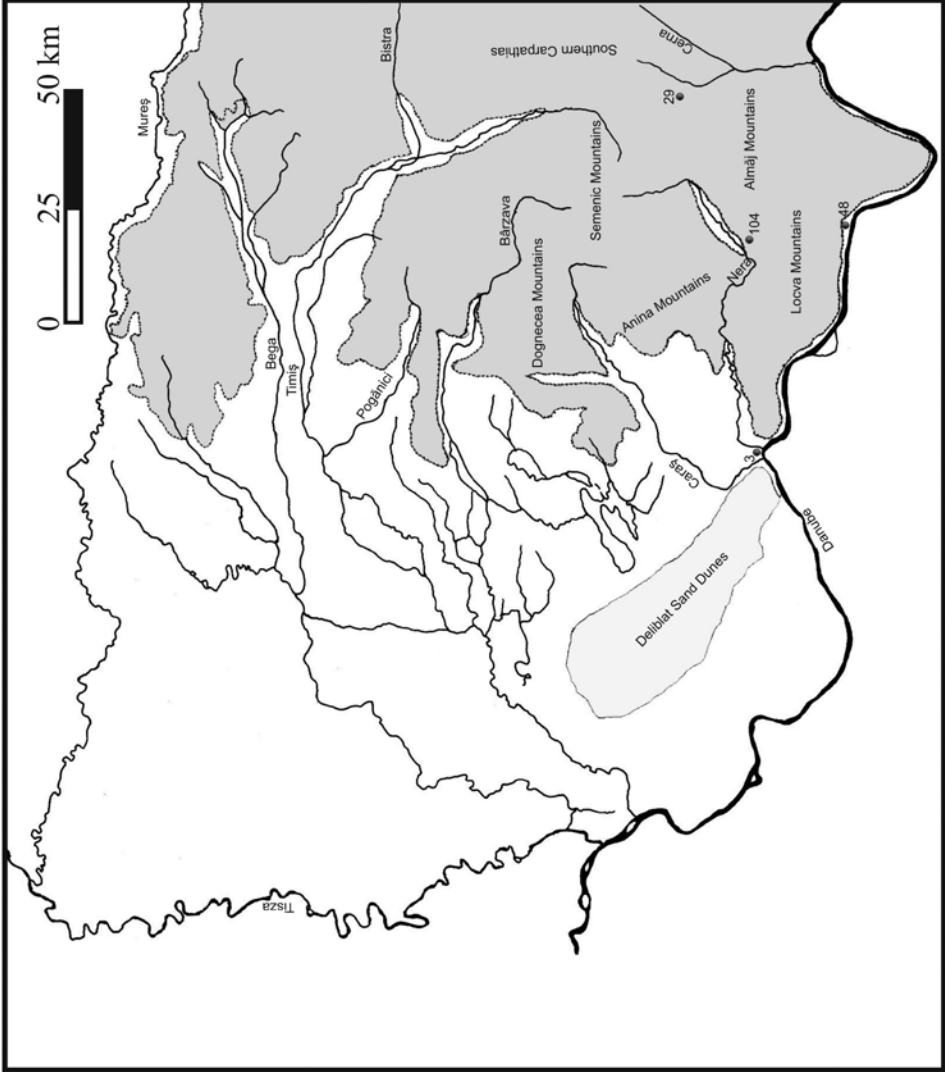


PLATE 96 *Earrings with astragals found in graves.*

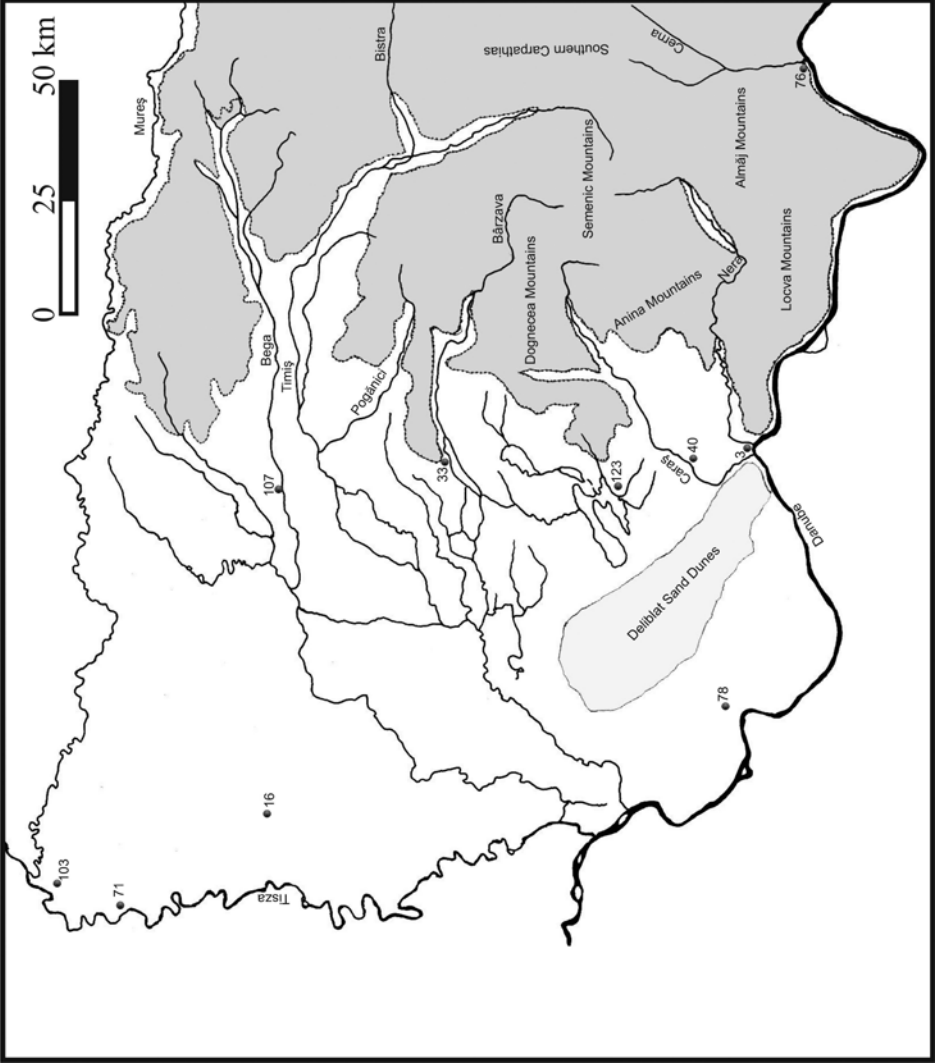


PLATE 97 Earrings with grape-shaped pendants found in graves.

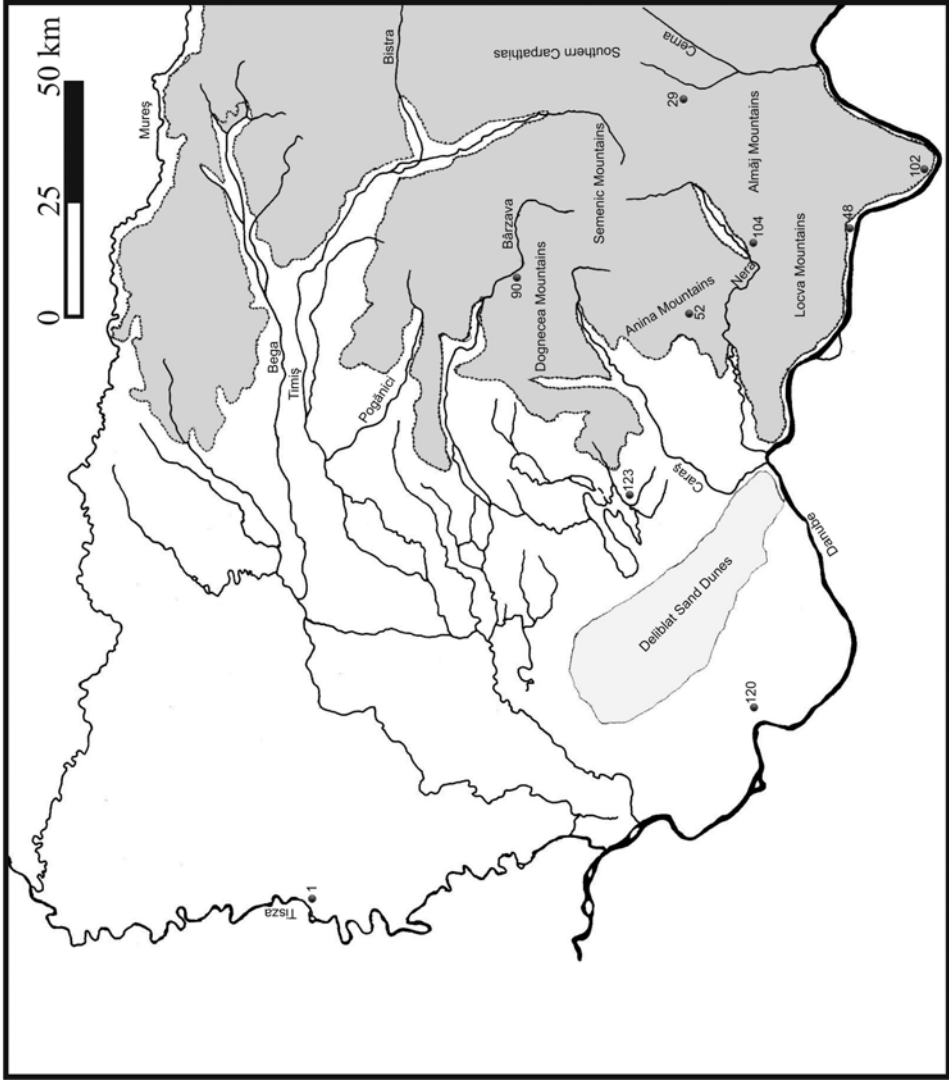


PLATE 98 Earrings with globular pendants of Byzantine tradition found in graves.

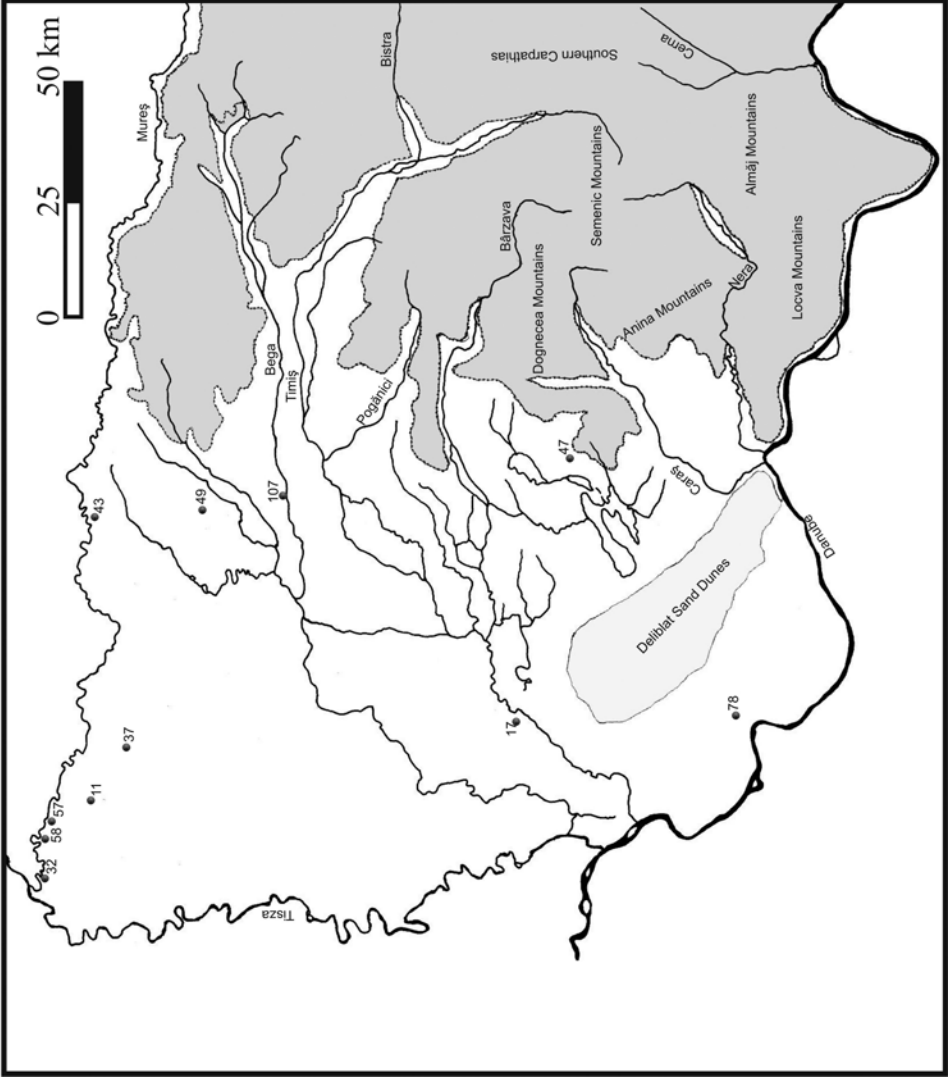


PLATE 99 *Torcs found in graves.*

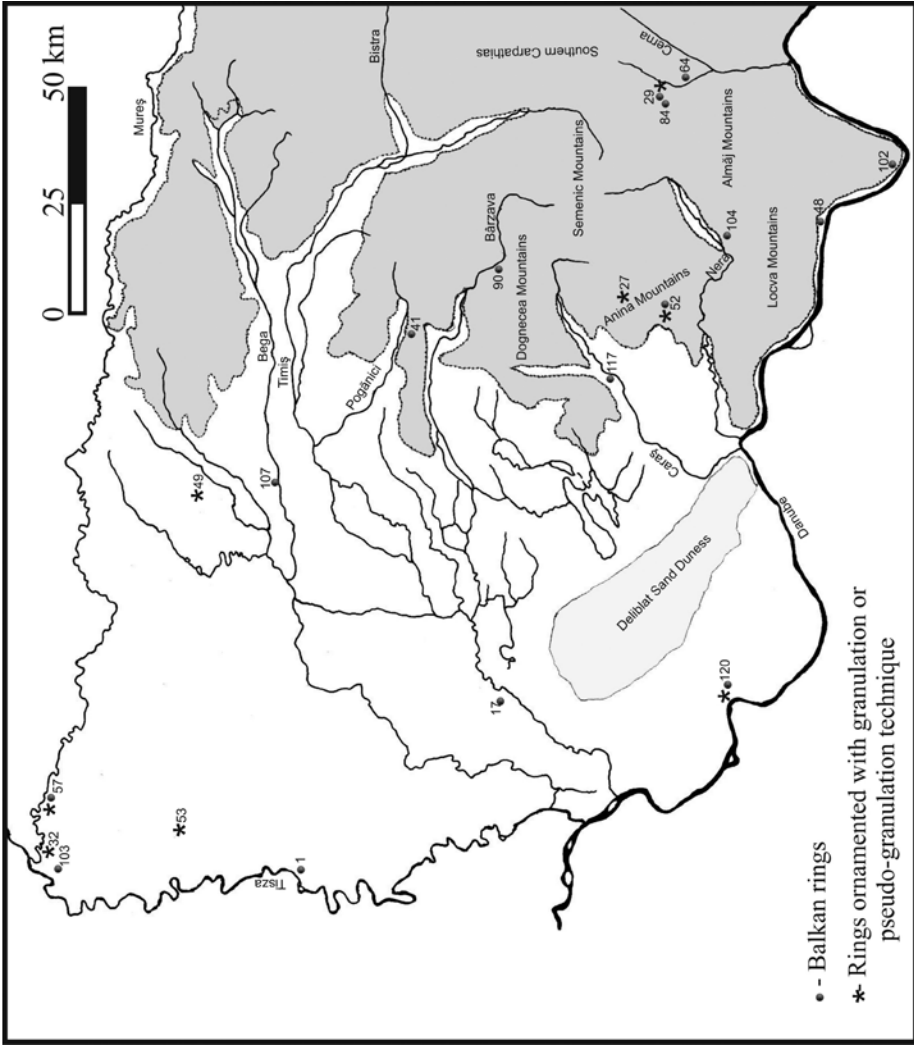


PLATE 100 *Balkan rings found in graves. Rings ornamented with granulation or pseudo-granulation technique found in graves.*

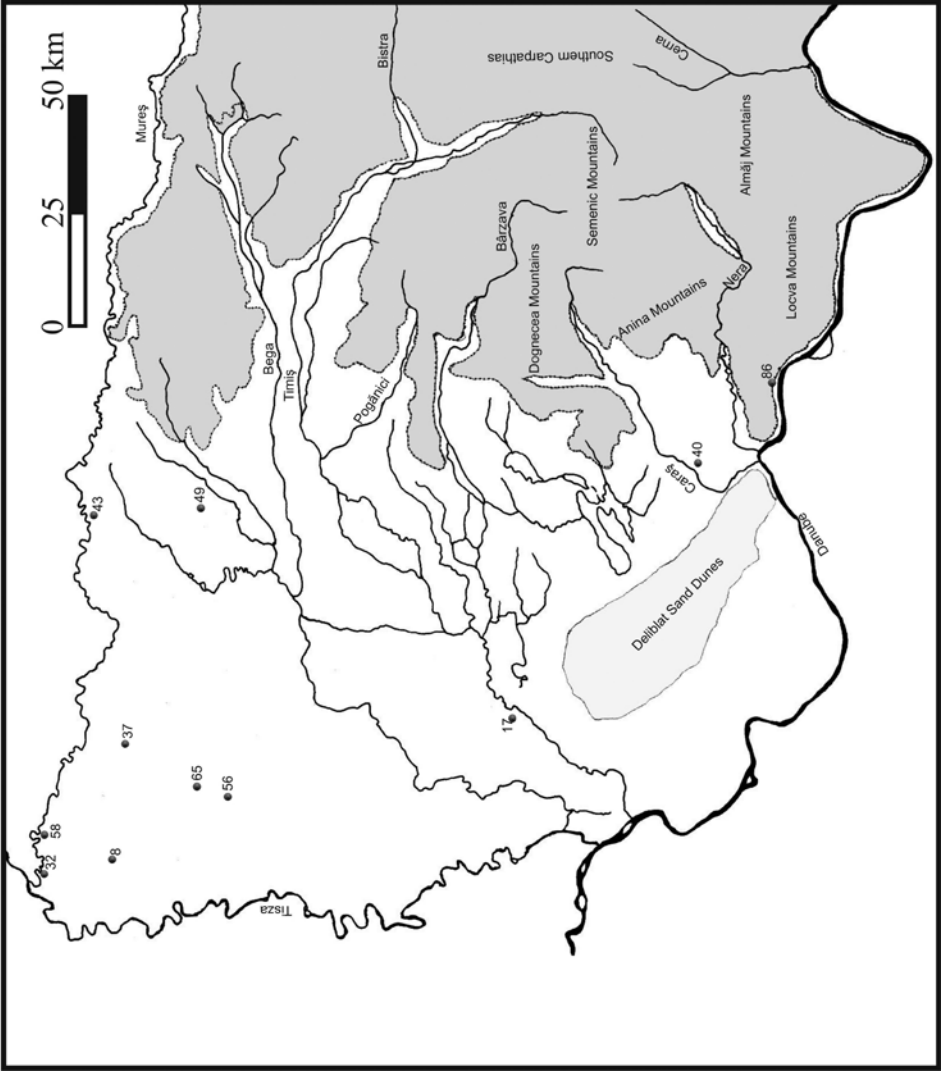


PLATE 101 Rings made of twisted wires found in graves.

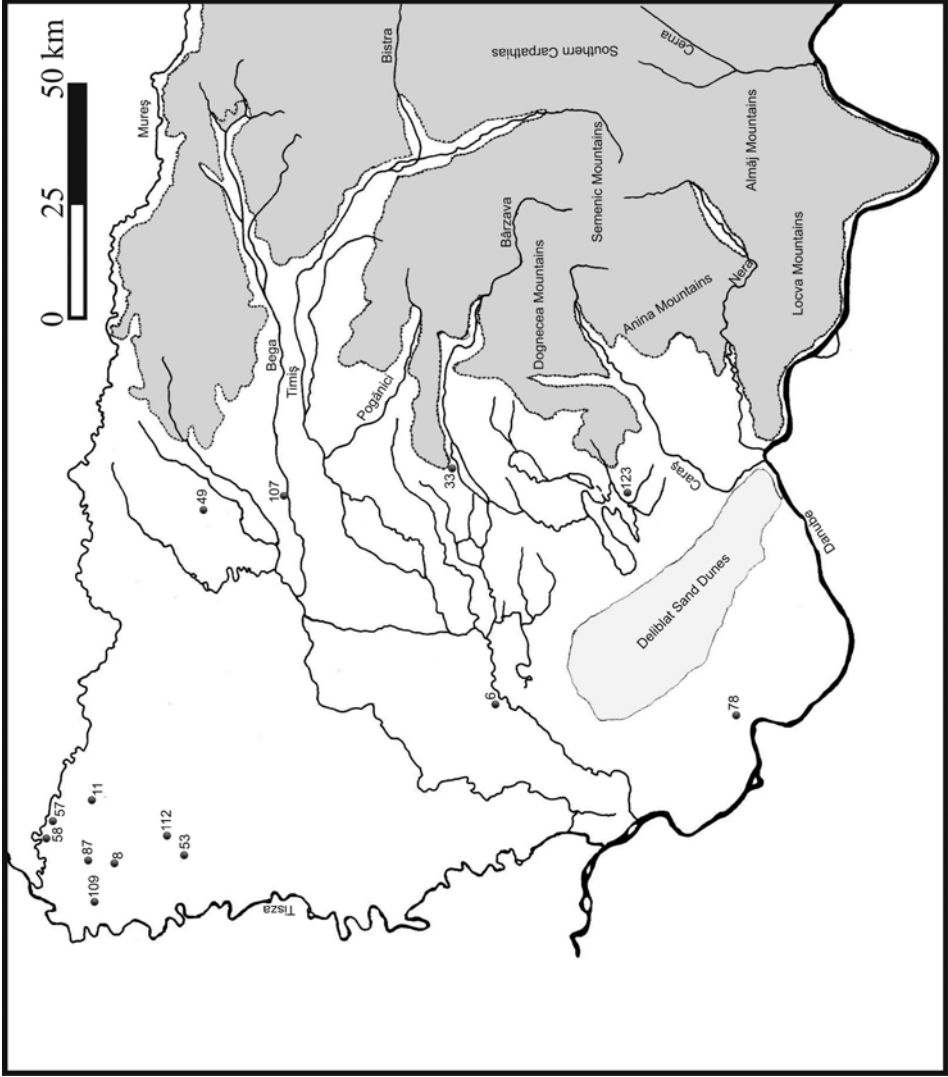


PLATE 102 Double heart-like pendants found in graves.

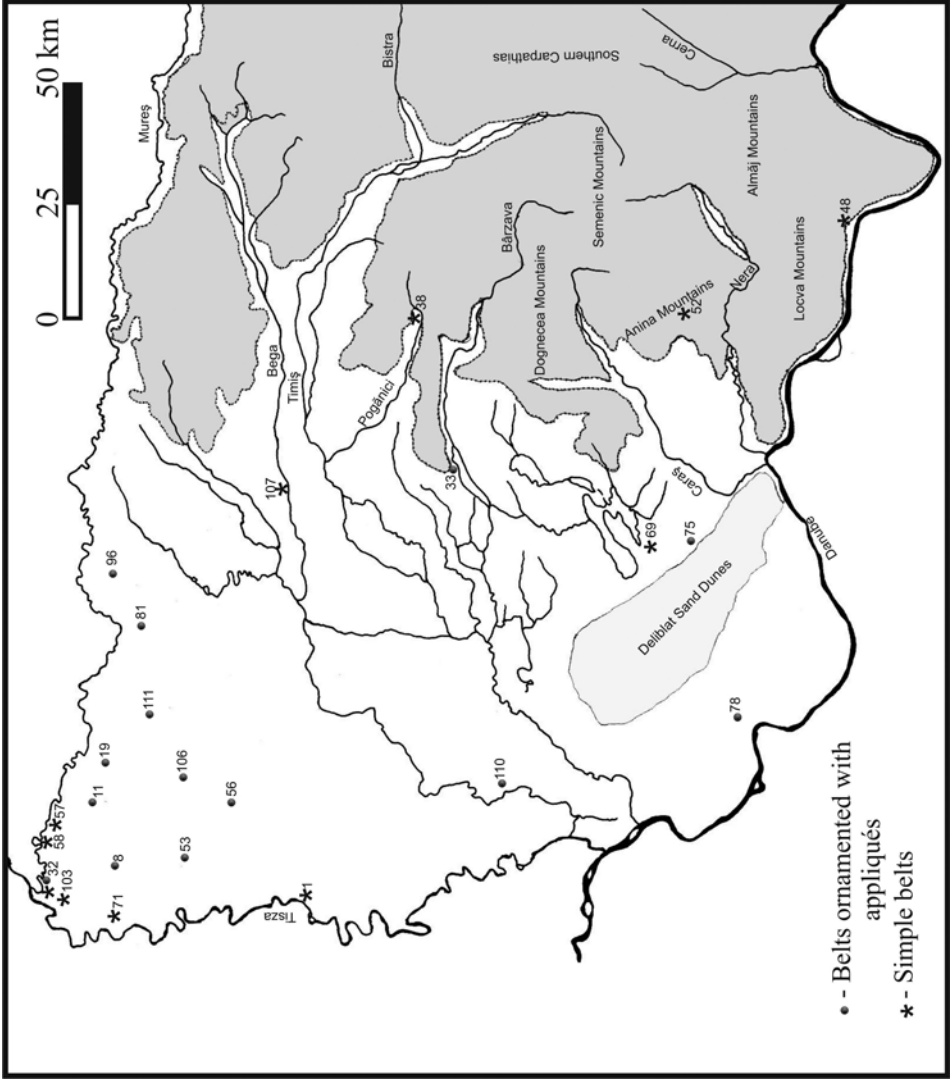


PLATE 103 Simple belts found in graves. Belts ornamented with appliqué, found in graves.

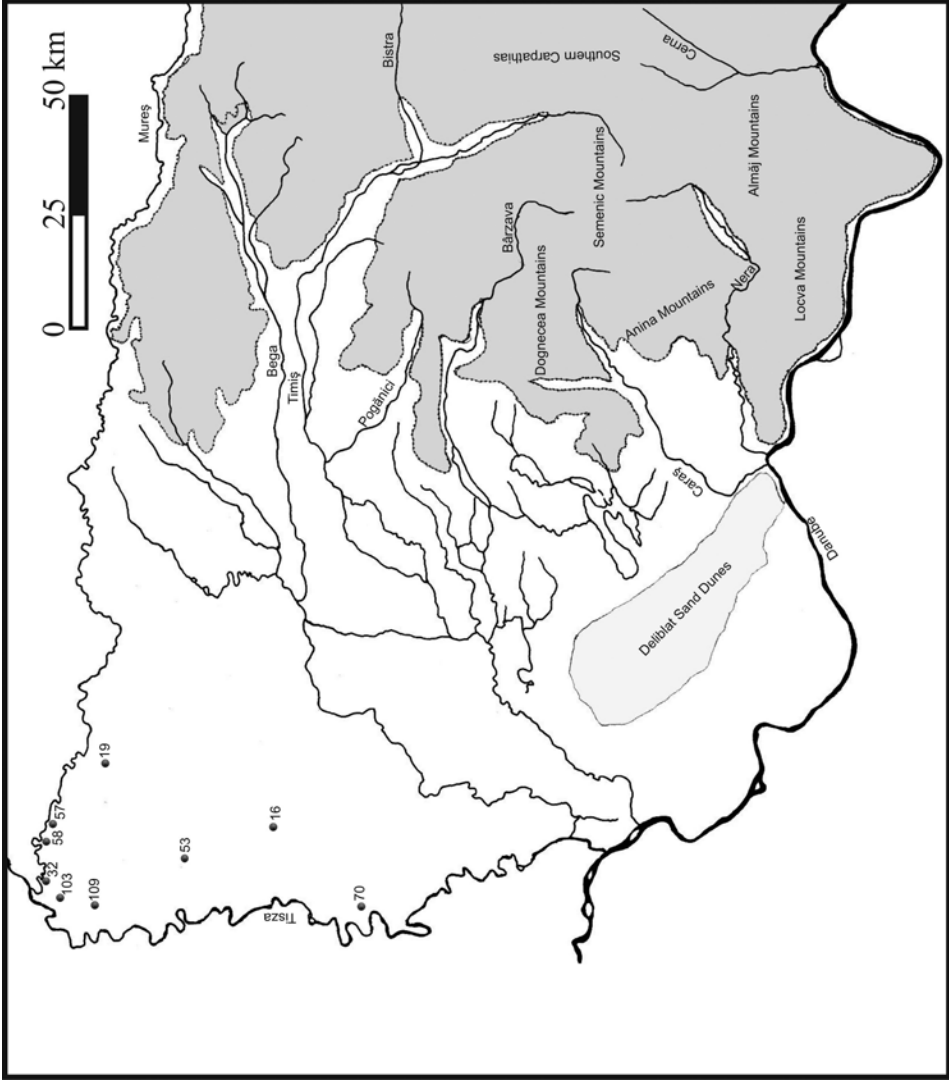


PLATE 104 *Flint steels found in graves.*

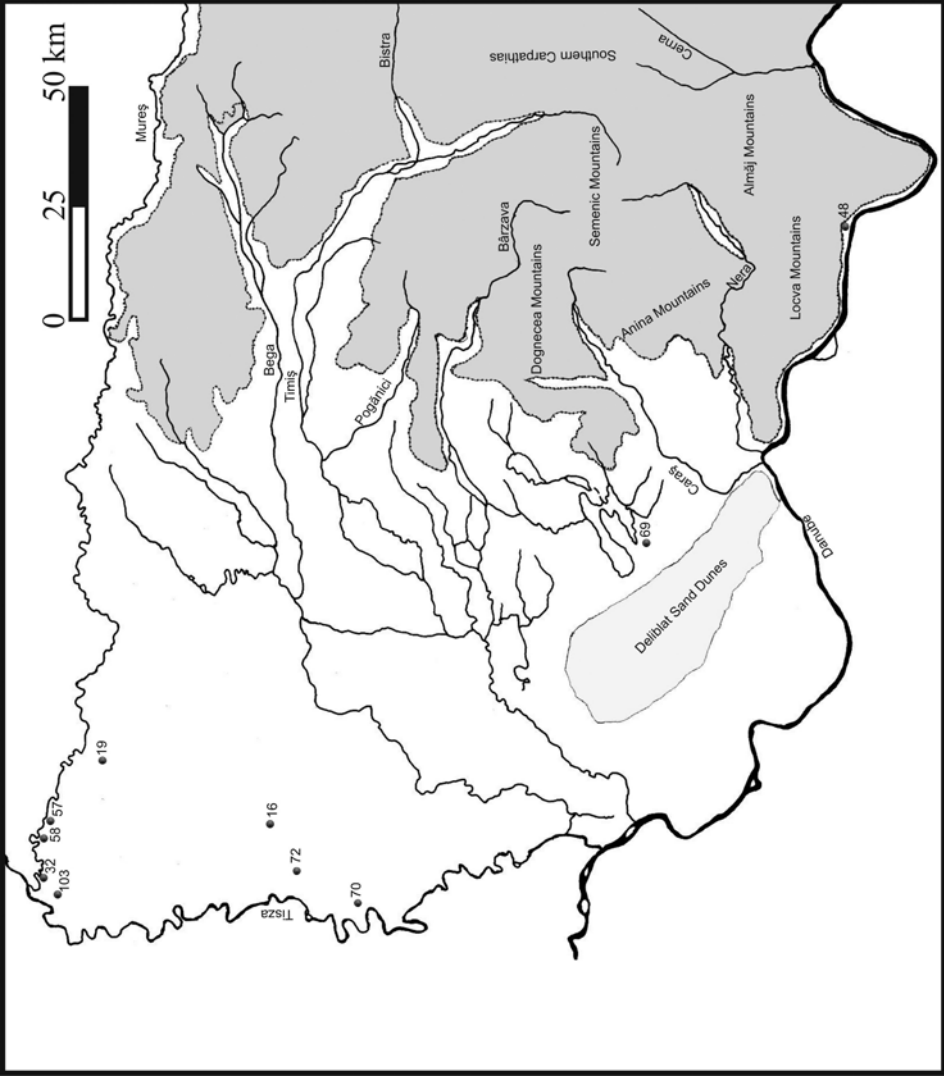


PLATE 105 *Knives found in graves.*

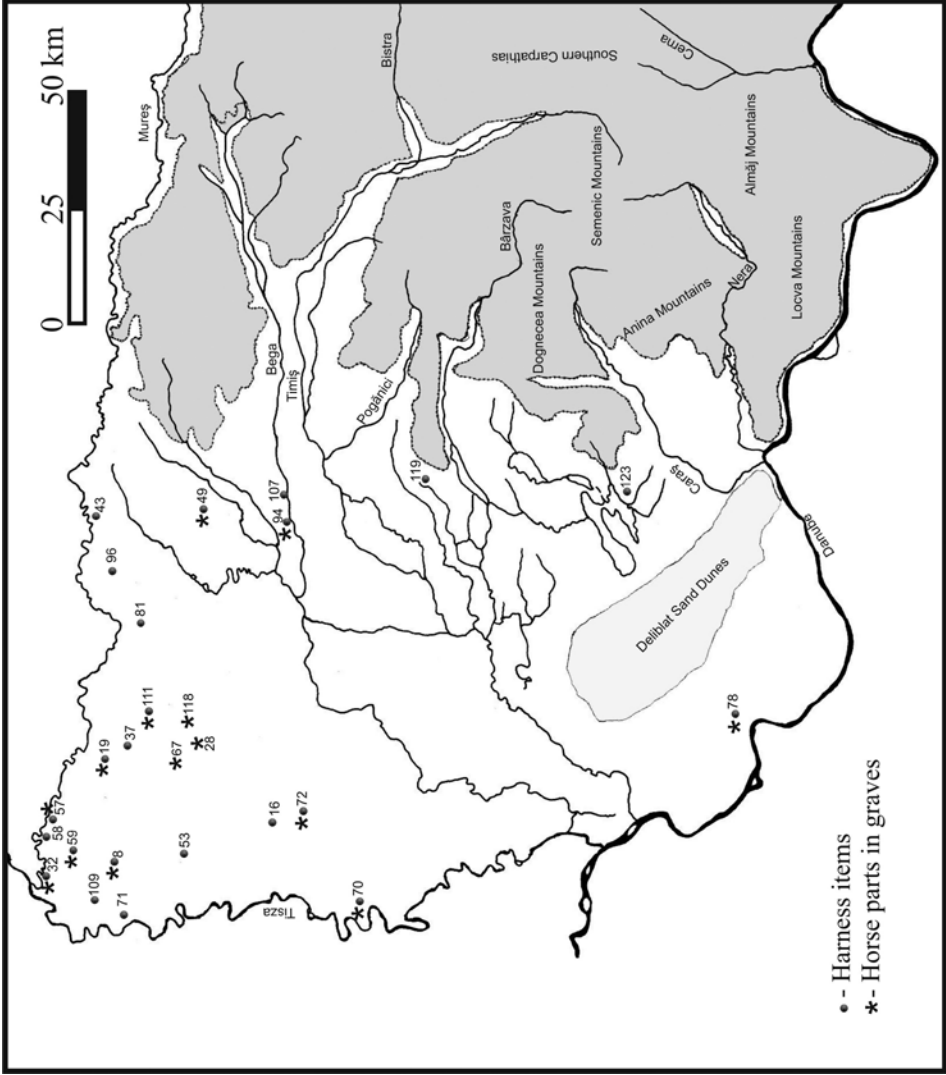


PLATE 106 Horse parts as offerings deposited in graves. Harness items found in graves.

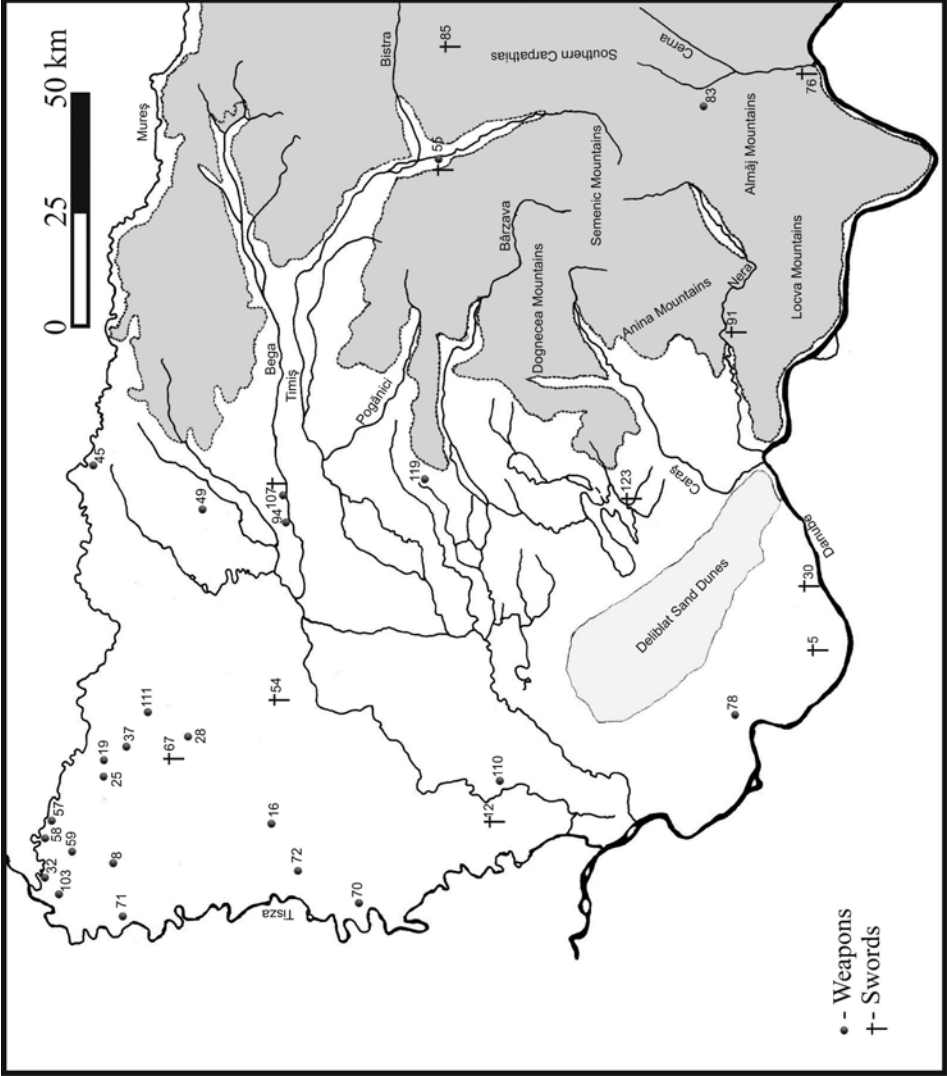


PLATE 107 Weapons (except swords) found in graves. Swords.

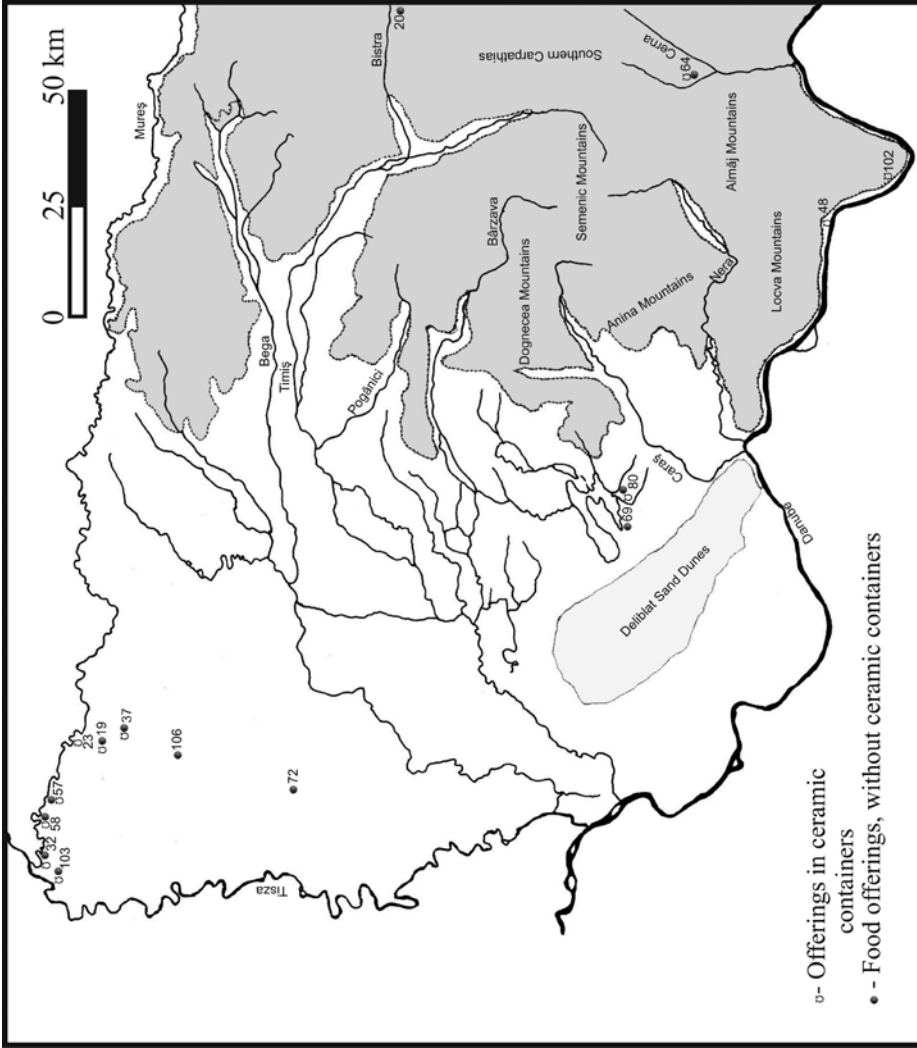


PLATE 108 Food offerings, without ceramic containers deposited in graves. Offerings in ceramic containers found in graves.

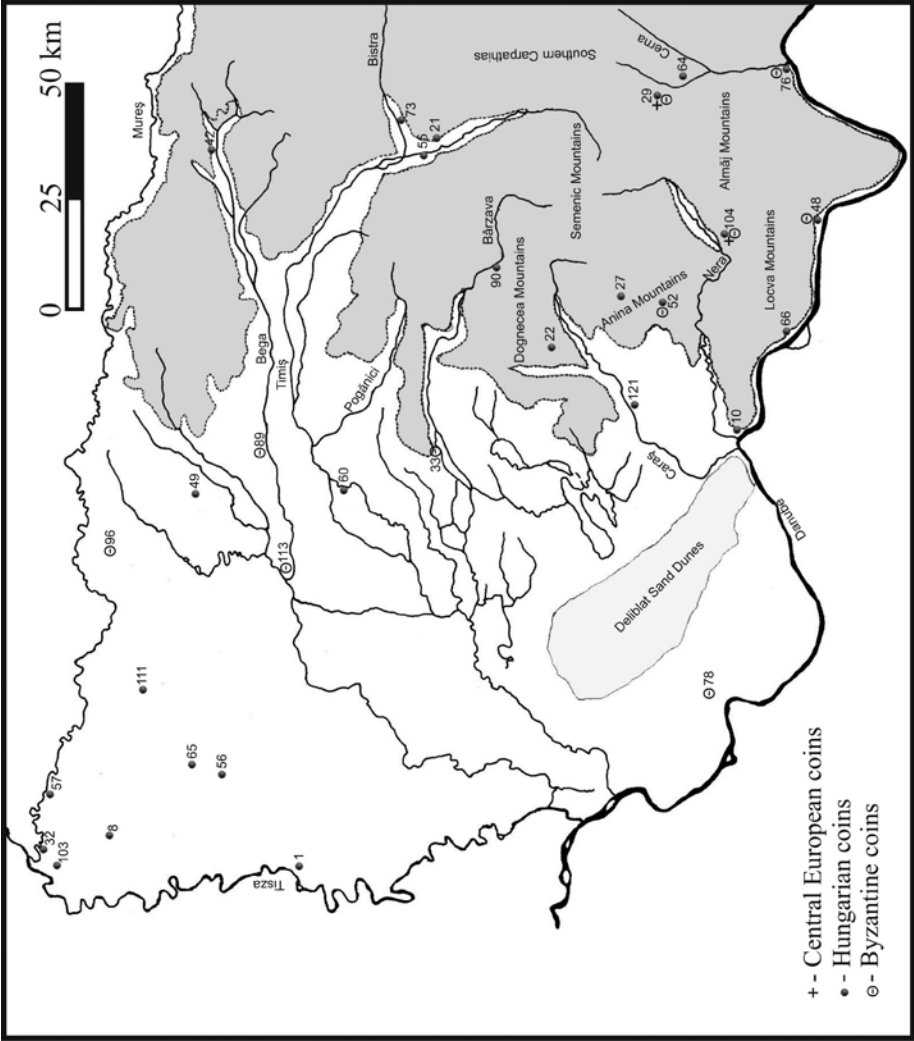


PLATE 109 Byzantine coins found in graves. Hungarian coins found in graves. Central European coins found in graves.

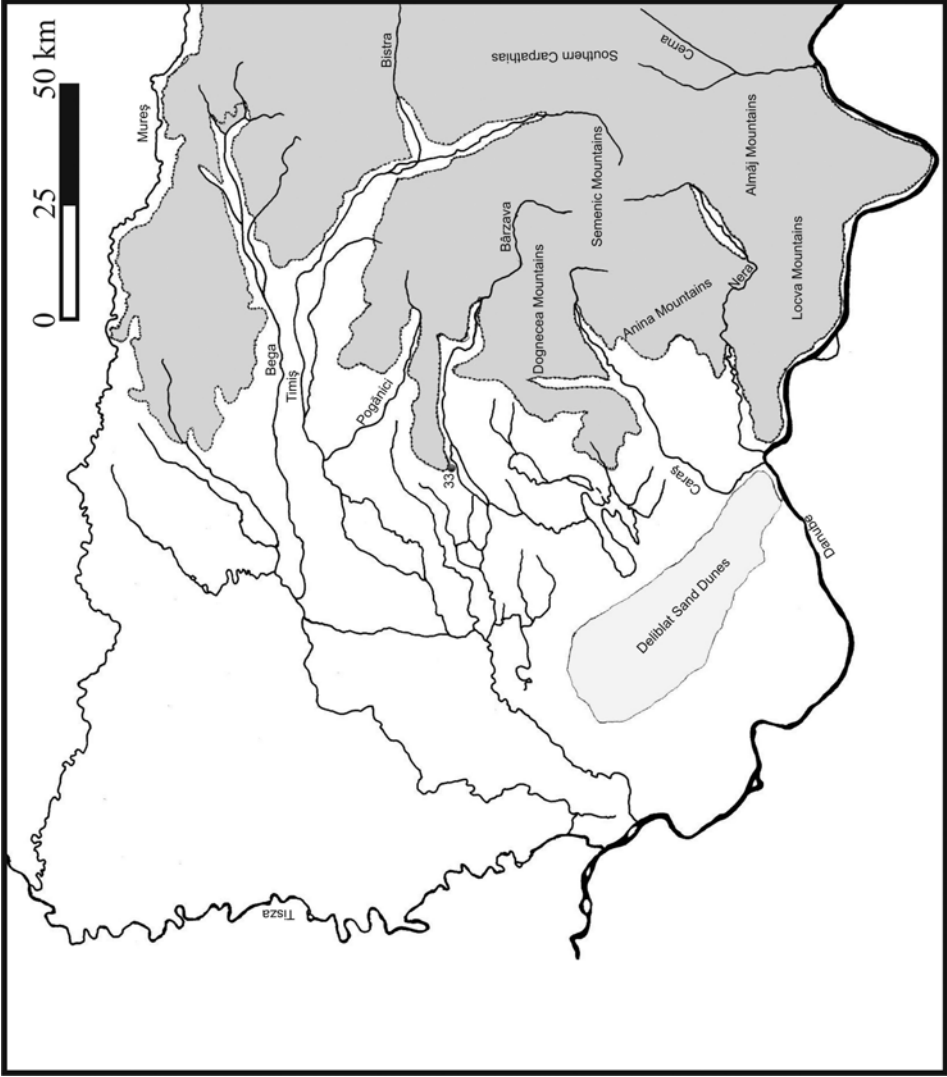


PLATE 110 Cemeteries with Köttlach-type items.

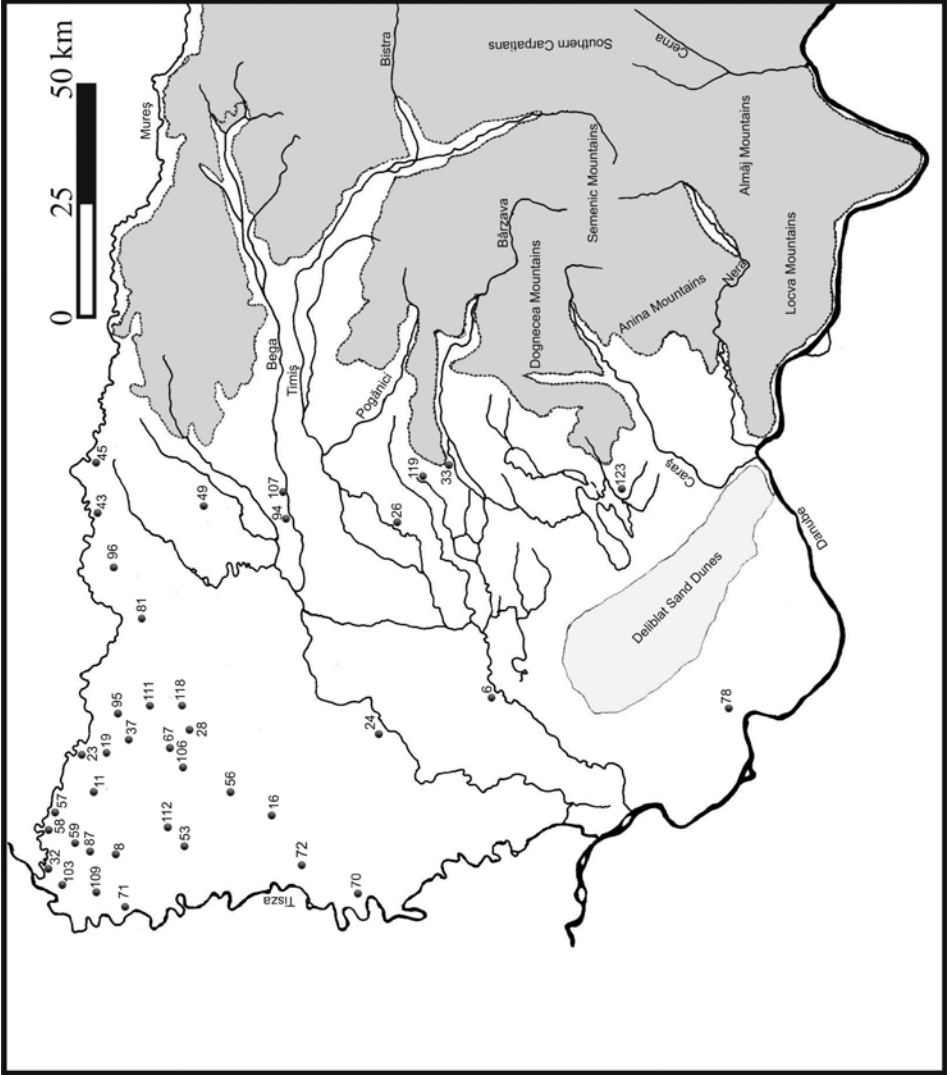


PLATE III Steppes I—horizon.

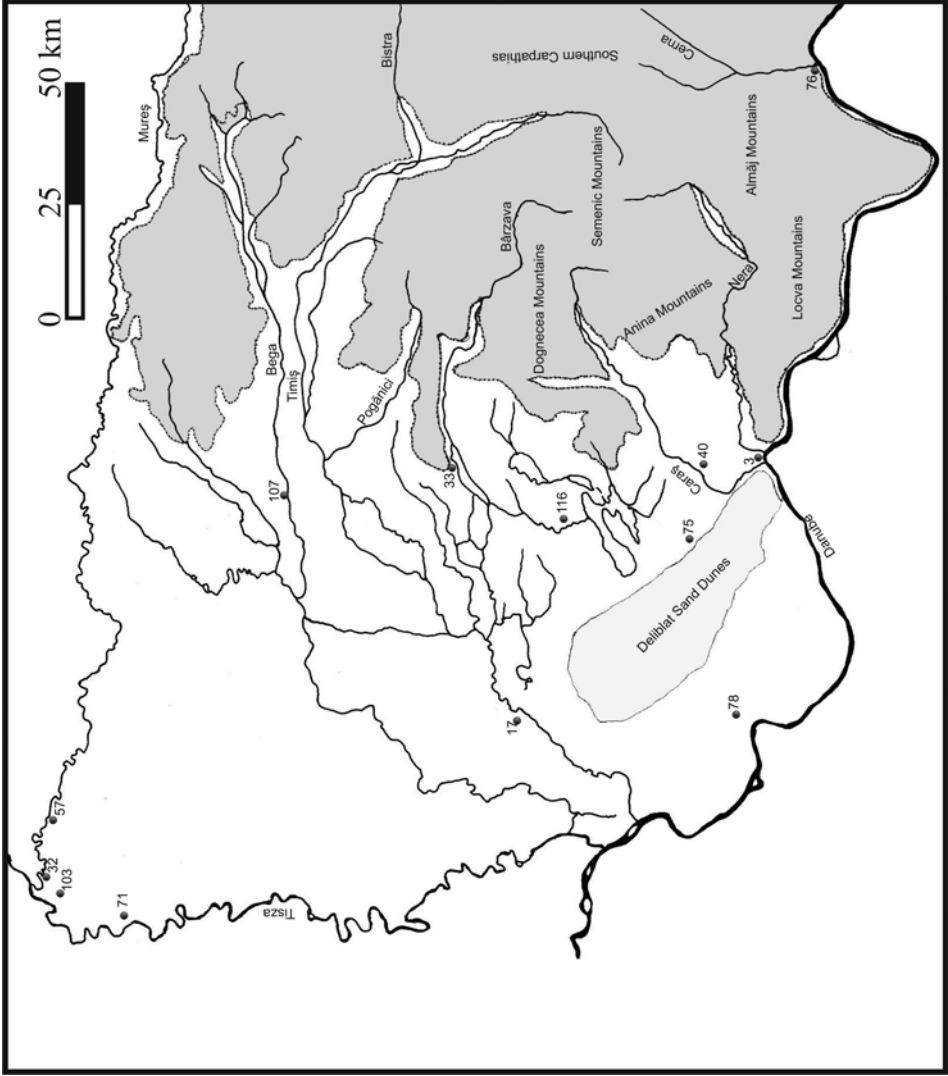


PLATE 112 South Danubian I—horizon.

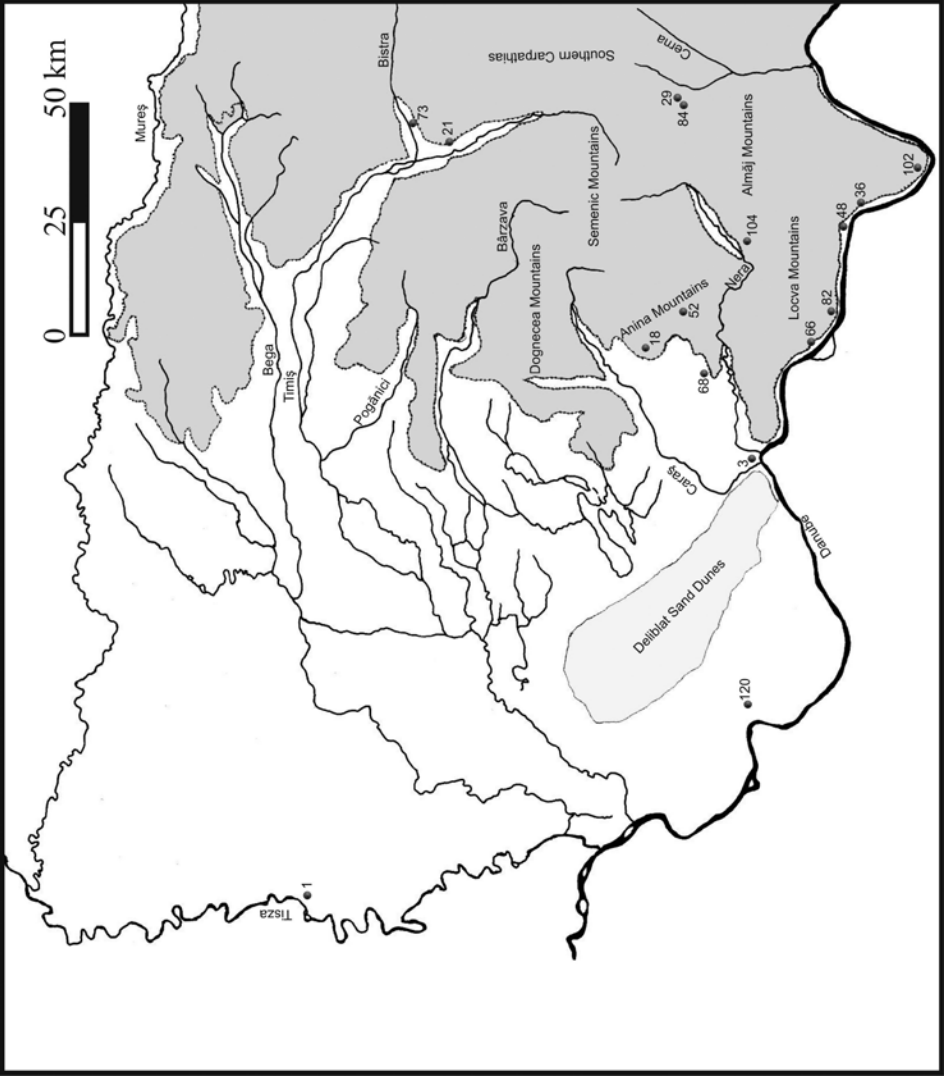


PLATE 113 South Danubian 2—horizon.

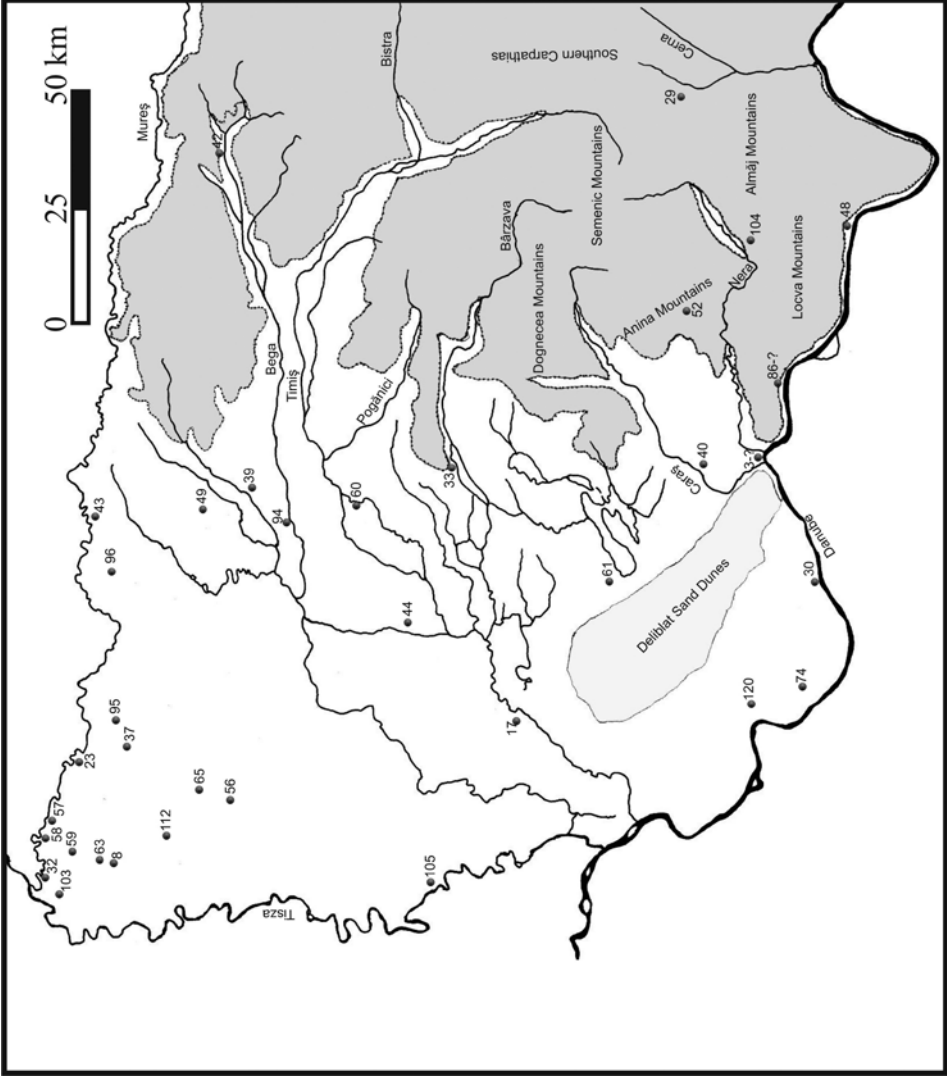


PLATE 114 Biala Brdo type cemeteries and necropolises with typical Biala Brdo grave-gods.

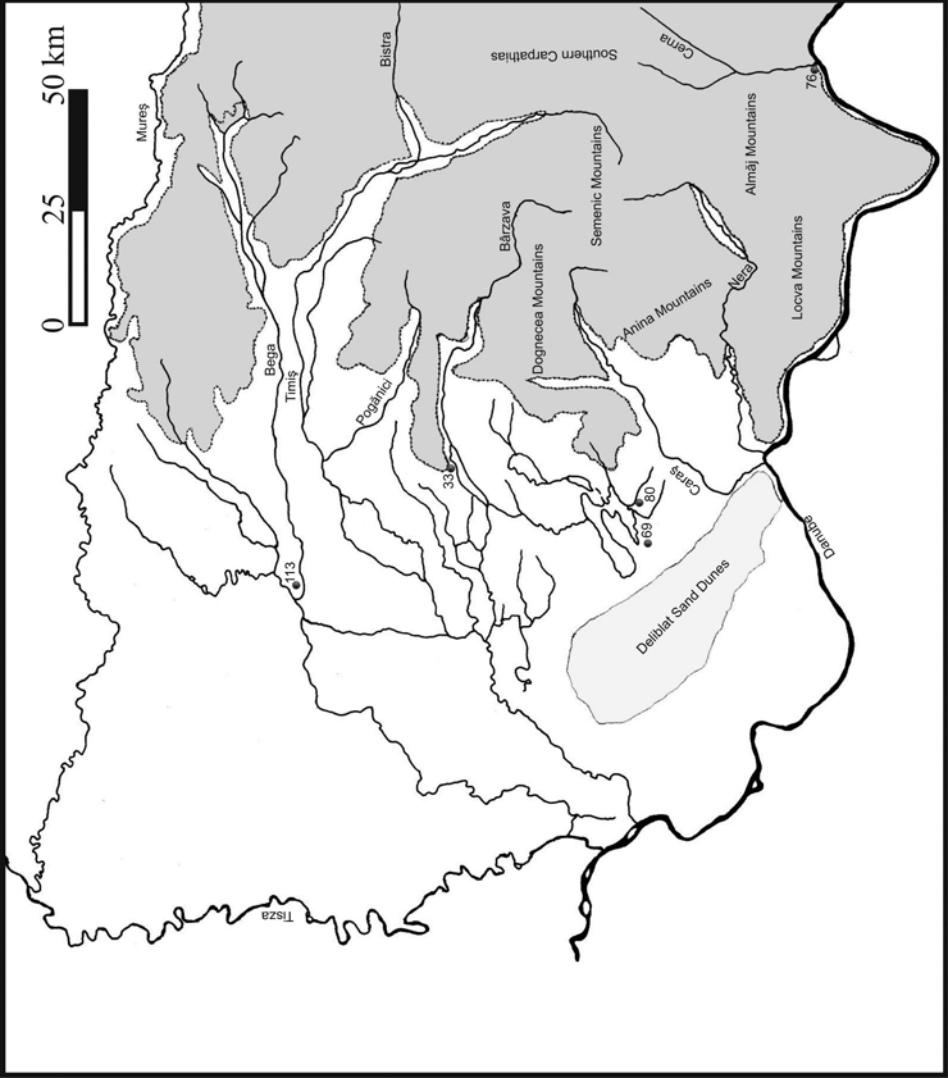


PLATE 115 Cemeteries belonging to the Austere-Funerary horizon I.

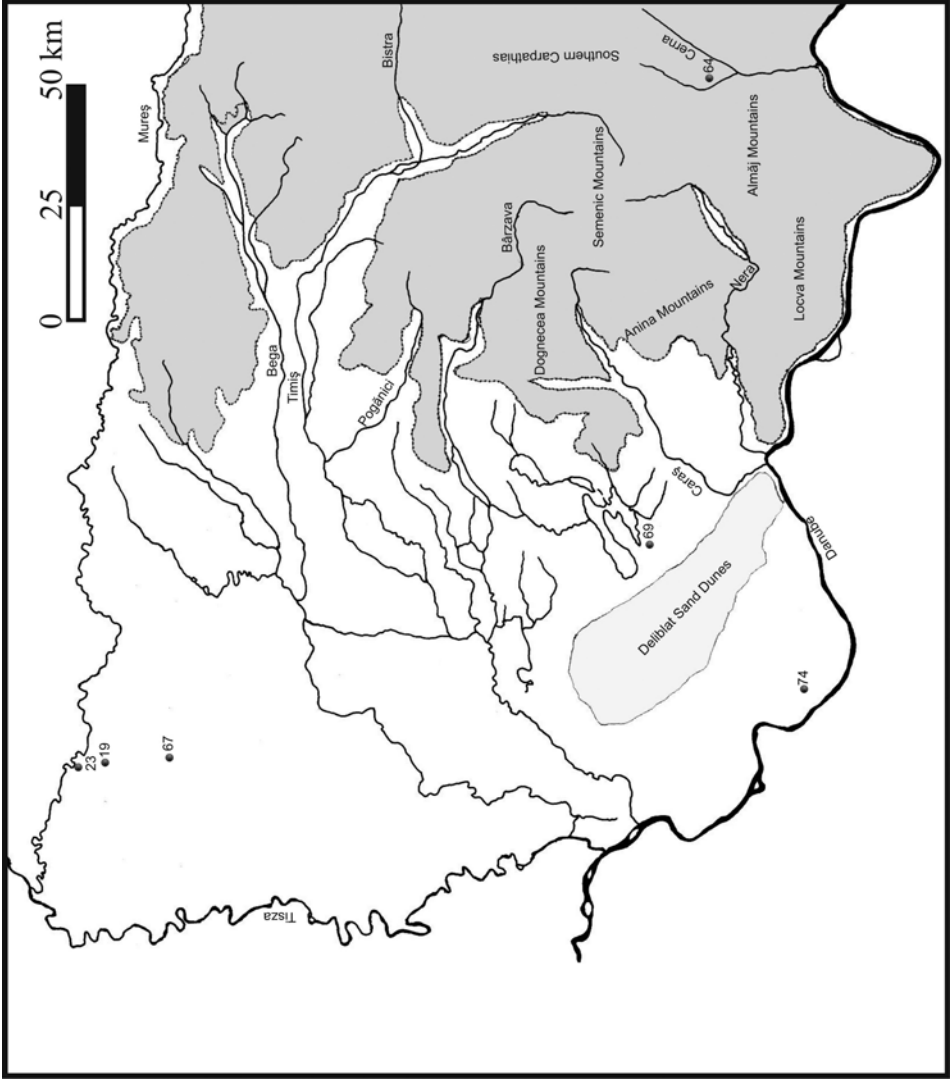


PLATE 116 Cemeteries belonging to the Austere-Funerary horizon 2.

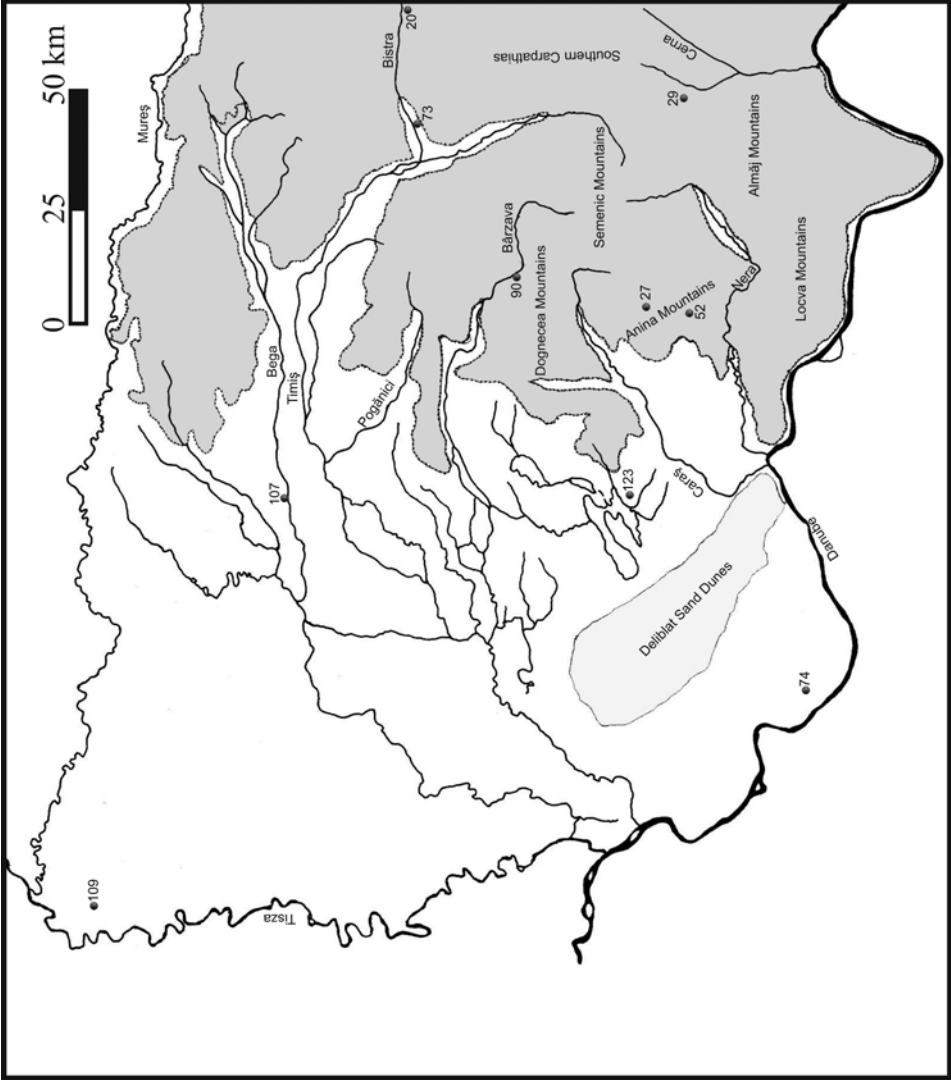


PLATE 117 Cemeteries belonging to the Austere-Funerary horizon 3.

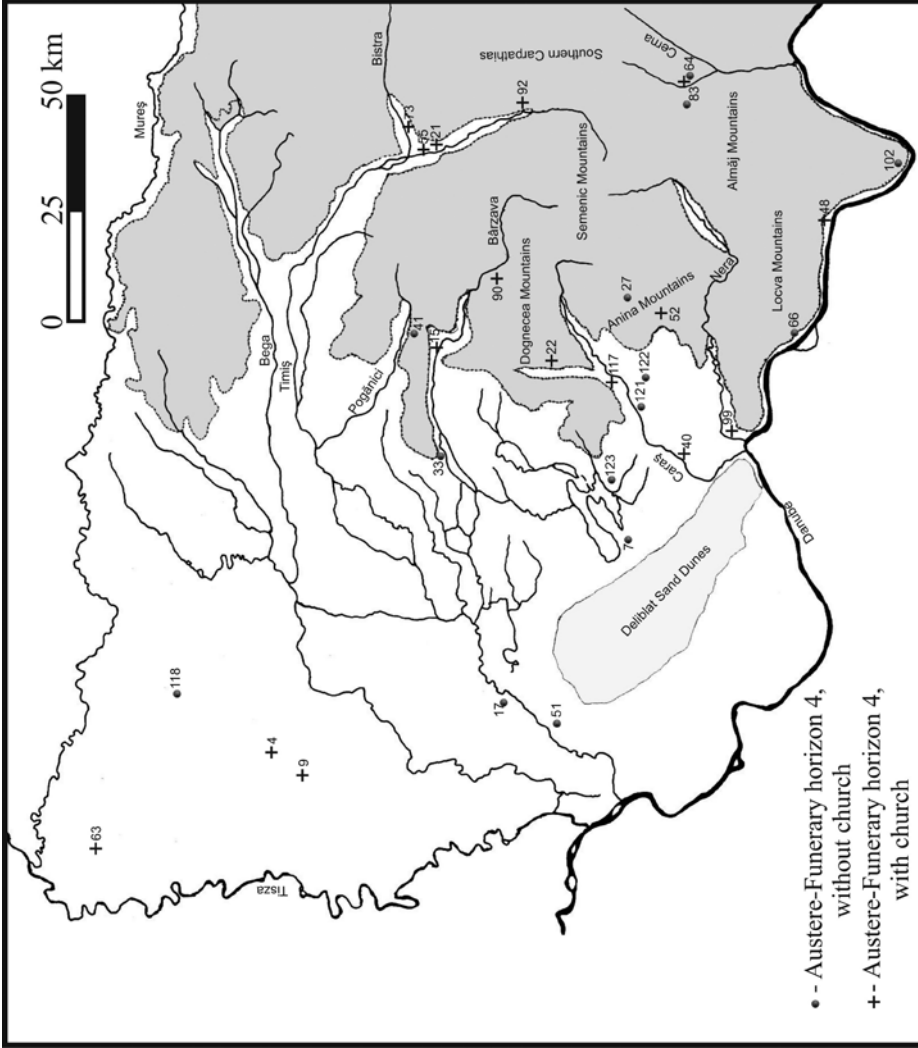


PLATE 118 Cemeteries belonging to the Austere-Funerary horizon 4, with church. Cemeteries belonging to the Austere-Funerary horizon 4, without church.

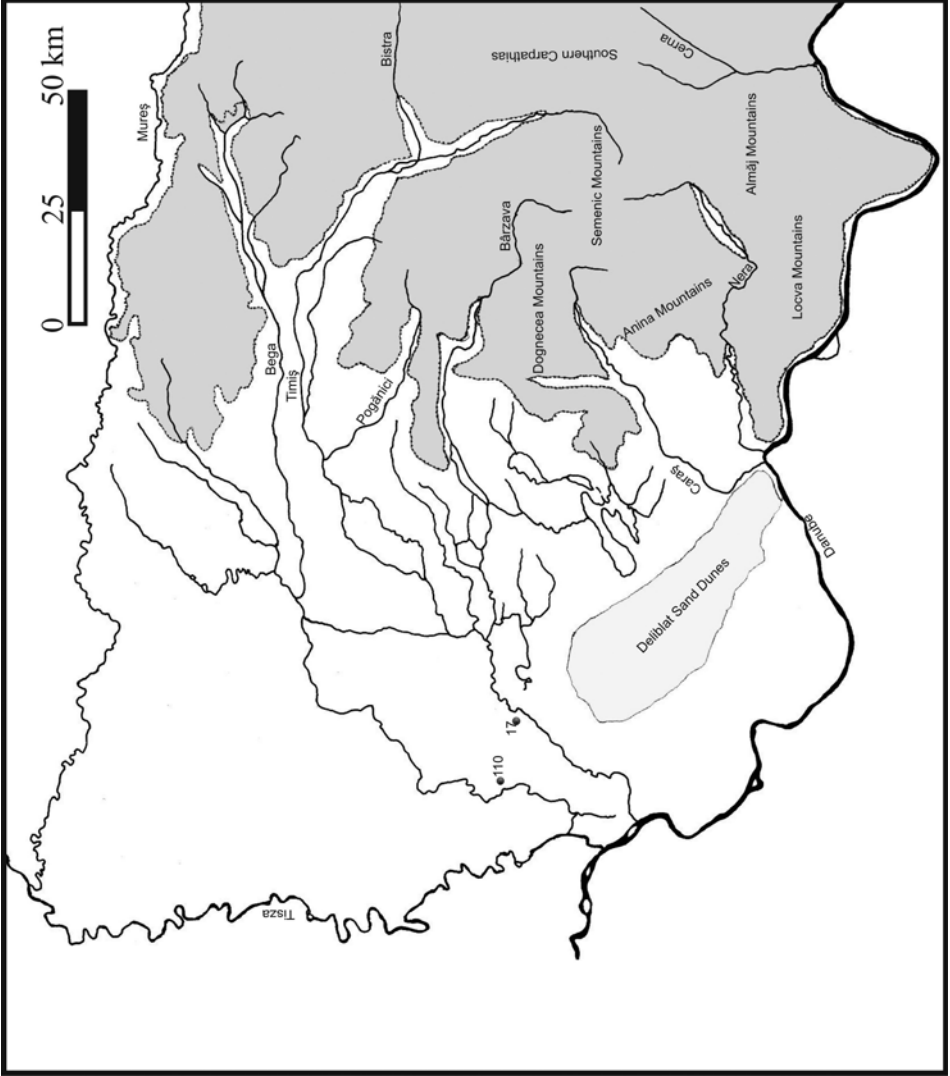


PLATE 119 Steppe 2—horizon.

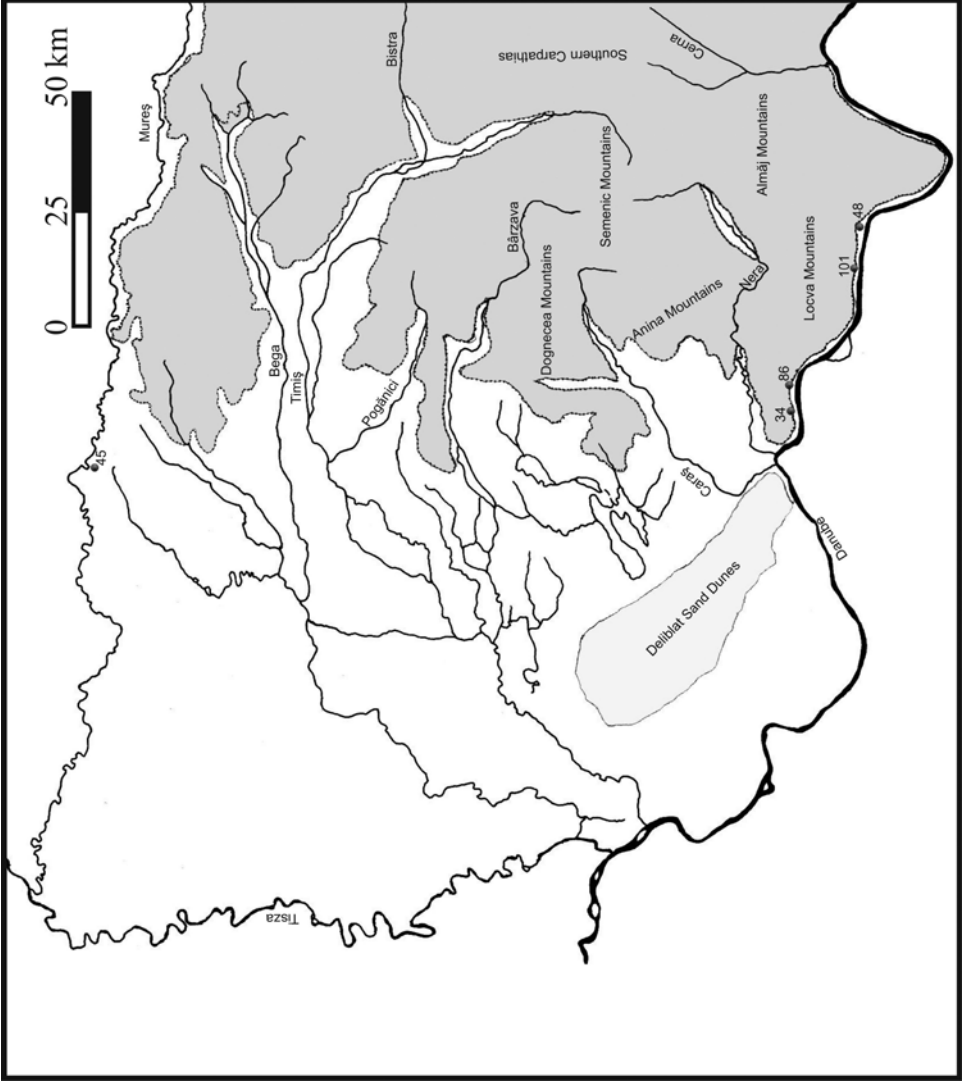


PLATE 120 *Cemeteries without grave-good.*

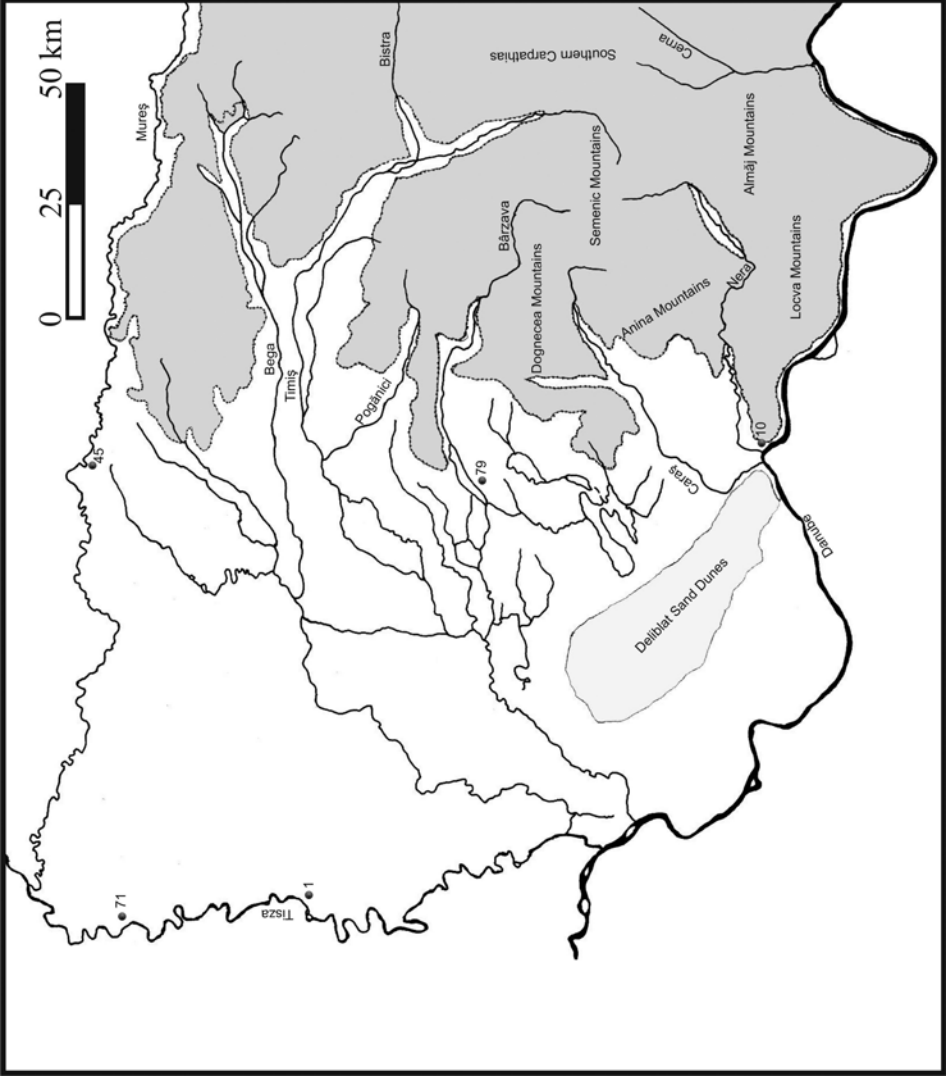


PLATE 121 Cemeteries of the monasteries.

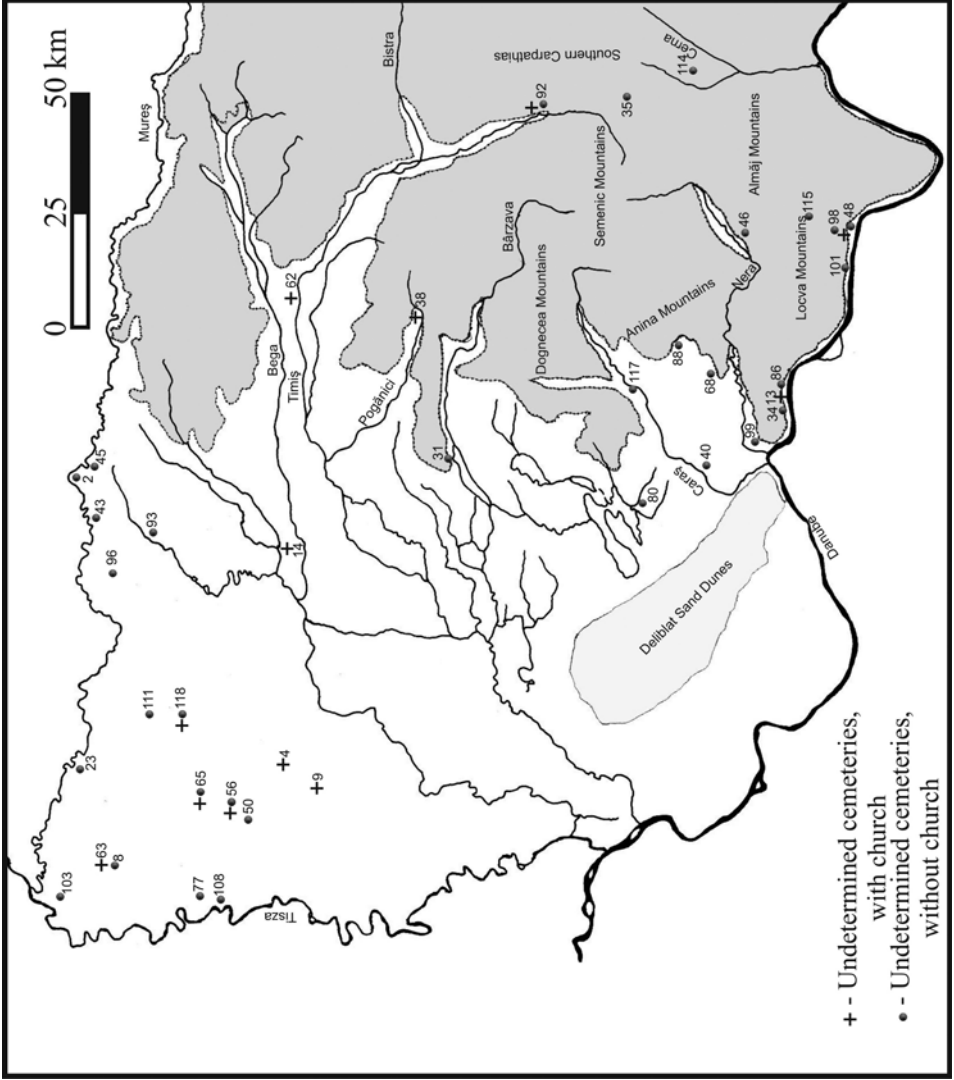


PLATE 122 Cemeteries with uncertain attribution, without church. Cemeteries with uncertain attribution, with church.

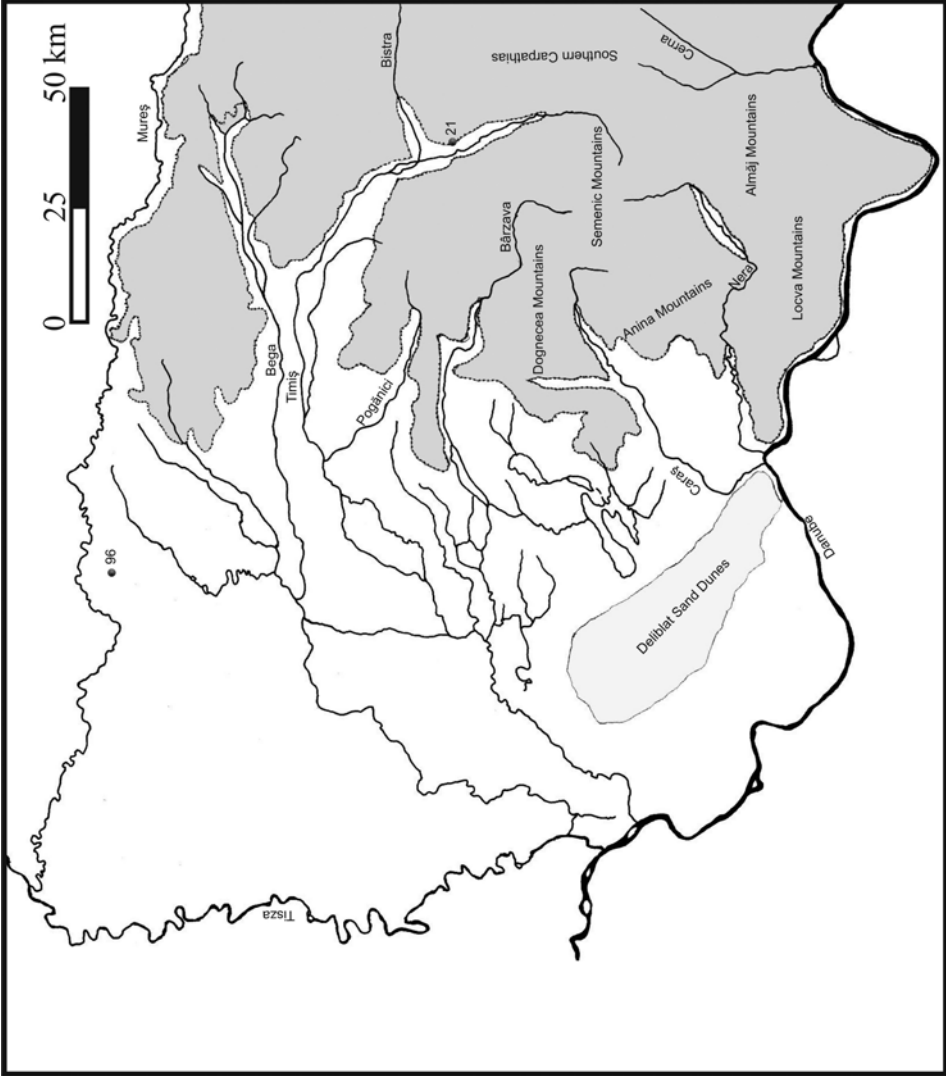


PLATE 123 Cemeteries in Roman ruins.

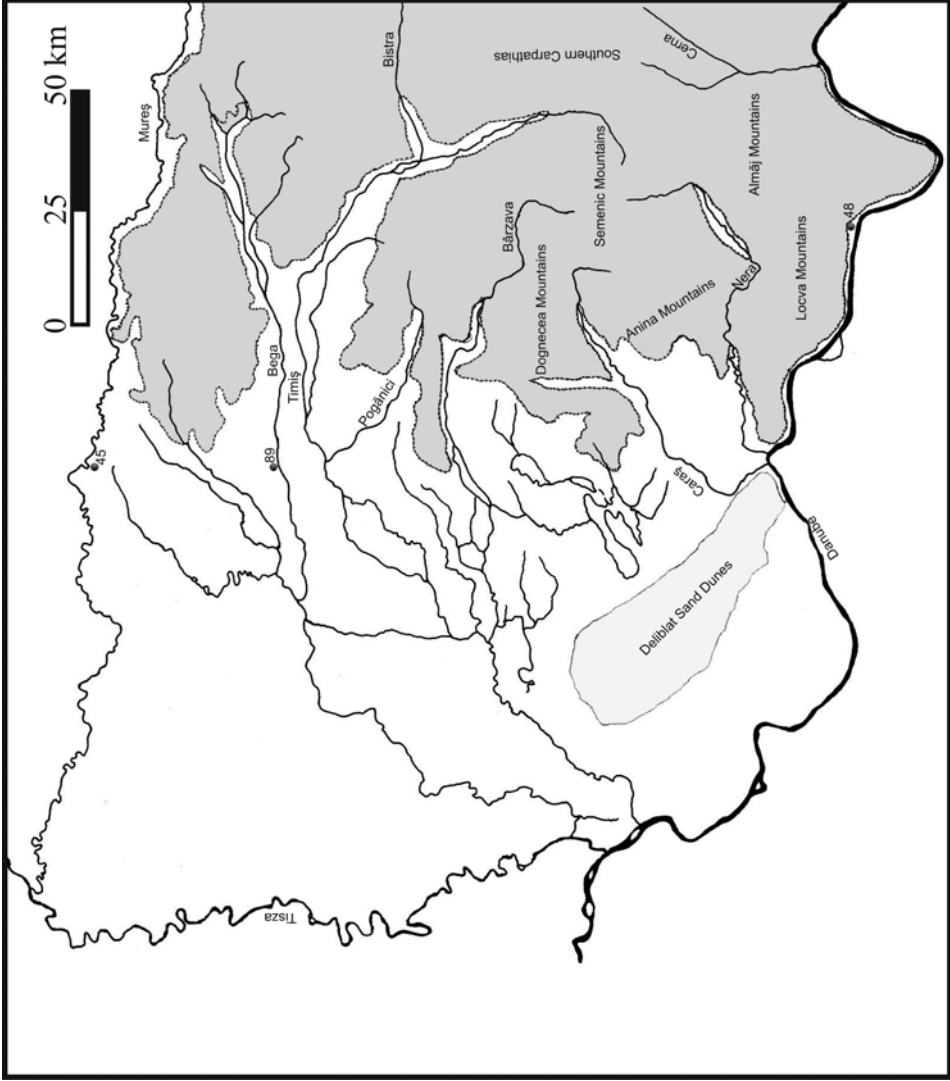


PLATE 124 *Burials made in settlements.*

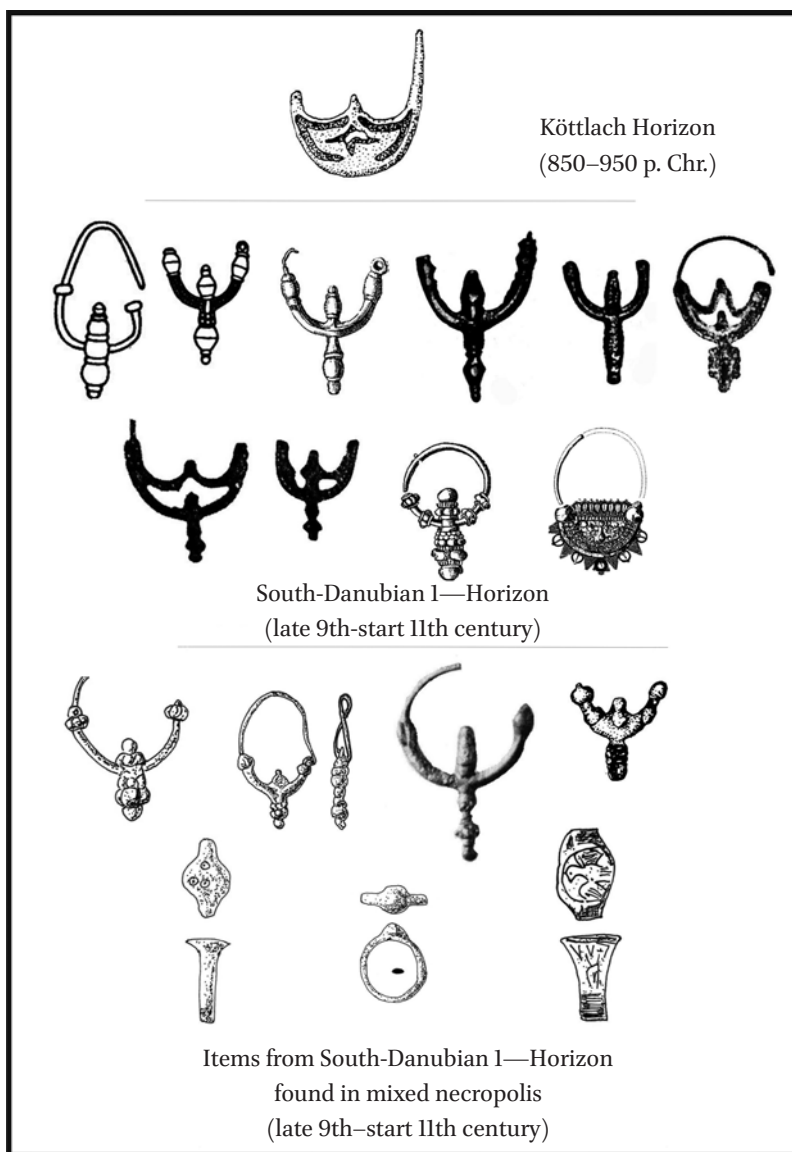


PLATE 125 *Köttlach Horizon (850–950 p. Chr.). South-Danubian I—Horizon (late 9th–start 11th century). Items from South-Danubian I—Horizon found in mixed necropolis (late 9th–start 11th century).*

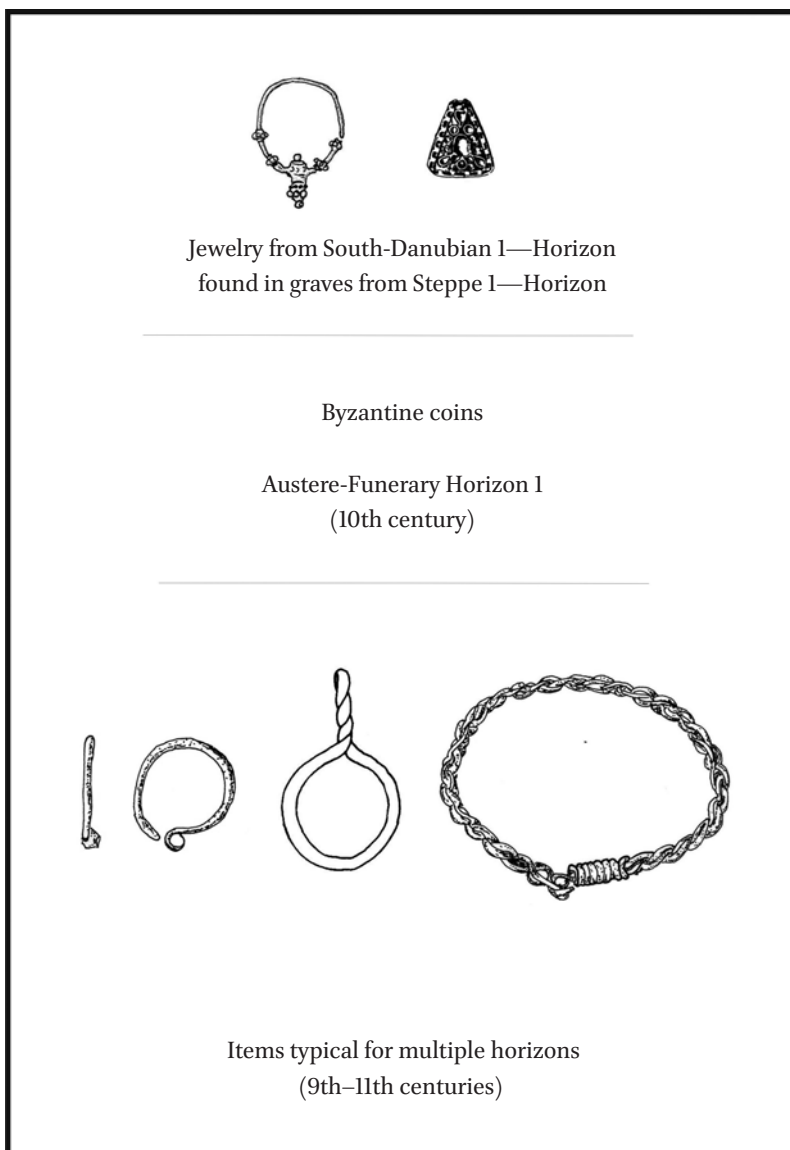
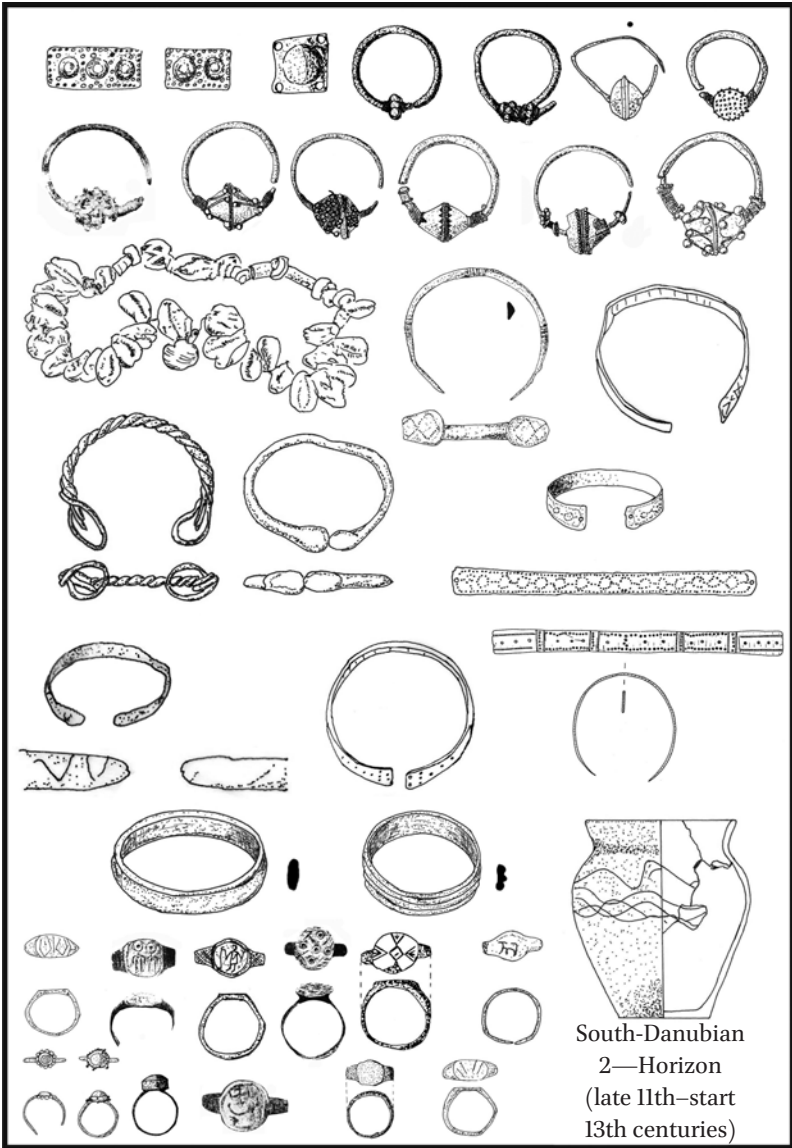


PLATE 126 *Jewelry from South-Danubian 1—Horizon found in graves from Steppe 1—Horizon. Austere-Funerary Horizon 1 (10th century). Items typical for multiple horizons (9th–11th centuries).*



PLATE 127 *Steppe 1—Horizon (930—start 11th century).*



South-Danubian
2—Horizon
(late 11th—start
13th centuries)

PLATE 128 *South-Danubian 2—Horizon (late 11th—start 13th centuries).*

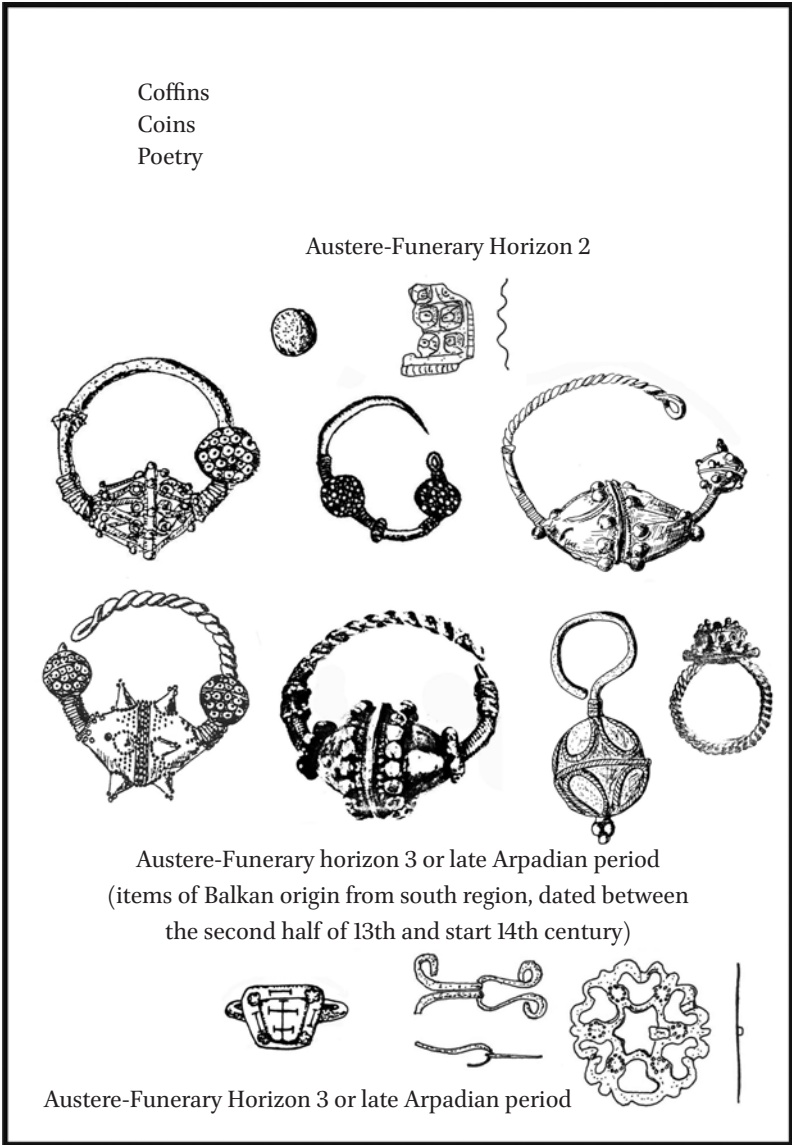


PLATE 129 *Austere-Funerary Horizon 2. Austere-Funerary horizon 3 or late Arpadian period (items of Balkan origin from south region, dated between the second half of 13th and start 14th century). Austere-Funerary Horizon 3 or late Arpadian period.*

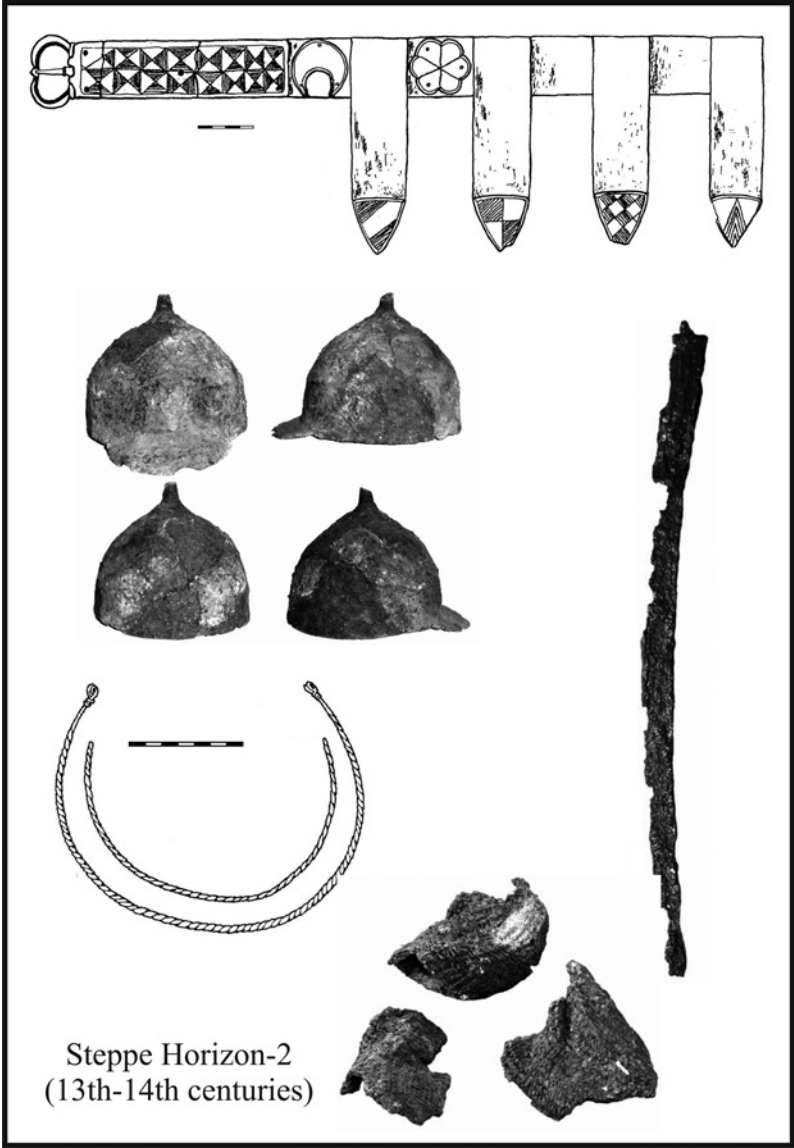


PLATE 130 *Steppe Horizon—2 (13th–14th centuries).*

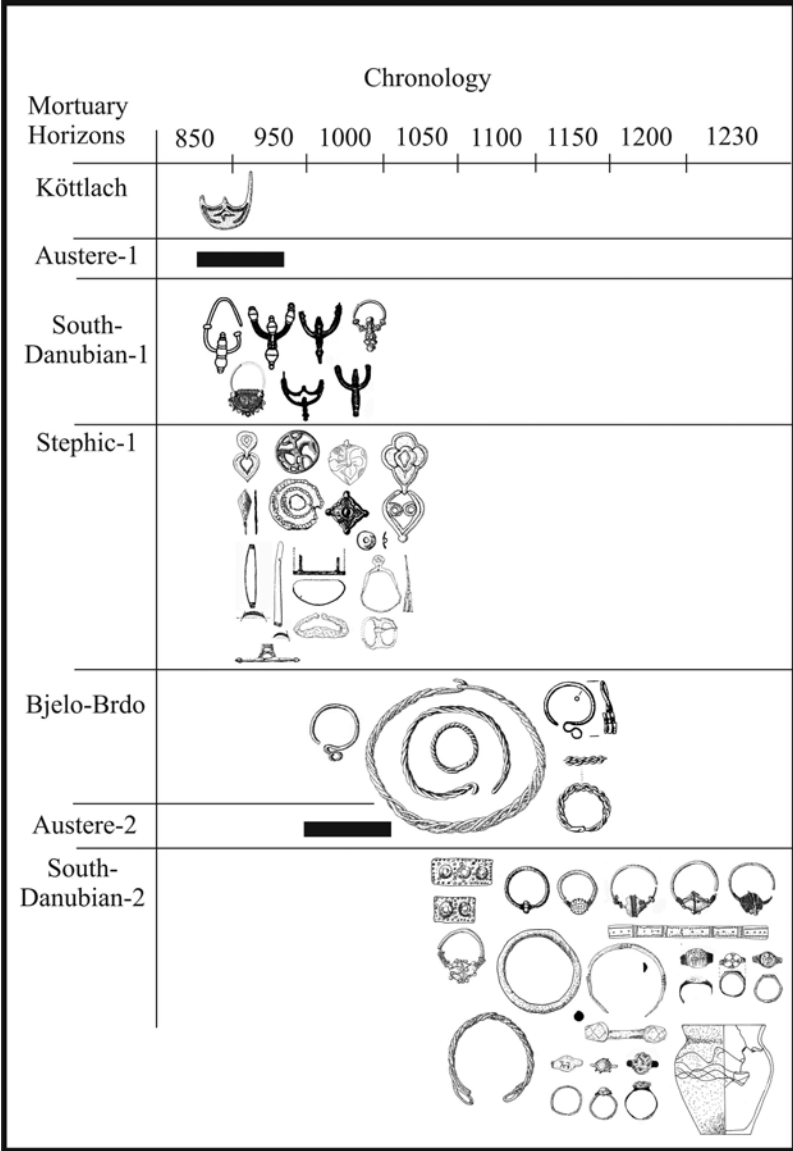


PLATE 132 Chronology (1).

| Mortuary Horizons | Chronology | | | |
|---|------------|------|------|------|
| | 1230 | 1300 | 1350 | 1400 |
| Austere Horizon-3 (balkan items from south region) | | | | |
| Austere Horizon-3 | | | | |
| Steppe Horizon-2 (13th-14th centuries) | | | | |
| Angevine and post-Angevine Horizon | | | | |

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