Archäologische Beiträge

Gedenkschrift
zum hundertsten Geburtstag
von Kurt Horedt

ROMANIAN ACADEMY
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART HISTORY CLUJ-NAPOCA

Series

Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum

Editors

SORIN COCIȘ
ADRIAN URSUȚIU

Volume 7

Archäologische Beiträge

Gedenkschrift zum hundertsten Geburtstag von Kurt Horedt

HERAUSGEBER
SORIN COCIŞ

DTP:
Francisc BAJA

Auf dem vorderen Umschlag:
Die Goldfibel aus dem Fürstengrab Nr. 1 von Apahida

INHALT / CONTENTS / SOMMAIRE

Kurt Horcolt

THE AVAR CONQUEST AND WHAT FOLLOWED. SOME IDEAS ON THE PROCESS OF 'AVARISATION' OF TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN (6TH–7TH CENTURIES)

GÁLL ERWIN

1. The Avar conquest. Is it possible to identify the direction(s) of the Avar conquest in Transylvania? On the reasons why the Transylvanian Basin was conquered

The appearance of the Avars, a political-military power with non-Roman roots, in Central Europe and the military conquest of the Carpathian Basin turned the evolution of the system of political institutions in this region into a different direction for a few centuries.[1] The Avar conquest of the central parts of the Carpathian Basin, could have been in close connection with the direction of the Avar conquest, but this cannot be confirmed as in the case of fast conquests-migrations similar to that of the Avars, cemeteries will not (necessarily) show the direction of the migration, but the formation of the system of settlements, their existence and evolution. The Avar conquest of Transylvania was the result of the conquest of the central territories of the Basin, independently of the direction from which it was conquered. The debate about the Avar conquest can be focussed on the following issues: 1. *when* and 2. *from which direction* did it happen. Discussing the Transylvanian Basin, after István Kovács,[2] Márton Roska also pointed out that the Avars had conquered this region with the 'first wave' (i. e. at the end of the 6th cen-

tury),[3] so it can be seen that this concept was held by Transylvanian archaeologists quite early and he also supported this theory with archaeological finds. They can undoubtedly be dated to the early Avar era, but their exact dating within the time period between 567 and 630 is impossible, so they are not necessarily the direct archaeological remains of the Avar conquest of 568 since at the moment it is not possible to identify the exact year when these graves were dug.

If the archaeological evidence of the Avar conquest of 568 are unclear (as in the whole Carpathian Basin no burial can be dated this way!), the issue of the directions of the conquest of the Transylvanian Basin is even unclearer as to whether it was conquered from the south, the east or the west. In his analysis of the sources, István Bóna pointed out that *"... there is no source describing how the Avar army was followed by the migrating Avar people. As the Vaskapu-Orsova pass was closed by the then openly hostile Byzantine fleet, this direction can be ruled out. It is difficult to think of any route other than the one leading through the Vöröstorony pass and along the valleys of the River Maros and the River Olt ...".*[4] The logic of Bóna's theory might have been supported by the topographic locations of the finds in the Transylvanian Basin. These were mainly found in the Mureș-Târnava region, not far from the Turnu Roșu Pass: e. g. Bratei

---

[1] POHL 2003, 571.
[2] KOVÁCS 1913, 387–388.
[3] ROSKA 1936, 154.
[4] BÓNA 1988, 162.

is 67, Târnăveni 110, and Ştremţ is 88 kilometers away, in the hilly region of the Târnava valleys. It was not mentioned by the Budapest professor, who was similarly an expert of the archaeology of the Hungarian conquest, that the system of settlements of the Avar era was completely different from topographic location of the Hungarian settlement, whose migration was also fast, and this archaeological phenomenon might be another indirect proof of the southern migration. In connection with the Turnu Roşu Pass[5] as a possible southern route of the migration, the question of the continuity of the Roman infrastructure and whether it was used in the second half of the 6th century may arise, which would explain a direction of the migration, which is logically quite plausible. The only problem with this theory is caused by the fact that no cemetery or grave has been found in the Lower Danube region which could be connected to the Avars based upon any of their characteristics, although the stage of research and its history cannot be compared to that of the Carpathian Basin,[6] but to the best of my knowledge no 'Avar' find is known in other regions of Eastern Europe from the time before the conquest. Nevertheless, a great number of Hun finds and other finds from the era of the Huns were found in the Lower Danube region,[7] which is not true for the finds bearing Avar characteristics, therefore this lack of finds cannot be explained by the early stage of research but rather by the fact that the Avars only spent a few years in this region (if we suppose that they reached the Lower Danube in 562, they spent here approximately 5–6 years). It could have been integrated into the Roman road network (probably based upon earlier prehistoric foundations) due to the fact that the River Olt crosses flat lands in Muntenia and due to the accessibility of the Turnu Roşu Pass. Nevertheless, from a military-strategic point of view it seems logical that a Langobard-Avar attack could have come from two directions, which would also indicate that the kingdom of the Gepids could have been attacked from the east or the southeast.

Another possible proof of the theory that the conquerors came from a southern direction is that geologically the hilly regions of the Rivers Târnava and Mureş are similar to the topography of the hilly land near the Balaton, where a great number of graves have been excavated from the early Avar era.[8] Nonetheless, this observation poses a rather inconvenient question: how can we explain the lack of finds in the regions near the lower and the Transylvanian reaches of the River Mureş, as in the region between Arad and Alba Iulia, no grave or stray find bearing Avar characteristics is known.[9] Only by the backward stage of research?

2. On the Avar conquest and its theoretical group-sociological consequences

A few years ago Tivadar Vida finished his synthesis-like article with the following words: *"in the 7th century the Avar elite melted into one the peoples of Central Europe with its huge integrative force, ensuring the position of the Avars as a leading power in Europe"*.[10] The Avar elite with the kagan as the leader was the cohesive force of the European Avars and the Avar empire, which was the main agent and generator in establishing the system of the state and society after the military conquest. The period after 568 was the time when besides the active (southern) foreingn politics southern) foreign politics, the net of the Avar power structure was built up in the Carpathian Basin. The construction of this network may explain the participation of different entities and peoples in the raids of the Avar power, in which the area of Transylvania cannot be left out.

As has been demonstrated, the direction of the Avar conquest and migration can only be defined relatively, due to the lack of data. However, reconstructing the complicated sociological and socio-psychological phenomena generated by the political-military elite after the conquest is an even more difficult task. It especially holds for the Transylvanian Basin, where non-scientific aspects were also represented in various papers (with different purposes).

In the earlier Romanian literature (and elsewhere too) there was/is a conspicuous misunderstanding concerning the meaning and the terminologies of acculturation and assimilation the term 'acculturation' is used more often) and integration as a term has not even been mentioned. Certainly, we talk about those works whose authors at least accepted the idea that group entities are more or less fuzzy sociological-historical constructions.

First of all, it should be decided how the complex sociological and socio-psychological phenomena of the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century can be described and defined based upon the scanty

[5] On the importance of the pass in medieval reality and medieval attacks, see BINDER 1995, 1123–1153.

[6] The research of the "Great Migration" period in Moldva and Muntenia was delayed a hundred yers, see CIUPERCĂ 2009, 134.

[7] HARHOIU 1997.

[8] SZENTPÉTERI 2009, 241. As opposed to this, the earliest Hungarian find horizon in the Transylvanian Basin, dating from the 10th century, is known from the region of the Little Someş, see GÁLL 2013, 461–485.

[9] This phenomenon is similar to the 10th century archaeological reality, but in that case the chronological analysis of the cemeteries suggest a N-S and towards Transylvania a W-E migration.

[10] VIDA 2009, 118.

written archaeological sources that are difficult to interpret. What term/terms can be used in their case (acculturation, assimilation, integration) or based upon their context, each separately and on what base?

Let us discuss them one by one.

A. Acculturation, change of culture (whose basic level is *adaptation*), is a mixture of cultural relationships which takes place when two or more traditions meet, becomes similar or mingle.[11] According to Milton Gordon, acculturation is the first step of assimilation, interpreting assimilation as a whole made up of integrative phenomena with different stages, and this first step (acculturation) would mean that a person or a group adapts the system of norms and values, the attitudes, linguistic and material culture (e. g. clothing elements) of another society.[12] The flow of the process to be undisturbed depends on the degree to which the new elements taken over from the other culture can be integrated in the original culture!! It is an important fact that acculturation does not necessarily ends in assimilation! In our research of this era, we think the term *acculturation level* created by Gyöngyi Bindorffer appropriate, its highest level or its result is *cultural assimilation.[13] Based upon the characteristics of the burial customs of this era (or what we can reconstruct archaeologically), this must have been a one way process* (i. e. the burial customs of the conquerors were not affected by the burial customs of the Gepids, at least it cannot be detected archaeologically (!), the question to be answered is why was it so?), but not completely. If it is proven by anthropological and DNA analyeses that in the Gepid (micro)communities there were eastern, mongoloid anthropologycal elements too, then the fact of an existing interaction (*marital acculturation phenomena, etc.*) are to be taken into consideration. The Avars coming to the Carpathian Basin must have been influenced by the various cultural effects besides the geographical circumstances. And what is more important, these effects affected the microcommunities and individuals to different degrees.

B. For the concept of *assimilation* one can find two definitions: 1. assimilation can be considered as giving up the original culture of a group in exchange for another culture;[14] 2. Others see this as a mutual phenomenon resulting in two or more cultures melting into one forming a new culture.[15] Can we talk about either type of these assimilations or about both of them depending on the geographical environment? According to Gordon's assimilation theory, assimilation may have several stages, which can be independent of one another, namely *acculturation, structural, marital, identification, attitude- and behaviour acceptance assimilation.* In our opinion, in the 6th–7th centuries we can talk about acculturation and a structural assimilation concerning the military strata.

In connection with the burial and material culture of the Avar era, which became unified in the second half of the 7th century in the Carpathian Basin but went back to different traditions, according to the researches conducted in the recent decades, the question may arise whether it meant an identification assimilation unit or just a macro-regional fashion since in a symbolic social level group identity and the representation of material culture only overlap but do not necessarily cover each other. In the past, when there was no equivalent to the modern day ways of communication and infrastructure (TV, newspapers, educational system) the identification unit, solidarity between the people and the elite of the entity, which maintained *group identity* must have been more relative and fuzzy, especially if this reality created sociologically was reduced to the *secondary* or indirect relations.

C. The third concept that can be used to describe the various sociological phenomena of this era is *integration.* The goal of integration process is not (necessarily) assimilation, but the organisation of the mutual relationship of communities, in accordance with the principle of fitting to one another. However, as a result of this, sometimes cultural enclaves change integrity to such extent that only the third generation will be able to accommodate to the whole system.[16] However, in our opinion, integration also requires a necessity to adapt and a capacity, which in turn modifies the cultural features of a particular entity, accompanying acculturation. Taking into consideration the written sources and the archaeological finds, this definition can be applied to the relationship between the Avar political-military structure and the Gepid communities at the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th.

Based upon the definitions of these phenomena, and according to the various archaeological contexts and the written records, we think that all these three phenomena (acculturation, assimilation and the integration of communities) played a role in the social evolution of the Transylvanian Basin in the 6th and 7th centuries.

---

[11]   AEKK 2010, 21–22.
[12]   GORDON 1964.
[13]   BINDORFFER 2001, 141.
[14]   ROSE 1956; GORDON 1964; HOROWITZ 1975, 111–140; KORZENNY/ABRAVANEL 1998.
[15]   PARK/BURGESS 1921, 740–774; FICHTER 1957.

[16]   AEKK 2010, 182.

2. 1. An experimental model: the situation of Transylvanian Gepids/Gepid communities in Avaria – in the light of the scanty data

The practical application of the aforementioned three theoretical phenomena that show differences, although in many aspects they are connected, is still weakly supported and relative in the case of the 6th–7th century Transylvanian funerary finds. Therefore our observations and assumptions cannot be regarded hard and fast results but rather a working hypothesis.

According to the written and archaeological sources, Gepid communities (and also other communities such as the communities of the so called Keszthely culture) still remained after the Avar conquest in 568 as social group entities in *Avaria*. Certainly, it remains a question what proportion of the Gepid elite survived the Avar conquest. In our opinion, it can be interpreted at two social levels: the high elite of the Gepids ceased to exist as an entity in 568 (or to be more exact it was eliminated as it was in the interest of the Avar elite), but the elites of rural communities survived/ may have survived. Our written source, Paulus Diaconus, seems to support our first assumption concerning the disappearance of the elite surrounding the king, although this is a foreign source and clearly biased against the Avars.[17] In the work of Theophylactus Simocatta there is clear evidence to prove that there were local Gepid communities in the early Avar era.[18]

Although the concept of integration was mentioned in the third place above, we think that this is the term that applies to the first phase of the relationship between the Avar structure and the (local) Gepid communities. However, this relation can be interpreted as an asymmetric dependence, which is mainly characterised by the defencelessness, which cannot be eliminated by the suffering party (or its elite) in the unbalanced power structure. One characteristic of the asymmetric dependence is *threat* and its result is obedience, but this result has a clearly negative effect on the *common self-picture* of the community. However, as was emphasized by Herbert C. Kelmann, *asymmetric relations* has no solid foundations,[19] and they can undergo radical changes depending on political, military, economic and cultural contexts. Therefore the interest of those who have the upper hand in such asymmetric situations is that the subjugated ones should change the meaning of the situation they imagine for themselves and instead of the forced obedience they should feel that they take orders voluntarily, eliminating the burden of negative self assessment, ushering in the self proof of the subjugated and the ideology of reconciliation. What happens in these cases is a transformation: an asymmetric situation is labelled with signs of symmetry without changing its real characteristic.[20]

The archaeological picture of Southern Transylvania in the second half of the 6th century with a high proportion of 6th–7th century cemeteries is a testimony to the prevalence of local Gepid or German communities and the political-military integration of their communities and on the other hand it undoubtedly shows their asymmetric dependence of the conquering Avar elite. At the moment we know of 15 such cemeteries,[21] which were established in the 6th century and were used well into the 7th century. (Pl. 1/a) It is true that this is not a great number but several micro-regions of the Transylvanian Basin, either central or peripheral, can be found on the list.

Nevertheless, the political-military integration of these communities with asymmetric dependence did not mean the assimilation of their identity, it may have been retained by way of myths of origin, customs and the elements of a common semiotic system, which are considered the infrastructural channels of identification systems by Jan Assmann,[22] and by way of them they (or at least their first generations) could build up a cultural wall separating themselves from the freshly arrived conquerors.

However, the picture is different in each micro-region, the opportunities of cultural separation or cultural approach, acculturation and identity assimilation may have differed from place to place and geographical distances, either long or short, may have defined the characteristics of these phenomena, their social scale, dynamism, and deepness from borrowing superficial fashion elements to changing their identification, so the process of becoming 'Avar' could have depended on place and time. In our opinion, the construction of the Avarf structure in fact means the intertwining relations of the vertical and the horizontal power systems, this multi-layered system was created and operated by the central power of the Khaganate. To understand this phenomenon, we must not content ourselves with theoretical research, but we also have to do archaeological research from a chronological point of view concerning the finds and sites that may be classified as possibly the earliest ones from the Avar era in Transylvania.[23]

---

[17] Paulus Diaconus I. 27: SZÁDECZKY-KARDOS 1998, 33.

[18] Theophylaktos Simokattes VIII, 3, 11–12: SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS 1998, 134–135.

[19] KELMAN 1958, 51–60.

[20] MILGRAM 1965, 57–76.

[21] The continuity of the groups of graves and finds in the 7th century in Cornești, Cristuru Secuiesc, Drăușeni, Iclod, Moldovenești, Șintereag, Nușeni and Vermeș referred to by Radu Harhoiu has not been proved yet, therefore we have not indicated them in our paper! HARHOIU 2011, Fig. 7.

[22] ASSMANN 2004, 67, 89, 140–141, 203–206.

[23] On the unification of the lists of the Avar burials considered

2. 2. The chronology of grave finds

One of the most important finds with Avar characteristics is the one in Vereşmort excavated in 2008. The grave at Vereşmort was dated broadly to the 7th century, but to judge from the publication of this burial it is more likely to belong in its final decades.[24] *(Plate 2/1–8)* The grave of a 25–30 year old male discovered at Unirea-Vereşmort was saved for archaeology by Tiberiu Rustoiu and Marius Ciută, its dating is late 6th – first quarter of the 7th century,[25] based on the grave goods (a one-edged sword[26] with a silver hilt plate and an ring pommel,[27] and Martynovka belt ornaments, mail coat, a horse, some bits, a pair of spurs). According to a survey made by Gergely Csiky, forty parallels to one-edged swords[28] (after Simon Type I, with suspension handle Type B/2) ornamented with silver plates are known from the Transdanubian region (19) and the Great Plain (21) datable to the Early Avar Period.[29] The counterparts of swords with an iron ring pommel embedded in the silver hilt-plate were discovered at the following locations (see Pl. 2/1):[30] Bócsa, Kecel, Nagykőrös, Nagyolaszi.[31] It is important that in the case of our specimen there is no cross guard,[32] and the hilt ring has not been made from the iron of the hilt, but it was attached to the silver plate, solely for this purpose. The sword,[33] the

Martynovka belt ornaments and the Mongoloid features of the skull also seem to date the grave to the end of the 6th and the beginning/first quarter of the 7th century, and connected it with the first two conquering Avar generations.[34] To be sure the dating proposed here is only approximate as there is the possibility that the elements of the belt set could have been acquired by their owner late in life. On the other hand, even if this Avar individual died in 605 or 615 this does not necessarily mean that he came to Transylvania at that time! For instance, if we take 605 or 615 as the year when he died and we consider him to be 30 years old, then he must have been born in 575 or 585, and consequently, could be from the first two generations of the conquering Avars mentioned earlier.[35] (see Pl. 10)

The votive deposite pits from Stremţ and Târnăveni are similarly early and may be regarded as marks of a group identity of the first two-three generations of the Avars;[36] the gold earrings from Turda can also be connected to this horizon.[37]

The cemetery, or its fragment, at Şpălnaca, with its 39 graves is similarly important.[38] Grave 10 at Şpălnaca, burial of a 30–35 year old male, is dated by a bronze coin of Justin II (565–578) to the end of the 6th century, Graves 19 and 37 held the burials of a horse and its rider, placed in separate graves. Next to them there were also graves where the horse and its rider were buried together (Graves 19 and 39) complete with the lance, a weapon characteristic for the Avar era (Grave 19). These graves can also be dated to the period on the turn of the 6th and the 7th century.

Two of the four cemeteries at Luna, huge by Transylvanian standards, can be dated reliably to the early Avar age and the presence of the population of the Gepid period can also be detected in at least two cemeteries.[39]

---

to be the earliest, see BÁLINT 1995, 310.

[24] RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008, 90–91.

[25] On the dating of early Avar swords see: SIMON 1991, 263–346. The '*sabie*' (saber) mentioned many times in Romanian literature has been really a sword!

[26] One-edged swords were narrower, lighter and could be made of less iron which probably made them less expensive. Their advantage over double-edged swords are obvious but they also had a major disadvantage: to administer two blows one had to rotate the wrist 180 degrees, moreover, the blade is triangular or pentagonal in cross section, which is not favourable for stabbing. See: CSÍKY 2009, 121.

[27] Swords with a ring pommel spread during the 4th century in the Far East and remained popular until the 8th century. These swords had a tradition which reached back several centuries, to the Zhan Guo Ce era (481–222 BC) but they became popular in the era of the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD). CSIKY 2009, 154, Note 919.

[28] "*A vizsgálható 120 leletből 53 kard, azaz 44,1 % ide tartozik, ezt tartom a korai avar kardok domináns típusának.*" ('*Among the 120 finds that can be analysed, 53 are swords, i. e. 44,1 %, I consider them the dominant type of early Avar swords..*') SIMON 1991, 269.

[29] CSIKY 2009, 121.

[30] The Transylvanian find was added to the map. SIMON 1991, FIG. 7–8; VIDA 2009, Fig. 5.

[31] Unfortunately, we have to set right Gergely Csiky's Note 721 which states that a sword of this description is known in the Transylvanian Basin, from Noşlac. CSIKY 2009, 123, note 721.

[32] Cross guards are characteristic for swords with iron ring pommel. CSIKY 2009, 122.

[33] In the study of the grave discovered at Unirea-Vereşmort Gabriel Tiberiu Rustoiu and Marius Ciută write, using information

from other sources, that the crime site investigator and the policemen tried to bend the sword (their suspected murder weapon), but without success. RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008, Pl. 1

[34] At this point both the archaeologists who published the grave and Alexandru Madgearu are of a different opinion. Radu Harhoiu also suggests a dating close to ours, for which we are grateful to him. RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008, 90–91; MADGEARU 2011, 194–195, 197.

[35] As a result of mixed argumentation, another problematic issue in archaeological papers is the conception that the Avar conquest and immigration was not considered a long, multi-step sociological process but they connected it to various dates, rigidly insisting on the narrative sources.

[36] BAKÓ 1965, 370; HOREDT 1968, 108, FIG. 2/1–2, 117, NR. I/24; BÓNA 1988, 164, Plate 30/1–2.

[37] GARAM 1993, 69, nr. 43, Taf. 33/1–2.

[38] PROTASE/BLĂJAN/BOTEZATU/HAIMOVICI 2000.

[39] NAGY 2011.

Stadler's* new chronology and the chronology of the cemeteries of the assumed Avar centre – early Avar sites (see Map 1)	Avars	Late Gepids/Germanic people (the era after 568)	Early Slavs?
EAI 568–600	Luna (⚲), Şpălnaca (⚲), Târnăveni (⚲), Unirea-Vereşmort–2008 (⚲)?	Bandu de Câmpie (⚲), Bratei (⚲), Luna (⚲), Noşlac (⚲), Unirea-Vereşmort–1914	
EAI 600–630	Aiud, Bratei (?), Luna (⚲), Gâmbaş (⚲) Unirea-Vereşmort–2008?	Bandu de Câmpie, Bratei (⚲), Luna (⚲), Noşlac (⚲), Gâmbaş (⚲)	Bratei (?)(⚲) Bandu de Câmpie**
EAI 568–630	Stremţ?, Alba Iulia?, Turda?		

Fig. 1. Chronological table of the early Avar period cemeteries and single graves

* STADLER 2008, 59, Tab. 1.
** BAKÓ 1965, 455–457.

2. 3. On the process of 'avarisation' (?) in the Transylvanian Basin. The centre of 'avarisation'

If we want to compare the closely related group of sociological phenomena presented above and the archaeological finds, first of all, the early Avar era sites should be mapped. We consider it important to discuss how to classify these archaeological sources, namely, whether we can talk about acculturated or assimilated people from this point of view, whose predecessors we can find in the Gepid communities (or their nature and intensity) since according to the written sources, the existence of Gepid communities in the military-political structure of *Avaria* is evident.

In theory, either one-way or mutual[40] accultura-tion may occur, mainly as a result of direct and continuous contacts, but in this symbolic social value conflict, the extension of the picture of *'us'* is clearly in favour of the conquering entity or its elite, therefore this elite can be regarded as the generator of these acculturation and assimilation processes, especially if the elite of the entity concerned is gone as we can assume in the case of the Gepid system of political institutions. This process could have lasted for a long period until the conquerors' traditional system of symbols caught on whereas the traditions of the conquered people that were to keep their identity lost ground and eventually they were abandoned. In theory, we tried to show this in the following graph:

[40] For instance, the graves of gold workers in Avar cemeteries are the testimonies to another phenomenon gaining ground, since this custom was not of eastern origin. BÁLINT 2012, 312.
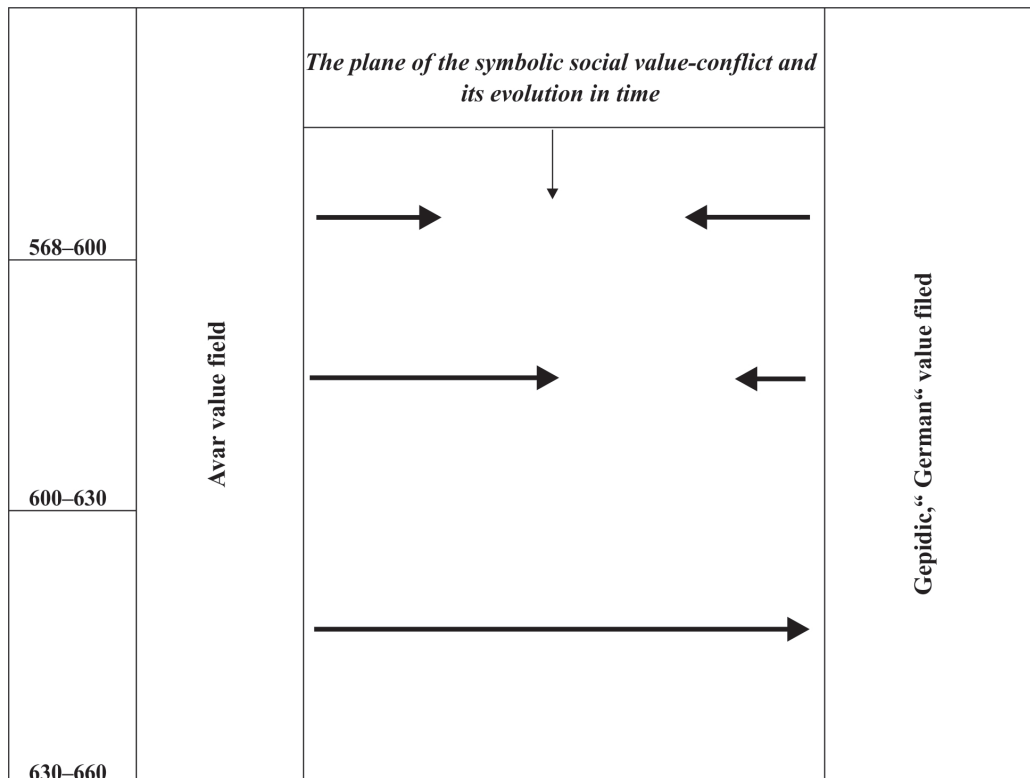

Fig. 2. The evolution of 'avarisation' in time

The *'big-man'* model, i. e. the interest of those leaders who achieved their social positions might have played an important role in extending this acculturation and assimilation. In our opinion, they must have imitated the elite of the conquerors as in the course of time it represented social prestige or so to say the *fashion*. Besides the geographical circumstances. And what is more important, these effects affected the microcommunities and individuals to different degrees. However, this did not necessarily mean a copy of the Avar customs, but the creation of a new system of customs, which was rooted int he old traditions.
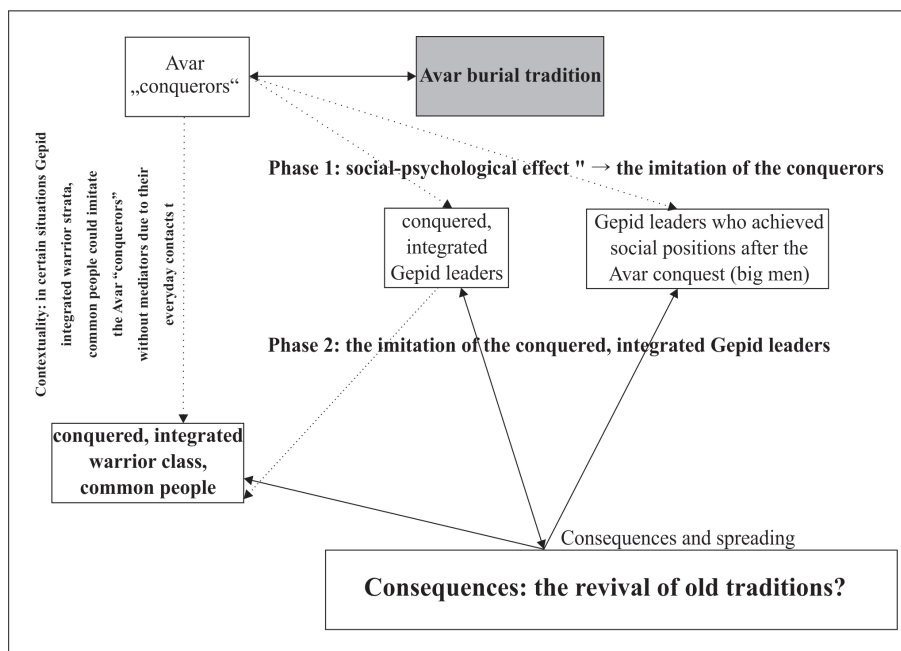
The following graph shows this:

Fig. 3. The evolution of 'avarisation' in time
and its social-psychological factors

The core region of the archaeological sites which in our opinion indicate these sociological and social-psychological phenomena may have been the Middle-Mureș region. However, this is not only the 'region of the conquering Avars', but a large number of 6th–7th century graves of other people is known, therefore as a result of the direct and continuous contacts this value-conflict or their co-existence can be observed in the case of these two entities.

In the wider region of the Middle-Mureș or to be more exact in the region around Noșlac Stremț and the hilly region of the middle reaches of the Little Târnava as the very important symbols of group identity, namely votive deposit pits were found in two sites, in Stremț and in Târnăveni.

Another characteristic of the group identity of the early Avar era, a partial horse burial was found in Grave–2008 in Unirea-Vereșmort. Based upon the

classic Avar finds in the grave (the association of the objects is similar to those found in the Great Plain), and the Mongoloid features of the skull it can be considered the main Avar find in Transylvania. Concerning the partial horse burials in the early Avar era[41] it can be stated that in the past few decades Gábor Lőrinczy and Péter Somogyi have managed to locate a group in the region east off the Tisza whose characteristics include partial horse and other animal burials. This group can be traced back to the steppe in Southern Russia.[42]

In the Carpathian Basin of the Avar era, the horse buried in a separate pit (Kiss Type VII[43]) can be considered one of the most common types of horse burials.[44] One find in this region definitely dates from the early Avar era, namely in Gâmbaș-Reformed church cemetery,[45] which is supported by the finds.[46] In Graves 19 and 37, in Șpălnaca complete horse burials were found, where the geared horse was buried in the direction (E-W) opposite to that of the skeleton and was separated from it by a narrow clay wall (Kiss Type I).[47]

As they were not excavated by experts, the type(s) of horse burials found in Aiud-Viticulture School remains unclear (we only know that they contained horse bones),[48] but their furnishings are typical early Avar weapons and horse gears (pikes, apple-shaped stirrups). (Pl. 2/1–3) It is possible that the stray objects in Alba Iulia,[49] and the ear rings from Turda come from early Avar graves.[50]

Almost nothing is known of the at least four cemeteries from the Gepid-Avar era in Luna (312 excavated graves out of 623 identified tombes), apart from some information on horse burials and horse gears

---

[41] Unfortunately, as it was not excavated by an archaeologist, we cannot make use of the typology of horse burials applied by István Bóna: BÓNA 1979, 21.

[42] SOMOGYI 1997; LŐRINCZY 1998.

[43] KISS 1962, 153–162.

[44] KISS 1962, 154–156.

[45] ROSKA 1936, 154.

[46] This site is not to be mistaken for the one excavated by Gyula Bodrogi, which probably dates from the late Avar era and was found elsewhere.

[47] PROTASE/BLĂJAN/BOTEZATU/HAIMOVICI 2000.

[48] HOREDT 1958b, 91.

[49] BÓNA 1988, 8. ábra.

[50] GARAM 1993, 69, Nr. 43, Taf. 33/1–2.

of uncertain origins and types.[51] What is even more important, Szilárd Gál identified several skulls with Mongoloid features in the early Avar cemeteries (Cemetery I–II),[52] which obviously cannot be connected to any Germanic people.

Similarly, we have scanty information scanty information about the cemetery in Noşlac as the cemetery has not been published up to this date. However, the information on the cemetery makes important contribution as in 4 horse graves out of the 5 there were no harness furnishings (Graves 57, 65, 66, 72r) (!), as opposed to the horse graves in Târnăveni, Aiud, Gâmbaş, Stremț and Vereşmort where harness was found in each case. The only grave containing harness in Noşlac is Grave 11, but based upon the finds in it, this grave can be dated to a later age, approximately the middle Avar era. As can be seen, harnesses were common as a rule in the graves dated to the early Avar era except for Marosnagylak. All this stands in stark contrast with the main characteristic feature of the horse burials in Marosnagylak: a lack of harnesses in the graves.[53]

As can be seen, slowly but surely the classic archaeological finds of the 'conquerors' of the early Avar era can be mapped in the middle reaches of the River Mureş in Transylvanian Basin. However poorly these have been researched, they draw our attention to the problem that this central region of the Transylvanian Basin could have been occupied by Avar people with different traditions, their heterogeneous traditions are evident. It means that the Khaganate carried out the conquest and the settlement of Transylvania by sending people of different origins, the conquering people coming to the Carpathian Basin could have had considerably heterogeneous traditions. What it really means and what we can learn about the biological origins of the conquering people, their social system must be the subject of future pluridisciplinary research (anthropology, DNA tests)!

However, in this region it is not only the archaeological finds characteristic of the conquerors (mainly burial customs) that can be observed, but also those of the conquered communities and individuals. From this point of view the important fact is not that we know finds of such characteristic but that in these necropolis communities and individuals of different origins dating from the early Avar era were found. These archaeological signs indicate different social phenomena, we think they are worth presenting them:

1. The male grave with a lance in Şpălnaca, Grave 10 can clearly be connected to the burial customs of the earlier Gepid era.

2. The weapon burials with double edged swords (without any horses or parts of horses or horse gears) in Graves 5, 13 and 14 excavated in 1914 in Unirea-Vereşmort one might associate with Gepid burial customs. Based upon the several weapon burials found in this cemetery one can think of the so called *structural assimilation* of this community.

In both cases, the given archaeological phenomena dating from the early Avar era can be interpreted as clear evidence of (Gepid) integration.

3. In Grave 3, in the above mentioned cemetery in Gâmbaş, the burial customs and the finds clearly indicate a woman of different cultural origin. Concerning this grave and others too (such as Grave 5 with a sickle) the possibility of the so called *marital assimilation* cannot be excluded.[54]

4. The cemetery section registered in the cemetery in Noşlac can be dated to the early Avar era can be interpreted by the integration of this community into the Avar structure (burials with pikes, 5 horse graves without horse equipment!). However, in the early Avar era double edged sword furnishings with horse gears are very rare, although it is interesting that only bits were placed in Grave 12. In Grave 72 of the cemetery, the horse was buried without its skull, similar cases are known in the territory of the Meroving culture.[55] Similarly to Grave 3 in Gâmbaş, three graves with bucket furnishings are known in this cemetery too. However, this clear difference in the customs also poses a question as the horse in Grave 57 was an approximately 4-year-old stallion of the Mongolian type.[56]

5. Probably, the cemetery sections dating from the early Avar era in Luna and differing from the burials with Mongoloid skulls can also be connected to the Gepid burial customs and people.

We tried to illustrate this sociologically phenomena in the next table:

[51]   NAGY 2011.
[52]   I would like to express my appreciation to Szilárd Gál for this information.
[53]   RUSU 1962, Fig. 4/8–10; RUSU 1964, 37, Fig. 3/8–10.

[54]   Some of the skeletons from these graves can be found in the repository of the museum in Cluj.
[55]   DOBOS 2010–2011, 387.
[56]   RUSU 1962, 270, 1. jegyzet.

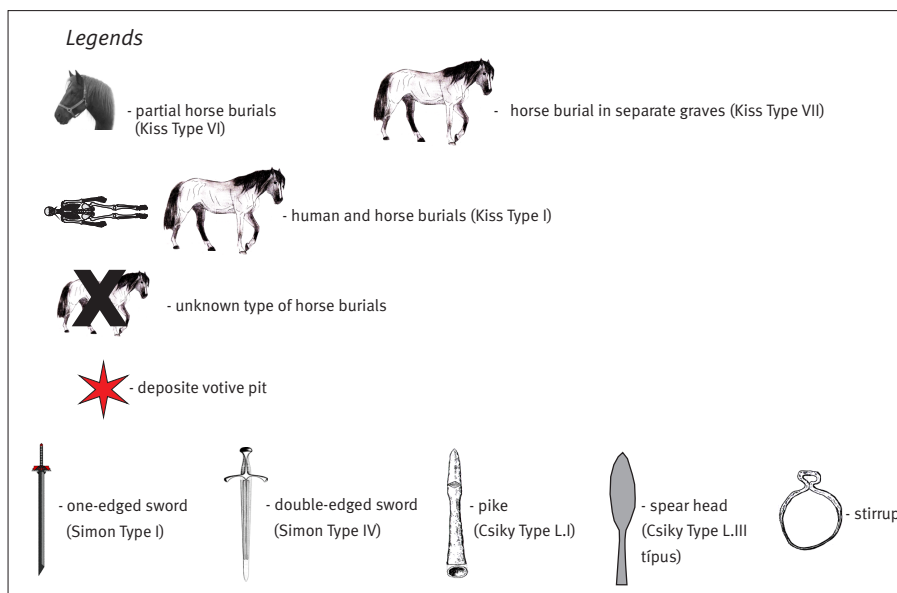| Sites/Graves	Avar tradition (horse or only horse bines, votive deposite pit) Avar weapons (one-edged sword, quiver, three-bladed arrow heads)	Gepid tradition Gepid weapons: double-edged sword, lance Gepidic or other women wears, cultural traditions
Ștremț		
Gâmbaș horse grave	E–W ?	E–W ? Kiss Type VII
Gâmbaș Grave 3	?	?
Gâmbaș Grave 5		- sickle
Gâmbaș Grave 9	Kiss Type I W–E	
Șpălnaca Grave 10		
Șpălnaca Grave 19	Kiss Type I W–E	
Șpălnaca Grave 37	Kiss Type I W–E	
Vereșmort Grave 5		
Vereșmort Grave 13		
Vereșmort Grave 14 Veresmart sír (2008)		
Vereșmort isolated grave? (2008)	Kiss Type VI	
Aiud-Viticulture School Grave 1		
Aiud-Viticulture School Grave 2		
Noșlac Graves 57, 65, 66		Kiss Type I (without harness)
Noșlac Grave 72		Horse without skull
Noșlac Grave 29		
Noșlac Grave 102		
Noșlac Grave 41		
Noșlac Grave 58		

Fig. 4. The funeral appearance of group identities that can be registered in the Transylvanian Basin in the 2nd half of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century

II. The people of those micro-regions have been classified into the second category of our theoretical construction that were, on the one hand, in direct relation (asymmetric dependence, cultural influence) with the communities living in the core centre, on the other hand, a population of Avar origin determining 'avarisation' (acculturation, assimilation, integration) can be observed in this area too. Based upon the finds, the conclusion can be drawn that a votive deposit pit indicating group identity appeared in this region too (Târnăveni). However, in this area, the the number of signs indicating Avar conquerors shows a decreasing tendency, therefore the processes of acculturation and assimilation could not have been so deep, just a superficial, so to say fashion phenomenon, which could have been helped by those traditions of these people that were similar to those of the Avars such as horse burials. We consider it important to note because mainly in Romanian archaeology it is common to regard horse burials identical to Avars,[57] although from this era

some horse burials are known in Western Europe, Anglo-Saxon England, the Italian Peninsula, Scandinavia, in Central Europe (for instance the Lango-bard sites in Freundorf, Rusovce, Šakviče, Žuráň), in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region.[58] In Germanic mythology Odin/Wotan, the main god and his fellow Sleipnir, the rider on the eight legged horse.[59]

---

[57] HOREDT 1958a; HOREDT 1958b; HOREDT 1968; HOREDT 1977; HOREDT 1986; HARHOIU 2010, 149–159; STANCIU 2002; STANCIU 2008, 415–448. Also: KOVÁCS 1913, 387–388. In contrast with earlier theories A. Dobos was inclined to expect *Merovingian cultural influence* although he writes about it in a cautious manner. Dobos 2010–2011, 388–389. We consider it useful that Dobos draws attention to the fact that horse burials are mainly to be explained by social reasons and there is no need to seek an ethnic interpretation! The research attitude of A. Dobos is very useful but is has two weaknesses: 1. His interest is limited to the Merovingian age and cultural field (e.g. the terminology *Merovingian* is used twenty times in his text, not to mention that he finds his analogies in the area dominated by the Merovingians without exceptions); 2. Like the proponents of earlier theories (M. Roska, K. Horedt, R. Harhoiu) A. Dobos does not try to explain the archaeological (technical) term '*influence*' he uses so many

times. If the 6th–7th century historical-geographical conditions are in favour of the theories of '*Avar influence*' or '*Avarization*', which methodically stands very close to the research tendency of '*mixed argumentation*' (if not being identical with it), the Merovingian influence of Dobos requires a more complex way of thinking and a more complex research attitude, but his failure to spell out the concept of '*influence*' is a serious flaw. I have to mentioned, that the archaeological interpretation of the '*Merovingian cultural domain*' can be connected to the topos of *unity*. Horse worship has a much older tradition, both in Europe, and in Asia. There is evidence on horse worship in the North, in Scandinavia, as early as in 1300 BC and in 1500–1100, continuing without a break until 6th–7th century. Similarly, in Pomerania, Sudovia and Mazovia, horse worship was known well before the Roman Period, it is mentioned in several Roman sources, but we have far more evidence from the Roman Period and the Migration Period. ELLIS DAVIDSON 1982; FODOR 1977, 104, footnote 53; FODOR 2005, 6–10; GOLDHAHN 1999, 150; GRÄSLUND 1980, 48; GRĘZAK 2007, 359; van GULIK 2005; HAGBERG 1967, 55; JASKANIS 1966, 29–65; KARCZEWSKA/ KARCZEWSKA/GRĘZAK 2009, 56–90; NOWAKOWSKI 2009, 115–130; WYCZÓŁKOWSKI–MAKOWIECKI 2009, 295; SHENK 2002, 11–18; SZYMAŃSKI 2005, 126; ØSTMO 1997, 305. On horse sacrifice found on the territory of the *Przeworsk* culture, see: KONTNY 2009, 92–93; on the territory of the *Wielbark* culture: KACZANOWSKI/KOZŁOWSKI 1998, 280, 282–283. On horse sacrifice found on the territory of the Western Baltic area, see: MICHELBERTAS 1986, 32, 37–40.

[58] ANDRÉN 1993, 33–56; FERN 2005, 43–71; GENITO 2000, 229–248; GRÄSLUND/MÜLLER-WILLE 1992, 186–187; MÜLLER-WILLE 1970–1971, 119–248; OEXLE 1984, 122–172; SCHACH-DÖRGES 2008, 701–727; TEJRAL 2009, 123–162; WYCZÓLKOWSKI/MAKOWIECKI 2009, 295–304.

[59] SZIMBÓLUMTÁR 2001, 322.

In the region which was an asymmetric dependency of the core region the sites in Bratei, Bandu de Câmpie, Târgu-Mureș, Valea Largă fall in this category, besides the votive deposit pit in Târnăveni.

The biggest and most complex cemetery among them is the one in Bratei with approximately 294 graves. The new elements in the material culture and the burial customs are explained with the 'acculturation' process by Radu Harhoiu, who researched the cemetery.

1. In his recent publication on the cemetery, Radu Harhoiu drew up a more complex interpretation, but however methodically the cemetery was researched, the lack of other analyses and the disappearance of the bones allowed only such conclusions[60] as were drawn by István Kovács in his publication of the cemetery in Bandu de Câmpie almost 100 years ago.[61] Supposing some anthropological and paleozoological analyses had been done in the cemetery revealing that some skulls had Mongoloid features as in Luna, probably Harhoiu would not have jumped to some simple conclusions writing about 'acculturated Gepids'.

2. The method used by Radu Harhoiu simplifies the most important question, namely: what are those infrastructural, communication and contact channels through which the Gepids became 'avarised' in terms of their burial customs and material culture? Who could have been the mediators of the Avar burial customs, and by what means were the autochton Gepids 'avarised'? Some burial traditions registered in the cemetery in Bratei are closely related or rather identical to those of the Avars (even their furnishings!), so 'acculturation' as it is assumed by Harhoiu is a very rigid and too simple answer to a complex sociological and social psychology process.

3. In his publications, Harhoiu puts down the 'avarisation' of the Gepids to 'acculturation', although he does not specify what exactly he means by this or what the essence of it is.

The following arguments seem to contradict Harhoiu's conception (Pl. 4):

1. Having mapped the double edged sword finds and complete horse burials, it can be stated that these two burial customs have never been found in the same group of graves, therefore we can assume parallel burials of the two communities with different traditions. That is why the disappearance of the bones prevented any anthropological analyses causing irreparable damage. In our opinion, as these two kinds of rites were not found in the same groups of graves, but both can be found in both the eastern and the western section of the cemetery, although in different groups, we can assume two communities with

different cultural traditions, values and different pictures of the other world.

2. The pike, a typical weapon of the cavalry, which was classified by Gergely Csiky as Type L. I. is known from Graves 175, 201, 218, 278 and 283. In horse graves or in graves with horses in them, it is often found along with other weapons and parts of the tack (pairs of stirrups, bits, harness ornaments).[62] This burial tradition was registered in the Bratei cemetery in Grave 175 (string buckle, harness string hub, pike), 201 (pike), 278 (harness string hub, bit, string buckle, stirrup, pike) and 283 (bit, pike). Among them, the burial custom observed in Grave 278 should be highlighted, which completely coincides with the Avar customs. (Pl. 5) This tradition differs from those with double edged swords in them, not just because there are no horses in the latter ones, but it can also indicate that next to the tradition of cavalry warfare, the tradition of footman burials also lingered on (which is the archaeological reflection of group identity), where horses or their parts are missing as is shown on the map. (Pl. 6)

In our opinion, the cemetery in Bratei was used by at least two folks with different traditions. The roots of the traditions of these two folks are clearly different, one clearly shows some resemblance to the Avar burials, the other can be connected to the burial practices of the Germanic world. As the cemetery was used by these two groups at the same time, we can talk about the above mentioned 'acculturation' in a more relative way, against the backdrop of other cemeteries int he Carpathian Basin, it can rather be interpreted as the archaeological sign of the *political-military* and *structural integration* of the Germanic communities.

As in the cemetery in Bratei, no horse bone has been found in the graves with sword/helmet furnishings in the necropolis in Bandu de Câmpie. In contrast with the cemetery in Bratei, the graves with weapons[63] were registered in the south-western section of the necropolis together with the graves with horses or parts of horses.[64] (Pl. 8) In the north-eastern part of the necropolis weapons were found in a group where there are horse burials too (Graves 150, 154, 156, 166–168), Grave 142 (pike, arrowheads), Grave 149 (leaf-shaped spear head) and Grave 179 (leaf-shaped spear head), but there were no signs of horse burials in them. However, Graves 65 (arrowhead), 66 (leaf-shaped spear head), 102 (arrowheads) and 105 (leaf-shaped spear head) can be found in a section of the necropolis where István Kovács did not register any sign of horse burials,

[60] HARHOIU 2010, 149–159.
[61] KOVÁCS 1913, 265–429.

[62] CSIKY 2011–2012, 79.
[63] Grave 10: helmet; grave 36: double-edged sword; grave 39: pike, grave 52: leaf-shaped pike, arrowheads.
[64] Graves 24, 25, 32, 48 and 54. According to Alpár Dobos's analyses we can exclude partial horse burials. DOBOS 2010–2011, 379.

so if the traces of horses date from a later period, it can indicate that the tradition of weapon burials was older than the practice of horse burials.

Three archaeological phenomena known in Bratei are unknown in the necropolis in Bandu de Câmpie:

1. According to the necropolis map, the pike as a cavalry weapon appears similarly later, but never in horse burials/horse graves.

2. Weapons (pikes) and harnesses (mainly stirrups which were brought to Europe by the Avars) have never been found in the same grave.

3. There is no horse burial containing tack!

All this may indicate that the community in Bandu de Câmpie did not know or practice this typical Avar custom, and it may raise the problem that the origin, the cultural traditions and the values of this community could have been considerably different from those in Bratei.

Unfortunately, in the case of other cemeteries, the stage of research lags behind. Only a few graves remained from the cemeteries in Valea Largă, 24 km west of Câmpia Transilvaniei and in Târgu-Mureș, which are not satisfactory to draw any conclusions. The pressed Avar belt end found in Dumbrăveni, only 12 km away from Bratei may indicate an Avar cemetery or just Avar fashion.

indirectly due to their geographical distance, mainly at the level of material culture (which may be explained by fashion) and trade. Occasionally, the finds excavated in our region may reflect 'Avar influence' or fashion such as the stray find from Corund.[65] Gabriel Tarde observed that fashion always tend to move from the centre of a society towards the periphery (both in social and in geographical terms).[66] A big number of necropoles is only known in the northern part of the basin and in the area of Vlaha in a side valley of the Little Someș with connection towards Câmpia Transilvaniei and Căpușu Mare north of the Little Someș. In these cemeteries the archaeological signs of the Avars are scanty, so it seems clear that this population had a weak connection with the equestrian folk that conquered the central region of the basin and dominated the other territories too.

Although it is common to consider horse parts in the graves 'Avar' influence, neither harnesses have been found in the graves with parts of horses in them nor weapons (pikes) in horse graves or horse burials. In Grave 15, in the recently published necropolis in Fântânele a complete animal burial was excavated, however, it could not be detected whether it was a horse or some other animal whose bones were discovered without any furnishing.[67] Some bone fragments were found in five other graves in this cemetery but two pits containing animal bones were also found in this cemetery.[68] In Grave 32, the grave of a child, in Bistrița, the jaws of a horse were found and horse bones were excavated in the cemetery in Archiud.[69] Another characteristic of these cemeteries is that there is a complete lack of pikes used by the cavalry and only lances used by the infantry (Fântânele Grave 14), double edged swords (Fântânele Grave 19, Vlaha unknown grave), heavy shields with shield bosses (Fântânele Grave 19), (Pl. 9) arrowheads (Fântânele Graves 8 and 44),[70] and graves with 'weapon furnishings' are known (Archiud).[71] Apart from these not any find that could be connected to warriors/armoured men/men
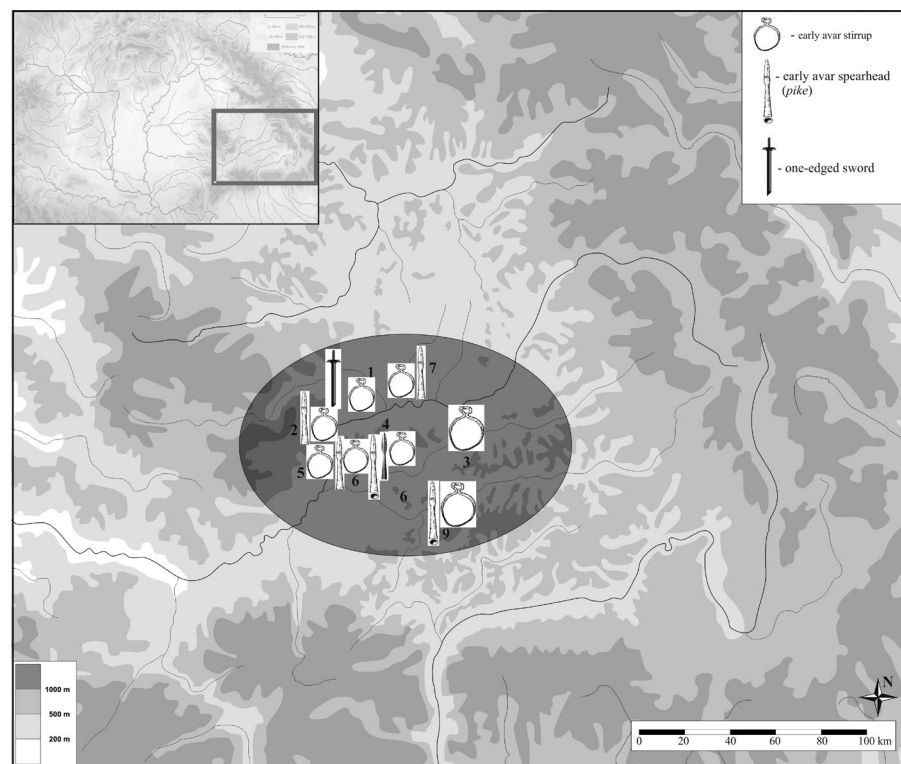

Fig. 5. The spread of the early avar stirrups, spearheads and one-edged sword in the Transylvanian Basin (6th–7th centuries) 1. Unirea–Vereșmort; 2. Gâmbaș; 3. Târnăveni; 4. Șpălnaca; 5. Stremț; 6. Aiud; 7. Luna; 8. Bratei

III. The third territorial group was made up of the people of those micro-regions that were only affected

65 BÓNA 1988, 168.
66 TARDE 1902, 13–15.
67 DOBOS/OPREANU 2012, 33–34, Fig. 4.
68 DOBOS/OPREANU 2012, 32–33, Fig. 4.
69 HARHOIU 2010, 240, Fig. 7.14.
70 DOBOS/OPREANU 2012, 45, Fig. 8.
71 HARHOIU 2010, 240.

has been found in this micro-region. No connection can be detected between these communities and the early Avar cemeteries besides being chronologically parallel. As has been mentioned, the appearance of horse or other animal bones in graves may have been related to a particular macro-regional fashion, to assume any Avar 'connection' or 'influence', much more information would be needed (such as typical Avar weapons, horse tacks), which are not reflected by the cemetery finds excavated in this region.

In the scientific literature, the researches of recent years have emphasized the similarity between the so called row-grave cemeteries (*Reihengräberfelder*). In our opinion, it is not only the similarities that should be emphasized and subject to further research as the signs of group identity in the near future, but also the (considerably!!) different rites.

Drawing the consequences, with respect to the integration into the Avar structure and the various social processes connected to it, the different regions were exposed to influences of different intensity. Therefore the process of 'avarisation' could have been different with different results. We can talk about the highest degree of 'avarisation' in connection with the population living in the core region, or to be more exact, through the structural and marital assimilation we can talk about an assimilation in terms of self-identification and attitude, whereas in the peripheries this could have been much more relative. It is possible that one can only talk about a partial assimilation in the identity and it could have been a superficial phenomenon, but it belongs to the middle Avar era (650/670–720).

Typical Avar burials, which are the signs of the process of acculturation and assimilation show a decreasing tendency towards the periphery (which cannot only explained away by the state of research), so the effect of this sociological and social-psychological process gradually declines from the centre towards the periphery. We tried to illustrate this process with three temporal and special stages:
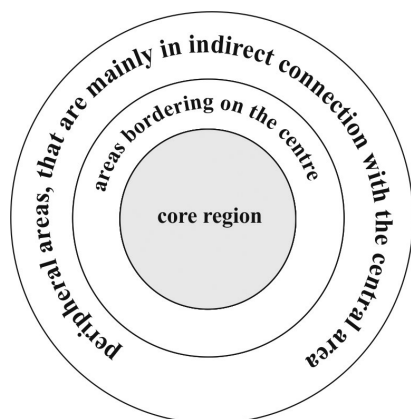

Fig. 6. The territorial process of 'avarisation'

Compared to this central area, such heterogeneous burial traditions (or fashions), which vary from votive deposit pits to the burials with lances specific for the Germanic people and burials with buckets, are known nowhere else in the basin. The relatively considerable number of graves leads us to think that *'avarisation'* was **asymmetric-territorial**, and its core region was Central Transylvania.

A polifunctional and policultural power centre in the Middle Mureş valley?

As the conquest of the Avars in the Transylvanian Basin seems to be proved according to the archaeological researches,[72] the question may arise whether the Transylvanian Avar conglomerate, which appears to be isolated on the map, may have been a political-military-economic centre dependent on the Khaganate.[73] When occupying the regions of the Carpathian Basin, the Avars occupied the older centres, the former Roman settlements and the strategic point at the crossroads of the old road network.[74] In this aspect, the old Roman roads built in the Transylvanian Basin clearly affected the military occupation. (Pl. 10) As can be seen on our map, these sites are not only concentrated on the Middle reaches of the River Mureş, but the finds and rites excavated in this region are testimonies to a heterogeneity (Avar type horse burials, partial horse burials with one-edged swords, graves with swords furnishings without horse, Germanic or other non-Avar women etc), which allows assuming some organised communities (with political-military-economic purposes).

Due to the salt mines known in the micro-region, it would not be surprising to find that an early Avar power centre was set up. The geographical spread of the analogies of the finds published so far and the amber beads found in Noşlac, which can be explained by long distance trade, may indicate that the commodities circulating in international trade reached this land too, which was in lack of a power centre or market place.

Probably, the Avars' need for salt was the motivating factor that may have triggered the early conquest of the central region of the Transylvanian Basin. The question may arise how the whole working process was organised from mining the commodity, in this case the salt, to selling it after the conquest. What kind of employment, control and sales structure could

---

[72]   Radu Harhoiu also shares this opinion: *"Nevertheless, it became increasingly clear that the territory of the former   Gepidia' was a part of the Avar qaganate* in the seventh century". HARHOIU 2011, 235.

[73]   Horedt's opinion is the same, see HOREDT 1958b, Fig. 9.

[74]   VIDA 2009, 107.

have existed and how was it organised after the conquest? Was the (probably) working Gepid structure adopted? In this case what type of working process can have existed and how long may it have taken (?): *1. The infrastructural organisation of the salt mining team (by different methods); 2. Controlling the process of salt mining; 3. Delivering the salt by some means of transport (in the first step by coaches, the by rafts and boats on the rivers), which required more or less workforce depending on the quantity; 4. Selling the delivered salt either inland or abroad.* According to the above outlined structural organisation, it seems clear that this economic (and military) structure required much more human resource than the *'small Avar cemeteries'* and *'riding wanderers'* may indicate, on the other hand, through the integration and the structural assimilation the elite of the re-formed Gepid community had to be made interested. The way it might have happened remains a question concerning whether the Gepid structures of the earlier era (if there was anything like that at all) were controlled by a small number of Avar conquerors or the conquerors diluted the population of the already existing structure with bringing new elements from the west. From the point of view of political manipulation and stability the second option seems to be more logic, this could have been convenient for the conquerors. It cannot be excluded that as a result of the re-settlement policy, some population with motley origins and traditions could have come to Transylvania at that time. As has been shown by the excavations of recent years, besides the possible Avar cemeteries with a small number of graves, in the Transylvanian Basin we have to count with big communities too (and consequently with their cemeteries, mainly in the Middle-Mureş region), highlighting the backward stage of the archaeological excavations.

Therefore the conquest of Transylvania could have been generated by salt need of the communities raising livestock triggering different economic-commercial processes and forming relations. The question concerning who could have been in charge of salt mining and for whom it was mined and who benefitted from the salt mining remains unanswered. However, it has to be borne in mind that the salt income went to the royal treasury at the beginning of the Middle Ages in Hungary![75]

Summary, perspectives

The various populations of the Carpathian Basin were quickly integrated (partly through *structural assimilation*) and organised into a political structure by the Avar elite conquering the central region of the Basin, creating the network of the Avar power. Analysing the complicated political, group sociological and social-psychological phenomena (based upon the cemeteries that have been excavated) only by archaeological means is very relative and can lead to doubtful conclusions. It is certain that the votive deposites and horse burials excavated in the middle of the Transylvanian Basin hardly be put down to acculturation, especially when in many cases we do not even understand the terminology used. The various theoretical constructions (ours is among them) can only be better founded (and not just hypothetical) if the archaeological publication of the excavated finds is accompanied by their anthropological and archaeozoological analyses and several tests. Syntheses of greater dimensions on acculturation, integration and assimilation with more exact and credible observations can only be written after these tasks are done!

LIST OF THE 6TH–7TH CENTURY CEMETERIES, SINGLE GRAVES AND STRAY FINDS IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN MENTIONED IN ARTICLE (FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY SEE: Harhoiu 2011, 240–244; Dobos/Opreanu 2012, 60–62)

Alba Iulia (g.: Karslburg; h.: Gyulafehérvár; old rom.: Bâlgrad)
1. Aiud (g.: Straßburg am Mieresch; h.: Nagyenyed)
2. Archiud (h.: Mezőerked)
3. Bandu de Câmpie (g.: Bendorf; h.: Mezőbánd)
4. Bistriţa (g.: Bistritz; h.: Beszterce)
5. Bratei (g.: Pretai; h.: Baráthely)
6. Căpuşu Mare (g.: Grossthoren; h.: Nagykapus)
7. Corneşti (g.: Zeunen; h.: Sövényfalva)
8. Corund (h.: Korond)
9. Cristuru Secuiesc (h.: Székelykeresztúr)
10. Drăuşeni (g.: Draas; h.: Homoróddaróc)
11. Fântânele (g.: Eisch, Neuösch, Erbdorf; h.: Szász-Újős)
12. Galaţii Bistriţei (g.: Heresdorf; h.: Galac)
13. Iclod (h.: Nagyiklód)
14. Luna (g.: Lohne; h.: Aranyoslóna)
15. Moldoveneşti (g.: Burgdorf; h.: Várfalva; old rom.: Varfalău)
16. Noşlac (g.: Grosshaus; h.: Marosnagylak)
17. Nuşeni (g.: Grossendorf; h.: Apanagyfalu)
18. Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor (g.: Schäßburg; h.: Segesvár)
19. Sintereag (g.: Simkragen; h.: Somkerék)
20. Şpălnaca (h.: Ispánlaka)
21. Stremţ (g.: Nußschloss; h.: Diód, Diódváralja)
22. Târgu Mureş (g.: Neumarkt am Mieresch; h.: Marosvásárhely)
23. Târnăveni (g.: Sankt-Martin; h.: Dicsőszentmárton; old rom.: Diciosânmartin)
24. Unirea-Vereşmort (g.: Rothberg; h.: Marosveresmart)
25. Valea Largă (h.: Mezőceked; old rom.: Ţicud)
26. Vlaha(h.: Magyarfenes; old rom.: Feneşu Unguresc)
27. Vermeş (g.: Wermesch; h.: Vermes)

---

[75] WEISZ 2007, 43–57.

REFERENCES

AEKK 2010
Antropológiai – etnológiai – kultúratudományi kislexikon. A. A. GERGELY/R. PAPP/A. SZÁSZ/G. HAJDÚ/A. VARGA (Szerk.) (Budapest 2010).

ANDRÉN 1993
A. ANDRÉN, Doors to other worlds: Scandinavian death rituals in Gotlandic perspectives. Journal of European Archaeology. Journal of the European Association of Archaeologists (Aldershot – Brookfield – Hong Kong – Singapore – Sydney) 1, 1993, 33–56.

ASSMAN 2004
J. ASSMAN, A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrákban (Budapest 2004).

BAKÓ 1965
G. BAKÓ, Avarii şi Transilvania. StCercIstorV. 7, 1965, 367–371.

BÁLINT 1995
CS. BÁLINT, Kelet, a korai avarok és Bizánc kapcsolatai. Régészeti tanulmányok. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár, 8, (Szeged 1995).

BÁLINT 2012
CS. BÁLINT, Az avar kori ötvösség technikai és kultúrtörténeti aspektusai. In: T. Vida (Szerk./Ed.), Thesaurus Avarorum. Régészeti tanulmányok Garam Éva tiszteletére/Archaeological Studies in Honour of Éva Garam (Budapest 2012), 311–318.

BINDER
P. BINDER, Havaselve vajdaság megalakulásának dél-erdélyi előzményei és következményei (13–14. század). Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata (Budapest) 129, 1995, 1123–1153.

BINDORFFER 2001
GY. BINDORFFER, Kettős identitás (Budapest 2001).

BÓNA 1979
I. BÓNA, A szegvár-sápoldali lovassír. Adatok a korai avar temetkezesi szokásokhoz. Arch.Ért 106, 1979, 3–32.

BÓNA 1988
I. BÓNA, Daciától Erdőelvéig. A népvándorlás kora Erdélyben (271–896). In: Köpeczi B. (Főszerk.), Erdély története I (Budapest 1988) 129–194.

CIUPERCĂ
B. CIUPERCĂ, Conceptul de cultură Dridu în arheologia românească. Apariţie, evoluţie, controverse. Istros (Brăila) 15, 2009, 133–162.

CSÍKY 2009
G. CSÍKY, Az avar kori szúró- és vágófegyverek. Osztályozás – tipológia – kronológia – technológia. ELTE BTK, PhD disszertáció (Budapest 2009) (Vol. I: http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/csikygergely/diss.pdf).

CSIKY 2011–2012
G. CSIKY, Az avar közelharci fegyverek története. Funkcionális megközelítés. Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Új Sorozat Kolozsvár, 2011–2012, 6–7, 71–91.

DOBOS 2010–2011
A. DOBOS, Az erdélyi soros temetők lovastemetkezései (Înmormântările cu cal în cimitirele cu morminte dispuse în şiruri paralele din Transilvania/The horse burials of the row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania). In: Körösfői Zs. (Szerk.), Erdély és kapcsolatai a kora népvándorlás korában, (Székelykeresztúr 2010–2011), 377–403.

DOBOS/OPREANU 2012
A. DOBOS/C. OPREANU, Migration Period and Early Medieval Cemetery at Fântânele (Bistriţa-Năsăud County) (Cluj-Napoca 2012).

ELLIS DAVIDSON 1982
H. ELLIS DAVIDSON, Scandinavian Mythology (London 1982).

FERN 2005
Ch. FERN, The Archaeological Evidence for Equestrenianism in Early Anglo-Saxon England, c. 450–700. In: A. Pluskowski (Ed.), Just Skin and Bones? New Perspectives on Human–Animal Relations in the Historical Past. BAR – International Series 1410, 2005, 43–71.

FICHTER 1957
J. H. FICHTER, Sociology (Chicago 1957).

FODOR 1977
I. FODOR, Bolgár-török jövevényszavaink és a régészet, in: Magyar Őstörténeti tanulmányok. (Budapest 1977), 79–114.

FODOR 1977
I. FODOR, Lovak az eurázsiai pusztákonm, História 2005/1–2, 6–10.

GARAM 1993
É. GARAM, Katalog der awarenzeitlichen Goldgegenstände und der Fundstücke aus den Fürstengräbern im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. Catalogi Musei Nationalis HungariciM Seria Archeologica 1 (Budapest 1993).

GÁLL 2013
E. GÁLL, The Question of the Centres of Power in the light of the Necropolises from the 10th Century in Transylvanian Basin. The case of the Cluj's necropolises. In: M. Hardt-O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.), Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht? Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum in Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011, Forschungen zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter, 2 (Weinstadt 2013), 461–481.

GENITO 2000
B. GENITO, Archaeology of the Early Medieval Nomads in Italy: the Horse-burials in Molise (7th Century) South-Central Italy. In: Cs. Bálint (Hrsg.), Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.–7. JahrhundertM, Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, 10 (Budapest–Naples–Rome 2000), 229–248.

GOLDHAHN 1999
J. GOLDHAHN, Sagaholm: hällristningar och

gravritual. Umeå universitets arkeologiska institution (Jönköping 1999).

GORDON 1964

M. GORDON, Assimilation in American Life (New York 1964).

GRÄSLUND 1980

A. S. GRÄSLUND, Birka IV. The Burial Customs. A study of the graves on Björkö (Stockholm 1980).

GRÄSLUND/MÜLLER-WILLE 1992

A. S. GRÄSLUND/M. MÜLLER-WILLE, Burial customs in Scandinavia during the Viking Age. In: E. Roesdahl–D. Wilson (ed.), From Viking to Crusader: The Scandinavians and Europe 800–1200 (Uddevalla 1992), 186–187.

GRĘZAK 2007

A. GRĘZAK, Groby koni na cmentarzyskach kultury bogaczewskiej (Horse burials in the Bogaczewo Culture). In: A. Bitner-Wróblewska (Red.), Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później: Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003. Seminarium Bałtyjskie 1 (Warszawa 2007), 353–365.

van GULIK 2005

H.R. van GULIK, Hayagriva: Horse Cult in Asia (Leiden 2005).

HAGBERG 1967

U. E. HAGBERG, The Votive Deposits in the Skedemosse Fen and their Relation to the Iron-Age Settlement on Öland, Sweden, The Archaeology of Skedemosse II (Stockholm 1967).

HARHOIU 1997

R. HARHOIU, Die Frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien. Archeologia Romanica 1, (Bukarest 1997).

HARHOIU 2010

R. HARHOIU, Chorologische und chronologische Betrachtungen zum Gräberfeld 3 von Bratei. In: L. BÂRZU, Ein gepidisches Denkmal aus Siebenbürgen. Das Gräberfeld 3 von Bratei (Bearbeitet von Radu Harhoiu) Archeologia Romanica 4, (Cluj-Napoca 2010), 149–159.

HARHOIU 2011

R. HARHOIU, Where Did all the Gepids Go? A Sixth to Seventh-century Cemetery in Bratei (Romania), In: F. Curta (Ed.), Neglected Barbarians, (Turnhout 2010), 209–244.

HARHOIU/SPÂNU/GÁLL

R. HARHOIU/D. SPÂNU/E. GÁLL, Barbari la Dunăre (Cluj-Napoca 2011).

HOREDT 1958a

K. HOREDT, Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens (Bukarest 1958).

HOREDT 1958b

K. HOREDT, Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei în secolele IV–XIII, Biblioteca Istorică, 7, București 1958.

HOREDT 1968

K. HOREDT, Das Awarenproblem in Rumänien, Štud. Zvesti. Arch.Ústavu, 16, 1968, 103–120.

HOREDT 1977

K. HOREDT, Der östliche Reihengräberkreis in Siebenbürgen. Dacia, NS 21, 1977, 251–268.

HOREDT 1986

K. HOREDT, Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter. Antiquitas 3/28. (Bonn 1986).

HOROWITZ 1975

D. L. Horowitz, Ethnic Identity. In: N. Glazer–D. P. Moynihan (Eds.), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (London 1975), 111–140.

JASKANIS 1966

J. JASKANIS, Human Burials with Horses in Prussia and Sudovia, Acta Baltico-Slavica. Archeologia, historia, ethnographia et linguarum scientia (Warszawa). 4, 1966, 29–65.

KACZANOWSKI /KOZŁOWSKI 1998

P Kaczanowski/J. K. Kozłowski, Wielka Historia Polski. Najdawniejsze dzieje ziem polskich (do VII w.) (Kraków 1998).

KARCZEWSKA/M. MACIEJ KARCZEWSKI/GRĘZAK 2009

M. KARCZEWSKA/M. MACIEJ KARCZEWSKI/A. GRĘZAK, The Role of Horse Burials in the Bogaczewo Culture. The Key Studies of Paprotki Kolonia site 1 Cemetery, Northeast Poland. In: A. Bliujien (Ed.), The Horse and Man in European Antiquity (Worldview, Burial Rites, and Military and Everyday Life). Archaeologia Baltica, 11, 2009, 56–90.

KELLMAN 1958

H. C. KELLMAN, Compliance, identification and internalization: three processes of attitude change. The Journal of Conflict Resolution. Journal of the Peace Science Society (Thousand Oaks), 2, 1958, 51–60.

KISS 1962

A. KISS, Az avarkori lovas-temetkezés szokásának vizsgálata. Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs) 1962, 153–162.

KONTNY 2009

B. KONTNY, Horse and its Use in the Przeworsk Culture in the Light of the Archaeological Evidence. In: A. Bliujien (Ed.), The Horse and Man in European Antiquity (Worldview, Burial Rites, and Military and Everyday Life). Archaeologia Baltica, 11, 2009, 92–114.

KOVÁCS 1913

I. KOVÁCS, A mezőbándi ásatások/Les fouillages de Mezőbándm. Dolg. Erdélyi Nemzeti Múz 4, 1913, 265–429.

KORZENNY/ABRAVANEL

F. KORZENNY/R. ABRAVANEL, Acculturation: Conceptualization and measurement. Quirks's Marketing Research Review April, 1998 (April). http: //www.quirks.com/articles/article.asp?arg_ArticleId=324

LŐRINCZY 1998

G. LŐRINCZY, Kelet-európai steppei népesség a 6–7. századi Kárpát-medencében. Régészeti adatok a Tiszántúl kora avar kori betelepuléséhez. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica (Szeged), 4, 1998, 343–372.

MADGEARU 2011

A. MADGEARU, Istoria militară a Daciei post-romane, (Târgoviște 2011).

MICHELBERTAS 1986

M. MICHELBERTAS, Senasis geležies amžius Lietuvoje, (Vilnius 1986).

MILGRAM 1965

S. MILGRAM, Some conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority. Human Relations (The Tavistock Institute), 18/1, 1965, 57–76.

MÜLLER-WILLE 1970–1971

M. MÜLLER-WILLE, *Pferdegrab* und Pferdeopfer im frühen Mittelalter. BerROB 20–21, 1970–1971, 119–248.

NAGY 2011

Sz. NAGY, Az aranyoslónai avar kori temető (A 2009–2010 évi kutatás eredményei). IX. Erdélyi Magyar Régészeti Konferencia, 2011. http: //www.epitettorokseg.ro/ix_erdelyi_regeszeti_konferencia_programfuzet.pdf

NOWAKOWSKI 2009

W. NOWAKOWSKI, Horse Burials in Roman Period Cemeteries of the Bogaczewo Culture. In: A. Bliujien (Ed.), The Horse and Man in European Antiquity (Worldview, Burial Rites, and Military and Everyday Life). Archaeologia Baltica 11, 2009, 56–90.

OEXLE 1984

J. OEXLE, Merowingerzeitliche Pferdebestattungen – Opfer oder Beigaben? Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, 18 m (Berlin – New York) 1984 122–172.

PARK/BURGESS 1961

R. PARK/E. W. BURGESS, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago 1921).

POHL 2003

W. POHL, A Non-Roman Empire in Central Europe: the Avars. In: H-W. Goetz/J. Jarnut (Eds.), Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World (Leiden-Boston 2003), 571–596.

PROTASE/BLĂJAN/BOTEZATU/HAIMOVICI 2000

D. PROTASE/M. BLĂJAN/D. BOTEZATU/S. HAIMOVICI, Șpălnaca, com. Hopârta, jud. Alba. Punct: Șugud. Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, Campania 1999. http: //www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/newcronica2000/indici/cronica.htm.

ROSE 1956

A. ROSE, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York 1956).

ROSKA 1936

M. Roska, Erdély és a népvándorlások kora. In: M. Asztalos (Szerk.), A történeti Erdély (Budapest 1936), 151–159.

RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008

G. T. RUSTOIU/M. CIUTĂ, *Mormântul* unui călăreț *avar* recent descoperit la Unirea – Vereșmort (jud. Alba), Apulum 45, 2008, 71–98.

SCHACH-DÖRGES 2008

H. SCHACH-DÖRGES, Zur Pferdegrabsitte in der Alamannia während der frühen Merowingerzeit. Germania 86, 2008, 701–727.

SHENK 2002

P. SHENK, To Valhalla by Horseback? Horse Burial in Scandinavia during the Viking Age (Oslo 2002).

SIMON 1991

L. SIMON, Korai avar kardok. Studia Comitatensia, 22, (Szentendre), 1991, 286–346.

SOMOGYI 1997

P. SOMOGYI, Drei frühawarenzeitliche Bestattungen aus der Fundstelle Nr. 264 von Gyoma, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, 3 (Szeged), 1997, 97–116.

STADLER 2008

P. STADLER, Avar chronology revisited, and the question of ethnicity in the Avar quaganate. In: F. Curta (ed.): The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avar, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans (Leiden–Boston 2008), 47–82.

STANCIU 2002

I. STANCIU, Gepizi, avari și slavi timpurii (sec. V–VII. p. Chr.) în spațiul vestic și nord-vestic al României (Gepiden. Frühawaren und – Slawen (5.–7. Jh. n.Chr.) im westlichen und nordwestlichen Raum Rumäniens). Ephemeris Napocensis 12, 2002, 203–236.

STANCIU 2008

I. STANCIU, Gepiden, Frühawaren und -Slawen im Westen und Nordwesten Rumäniens. Antaeus, 29–30, 2008, 415–448.

SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS 1998

S. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS, Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig (Die Quellen der Awarengeshichte von 557 bis 806). Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár, 12 (Budapest 1998).

SZENTPÉTERI 2009

J. SZENTPÉTERI, A Barbaricumból Pannoniába (Germán katonai segédnépek a korai Avar Kaganátus központjában) In: Á. Somogyvári/Gy. V. Székely, "In terra quondam Avarorum." Ünnepi tanulmányok H. Tóth Elvira 80. születésnapjára. Archaeologia Cumanica, 2 (Kecskemét), 2009, 235–252.

SZIMBÓLUMTÁR 2001

Szimbólumtár Jelképek, motívumok, témák az egyetemes és magyar kultúrából. J. PÁL/E. ÚJVÁRI (Szerk.) (Budapest 2001).

SZYMAŃSKI 2005

P. SZYMAŃSKI, Mikroregion osadniczy z okresu wpływów rzymskich w rejonie jeziora Salęt na Pojezierzu Mazurskim. Światowit Suplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages 10 (Warszawa 2005).

TARDE 1902

G. TARDE, Psychologie économique (Paris 1902).

TEJRAL 2009

J. TEJRAL, Langobardische Fürstengräber nördlich der mittleren Donau. In: U. von Freeden–H. Friesinger–E. Wamers (Hrsg.), Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.

in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachensymposiens und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschictlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 12 (Bonn 2009), 123–162.

VIDA 2013

T. VIDA, Kérték, hogy Pannóniában lakhassanak". Az avarok letelepése. In: A. Anders/M. Szabó/P. Raczky (Szerk.), Régészeti dimenziók. Tanulmányok az ELTE BTK Régészettudományi Intézetének tudományos műhelyéből (Budapest 2009), 105–122.

B. WEISZ 2007

B. WEISZ, Megjegyzések az Árpád-kori sóvámolás és –kereskedelem történetéhez. Acta Historica. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, 25, 2007, 43–57.

WYCZÓŁKOWSKI/MAKOWIECKI 2009

M. WYCZÓŁKOWSKI/D. MAKOWIECKI, Horse Sacrifices in Prussia in the Early Middle Ages. Ritual Area in Poganowo Site IV, Olsztyn Province (Poland). In: A. Bliujien (Ed.), The Horse and Man in European Antiquity (Worldview, Burial Rites, and Military and Everyday Life). Archaeologia Baltica, 11, 2009, 295–304.

ØSTMO 1997

E. ØSTMO, Horses, Indo-Europeans and the Importance of Ships. The Journal of Indo-European Studies, 25/3–4, (Austin), 1997, 285–326.

Gáll Erwin
Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan" Bucureşti
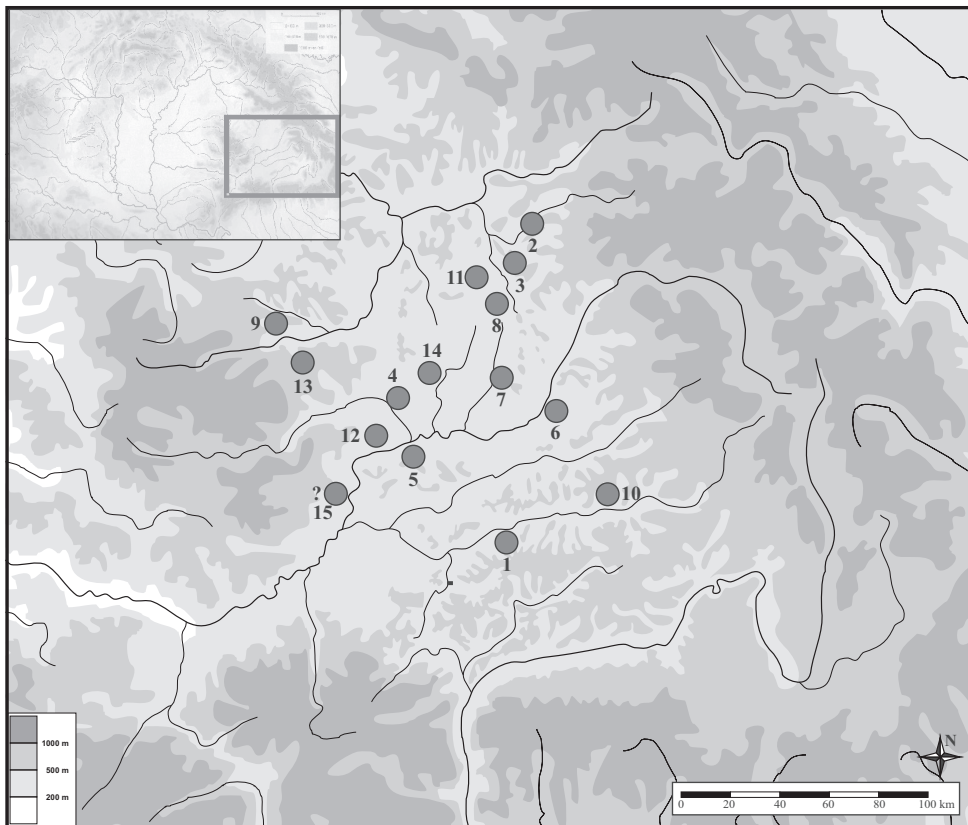ardarichus9@yahoo.com

Plate 1/a. Cemeteries belonging to the Band-Vereșmort group (6th–7th centuries) 1. Bratei; 2. Bistrița; 3. Galații Bistriței; 4. Luna; 5. Noșlac; 6. Târgu Mureș; 7. Bandu de Câmpie; 8. Archiud; 9. Căpușu Mare; 10. Sighișoara; 11. Fântânele; 12. Unirea–Vereșmort; 13. Vlaha; 14. Valea Largă; 15. Alba Iulia?
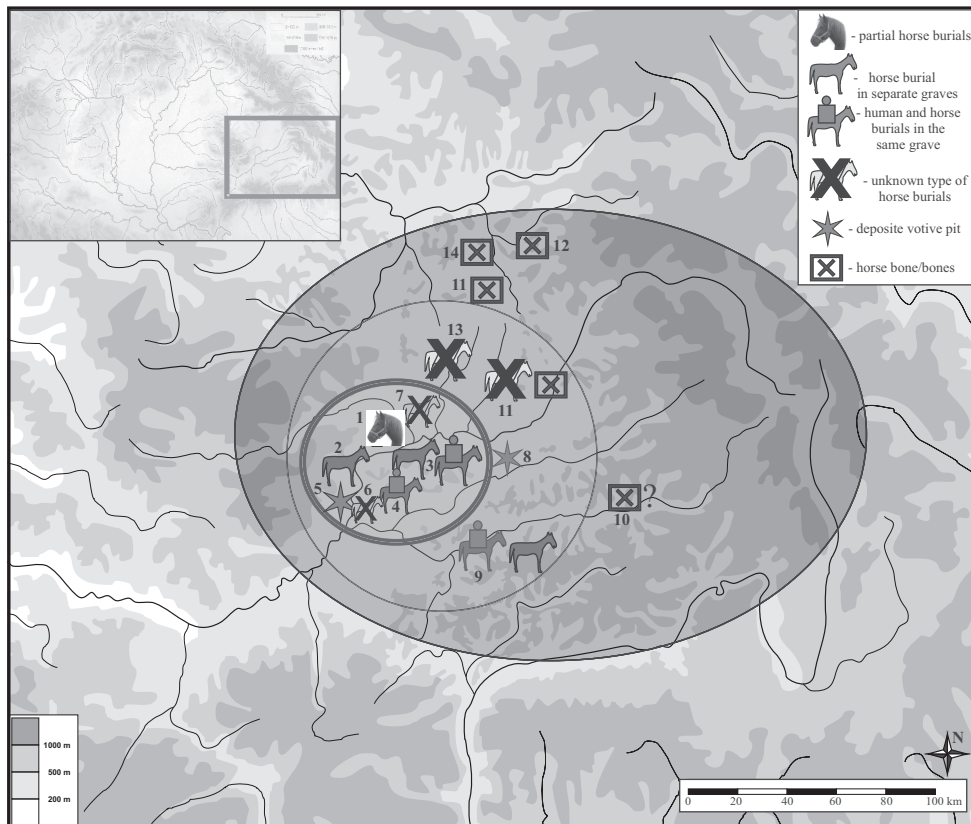

Plate 1/b. The spread of the horse burials in Transylvanian Basin (6th–7th centuries) 1. Unirea–Vereșmort; 2. Gâmbaș; 3. Noșlac; 4. Șpălnaca; 5. Stremț; 6. Aiud; 7. Luna; 8. Târnăveni; 9. Bratei; 10. Sighișoara; 11. Bandu de Câmpie; 12. Bistrița; 13. Valea Largă; 14. Fântânele; 15. Archiud.

Plate 2. Unirea-Vereșmort, grave from 2008 (after RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008, Pl. 1, 2, 7).
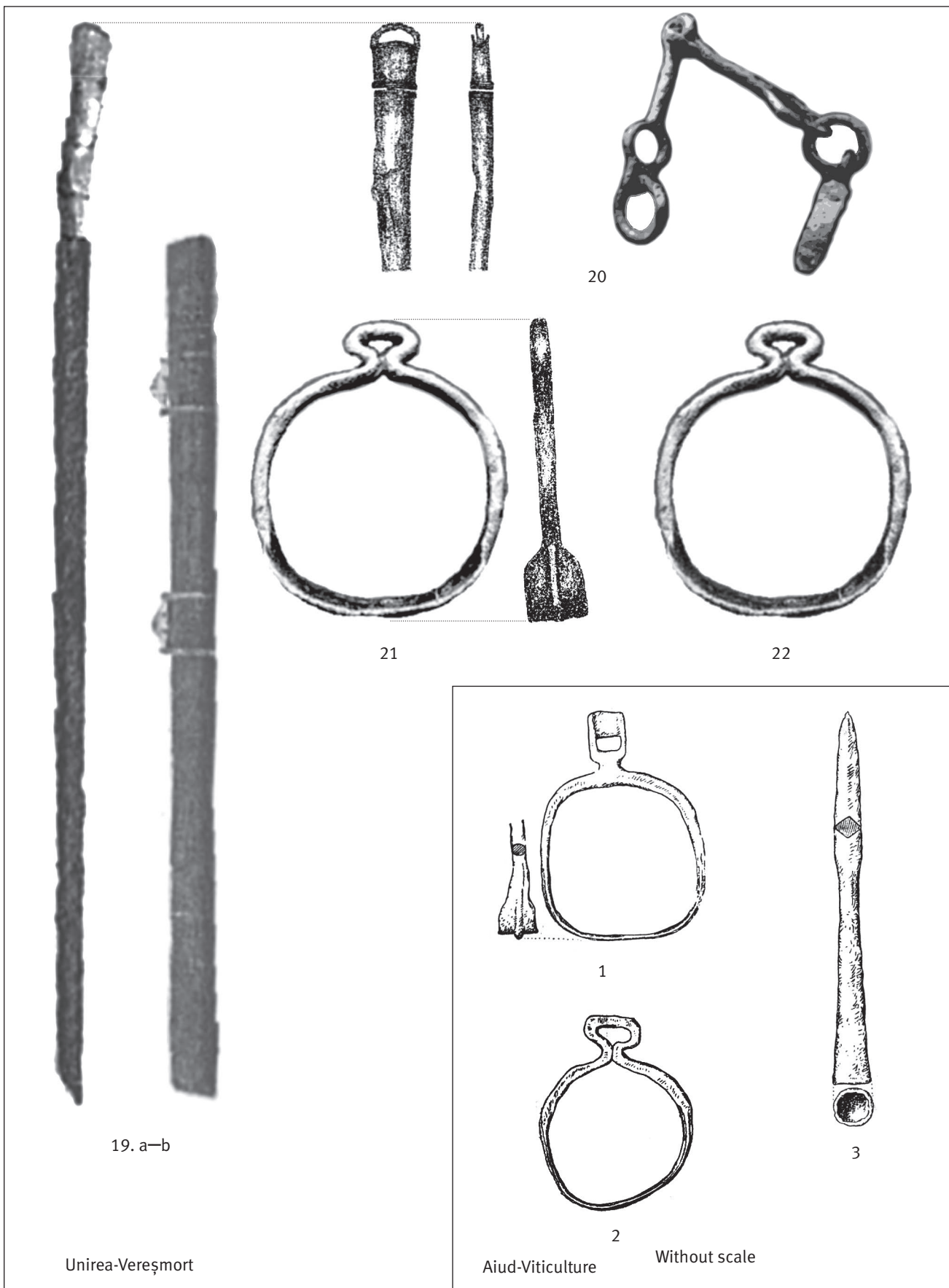
19. a—b

Unirea-Vereșmort

20

21

22

1

2

3

Aiud-Viticulture   Without scale
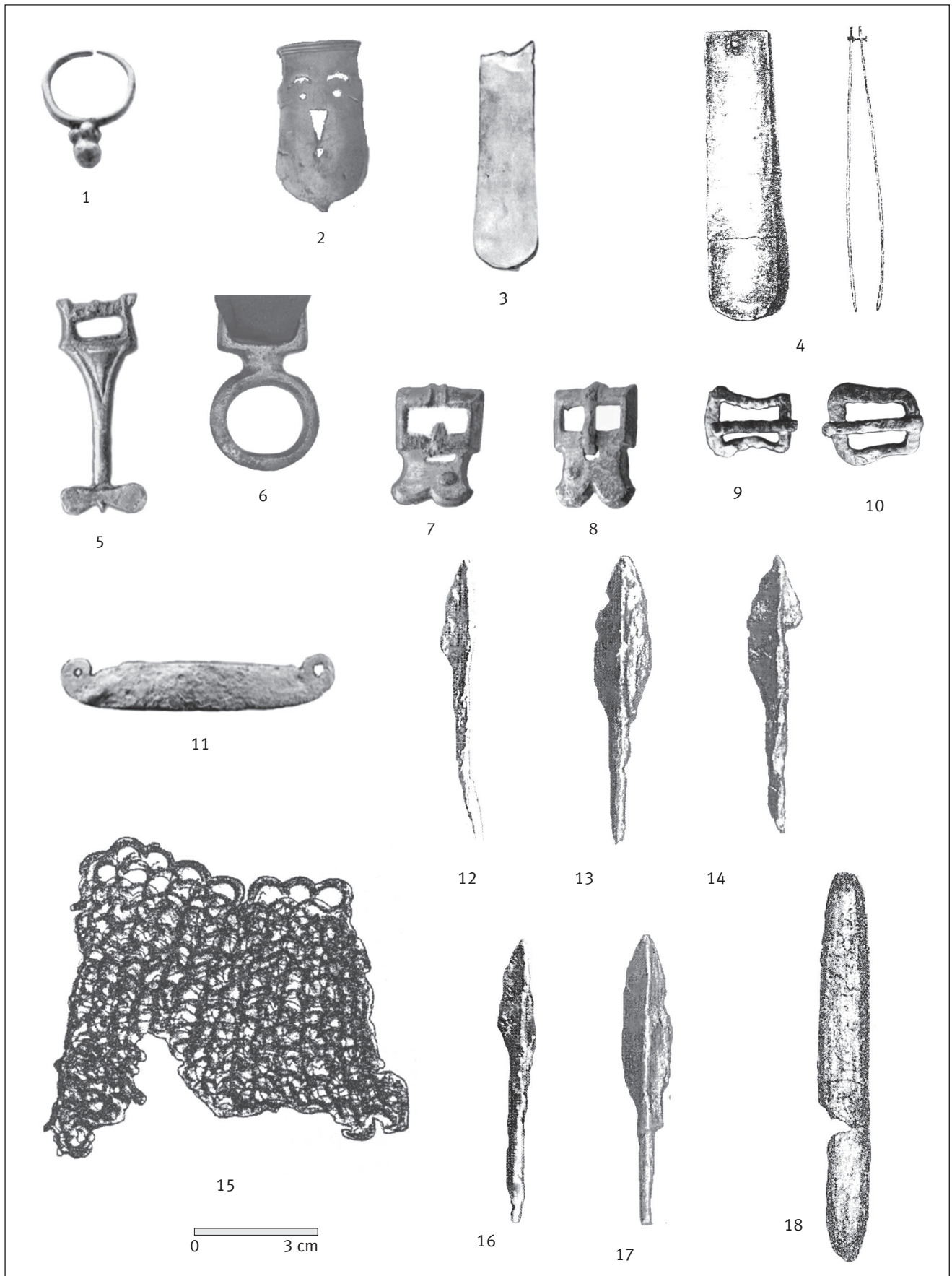
Plate 2. a-b. Unirea-Vereșmort, grave from 2008 (after RUSTOIU/CIUTĂ 2008, Pl. 1+2, 7); Aiud-Viticulture school Grave 1: 1–2; Grave 2: 3 (after HOREDT 1958b, Fig. 10/10–11, 14).
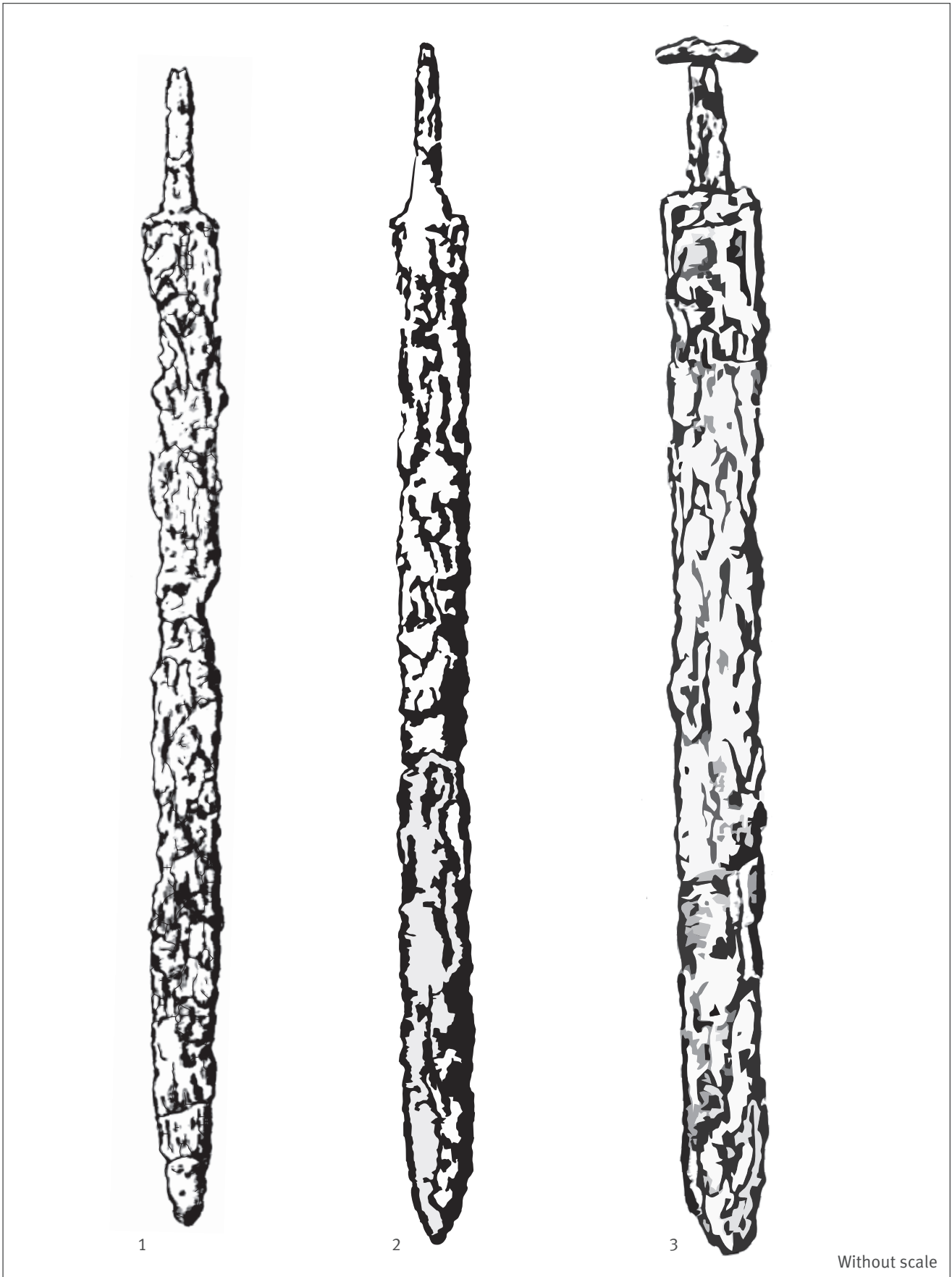
1   2   3

Without scale

Plate 3. Unirea–Vereșmort Grave 13: 1; Grave 16: 2; Grave 5: 3 (after ROSKA 1932, 123–130)
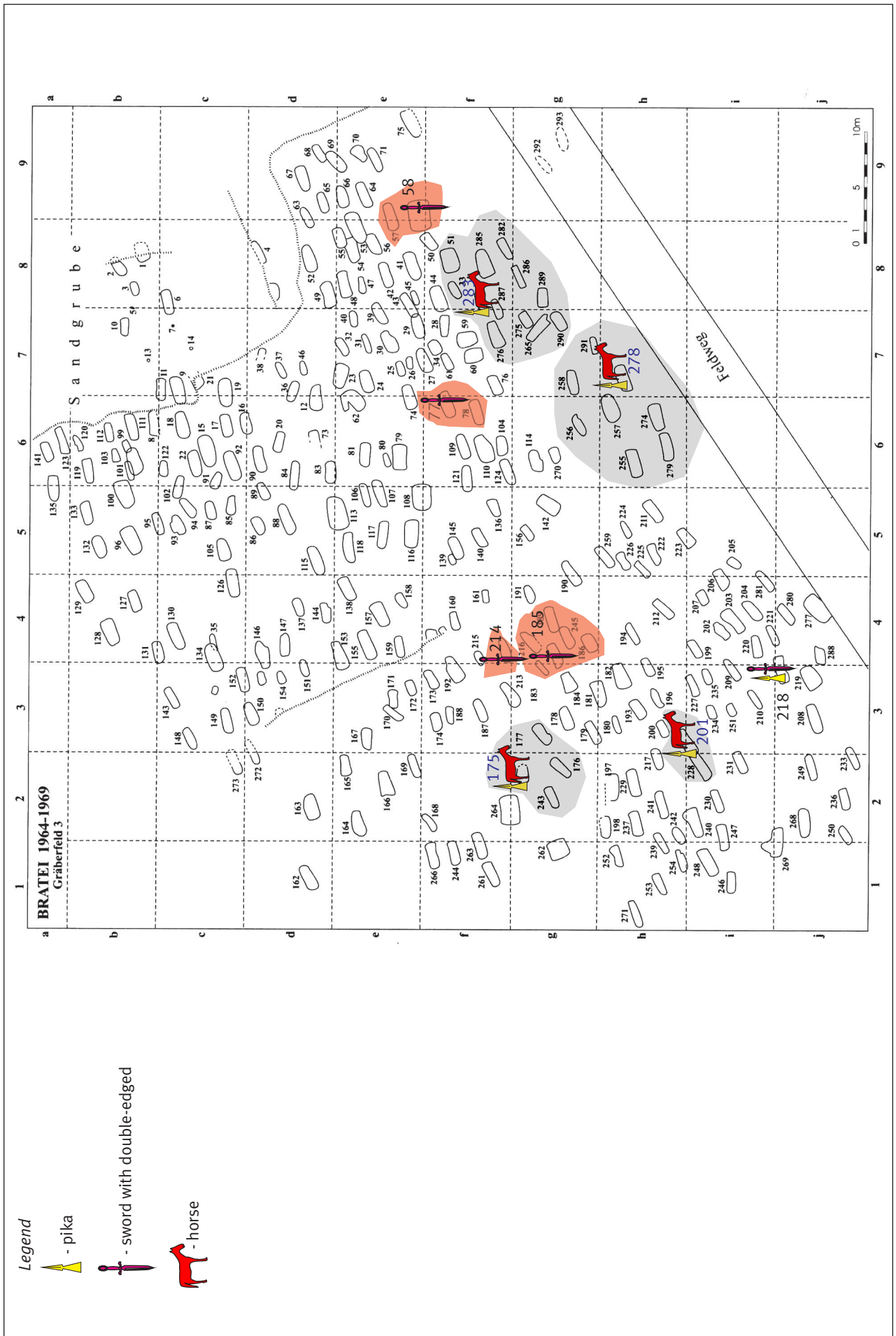
Plate 4. Bratei: horse graves with pikes and graves with swords (redrawing after BÂRZU 2010, Map 2)-COLOR
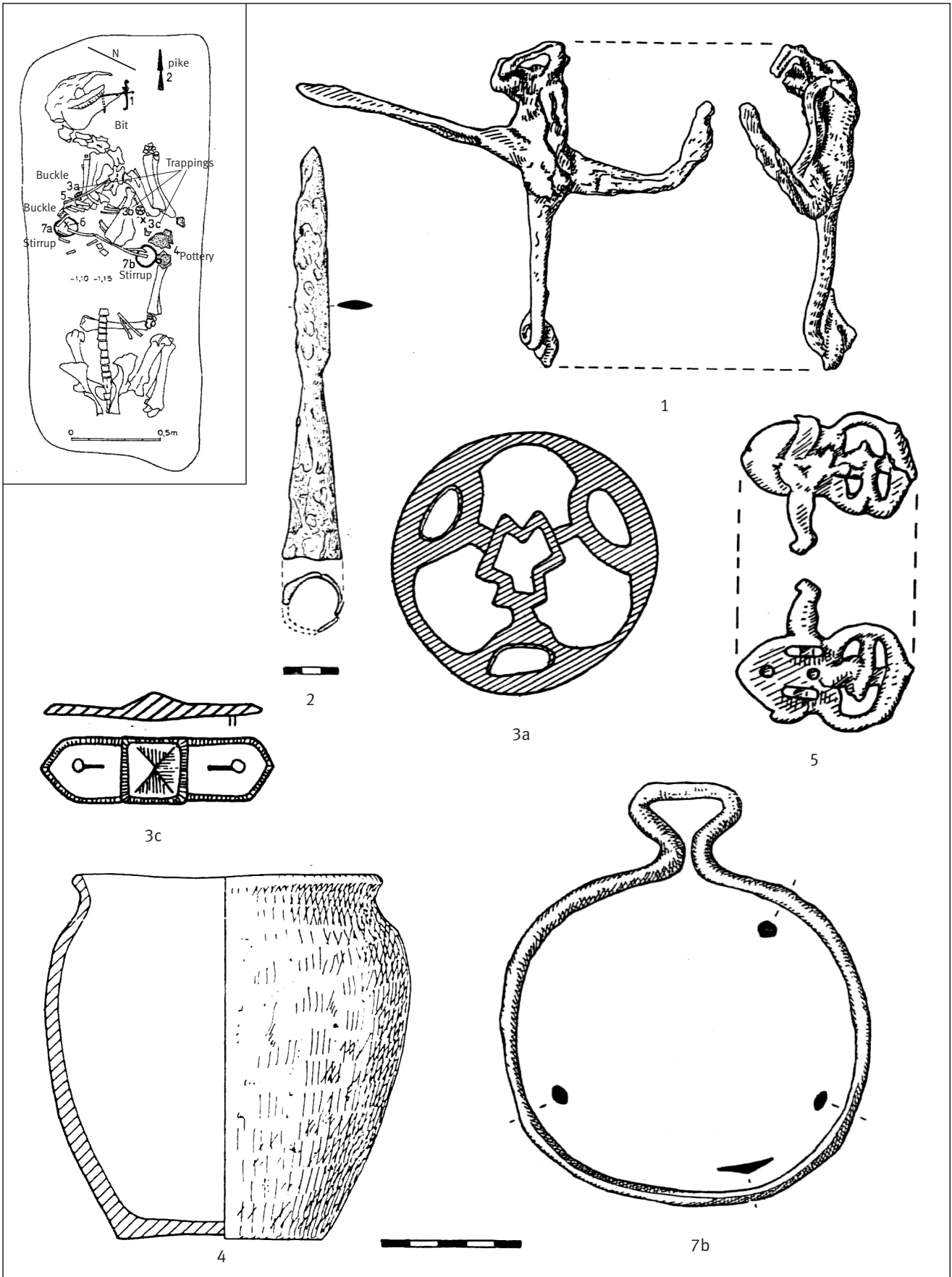
317

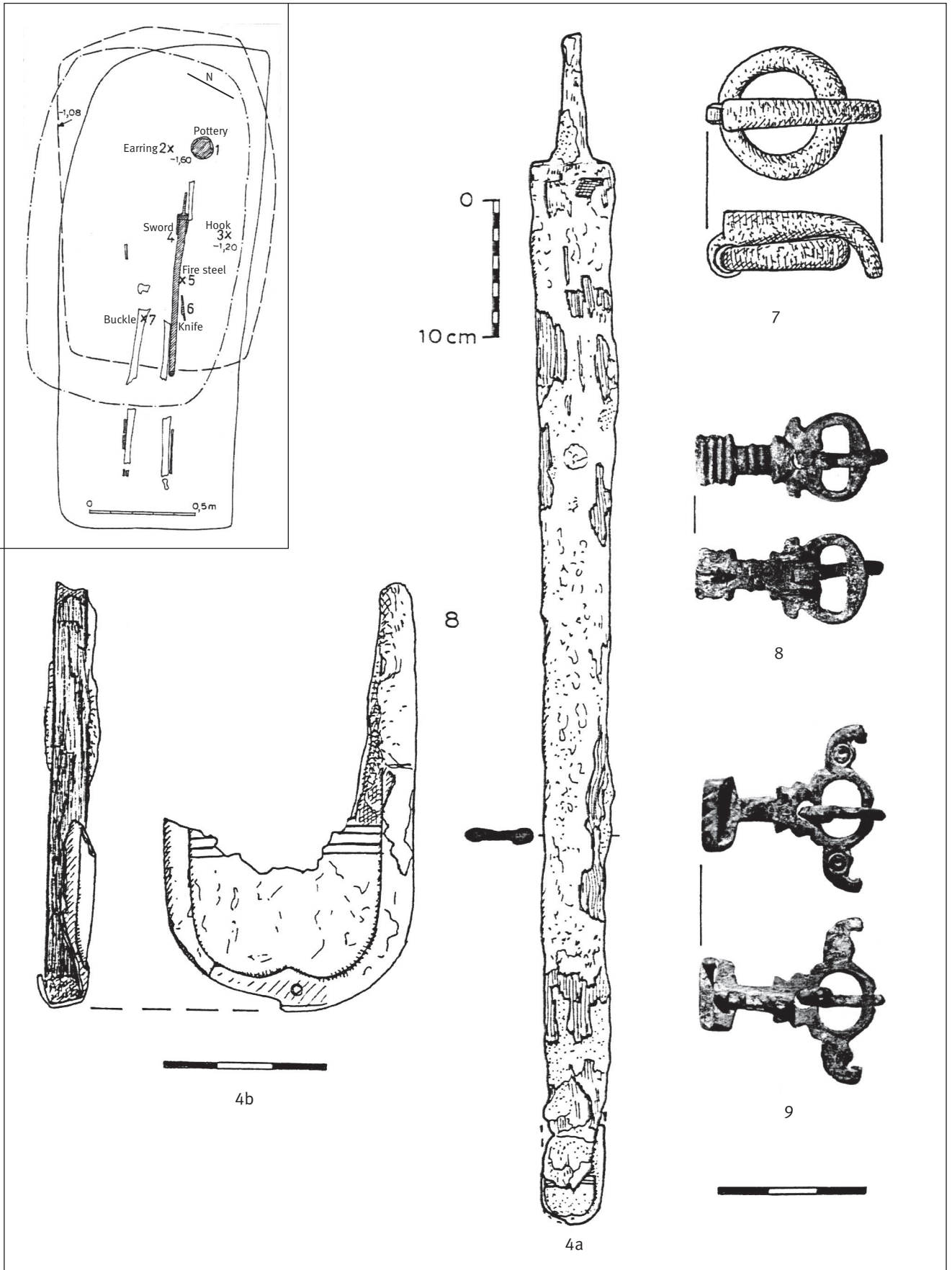Plate 5. Bratei Grave 278: 1–5, 7 (after BÂRZU 2010, Abb. 288, Taf. 48)

Plate 6. Bratei Grave 185: 4, 7–9 (after BÂRZU 2010, Abb. 206, Taf. 32, 67)

Legends

- horse bones
- human bones
- helmet
- horse teeth/tooth
- arrowheads
- spearhead/Csiky's type L.III
- spearhead (pike)/ Csiky's type L.I
- sword with double edged
- weapon grave

179
166
167
168
158
156
150
154 149
142
140
124
105
102
66
65
54
33
52
36
39
48
44
25 24
10
32
4a
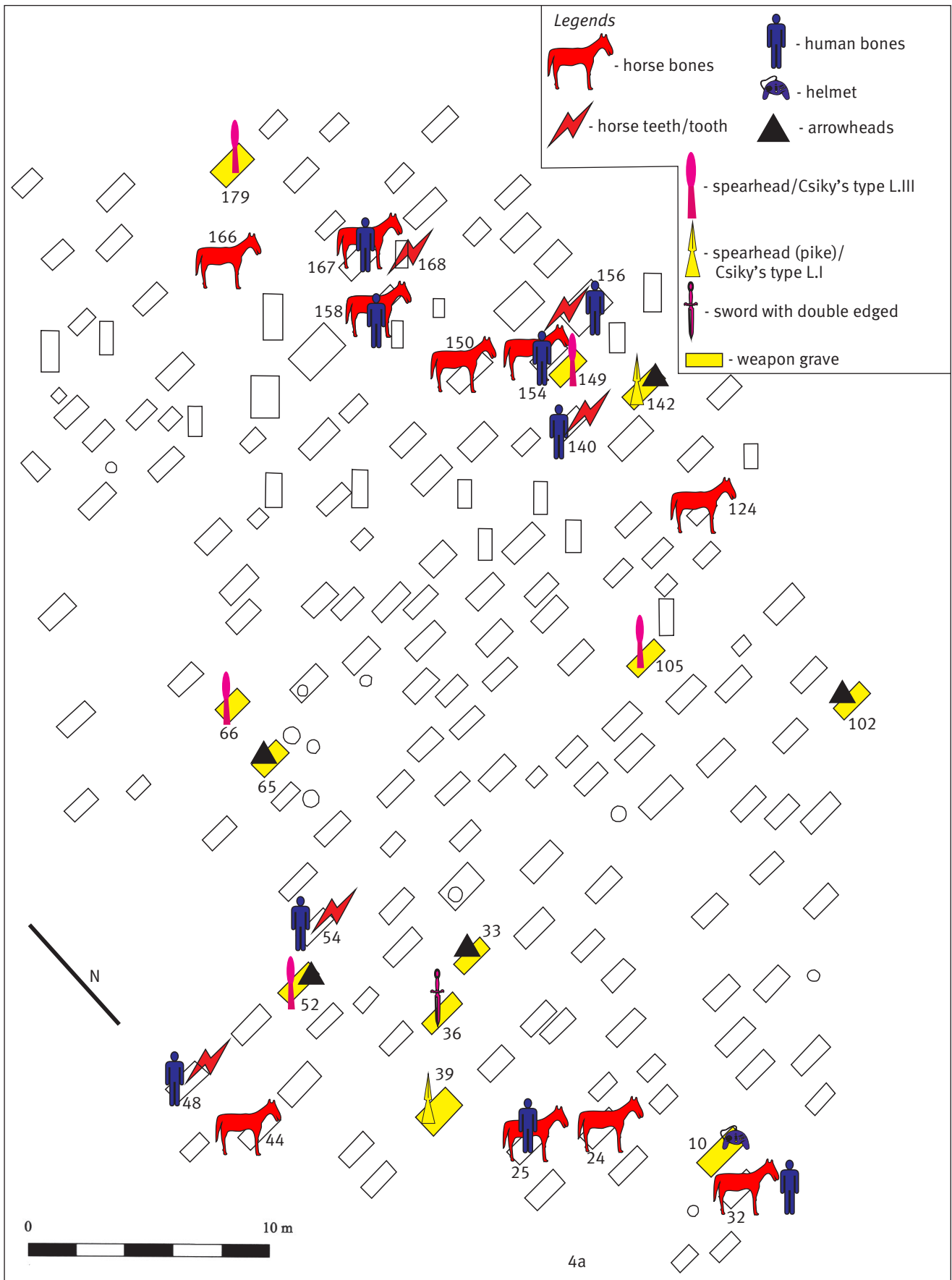
N

0   10 m

Plate 7. Bandu de Câmpie: cemetery's map (redrawing after KOVÁCS 1913, Fig. 2; DOBOS 2010–2011, Pl. 3))-COLOR

Plate 8. Bandu de Câmpie: Grave 10 (redrawing by HARHOIU/SPÂNU/GÁLL 2010, Fig. 35, after KOVÁCS 1913, Fig. 2)

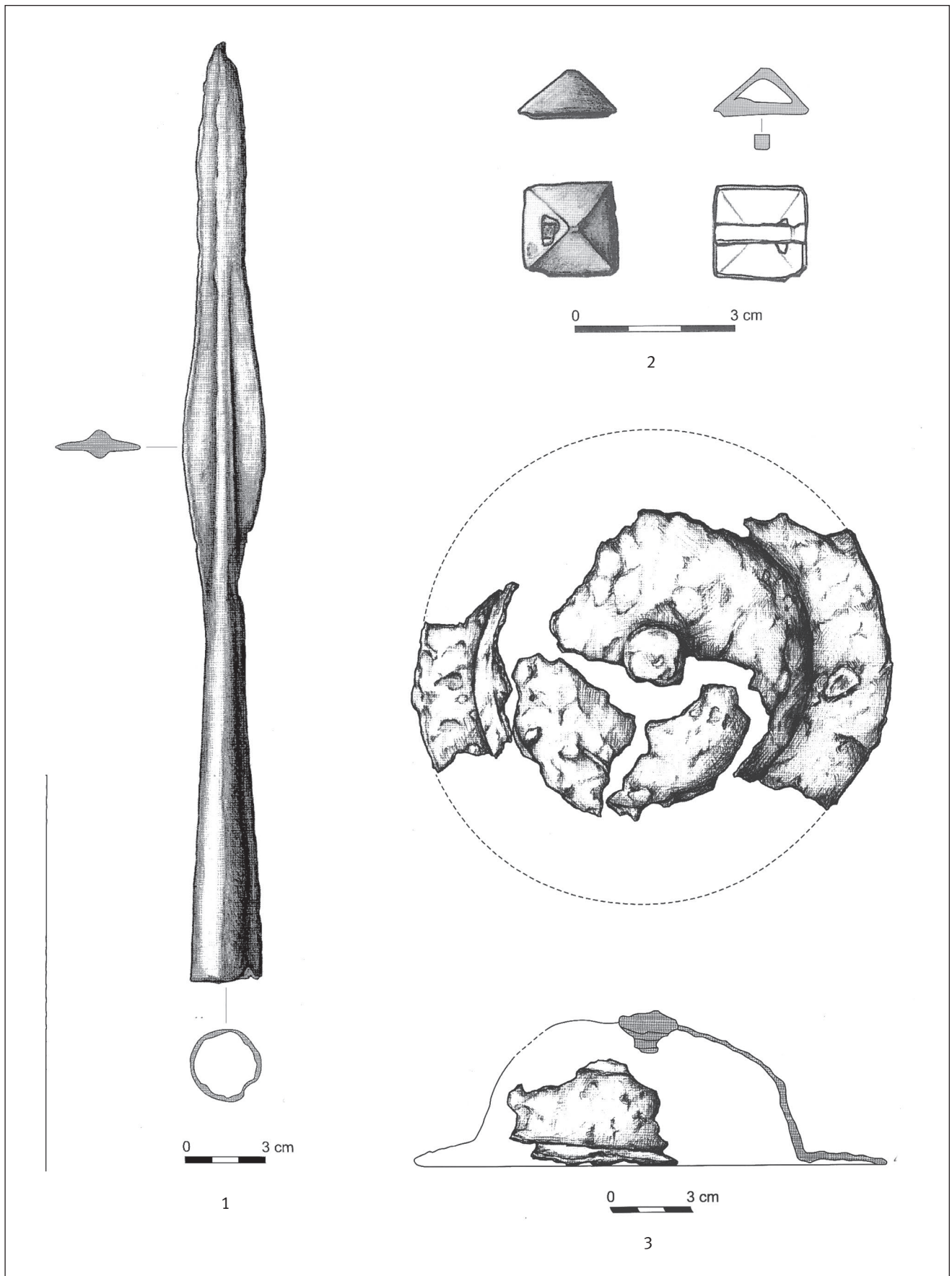0 3 cm

1

0 3 cm

2

0 3 cm

3

Plate 9. Fântânele Grave 14: 1; Grave 19: 2–3 (after DOBOS/OPREANU 2012, Pl. 12/2, pl. 15/3–4)
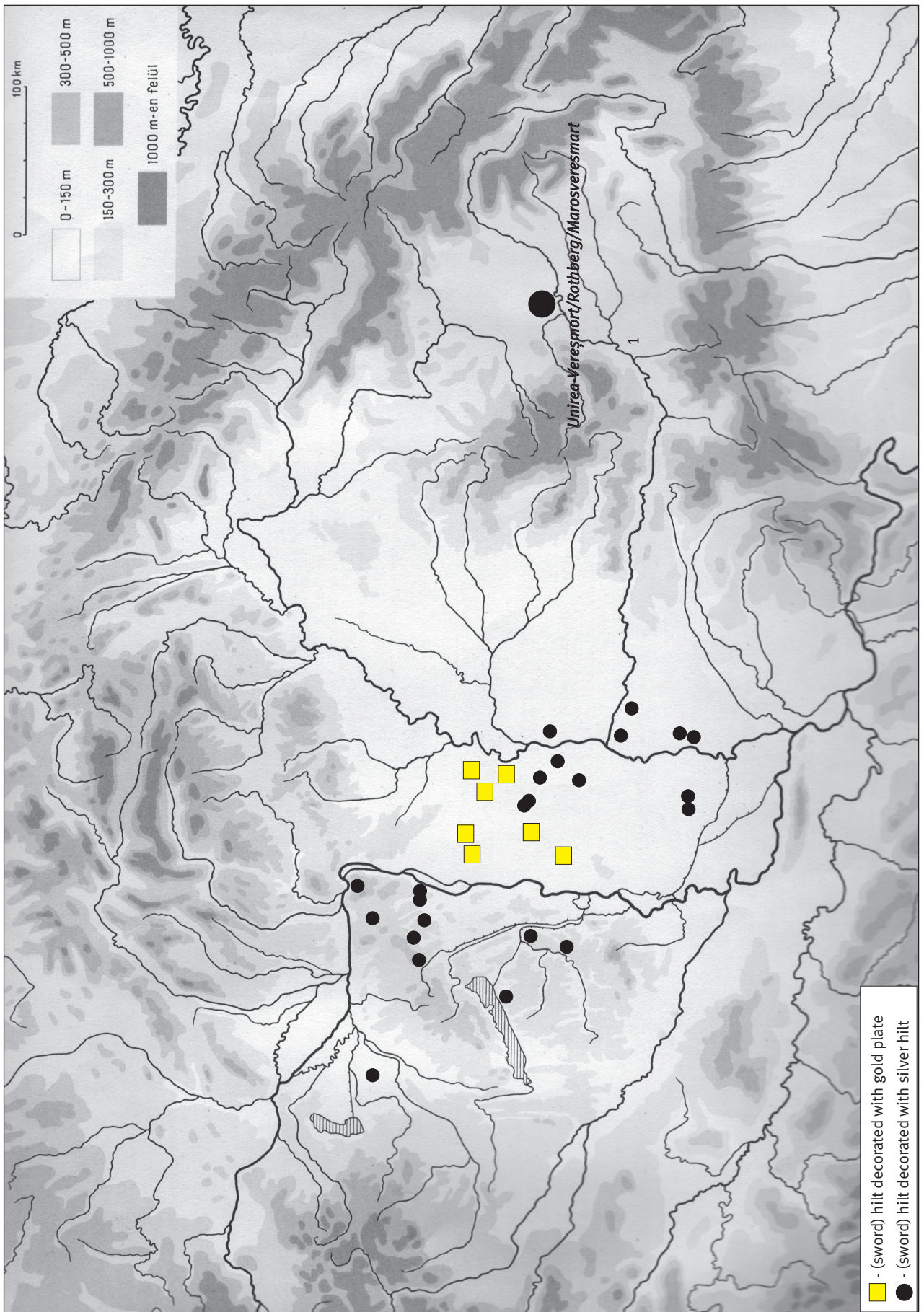
Plate 10. Early avar swords with gold and silver hilt plate in Carpathian Basin (with SIMON 1991 and VIDA 2009 data)-COLOR

0 - 150 m
150 - 300 m
300 - 500 m
500 - 1000 m
1000 m-en felül

100 km

Unirea-Vereşmort/Rothberg/Marosveresmart

1

- (sword) hilt decorated with gold plate
- (sword) hilt decorated with silver hilt