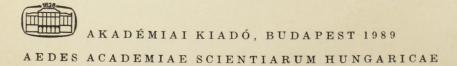
The Tiszaszólós treasure

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THE TISZASZŐLŐS TREASURE





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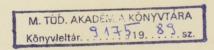
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One of the greatest losses to Hungarian archaeology was that of the gold treasure at Tiszaszőlős and the grave contents of the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight' at Aszópart in 1839. Its sad fate and its almost complete dispersal can be explained. First, although the Hungarian National Museum had by then been founded and had been active for several decades, it was not an active archaeological force across the whole country. Second, official channels led towards the Imperial Treasury in Vienna, and not to Pest, particularly where gold and silver finds were involved. In addition, the general social atmosphere of the period played a role as decisive in the dispersal of these lavish finds, as in that of the manuscripts of the famous Hungarian poet, Mihály Vörösmarty, in the same decades. In the latter case, it is more than probable that the manuscripts extant at the time of an earlier critical edition (before 1924) could have been preserved and saved, preventing subsequent loss. Exactly the same can be said of this archaeological treasure. However, in the case of the Tiszaszőlős finds, unlike the Vörösmarty manuscripts, no one can be really blamed—the dispersal just simply happened.

When I began to study the Tiszaszőlős finds a few years ago, I was convinced by the results of earlier Hungarian research that, with the exception of the list published on the occasion of the 1876 Budapest Congress,² a few scattered reports,³ and Tariczky's study written some three decades later,⁴ Hungarian and international prehistoric research had simply failed for over a century to acknowledge the existence of this treasure, until 1953⁵ or 1955.⁶ These false conclusions were partly prompted by the fact that I naturally assumed that Patay's studies on the Copper Age gold finds,⁷ and especially the Tiszaszőlős hoard,⁸ had been written after a thorough examination of all possible and accessible documents. This was not so, but I had no reason to believe that previous research had failed to notice a precise engraving of one item of the Tiszaszőlős treasure, a twisted arm spiral published by Joseph Arneth in 1850—in his monumental work, the editio princeps of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure. It is shown in a plate together with the two most splendid jugs from that treasure.⁹

The reasons why I began to unravel the mysteries of the Tiszaszőlős hoard can now be explained. Quite accidentally, I came across Tariczky's 1906 book, 10 from which Patay had quoted important facts concerning the hoard. The short passage quoted by Patay clearly stated that the large gold pendant of the hoard had been confiscated by the royal fiscal, Ferenc Nagy, shortly after the discovery of the hoard; he had then delivered it to the Imperial Treasury in Vienna via the Royal Treasury in

- ¹ E. Taxner-Tóth: A forrástól a szövegig. A Csongor és Tünde kritikai kiadásának a hozadékából (From source to text. Comments on the critical edition of "Csongor and Tünde"). *Magyar Tudomány* 88 (26): 11-12 (1981, Nov.-Dec.) 922.
- ² Doc. XLI. In the following it shall sometimes be referred to as Rómer's list.
 - ³ Such as Doc. L for example.
 - 4 Doc. LXVII
 - ⁵ Milojěié (1953).
 - 6 Doc. LXXVII and Patay (1959).
 - ⁷ Patay (1958).
 - 8 Patay (1955), (1959) and (1975).
- ⁹ Doc. III. With the exception of a single copy, Arneth's book is missing from all major libraries in

Hungary. The Budapest University Library still had a copy in 1968, but it has since been lost. It is not listed in vol. I of the Banner–Jakabffy bibliography: J. Banner–I. Jakabffy: A Közép-Dunamedence régészeti bibliográfiája a legrégibb időktől a XI. századig (Archäologische Bibliographie des Mitteldonaubeckens). Budapest (1954) s.v. 537 and 445–447. Arneth's book must be regarded as the first publication, even though the illustrations published by him had been made by a certain Steinbückel between 1827–1828. Mentioned by J. Hampel: A nagy-szentmiklósi kincs (The treasure from Nagyszentmiklós). Arch. Ért. 18 (1884) 2. As a matter of fact, the hoard is mentioned in all books published until 1866; see Doc. II, IV and XVII.

10 Doc. LXVII.

Buda. However, a few sentences later, Tariczky also mentions that a gold 'armour-plate' (most probably another large pendant) of the hoard had been sold to a 'Greek merchant' "by one of the locals" on his journey to Debrecen. Consequently, Patay's conclusion that the 'armour-plate' (gold pendant) mentioned in Rómer's list¹¹ and the pendant taken to Vienna were one and the same, was incorrect. The route of the pendant confiscated by Ferenc Nagy to Vienna is precisely known. The gold 'armour-plate', or pendant, sold to the Greek merchant is a separate item and suggests that there were at least two gold pendants in the hoard. In view of this confusion, the uncertainties and speculations surrounding the discovery, the composition and the subsequent fate of the hoard called for a search of all possible available sources, their careful analysis and publication. Even Milojčić himself had failed to publish all of the finds taken to Vienna. This was not only necessary because this hoard is one of the earliest of its kind to have come to light, but also because it is an exceptionally lavish and important assemblage (or assemblages). Thus, my objective was the collection and analysis of the available documentation. The search for the Tiszaszőlős hoard itself is far from finished and we can still hope for the future discovery or reappearance of presently unknown or undiscovered documents.

One surprise was followed by another in the search for existing documents, and it finally became clear that Hungarian prehistoric research of the last century had not for one moment forgotten about, or lost sight of, the treasure. In fact, the founding fathers of Hungarian archaeology, Ferenc Kubinyi, Ferenc Pulszky, Arnold Ipolyi, Flóris Rómer and József Hampel, had devoted much of their energies to its fate. They had had a first-hand knowledge of the items in Vienna and their first publication, they made drawings and photogravures of these finds, and corresponded exhaustively with their colleagues. The general social conditions of Hungary at the time militated againts any attempt to collect the treasure together for the National Museum of Hungary.

In brief, the history of the research can be outlined as follows.

From 1839 until the publication of F. Rómer's Műrégészeti Kalauz (Guide to Archaeological Antiquities) which placed prehistoric research on a firm scientific basis, ¹⁴ references to the treasure are brief and incidental. It was a stroke of bad luck that the one-day excavation conducted by Rómer and András Jósa at Kisvárda-Darusziget on April 12, 1870, did not bring to light a single gold pendant from the 13 graves of the Bodrogkeresztúr cemetery— the first burial ground of this culture to be uncovered in Hungary. ¹⁵ Otherwise, the recognition of the nature of the Tiszaszőlős hoard and of Copper Age pendants in general would have followed automatically.

The period between 1872 and 1876 saw a basic change in scholarly attitude towards the hoard. This was the result of Endre Tariczky's activity. He first came to hear about the 1839 discovery in the spring of 1872, whereupon he immediately began a dogged investigation. He published the results of his on-the-spot investigations and of other finds he discovered in the area in a series of articles, ¹⁶ and he wrote detailed reports to Rómer and Hampel, with whom he corresponded regularly over the years, ¹⁷ and who also visited him at Tiszafüred. Even though most of this correspondence has survived, it is highly conspicuous that nowhere in his letters did Tariczky mention the hoard. That this was nonetheless one of their main subjects of interest is shown by Rómer's list and Hampel's notes. ¹⁸ It is beyond doubt that both Rómer and Hampel took the discovery of the treasure seriously, especially as they knew that some of the finds had been taken to Vienna. However, they could well have doubted that the hoard contained so many gold finds or that the burial was accompanied by such lavish grave goods. They could have thought that Tariczky had exaggerated somewhat in his accounts, after all the

¹¹ Doc. XLI.

¹² Patay (1959) 86: "... von dem großen Goldanhänger die Rede ist, der auch jetzt noch in Wien aufbewahrt wird ...".

¹³ Patay (1959) 87: "der Fund . . . verschwand . . . vor ihren [d. h. der ungarischen prähistorischen Forschung] Augen".

¹⁴ Rómer (1866), Doc. XVIII.

¹⁵ F. Rómer: Két szabolcsmegyei őstemető és egyéb régészeti leletek (Two prehistoric cemeteries in county Sza-

bolcs and other archaeological finds). Arch. Ért. 3 (1870) 217–226. Cf. Patay (1961) 37–39, under Kisvárda–Darusziget.

¹⁶ Doc. XXI, XXVII, XXXVI, XXXIX and XLIII.
¹⁷ Doc. XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI and XXXII.

¹⁸ Esp. Hampel's note from 1872: "the documents are in my possession": Doc. XXII. These documents were perhaps Tariczky's letters which have since been lost or lie undetected.

inconsistencies and contradictions in them. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Rómer in particular devoted no further attention to the Tiszaszőlős finds after the 1876 Congress, even though he preserved his notes and still kept in touch with Tariczky. Hampel, on the other hand, returned to the finds in Vienna and in the local museum of Tiszafüred from time to time, as his unpublished notes show. ¹⁹ But to all appearances, he seemed to have forgotten about the Vienna finds because he jotted down the large Vienna pendant again on a subsequent trip to Vienna with the excitement one has upon stumbling on an unknown find for the first time. ²⁰ Beside these data, information from between 1876 and 1900, the third phase in the history of the hoard, is meagre and scattered, with only brief allusions by Tariczky, ²¹ and notes on the fate of later, but nonetheless important finds which had reached the Tiszafüred museum. ²²

Phase four covers the period from the early 1900s to Hampel's death in 1913. In this phase Tariczky published one of his most detailed reports, 23 based on his earlier articles, but now augmented with further data from his notes (unknown to us) and personal recollections. This information can be found in a book and in a yet unpublished manuscript.24 Hampel himself took notes and made drawings of the wheel-turned, finely polished chalice found in the grave of the 'horse-mounted knight', the leading figure, as it were, of the 1839 discovery, and also of the paste beads found on the site. 25 Prior to his death, Hampel still had the opportunity to recognise the similarities between the Tiszaszőlős and the Moigrad pendant, even though in 1912 he finally decided not to buy the latter. That he had had second thoughts about the matter is indicated by the fact that at the end of 1912 he apparently changed his mind and purchased a single item of the Moigrad hoard for the Hungarian National Museum.²⁶ His stubborn refusal to buy the Moigrad hoard is all the more regrettable since he was most probably the only Hungarian archaeologist to have had a personal knowledge of both hoards and who at that time knew most about the Tiszaszőlős finds. There is a distinct possibility that he knew more than can be gleaned from his surviving notes and articles since he himself could well have possessed or known of notes and documents now unknown to us.27 Undoubtedly, his interest and unbounded energy were weakened just before his death—and this probably influenced his refusal to purchase the Moigrad hoard from an antiquities dealer called László Mauthner.28

Hampel's death and the outbreak of World War I brought a sharp break in the history of the Tiszaszőlős (and also the Moigrad) hoard, partly because Tariczky, who lived to a patriarchal age, died at this time, ²⁹ and he no longer wrote articles calling attention to the finds brought to light at Aszópart. He perhaps went to his grave with the sad belief that his word had not been wholly credited. This could have been one of the reasons that no mention was made of Tiszaszőlős in the Hungarian archaeological literature between 1906 and 1955. This silence is the fifth phase in the history of the treasure.

The beginning of phase six can be dated to 1953, even though I would have preferred to write 1935, when the first gold pendant of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture had been unearthed in the cemetery at Jászladány, or 1943, when Nándor Fettich noted the similarity between the large Moigrad pendant and the smaller Bodrogkeresztúr pendants. But the sad fact remains that Hungarian prehistoric research remained silent about Tiszaszőlős, suggesting that the list of finds published in the Archaeologiai Közlemények, the brief mention made in Rómer's Műrégészeti Kalauz (Guide to

19 Doc. XLVII and XLVIII.

20 Doc. LIII and LIX.

21 Doc. LV

22 Doc. XXXVIII, XLII and XLIV.

²³ Doc. LXVII.

24 Doc. LXV.

25 Doc. LVIII and LIX.

Doc. LXXI

²⁷ Doc. XXII: "the documents are in my possession".

²⁸ In the same year, Hampel failed to acquaint himself more closely with the treasure found at Tépe that had probably belonged to an Avar kagan and which must have been as imposing as the Tiszaszólós and Moigrad hoards. J. Makkay: A tépei avar fejedelmi lelet előkerülésének körülményei (The find circumstances of the Avar princely find from Tépe). Arch. Ért. 88 (1961) 278–279.

²⁹ Tariczky was born on November 18, 1818, in Gyöngyös, and was trained in the seminary of Eger. He was ordained a priest in 1842, and was subsequently a chaplain in Tiszanána, Jászárokszállás and Zsérc. He settled down in Tiszarfüred in 1862, and he died on May 10, 1912, at the age of 94. In his letters written to Rómer (Doc. XXXII) he clearly states that preceding his visit to Tiszaszólós in 1872 he had never studied archaeology. However, a somewhat contradictory statement can be read in Doc. LI.

30 Patay (1961) 34 and Doc. LXXV

31 Doc. LXXIV.

Archaeological Antiquities) and the Compte Rendue-s of the 1876 Congress went unnoticed. Thus the rediscovery of the Tiszaszőlős hoard can be attributed to P. Reinecke, J. Werner and V. Milojčić. 32 This was followed by another five-year silence until in 1959 Patay published two Hungarian sources naturally unknown to Milojčić. 33

At this point, even the most circumspect specialist would probably have concluded that the 'rehabilitation' of the Tiszaszólós hoard had come full circle and that the discovery of further evidence was hardly to be expected. The error of this assumption is shown not only by my accidental encounter with Tariczky's book, but also by the re-evaluation of the Moigrad hoard. It must be recalled that in 1944–1945, and in 1958, and in 1975 Patay gradually assigned more and more artefact types of the Moigrad hoard to the Copper Age. This revised dating was in turn probably stimulated by the analytical investigations carried out in Stockholm on a few items of the Moigrad hoard that were exhibited there. These results could well have influenced V. Dumitrescu in his dating of the anthropomorphic or bird-shaped pendants to the Copper Age, despite the fact that he had still not presented his arguments in favour of this dating. Incidentally, I myself was the first to propose that various pieces of the Moigrad hoard be dated to the Copper Age, and more specifically, to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture on the basis of typological traits and other considerations. In my opinion, K. Horedt's grouping of the Moigrad finds appears to be something of a backward step.

Thus, by the late 70s the time was ripe for a reappraisal of the problems concerning both treasures: their find spot, the circumstances of their discovery, the clarification and reconstruction of their original composition and the definition of their wider cultural context. A comparison with the corresponding finds of the South-East European Aeneolithic or Copper Age and the Aegean Early Bronze Age is also called for, alongside their setting against a broader historical background. These are then the objectives of the present study. There is a further reason which has not yet been mentioned since I do not wish to influence the reader in formulating his own judgement on this matter. As regards the find circumstances, I shall primarily focus on the Tiszaszőlős treasure since there are practically no hitherto unknown documents regarding the Moigrad hoard and the finds themselves are not available for my personal study.⁴¹

In my search for unknown written documents I leafed through all available newspapers, periodicals and books in our libraries. I have read all surviving manuscripts and notes written by Flóris Rómer and József Hampel in the Archive of Manuscripts of the Széchényi Library (the Hungarian National Library) and their correspondence, also housed there. I looked through the documents in the

32 Milojčić (1953) 7, note 1.

- ³³ Doc. XXXII, XLI, L and LXVII, and the detail of the map of Doc. XXXIV, that had also been published by Patay (1959).
 - 34 Doc. LXXV, the small pendant.
- 35 Patay (1958) 42, Pl. XVIII. 1–4, the pendants and the beads.
 - 36 Patay (1975) 17.
 - ³⁷ For a detailed review, see Makkay (1976) 280–281.
- ³⁸ V. Dumitrescu (1972) Pl. 62, 8 and (1974) Figs 292–293.
 - 39 Makkay (1976) 280-281 and (1982) passim.
 - 40 Horedt (1977).
- ⁴¹ According to the most recent evidence the large circular pendant, the fork and at least 3 anthropomorphic T-shaped pendants are at present not in Cluj-Kolozsvár, but in Bucharest, in the Museum of the History of Romania: Miclea-Florescu (1980) Nos 231–233; the fork is exhibited in a case containing Migration period finds in the hall of gold treasures (personal observation, 1975). S. Burda (1979) most probably only published a description of the pieces in Bucharest. According to him, the large pendant (his Fig. 35, here Pl. 8) has a length of 31.4 cm, a width of 24.1 cm, and weighs ca. 800 gr. He only knows of three antropomorphic

pendants, two of which he considers to depict females, and one a male. One of the 'female' pendants (his Fig. lb, here Pl. 10. 1) has a length of 6.3 cm, a width of 9.5 cm and weighs 17.4 gr; the other female pendant (not illustrated in his book and probably identical with our Pl. 11. 2) has a length of 7.3 cm, a width of 9.7 cm and weighs 20.2 gr. The 'male' pendant (his Fig. 36, here Pl. 10. 2) has a length of 8.0 cm, a width of 8.5 cm and weighs 18.525 gr. A comparison of their sizes would imply that the photographs of the pendants (originally in the possession of Gyula László, which through his kindness were placed at my disposal by István Bóna; Pl. 10. 1-2 and Pl. 11. 1-2) are almost exactly 1:1 in scale (this would be the original and not the published scale). Accordingly, the dimensions of the fourth specimen (Pl. 11. 1) not published or even mentioned by Burda (1979), Dumitrescu (1972 and 1974) and Miclea-Florescu (1980) were the following: a length of 9 cm and a width of 14 cm. It thus practically matches the dimensions of the specimen shown in Pl. 12. 1-2, allegedly found at Ercsi (presently housed in the Hungarian National Museum). Thus, the fourth pendant has either been left in Cluj-Kolozsvár, or has since been lost. Moreover, both Burda (1979) 8 and 63, and V. Dumitrescu (1974) 269, only mention 3 cross-shaped, i.e. anthropomorphic pendants from Moigrad.

Archives of the Hungarian National Museum, where I discovered one of Tariczky's most important manuscripts that had remained unknown to Patay. 42 I also studied the former Archive material which is presently kept in the Department of Medieval Studies of the Hungarian National Museum, from the earliest years to 1880, and the material from 1906 to 1912 in the hope of finding documents concerning the abortive purchase of the Moigrad hoard. I examined the acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum, and the so-called account books of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities between 1898 and 1912 (also kept in the Department of Medieval Studies). I read through the Rómer and Hampel bequests in the Archive of Manuscripts of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the documents from 1858-1870 of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, especially the minutes of Committee sessions. I studied the documents about Tiszaszőlős, primarily the maps and the local land registers to be found in the State Archives of Eger (unfortunately, the minutes of the council meetings of the village of Tiszaszőlős are missing beginning with the year 1839). I leafed through the manuscripts of the Reformed Parish Church of Tiszaszőlős. The majority of the minutes and correspondence of the judicial proceedings concerning the Tiszaszőlős hoard between 1839 and 1864 I found in the Hungarian National Archives among the files of the Royal Prosecutor of Eger and the Fiscal Prosecutor of the Royal Treasury in Tiszafüred. I had an opportunity to study Tariczky's manuscripts and the photographic archives of the Kiss Pál Museum in Tiszafüred. In the Széchényi Library I found all the newspapers and periodicals that had been issued in the year 1839, and all volumes of the newspapers and periodicals published in county Heves (i.e. Eger) and Karcag during the 1870s and 1880s. In one of these, we find Tariczky's detailed account of the discovery of the grave and the treasure of the 'gold-armoured knight'43 (Rómer's list is in fact a somewhat inaccurate translation of this text).

I wish to acknowledge my deepest gratitude to Dr. Mrs Ilona K. Fábián, now on the staff of the Hungarian National Archives; without her unfailing help I would hardly have found the files of the judicial proceedings. I also wish to thank Dr. Béla Kovács, director of the State Archives in Eger, Ilona Stanczik from the Prehistoric Department of the Hungarian National Museum and Anikó Füvessy, director of the Kiss Pál Museum of Tiszafüred. Dr. Falko Daim (Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien) spared no effort in hunting up old Viennese publications; the photographs of the Tiszaszőlős finds now in Vienna were placed at my disposal by Dr. H. Melichar (Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna). Dr. Dénes Jankovich helped me with the transcription of the Latin documents and he also called my attention to the documents in the Hungarian National Archives mentioning archaeological treasures. I must also thank the late Dr. Nicolae Vlassa (National Museum of Transylvania, Kolozsvár) who unselfishly shared his knowledge on this matter with me until his untimely death.

This book is divided into the following main sections: the discovery of the Tiszaszőlős hoard, its find spot, its dispersal and its subsequent fate. I shall then attempt to reconstruct the assemblages brought to light in 1839 on the basis of the surviving finds and their descriptions, and attempt the definition of the artefact types and their chronologial position. This will be followed by the typological analysis of the Moigrad hoard, the separation of its Copper Age components (types) and their interpretation with the aid of related and comparable finds. A separate chapter is devoted to one of the most outstanding finds of the hoard, the gold fork. The next chapters cover the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis and comparison of the two hoards. The last section contains the documents concerning the two hoards, primarily those written in Hungarian and/or not readily accessible to the general reader. In the text and in the notes the documents will be referred to with Roman numerals and abbreviated as Doc. In certain cases (such as the series of articles written by Tariczky) an exact date will also be given.

The photos of the surviving pieces of the Tiszaszőlős treasure are reproduced on the basis of the photographs from the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna. Some of the photos of the Moigrad hoard are reproduced from the negatives in the Photo Archives of the Hungarian National Museum (made at

42 Doc. LXV.

an unknown date between 1949 and 1951**) that were placed at my disposal by Dr. Tibor Kovács and Dr. Tibor Kemenczei. Photographs of the finds not found on these negatives** have been reproduced from the photographs preserved by Gyula László and kindly given to me by István Bóna. Those items which were not photographed either by the Hungarian National Museum or by Gyula László are reproduced from the plates in Fettich's 1953 book. Fettich's photographs were not reproduced from the negatives in the Hungarian National Museum, and it would appear in the case of certain artefacts, that the photos were taken at an earlier date, most probably between 1940–1944 when he went to Kolozsvár to study the Moigrad hoard. I have found it helpful to compile a concordance table of the Moigrad hoard, listing their inventory numbers and plates in Fettich's book. Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain the old and new inventory number and the weight of individual items housed in the National Museum of Transylvania (Kolozsvár) and now recently moved to the National Museum in Bucharest. Neither is the total weight of the Moigrad hoard known. Between 1944 and 1950, the Moigrad hoard was temporarily safeguarded in the Hungarian National Museum. It has proved impossible to obtain the minutes of the occasion when the hoard was given back to the Romanian authorities.

A note to the illustrations

The dimensions and the weight of the Tiszaszőlős finds in Vienna have been published by Milojčić in his 1953 study (the only exceptions being the items shown in Pl. 8. 8–9). However, the weight and dimensions of the individual items of the Moigrad hoard are not known, except for the large pendant and the anthropomorphic pendants (see note 41). According to Fettich, the weight of the hoard totalled about 2.5 kg. In his 1953 study he states that the illustrations of the finds are on a l:l scale. However, this does not hold for the large pendant since it is published with a $\frac{2}{3}$ reduction in size. The anthropomorphic pendants were illustrated with a ca. $\frac{1}{5}$ reduction. Unfortunately, no scale was given to the negatives kept in the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum and thus they also proved unsuitable for determining the dimensions of specific items. The same can be said of the blow-ups of various finds kindly placed at my disposal by Gyula László; but these turned out to be the best available photos of the anthropomorphic pendants (and, incidentally, one of his photos is probably identical with the original published by Fettich in 1953). The dimensions of the objects kept in the Hungarian National Museum can be found in the relevant documents.

⁴⁴ When the treasure had been temporarily safeguarded in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest during World War II.

⁴⁵ HNM photo negatives N 2158-2169, 3224, 3251,

^{5640,} Ö 5618–5619. The photographs are incomplete since the large pendant had not been photographed, and some of the glass plates are broken. In the latter case I used the photos taken by Gy. László and N. Fettich.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE TISZASZŐLŐS TREASURE AND ITS SUBSEQUENT FATE

The discovery

The first report on the Tiszaszőlős hoard was written on June 27, 1839, at 10 o'clock, and it reached the Royal Salt Office in Poroszló on the 28th (Doc. I,1 and I,2). Mrs Salamon Elek, née Julianna Nagy (the widow of Salamon Elek of Pazony, a country squire in Tiszaszőlős, the daughter of the former judge of the village) notified the Office that a certain [Sándor] Gyarmati had found gold weighing 24 lats—i.e. 420.048 gr⁴⁶—on the allodial ploughland that was hers by right of jointure. Gyarmati soon sold the gold to a 'Greek' merchant from [Kun]madaras, from whom it was retrieved by Mrs Elek. This part of the hoard was finally taken to Vienna (and it shall be, in the following, called the Vienna treasure). Mrs Elek's notification also mentions that a gipsy⁴⁷—not named—had found gold weighing 14 lats, about 245.028 gr, in the same ploughland that he had later sold to a Jewish merchant from [Tisza]igar.⁴⁸ However, István Dévay, a retired captain, also a resident of Tiszaszőlős, had the finds brought back by some means which he then duly purchased. These gold objects then came into the possession of Menyhért Elek, Mrs Salamon Elek's son or brother-in-law.⁴⁹ (In the following this shall be termed the Elek treasure.)

Even though it has no bearing on the subsequent fate of the hoard, it is an interesting fact that Mrs Elek made her first report with the aid of György Józsa, a judge of the county court and a landowner in Tiszafüred, who was better known as the infamous Gyuri Józsa.⁵⁰

The Salt Office in Poroszló duly reported the incident to Ferenc Nagy, a royal prosecutor in Eger, and to the Royal Fisc (Causarum Regalium Directoratus Officium) in Pest. According to the former (Doc. I,3) the two parts of the hoard were already in the possession of Mrs Elek and Capt. Dévay. According to the latter (Doc. I,2), however, only the Vienna treasure was acquired by Mrs Elek, while other finds, possibly the greater part of the gold was still held by the finders (majori tamen in parte per inventores hunc dum occultatum).⁵¹

⁴⁶ It shall be shown that the original finders also included other persons (Doc. I, 20, I, 35 and I, 36). Insofar as estimates are based on the Vienna lat of 17.502 gr, the result is 420.048 gr. Apart from the two small fragments not published by Milojčić, the weight of the various fragments in Vienna is 456.910 gr. In view of the possibilities for precise weighing in the Tiszaszőlős of 1839 this corresponds to the 24 lats. This, in turn, would imply that the items in Vienna are those 'found' by S. Gyarmaty. Later documents give a weight of 26 \frac{3}{8} gold half-ounces (Doc. I, 6, I, 7 and I, 10). Taking 31.103 gr for an ounce, this adds up to 410.184 gr, which practically corresponds to the 420.048 gr weight of the Vienna items and the real weight of 456.910 gr.

 47 This gipsy can perhaps be identified with György Burai, mentioned in Doc. I, 30 and I, 56.

⁴⁸ It cannot be established whether he can be identified with the Jew Salamon Sáli mentioned in Doc. I, 56, since we do not know his place of residence in 1839.

⁴⁹ According to Doc. I, 22 the weight of the pieces that Menyhért Elek had forcefully seized from Capt. Dévay or Ferenc Nagy was 10 ⁵/₁₆ lats, i. e. 180.466 gr. The discrepancy between the two weights of 180.466 and 245.028 gr can be disregarded, knowing that the gold in Menyhért Elek's possession had never been weighed precisely.

50 It is unnecessary to discuss at greater length the

role played by Gyuri Józsa in Hungarian cultural history. Suffice it here to mention that the figure of Berci Csollány in M. Jókai's novel És mégis mozog a föld (Eppur si muove) was modelled after him, and that he also appears in Jókai's Egy magyar nábob (A Hungarian nábob) and Szerelem bolondjai (Fools of love). For Gyuri Józsa, see A. Füvessy: Józsa Gyuri alakja a néphagyományban (The figure of Gyuri Józsa in folk tradition). SzMMÉ (1978) 221-231; B. Tóth: A magyar anekdotakincs (A treasury of Hungarian anecdotes). Budapest (1935) 210-212; L. György: A magyar nábob (The Hungarian nábob). Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 120. Kolozsvár (1940); S. Szücs: Ludas Matyi cimborái (The chums of Matyi Ludas). Jászkunsági Füzetek 1. Szolnok (1954); I. Ráth-Végh: Bolondünnep (Fool's feast). Budapest (1959) 216; M. Szilágyi: A "nevető lovak" anekdotájának népi változata (A popular variant of the anecdote of the "laughing horses"). Ethnographia (1959) 449-450; M. Szilágyi: Ballada Józsa Gyuriról (1789-1847) (A ballad of Gyuri Józsa /1789—1847/). Néprajzi Közlemények 12 (1967) 230-235; S. Szücs: Pusztai szabadok (Freemen of the puszta). Budapest (1957) 288–295. Knowing his inexhaustible capacity for mischief it seems highly probable that he also had a hand in the fate of the treasure.

⁵¹ Cp. Doc. I, 5: per inventores . . . habetur.

Ferenc Nagy, the royal prosecutor, made an official visit to Tiszaszőlős within two days, on the 30th of June. He recevied the Vienna treasure, weighing $26\frac{3}{8}$ ounces—i.e. 456.910 gr—from Mrs Elek, Capt. Dévay and the finders. From Mrs Elek, was unable to take away the gold in Capt. Dévay's possession, weighing $10\frac{5}{16}$ lats (180.446 gr) or approximately 14 lats (245.028 gr) since these were forcibly seized by Menyhért Elek. The surviving documents do not reveal whether he wrested them earlier from Capt. Dévay or from Ferenc Nagy. Ferenc Nagy first took the objects of the Vienna treasure to Eger and handed them over to the Salt Office, from where they were sent to Pest, and later to Vienna. The Neither is it known whether Ferenc Nagy ever attempted to collect objects which were held by others than Capt. Dévay and Menyhért Elek.

At this point, the official trail branches off in two directions. One helps to establish how and among whom (the landowner, the finders, the notifiers) the compensation for the gold surrendered by Mrs Elek was divided. It is the documents dealing with these issues that offer most of the useful archaeological data. Following Mrs Elek's repeated and insistent petitioning, the Royal Treasury finally established the sum of compensation and how it was to be divided: this sum was to be 480 Forints from which 48 Forints and $4\frac{3}{4}$ farthings were deducted as the fee of procedure. The rest was to be divided between Mrs Elek and the other finders in a ratio of $\frac{1}{9}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ (Doc. I,13, I,17, I,18, I,35, I,36 and I,37). However, Menyhért Elek insisted that the find spot lay on a piece of land owned jointly by him and Mrs Elek (Doc. I,4: "...since the Tisza-Szőlős property is invested on the male line...", and Doc. I,23: in terreno illius titulo juris vidualis ad eam pertinente; in other words, Mrs Elek could only enjoy the benefits of that property through her right of jointure) and claimed that one-third of the compensation for the Vienna treasure should be rightly accorded to him as the landowner of the property in question. Naturally, his claim was not granted, but then neither was Mrs Elek's request that she should be given one-third of the compensation as the owner of the property and another third as the notifier (Doc. I,4 and I,13: rata dominio terrestriali... extradari nequiet.). 56

The other trail concerns the suit instituted against Menyhért Elek for the elicitation of the gold he had taken from Capt. Dévay and/or Ferenc Nagy. We know that the legal proceedings were well under way by December 16, 1840 (Doc. I,15 and I,39, giving slightly differing dates). It was carried on for a quarter of a century, or even longer, without any resolution. Menyhért Elek stuck to his statement that the two treasures (the Vienna and the Elek treasure) had been found on two occasions, indepedently of each other, on a piece of land owned jointly by him and Mrs Elek (in fundo commune), and that the value of the treasure in his possession did not exceed 100 (or, more precisely, 150) thalers, thus the royal fisc, i.e. the king himself, had no right whatsoever to claim it, even in the course of lawful proceedings (Doc. I,6 and I,10).⁵⁷

On a court session held at the beginning of 1848 Menyhért Elek also pleaded that the Elek treasure in question had been found on several occasions and that he had purchased the various objects from the finders for a sum that was higher than its estimated value. This he proved with an original document drawn up at Tiszaszőlős, the record of an 'official investigation' which, surprisingly enough, was accepted by the plaintiff, the prosecutor of county Heves (Doc. I,41). This 'official investigation' was in fact a record of the evidence drawn up in Tiszaszőlős which recorded the story of the tresaure's discovery. This document was registered as Appendix E in the file of the proceedings and was lost and

⁵² Doc. I, 6: ab inventoribus respectivis receptum.

⁵³ See note 49.

⁵⁴ Doc. I, 6, I, 10, I, 11, I, 12, I, 13, I, 15, I, 21, etc.

 $^{^{55}}$ Doc. I, 7, however, incorrectly records that the 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ half-ounce gold consisted of two gold objects: duo frusta auri. For the circumstances under which they reached Vienna, see below and Doc. I, 10 and I, 12.

pestered Mrs Salamon Elek: ab inventoribus indefinenter molestor (Doc. I, 8; the solicitations of Mrs Elek to the official organs are recorded in Doc. I, 4, I, 9, I, 19 and I, 21). An extremely interesting classical document describing the division of treasure troves between the landlord and the

sovereign, which allegedly also records Alexander's view on the matter, has recently been published: J. C. Greenfield—A. Shaffer: QLQT'. TUBKINNU. Refuse tips and treasure trove. Anat. Stud. 33 (1983) 123–129. For the regulations in medieval and present-day England, see the Editorial in Antiquity 41 (1967) 254–255, and C.A.R. Radford: Treasure trove. Antiquity 42 (1968) 45–46. as well as G. De C. Parmiter: Treasure Trove. Antiquity 42 (1968) 307–309.

⁵⁷ The law of 1792 quoted in later documents prescribes a value limit of 150 thalers, under which the finder/landowner could claim ownership of the entire, or a part of, the treasure, See Doc. I, 61 and XXIV.

then found again (Doc. I,47, I,52, I,53, I,56 and I,57). See Menyhért Elek's statement clearly implies that the Elek treasure consisted not only of the gold he had taken from Capt. Dévay, since he himself asserted repeatedly that he had purchased the objects from various persons on separate occasions. Consequently, its weight had to be considerably greater than the weight established when a part of the Elek treasure was still in Capt. Dévay's hands (i.e., its weight exceeded 245.028 gr). There are other indications that the hoard had in fact been found on two separate occasions, on June 13 and 21, 1839, even though the two parts visibly belong to the same assemblage (Doc. I,13). However, it is uncertain whether the two parts coincide with the Vienna and Elek treasures or were two parts of the Elek treasure. One thing is certain: it proved impossible to weigh officially the Elek tresaure (Doc. I,13 and I,14: tota quantitas thesauri huius cognosci). This would suggest that there were considerably more gold objects in Menyhért Elek's possesion than the objects he had seized from Capt. Dévay. Unfortunately, Menyhért Elek's statement concerning these matters, made before May 10, 1842, has not survived (his declaration is mentioned in Doc. I,25). The authorities nonetheless pronounced him an unlawful detainer (Doc. I,10: illegitimus detentor).

The history of the proceedings

Regardless of the royal prosecutor's official position, 59 it was Menyhért Elek's own mother, Mrs Salamon Elek who first requested the institution of proceedings against her own son in order to regain the gold in his possession and to promote further investigation (Doc. I,4). She found justification for her action in Menyhért Elek's insistent claim that he should be given one-third of the compensation as the landowner. Later, after the institution of the proceedings on July 16, 1841, Mrs Elek asked the prosecutor, Ferenc Nagy, to acquire by whatever means he could the Elek treasure and the third of the compensation that befitted the landowner (Doc. I,21). The indictment made by the royal prosecutor led to the formal charging of Menyhért Elek on August 2, 1841. The unusually complicated proceedings shall only be described briefly here (Doc. I,46 and I,50 give a fairly good summary). The proceedings began on December 1, 1842, in the office of the district administrator of county Heves, and ended on December 6, 1845, with a sentence against Menyhért Elek. The verdict itself is not known. Following his appeal on February 5, 1848, Menyhért Elek was acquitted by the Court of Justice of county Heves (Doc. I,41). One highly characteristic aspect of the proceedings was that while the indictment (Doc. I,22) quoted paragraph 5 of part 1 of the Introduction of Werbőczi's Code (1515), the acquittal quoted chapter 35 of King Stephen's (1000-1038) law-book, according to which "...each man should be lord over his possessions, as well as of royal bestowals, in his life; ... And after his death his sons should enjoy their inheritance with similar lordship." In other words, a nobleman's property was regarded as 'real' property rather than feudal property.

The second appeal of the royal prosecutor was presented to the Imperial and Royal High Court of Justice in Pest on September 30, 1851; the acquittal of the Court of Justice of county Heves was affirmed. (This ruling is mentioned in Doc. I,44 and I,45; the original document has not survived.) The plaintiff presented a petition for a proceeding in error to the Imperial and Royal Supreme Court of Justice in Vienna at the end of 1851. The verdict brought on January 7, 1852, however, relegated the matter to the High Court of Justice in Pest, and asked for the amplification of the evidence (Doc. I,46). This included a more precise appraisal of the value of the treasure and also more evidence as to where and how the treasure had been found (Doc. I,47). The continuation of the proceedings were similarly relegated and thus the royal prosecutor instituted further proceedings in Eger, in the Court of Justice of county Heves-Szolnok on May 18, 1853. This law-court, however, pronounced itself unauthoritative on April 20, 1854, and stayed the proceedings; at the same time, the verdict brought by the Court of

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, this document has not been preserved.

⁵⁹ Earlier laws concerning found treasures are often quoted in these documents: see Doc. I, 22, I, 23, I, 31, I, 35

and I, 41; moreover, the Royal Treasury also sent Ferenc Nagy the documents concerning the procedures of another similar case by the Bishopric of Nagyvárad: Doc. I, 28.

Justice in Eger on February 5, 1848, was affirmed (Doc. I,50). A letter from the Imperial and Royal Fiscal Prosecution dated to November 21, 1854, ordained that Sándor Nagy, the royal prosecutor of county Heves-Szolnok, should again institute legal proceedings against Menyhért Elek in the District Court of Justice in Tiszafüred (Doc. I,51). Following the protracted institution of the action, the district administrator of the district of Tiszafüred dismissed the action of the plaintiff (i.e. the royal prosecutor) on formal grounds on February 8, 1860 (Doc. I,54). The Imperial and Royal Fiscal Prosecution lodged an appeal on February 18, 1860 (Doc. I,55) and urged that the proceedings be conducted by acquiring various supplementary documents on October 21, 1860, in order to either procure the treasure weighing $10\frac{5}{16}$ lats or to refund its value, estimated at 243 Forints and 11 farthings (Doc. I,59). However, it soon became known that the Court of Justice of county Heves-Szolnok which had recently been reorganised would be authoritative in this matter (Doc. I,60, February 2, 1862). Consequently, on February 13, 1862, the Fiscal Prosecution submitted a proposal to the Court of Justice of county Heyes-Szolnok requesting that it should instruct the Court of Justice of the district of Tiszafüred to conduct the proceedings as quickly as possible. The Court of Justice scheduled the session for April 8, 1862; however it was cancelled after it had been brought to the attention of the Court that the defendant, Menyhért Elek, had died in the meantime (Doc. I,60). 40 Acting on the orders of the Fiscal Prosecution, Sándor Nagy, a prosecutor in Eger, requested the continuation of the proceedings against Mrs Menyhért Elek, née Mária Csoma, the widow "in possession of the bequest". The deadline for the presentation of the plea was extended on the request of the counsel on two occasions (the second time on April 19, 1864, for 30 days).

At present, this is the last known event of the Tiszaszőlős proceedings. Nothing is known about the proceedings against Mrs Menyhért Elek or of the verdiets. What is certain is that it did not lead to the confiscation of the treasure. Several decades later, Endre Tariczky was told that the proceedings against Mrs Menyhért Elek had been entirely unsuccesful (Doc. LXV).

Characteristically enough, the proceedings had still not been in force when Capt. Dévay's widow offerred some objects from the hoard for sale through the mediation of Mihály Elek of Nyírpazony (Doc. XI). This implies either that Capt. Dévay had managed to conceal some objects from Menyhért Elek, or that the Elek treasure had been safeguarded by various members of the Elek family (it should here be recalled that Capt. Dévay's wife was an Elek girl, Antónia Elek). The fact that the objects offerred for sale in 1862 included finds that had not previously been registered (the alabaster tablet and the stone ball) does not necessarily imply that these were not part of the hoard discovered at Aszópart in 1839. The find spot of these objects, given as 'Oszti', could easily have been a slip of the pen for 'Aszó'.

The circumstances of discovery

The surviving documents offer but scanty information concerning the circumstances of discovery. It is thus all the more regrettable that the above-mentioned Appendix E has been lost or lies undetected. The only starting point is the petition filed by Mrs Salamon Elek to the Royal Treasury on July 12, 1840 (Doc. I,9): "...interreno Possessionis Szóllós...in rata praecise mea inhumatum quoddam...viri olim praepotentis cadaver, elluvione Tibisci praeindigitatum effodiendo, aureas fibrillas, alias idgenus armigerorum eius aevi ornamenta comperiendo, haec postquam aurea comperissem subditis meis...". The credibility of her recollections is hardly lessened by the fact that a year later she is out by one year in the dating of the event (anno adhuc 1838). This can probably be ascribed to the fact that the letter, written

continued against his widow, Mária Csoma Ragyóczi, who died at the age of 72 on January 19, 1885 (according to the inscription on her gravestone) or on January 15 (according to other documents). Thus, in the year when the treasure was found, Menyhért Elek was 40 years old and his wife was 26. It is not known whether they were already married.

⁶⁰ Doc. I, 60. The precise date of Menyhért Elek's death is not recorded in the documents, and neither is it recorded in the death certificate issued by the Reformed Church of Tiszaszőlős. According to the inscription of his gravestone in the Old Cemetery of Tiszaszőlős, he died in the 62nd year of his life, on August 12, 1861. The lawsuit was

in Latin, was not Mrs Elek's own work. The floods of the Tisza, then, had washed out a male skeleton beside which lay gold artefacts, and the ornamentation of his weapons were similarly of gold. The expression armigerorum ornamenta can be interpreted in various ways: as an adjective armiger could be arma gerens or instrumenta quaelibet gerens; and as a substantive, qui arma ferens dominum in bello sequitur, or varia militum genera, or armati in general. In the light of Tariczky's later reports it could be interpreted as referring to the gold harness ornaments of the 'knight's' warhorse insofar as it is assumed that it was meant to denote an armiger [equus], i.e. a warhorse. It is highly improbable that the expression can be taken to imply another weapon-bearing (arma ferens) person.

There are practically no contradictions between this passage and the information given to Endre Taricky by the finders or by Mrs Menyhért Elek herself at the beginning of the 1870s. According to Tariczky the treasure was discovered on two separate occasions, June 13 and 30; on the first occasion, on June 13, it was found by two gleaner-women taking a rest on the edge of the floodplain (Doc. XXI, LXV and LXVII). The authenticity of the date can be challenged by its implications of a harvest in such an early season. However, this date is supported by other documents (Doc. I,13). We also know that in years of extreme drought, as was recently in 1983, harvest, and thus also gleaning, can start as early as the middle of June. Owing to the early summer flood of the Tisza the floodplain west of the Aszópart was covered with water which washed away the bank, bringing to light the first finds. The women, noticing the bright gold objects, returned home and told their neighbours in the village, whereupon—probably on the very next morning—a tresaure hunt began. According to Tariczky, so many people went off on the treasure hunt that even day-labourers could not be hired for the harvest, the time of the greatest summer work (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872). The expression publicus rumor vulgat in the report of the Royal Salt Office of Poroszló dated to June 28, 1839 (Doc. I,2) obviously refers to this event.

The date of the discovery

There are three different suggestions for the date of the discovery: June 13, June 21 and June 30 (August 13, the date given in Rómer's list—Doc. XLI—is most probably a slip of the pen). Of these, June 30 only appears in Tariczky's reports and can thus be rejected since this date coincided with the arrival of the royal prosecutor, Ferenc Nagy, to Tiszaszőlős in order to confiscate a part of the tresaure. However, there is no evidence that he had found further gold objects on the site or that he had ever visited the site himself. Had he found other gold objects, he would undoubtedly have taken them to Vienna. Nonetheless, there is a distinct possibility that he had visited the site since beside the gold finds taken to Eger, there were also pieces of iron and various sherds (Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872). But these could equally well have been given to him by the finders and he need not have personally visited the site. The same can be said of another fact given by Tariczky, namely that the royal prosecutor only "sallyed forth" around 1842 to collect what he still could (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872). If this statement can be taken at its face value it would imply that there is a group of finds we know nothing about, and which are probably irrevocably lost.

A lost or undetected document (probably Appendix 7 to Doc. I,10)—perhaps the above-mentioned Appendix E—records that a part of the treasure came to light on June 13 and that another part was discovered on June 21 (Doc. I,13). This appears to be in harmony with Tariczky's later statement that the skeleton of the 'gold-armoured knight' was found when the locals started digging all over the bank, following the first discovery (Doc. LXIX). Apparently, the two different occasions of discovery were most strongly emphasized by Menyhért Elek with the aim of supporting his claim to the pieces in his possession.

One of the latest documents relating the date of the discovery, however, states that the treasure was discovered on one occasion and in one distinct place, and that the various lots (perhaps two in number) were part of the same treasure: ...eodem in loco unoque tempore inventus, spectata praeprimis eadem amborum qualitate, avelli non possit, sed tamquam integrans pars posterioris considerari debeat."

2 Makkay: Studia Arch. X.

(Doc. I,25). It yet remains to be established whether there is a connection between the alabaster board or tablet and the ball, and the 'two various parts', insofar as these perhaps made up the other part, whose distinctness was strongly emphasized (these were perhaps the first, or last, to have been found). In any case, this document does not explicitly give the day of the discovery, nor, to be more precise, the date of collection. Nonetheless, the date of June 13, 1839, cannot be seriously challenged, even though another of our documents dated to October 15, 1843 (Doc. I,35) that apparently contains precise and reliable information explicitly gives June 21 as the day of the discovery.

The find spot

Regarding the find spot, Mrs Salamon Elek maintained that the treasure had been found on the allodial estate of her late husband that was hers by right of jointure (Doc. I,23: ...titulo juris vidualis). She never denied that her son, Menyhért Elek, was the rightful inheritor of this estate, but she claimed that, similarly to her right of brick manufacture from the same earth as the hoard had been found in, the treasure should be accorded to her (Doc. I,1, I,9, I,21 and also I,4). Interestingly enough, Aszópart is never mentioned in any of these documents as the find spot; it first appears in a somewhat distorted form, Aszti or Oszti, much later, in 1862 (Doc. XI and XII).

Contrary to Mrs Salamon Elek, her son, Menyhért Elek explained on June 30, 1839, to Ferenc Nagy that the hoard "...in fundo communi adinventum sit..." (Doc. I,6 and I,10) and therefore he should be considered as co-owner (compossessor). It would be helpful to know whether the expression fundus communis denotes a kind of communal property or the joint property of the widow and Menyhért Elek. The latter possibility does not make sense in view of the known property rights: the widow herself did not dispute that the land in question was only hers by right of jointure. But neither could Menyhért Elek have stated that the fundus communis denoted communal property since in this case he could not have claimed the hoard, whose value he defined as being under 150 thalers, for himself. In the later documents communal property (Doc. I,12 and I,13), joint family property (Doc. I,25) and the property rights befitting Mrs Salamon Elek alone (Doc. I,12, I,16, I,17, I,22 I,23 and I,24) all occur or are implied. However, the expression in Doc. I,12: theasuri in fundo communi praedictae possessionis inventi clearly refers to communal, probably village, property.

It will later be shown that the locality which even today can be identified to within a few meters satisfies the criteria of both communal and private property. A dirt track runs at the edge of the flood-plain, directly beneath the high levee (Pl. 32; the harvesting women probably took this course on their way home). It could well be that Mrs Salamon Elek considered the find spot to have been the river bank, whereas in the official proceedings it was defined as the spot where the finds actually came to light; in other words, the dirt track itself. In any case, this problem which cannot now be solved is unimportant from an archaeological viewpoint since it involves the legal, and not the geographical definition of the find spot.

The finders

The surviving documents reveal the names of those who collected the treasure together and from whom Mrs Salamon Elek, Capt. Dévay and Menyhért Elek received, took or purchased the gold objects. Mrs Elek mentions only two persons in her first report (Sándor Gyarmaty, the finder of the Vienna hoard, and a gipsy of unkown name, perhaps György Burai, who found the objects which later came into the possession of Elek Menyhért: Doc. I,1). However, as soon as it became known that the finders would receive a share of the reward for any gold object handed over to the royal prosecutor, their number increased. The finders of the Elek treasure could now also be identified (Doc. I,30): three of these, Mihály Tóth, István Fazekas and Mária Sipos, are also listed among the finders of the Vienna treasure. The first documents (Doc. I,3 and I,5) describe them as inhabitants of the village (per colonos, incolas),

and only on September 4, 1839, was a decree passed to establish the exact identity of all the persons (Doc. I,7). In spite of various interrogations (as implied, for example, by Doc. I,56), the list of finders only became complete in 1843 (Doc. I,32, I,35 and I,36). The ten persons who were among the finders of one or the other, or perhaps even both parts of the treasure, are known from two documents dated to 1860 (Doc. I,56 and I,58; see also the chart). The available documents do not list the gleaner-women. However, if they happen to be included among these names, they can perhaps be identified with Mária Sipos, Juliánna N. Bán, Mária Törös and/or Sándor Gyarmaty's servant-girl, whose name is not known. On the other hand, the harvesting women cannot in fact be considered as the collectors of the treasure since they only brought news of the fabulous gold objects to the village. The documents also note that the first gold objects were found by Mihály Tóth and István Fazekas (Doc. I,35). According to one variant, the finder was Mihály Tóth, and István Fazekas only related the event (Doc. I,18). It is at the same time also clear that it was Sándor Gyarmaty who incited the treasure hunt without which the greater part of the hoard would hardly have been discovered: Alexander Gyarn. ty ... meritum incitationis ad fodicationem continuendam habeat, sine qua thesaurus fors nec inventus fuisset (Doc. I.35). This would imply that most finds from the hoard had been found not as they lay after having fallen down from the high bank, but in the course of the treasure hunt (fodicatio). It also follows from this that the recollections of the find circumstances recorded by Tariczky should be accorded more credit than in the case of objects collected after they had fallen from the bank.

All of this supports Tariczky's previously quoted remark that the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' was found during the treasure hunt following the discovery (Doc. LXIX). It is therefore not surprising that, from an archaeological point of view, it is the find circumstances of this skeleton which can be most precisely reconstructed from Tariczky's notes. It must again be emphasized that the scanty archaeological information in the legal documents harmonizes with the various details recorded by Tariczky.

According to the documents, Salamon Sáli, a Jew [merchant (?)], and Ferenc Fekete did not join the treasure hunt. They acquired gold objects from Sándor Gyarmaty (Doc. I,35). Salamon Sáli can perhaps be identified with the Jew from Tiszaigar mentioned by Mrs Elek (Doc. I,1). However, this identification is contradicted by the fact that Sándor Gyarmaty only took part in the finding of the Vienna treasure, whereas the Jew from Tiszaigar acquired the Elek treasure from the gipsy of unknown name. It must also be noted that in 1860 the age of Ferenc Fekete and Salamon Sáli were not recorded, which can perhaps be taken to imply that they were not inhabitans of Tiszaszőlős (Doc. I,56).

List of the finders of the Tiszaszőlős hoard

Name	Date of birth	Age in 1839	Age in 1860	Participated in the finding of		
				the Vienna	the Elek	
	- The state of the			trea	sure	
György Burai	1798	41	62	-	+	
József Varga	1811	28	49	-	+	
Mihály Tóth	1788	51	†	+	+	
István Fazekas	1811	28	†	+	+	
Mária Sipos	1816	23	44	+	+	
Julianna N. Bán	1821	18	39	and he + d and h	District Agriculture	
Sándor Gyarmaty	1814	25	46	+	100 VA = 110	
Mária Törös	1822	17	†	+		
Bálint Bokor	1820	19	40	+	-	
Sándor Gyarmaty's	meson of mos	most sum ton	DAME TO WOOD	The second second		
servant girl	?	?	?	+ = =	on the Later Land	
Ferenc Fekete	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	?	alive	polichent was	READ WORLD	
Salamon Sáli	?	3	+		-	

The dispersal of the hoard

From Tariczky's remark that practically all able-bodied inhabitants of the village participated in the treasure hunt (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872) and the report of the Royal Salt Office about the uncontrollable rumours (Doc. I,2: publicus rumor), it would appear that considerably more persons participated in the gold hunt than the ten persons mentioned in the documents. Apparently, the official investigation only involved those persons whose gold objects later reached the two collections (the Vienna treasure and the Elek treasure) about which the officials had been informed. There is no proof whatsoever that the royal prosecutor had obtained all objects in the possession of Mrs Salamon Elek or that he was aware of the exact number of artefacts seized by Menyhért Elek. Regarding the latter, it was obviously only possible to demand the objects which he had forcefully wrested from Capt. Dévay and/or Ferenc Nagy, the royal prosecutor. We would not be mistaken, however, in assuming that the assemblage brought back from Tiszaigar by Capt. Dévay was not the only one acquired by Menyhért Elek since this would imply that Menyhért Elek did not participate in the treasure hunt and in the collection or purchase of the objects from the finders. There is evidence that exactly the opposite had happened. In 1848 he stated that he had bought the objects in his possession (meaning of course the pieces claimed by the Treasury) from the finders on several occasions (Doc. I,41) which is clearly contradicted by a well-documented fact which we have no reason to doubt, namely that he had not purchased, but forcefully wrested from Capt. Dévay and Ferenc Nagy the objects demanded from him. Even if he had perhaps later compensated his brother-in-law, Capt. Dévay, it is fairly clear that his claim that he had purchased certain objects from various persons on several occasions cannot be related to the Elek treasure taken away from Capt. Dévay and Ferenc Nagy. We know that in 1855 he donated 65 beads from the 1839 collection to the Hungarian National Museum (see note 90) and that his widow donated 67 beads to the Tiszafüred museum (see note 94). Someone taking such infinite care in collecting 132 such small objects would undoubtedly have been even more circumspect in the collection of gold objects. Tariczky clearly states that the local landowners, including Menyhért Elek, paid 10 Forints (i.e. 20 crowns) for the various gold objects (Doc. LXV and LXIX). Moreover, various details in the legal documents indicate that more finds had come to light than the two parts of the treasure which had been accurately weighed. Mrs Salamon Elek herself said that she could only hand over to the royal prosecutor those gold objects which she could retrieve "from alien hands given to predation" (Doc. I,4). She would obviously not have called Menyhert Elek or Capt. Dévay strangers. This would imply that beside the gold objects weighing 24 lats retrieved from the Greek of Madaras, she also acquired gold objects which had not reached Ferenc Nagy from other persons. We also know that Bálint Bokor had given three of the four gold artefacts he had found to Mrs Elek, keeping only the fourth piece for himself (Doc. I,32). Tariczky apparently knew more: he relates how, immediately after the discovery, the treasure began to be mysteriously sold. Most pieces were bought by the local landowners, Menyhért Elek, Mrs Salamon Elek, István Dévay and the local innkeeper (the latter being unmentioned in any of the legal documents). Even the police officer of Tiszafüred received something, and also the Tiszafüred jeweller for making a wedding ring. Various unnamed merchants and other poor men also benefitted from the treasure (Doc. LV, LXV and LXVII). It is not known whether the members of the village's largest landowning family, the Elek clan, participated personally in the treasure hunt. In any case, the majority of the finds soon passed into their hands and only a small part of the treasure reached the Royal Treasury in Pest and, finally, the Imperial Treasury in Vienna, since Tariczky clearly states that Ferenc Nagy "was unable to exact anything from the others." 18

The most important of the 'mysteriously sold' finds is undoubtedly the 'gold armour-plate' which a local villager, most probably its unknown finder (or the person to whom this find was allotted after the treasure hunt, involving practically all the villagers, was over) had sold to a Greek merchant from Gyöngyös (who was never heard of again) for 400 crowns on his journey to Debrecen. 62 The transaction

⁶¹ Doc. LXV.

took place at the Hortobágy coach station. Since the fact that this Greek merchant resided in Gyöngyös is only mentioned in a single document, it cannot be automatically assumed that he was the same man as the Greek merchant of Madaras (Doc. I,1). Neither can it be established whether Tariczky's remark that the various objects from the hoard were sold to different merchants refers to these two Greek merchants alone.

Owing to an intriguing coincidence of the dates, the following event must now be mentioned. The July 13, 1839, issue of *Hazai's Külföldi Tudósítások* published a letter from one of its correspondents in Szeged, ⁶³ who commented on an article which had appeared in the monthly *Jelenkor*: "Szeged, July 8. The July 6 issue of *Jelenkor* reported on a curious event from Szeged, recounting that two card-players had won a considerable amount of gold from a wealthy boyar on their way to the bath. They were not, however, moved to mercy seeing his losses and they killed him, suspecting even greater riches. . . . I would like to state most emphatically that this event did not occur in Szeged, neither in our town, nor in its environs." Could it be that this wealthy boyar was one of the merchants, Greek or non-Greek, who had bought some of the Tiszaszőlős gold finds?

The gold objects exacted from Mrs Elek were promptly taken to Eger by Ferenc Nagy. Even though the official report (Doc. I,7) states that the assemblage weighing $26\frac{3}{8}$ lats contained only two objects, this is almost certainly a slip of the pen, and the Royal Salt Office in Eger received precisely the same objects which were first taken to Pest and then to the Treasury (ad Gremiale Thesauratus Officium) in Vienna, and were finally deposited in the Imperial and Royal Cabinet of Antiquities. 64 One of Tariczky's friends had also seen the hoard, including the iron fragments and the sherds, while it was still in Eger. This unknown friend told Tariczky in his letter of April 30, 1872, that he had been "amazed by the exceptional purity of the gold."65 If we knew the name of Tariczky's friend we would undoubtedly find further useful information concerning the hoard. At any rate, it is clear that by April 30, 1872, Tariczky had started collecting the bits and pieces of information on the Tiszaszőlős hoard in earnest. It is likewise clear that the gold, as well as the iron and pottery fragments were taken to Eger together by Ferenc Nagy. The possibility that these iron and pottery fragments were collected by the royal prosecutor on a later occasion can thus be discarded, in spite of the fact that Tariczky does make a remark to this effect (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872), since the gold objects had arrived in Eger by September 4, 1839 (Doc. I,7). Our sources do in fact record later collections allegedly undertaken by Ferenc Nagy (Doc. XXI, XXXIX, XLIII and XLI, Rómer's list). Moreover, as late as 1872, Tariczky was told that iron fragments too had been taken to Eger, together with the gold from Mrs Salamon Elek. It is by now extremely difficult to determine when and where these iron fragments were discarded: already in Pest, or only later, in Vienna. Nonetheless, Tariczky does make a rather cryptic remark that in 1842, three years after the discovery of the hoard, the royal prosecutor, Ferenc Nagy, took away with him not only pieces of corroded iron, but also some gold objects he had collected on the find spot (Doc. XXXIX, October 30, 1879). Similarly, he knew exactly that one of the objects surrendered by Mrs Elek, the Vienna pendant, had been exhibited in Budapest in the 1884 exhibition (Doc. L and LV).

It has been mentioned in the foregoing that the Imperial Treasury in Vienna had payed a sum of 480 Forints for the gold objects taken there. These had a total weight of 456.910 gr (Doc. III). The value of these objects in gold was 131 $\frac{4}{16}$ gold ducats (Doc. II and III). This value was subsequently misinterpreted by the Hungarian sources, and the weight of objects taken to Vienna was specified as 131 $\frac{4}{16}$ lats, a value exceeding by far the original (Doc. XVI). Moreover, Flóris Rómer's description of the composition of the hoard is also inaccurate. For example, he writes of perforated plates and of various kinds of ornaments which can only be taken at face value if we assume that he complemented his knowledge of the objects in Vienna from other sources (e.g. Doc. XI).

⁶³ On page 27 of no. 4 of the 1839 volume.

⁶⁴ The finds are presently housed in the Naturhistorisches Museum, although according to Milojčić (1953) 7-8,

at that time the finds had been in the Antiken-Kabinette.

65 Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872.

The composition of the hoard

There is scarcely any useful information about the composition of the hoard and its artefact types. It had already been suggested in one of the early documents (I,7) that it would be desirable to establish precisely the composition of this lavish treasure of which, according to the mistaken statement, only two objects had been handed over to the Royal Salt Office in Eger. Mrs Elek mentions gold wires (aureas fibrillas) and gold weapons or harness ornaments (armigerorum ornamenta) in her letter (Doc. I,9). In fact, only in the case of four out of the ten people whom the documents list as having found the treasure can it be precisely established what they found (or rather, what they claimed to have found) and by whom their finds were later acquired. The chart on p. 23 suggests that of these four, only Bálint Bokor's statements can be taken seriously since he consistently maintained that he had delivered three gold artefacts to Mrs Salamon Elek. There is a small divergence in the description of his finds since the adjective cochleata refers to two objects in one of the documents only. It is no easy task to define the meaning of the word as used in the 19th century: shell-like, snail-like spiral, in which latter case these can perhaps be identified with the two arm spirals in Vienna (Pl. 8. 2-4). However, these were never possessed by Sándor Gyarmati from whom Mrs Elek finally acquired the objects sold to the Greek of Kunmadaras, and which were subsequently taken to Vienna. An even greater difficulty is posed by Mária Sipos' testimony. Neither the number, nor the type of objects discovered and surrendered by her corresponds in the two relevant documents: one of these lists one perforated gold object (unum foraminosum aureum), the other mentions two hooked or button-terminalled objects (duo frusta aurea uncinata). What we do know is that both were finally acquired by Capt. Dévay. Assuming that the perforated gold artefact is identical with the large pendant (Pl. 8. 1), a passage in Doc. I,32 seems to suggest that the large pendant found by Mária Sipos is identical with the Vienna pendant. According to this passage the foraminosus aureus originally handed over to Capt. Dévay was part of the treasure and was thus confiscated by Ferenc Nagy (Doc. I,32/2°). However, this is in sharp contrast with the royal prosecutor's official reports and Tariczky's information, according to which the objects taken to Vienna were acquired exclusively from Mrs Salamon Elek. As for the hooked or button-terminalled objects found by Mária Sipos, it is by now impossible to define their exact type.

The testimonies of Mihály Tóth and István Fazekas likewise differ on two significant points. According to one document they gave one gold item (unum frustillum aureum) to Mrs Elek, whereas according to another, they sold the same item or another one to Capt. Dévay. But the description of this latter one corresponds to Mária Sipos' hooked or button-terminalled object (unum frustum aureum uncinatum). The exact type cannot be defined and it is most unlikely that it had been taken to Vienna.

There is no information whatsoever on four beads of unknown type and the two tubular beads (Pl. 8. 5–10) or on the two small fragments of a plate and a wire that Milojčić failed to publish ⁶⁶ (Pl. 8. 11–12). The perforated or pierced gold object found by Mária Sipos can perhaps be identified with these tubular beads which had been intact at the time of their discovery. Tariczky later mentions "several hollow gold screws" which can undoubtedly be identified with the "une vis en or" in Rómer's list ⁶⁹ the only hitch being that Tariczky speaks of several such objects, whereas Rómer definitely lists but a single one. I myself would suggest that Mária Sipos' foraminosus aureus was in fact a small tubular bead, even though there exists the possibility of it being identifiable with the large Vienna pendant.

Considering now the range of artefact types it must sadly be acknowledged that, owing to the brevity of the testimonies and the lack of more informative descriptions, the surviving documents offer little in the way of useful archaeological evidence and thus the objects described in them cannot be identified with the pieces now in Vienna. Moreover, the serious contradictions in the testimonies

⁶⁶ Milojčić (1953) Pl. 1.

⁶⁷ No further information is available about these pieces; however, they are shown in the photograph made by

the Naturhistorisches Museum for this publication (Pl. 8, 11-12).

⁶⁸ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

⁶⁹ Doc. XLI.

suggest that there were infinitely more items in the possession of the finders than in the collection taken to Vienna. Even these must have formed only one part of the numerous gold objects recovered in the course of the treasure hunt following the first discovery. We must therefore conclude that only a small part of the finds brought to light at Aszópart were taken to Vienna.

Another possibility must nonetheless be considered if we assume that the perforated gold object found by Mária Sipos was a large-size gold pendant and that is was forcefully wrested from Capt. Dévay by Menyhért Elek instead of reaching the Imperial Treasury. A careful scrutiny of the available evidence does not contradict this possibility, but appears rather to support it on several points: we know, for example, that the objects surrendered by Mrs Salamon Elek were not acquired from Capt. Dévay, but were brought back from Kunmadaras. Similarly, Ferenc Nagy was unable to obtain a single artefact from anyone with the exception of Mrs Elek. My assumption is that there were originally at least two, but possibly three, large pendants in the hoard. One of these is the specimen now in Vienna (in the following designated as pendant B: Pl. 8. 172). The other pendant could well have been the perforated object found by Mária Sipos and handed over to Capt. Dévay which, alongside other pieces, was taken from him by Menyhért Elek. This shall be termed pendant C. The "gold breast- or armour-plate . . . clandestinely sold to a Greek merchant of Gyöngyös" can be regarded as yet another pendant. Tariczky described this object as a gold armour-plate. To longer be

The artefact types of the Tiszaszőlős hoard as described in the legal documents

The name of the finder and the per- son(s) to whom finds were given	Doc. 1,7	Doc. 1,9	Doc. 1,32	Doc. I,35	Their identification with pieces in Vienna
Sándor Gyarmaty and others	duo frusta auri 26 ³ / ₈ semiun- cias	A Stadensell in American Con-		A chant 2000 only state for	incorrect data, perhaps the two arm spirals (in three parts)
?	e tridest, 2000 a trigen etteratura a veiklidigalde e	aureas fibril- las alias idge- nus armigero- rum ornamenta	out and god		Principal de la
Mihály Tóth and István Fazekas to Mrs Salamon Elek and Capt. Dévay	nion alimatika Romani namaka Romani Romani	SPAN Holosophi Serve arbitrossession Tradition	unum frustil- lum aureum to Mrs Elek	unum frustum aureum uncina- tum to Capt. Dévay	?
Mária Sipos to Capt. Dévay			unum foramino- sum aureum	dua frusta aurea uncinata	perhaps the large pendant
Bálint Bokor to Mrs Salamon Elek and keeping a piece for himself	di lone e l'atoni e di lone e l'Alle coltrano (X) la den ave en la 70 rad con e l'arro ac	Side years of the second of th	quatuor frusta aurea to Mrs Elek (keeping one for himself)	tria frusta aurea, quorum dua cochleata sunt to Mrs Elek	the two arm spirals

⁷⁰ Doc. I, 1.

⁷¹ Doc. LXV.

⁷² Milojěić (1953) Pl. 1. 1.

⁷³ Doc. I, 32 and I, 22.

⁷⁴ Doc. XXI, July 11 and August 8, 1872.

⁷⁵ Doc. LXV, LXVII, LXIX.

established who sold this object in such great secrecy—Menyhért Elek and Capt. Dévay can obviously be excluded from among possible candidates since Tariczky would surely not have called them "one of the peasants". ⁷⁶ The price at which this item was sold (200 Forints, i.e. 400 crowns⁷⁷) would suggest a large-size object and this, in turn, again supports the probability that it was a large perforated pendant. This I shall call pendant A; and what must sadly be noted is that it is now probably permanently lost.

The subsequent fate of the objects belonging to the hoard

A separate chapter should be devoted to Menyhért Elek's role in this respect since it is almost certain that the overwhelming majority of the gold sooner or later found its way into his hands. Surprisingly enough, the extensive documentary evidence does not include a single document written by him, in spite of the fact that we know about their existence. Moreover, the facts necessary for the defense in the legal prosecution against his widow were in 1864 still part of the family archives in Tiszaszőlős. However, around the outbreak of World War I this family archive had either perished or been dispersed when the Szőlős branch of the Elek family died out, first in the male, and then in the female line. All the same, the legal proceedings must have stirred quite a sensation in the village and in the county if as late as 1903 Tariczky was informed that the unsuccessful lawsuit against the widow went on for quite a long time. Knowing that Menyhért Elek had died on August 12, 1861, and his wife on January 19, 1885, the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek and later his widow lasted for about 24 years. It is possible that the documents of this lawsuit, together with those of the proceedings against Menyhért Elek, lie undetected in an archive of the High Court of Justice of county Heves-Szolnok.

No mention has yet been made of the fact that various other members of the populous Elek family could also have laid their hands on gold objects from the hoard. We know that in 1855 seven children and/or relatives of Salamon Elek were still alive: Menyhért, Mihály, Gábor, Pál, János, Antónia (Mrs István Dévay) and Klára (Mrs István Kovács). Two other sources list a certain József Elek, who was either a son of Salamon Elek or a collateral relative; according to his gravestone he had been born in 1800 and had died in 1870. Since Mrs Dévay, i.e. Antónia Elek, undoubtedly knew of the hoard from her husband, it is almost certain that other members of the Elek family also lent a hand in the collection and the safeguarding of the gold. One of the early documents mentions Mihály Elek, even if in a somewhat passive role: he allegedly participated in Menyhért Elek's actions against Ferenc Nagy. István Elek is mentioned as the person who (according to one variant) sold the black chalice. We are hardly mistaken in assuming that the members of the Elek family residing in Tiszaszőlős or who happened to be there at the time of the discovery received a smaller or larger share of the finds. Of these,

⁷⁶ Doc. LXV.

⁷⁷ See notes 74 and 75.

⁷⁸ Doc. I, 25, for example, mentions his declaratio.

⁷⁹ Doc. I, 60, March 29, 1864.

⁸⁰ My field research indicates that the last male of the family, István Elek, Menyhért Elek's grandson, died at the age of 59 in 1912 (according to his gravestone still to be seen in the cemetery). His sister, Róza Elek, died at the age of 72 in 1923.

⁸¹ Doc. LXV

⁸² See note 60.

⁸³ The department of the Országos Levéltár (State Archives) containing the files from 1839 to 1864 only houses the documents written until 1864. When the royal counties were reorganised, the central administration was also decentralised.

⁸⁴ Doc. VI.

⁸⁵ Doc. XIII and XV.

⁸⁶ See note 80.

⁸⁷ Doc. XI.

⁸⁸ Doc. I, 16.

which the donor was Mrs József Elek, née Sára Fekete, the wife of József Elek mentioned in note 86, who died at the age of 71 in 1907. If she was indeed the donor, she must have acquired the vessel from her husband since she had only been 3 years old when the hoard had come to light. It could well be, however, that Sára Fekete was the daughter of the widow of János Fekete who, according to another document, was the donor of the vessel. In this case, the chalice was inherited in the Fekete family and not in the Elek family. For further evidence, see below. István Elek could not have been Menyhért Elek's son since he had only one male heir, Mihály Elek jr., and István Elek was the latter's son (Doc. LVI and note 80).

Menyhért Elek and Capt. Dévay carefully concealed their share throughout the duration of the legal proceedings as shown by the following facts:

(1) According to an entry in the acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum dated to January 10, 1855, Menyhért Elek donated a necklace of 65 paste beads to the museum.90 This necklace is still to be found today (Pl. 7.8). Its find spot was given as Szőlős-Tisza bank. It must here be recalled that all of our sources agree in that the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' lay on the bank of the Tisza. However, the acquisitions register does not specifically state that the beads are from the 1839 find. The reason for this is that the donor perhaps wished this fact to remain unrecorded and unknown since this could have been used as substantial evidence against him by the Treasury claiming the hoard. Tariczky himself mentions that the beads sent to the Hungarian National Museum were from the Aszópart finds. 91 Later on, József Hampel similarly concluded that these beads were found together with the treasure of 1839.92 That this was indeed the case is supported by various sources and the fact that a necklace of matching beads which reached the Tiszafüred museum two and a half decades later was similarly part of the 1839 finds from Aszópart.93 The two necklaces of 30 and 37 beads are listed as having been found there in two surviving entries of the acquisitions register of the Tiszafüred museum.94 Rómer reported several green paste beads found at Tiszaszőlős on the bank of the Tisza which had come into the possession of baroness E. Mednyánszky at an unknown date (but certainly before 1867). Our sources also clarify the path of the beads into the museum. They had been donated by Mrs Menyhért Elek (a widow by then) at the very end of 1878. It is thus quite certain that most of the beads found at Aszópart in 1839 came into the possession of the Elek family, or to be more precise, of Menyhért Elek and his wife who, after a period of 16 and 40 years, donated these beads to two different museums. The date of these beads, however, differs from that of the other parts of the hoard (see below).

The reason for the donation in 1878 can be traced to Tariczky's unwaiving quest for information about the finds during which he most probably also questioned Mrs Menyhért Elek, as we shall see later on in the discussion of the skull found in the grave. It is also possible that Mrs Elek had shown him the gold objects in her possession since it would otherwise be unimaginable how Tariczky could have compiled his detailed list of the finds from the recollections of the few persons still alive in 1872 who, in the course of the interrogations at the beginning of the 1840s could describe only a few of the objects, and inadequately at that. It is my firm belief that Tariczky had seen the finds in spite of the fact that nowhere does he explicitly state this. Mrs Elek could easily have cajoled a promise from Tariczky, a Catholic priest, that he would guard this secret until the end of his days. In any case, she probably decided to donate some finds to the Tiszafüred museum, yielding to Tariczky's persuasions. It must also be recalled that some years earlier Mrs Elek had already donated certain objects (though not from the Aszópart finds) to the museum. 95 And perhaps she hoped to ease her conscience over the gold finds still concealed by her through this donation.

We do not know the motives for Menyhért Elek's donation in 1855, neither do we know how he made contact with the Hungarian National Museum. It could well be that he too came under the spell of the 'patriotic fervour' of the 1850s which led to numerous donations to the Hungarian National Museum. 96 Or perhaps he was influenced by the example set by Ferenc Elek (of the Pazony branch of the family) who had been a lieutenant-colonel during the 1848 uprising against the Hapsburg Monarchy. 97

⁹⁰ Doc. V

⁹¹ Doc. XXI, August 8, 1872.

⁹² Doc. LVIII, no. V

⁹³ Doc. XXXIX, February 20, 1879, and Doc. XLII, January 9, 1879, which mention two separate strings of beads; Doc. XLIII, February 20, 1879, mentioning a donation in October, 1878, or afterwards. One passage of Doc. XLIV also describes two strings of beads as a donation, whereas another defines them as purchased items.

⁹⁴ Doc. LX. See also F. Rómer: Magyar régészeti

krónika (Hungarian archaeological chronicle). AK 7 (N. S. 5) (1868) 198, no. 1079.

⁹⁵ Doc. XXXVII, in 1877 and 1880.

⁹⁶ G. Tápay Szabó: A 150 éves múzeum története a kéziratos naplóban (The history of the 150 years old museum in the handwritten acquisitions register). Fol. Arch. 6 (1954) 192.

⁹⁷ G. Bona: Tábornokok és törzstisztek a szabadságharcban, 1848–1849 (Generals and field officers in the war of independence, 1848–1849). Budapest (1983) 141 and Fig. 181. He was born in 1817 in Pazony and died in 1888 in Hajdúdorog.

József Hampel visited the Tiszafüred museum on June 27, 1898. He made several notes during his visit, 98 some of which deal with the 1839 discovery at Tiszaszőlős. He made sketches of five different bead types on the margin of his notebook, but these probably depict the main beads of the necklace in the Hungarian National Museum from the 1855 donation (Pl. 7. 4). Unfortunately, the Tiszaszőlős beads which Hampel could still have seen have since been lost and thus it can no longer be established whether Hampel's sketch does in fact depict these. All the same, the five types correspond exactly to the main forms of the necklace in the Hungarian National Museum.

There is one curious remark in Hampel's notebook on a page describing the finds from Aszópart in the Tiszafüred museum: 14 beads from the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight' are to be found in the collection of the Nagyvárad museum. 99 This could easily be considered a slip of the pen if we did not know that in May, 1878, the Tiszafüred museum or rather, its Archaeological Society sent a small collection of 80 items to an exhibition in Nagyvárad. Some of these objects were later donated to Flóris Rómer by Tariczky. In any case, this is when these beads had probably reached Nagyvárad. 100

(2) There is further conclusive proof that members of the Elek family had taken infinite pains to conceal objects from the 1839 treasure. Point 'r' on the agenda of the January 7, 1862 session of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (established in 1858) was presented by Ferenc Kubinyi, namely that gold jewels had been found at Szőlős. He also showed their drawings. These drawings perhaps depicted the objects taken to Vienna; in this case, this information was based on a report published earlier in Vienna and the drawings or pictures in it. The first printed report on the Tiszaszőlős hoard, preceding by one year the report made to the Archaeological Committee, probably stems from the same source. The same source.

The next substantial piece of evidence comes from an entirely independent source. Flóris Rómer announced at the June 17, 1862, session of the Archaeological Committee that according to Mihály Elek, a resident of Pazony (written as Pason in the original text) in county Szabolcs, gold objects, an alabaster tablet and a ball had been found at Tiszaszőlős, in the part called Oszti (surely a slip of the pen for Aszó), 104 which are now in the possession of Mrs Dévay or her son-in-law, János Hosszúfalusi. It should at this point be recalled that Capt. Dévay himself possessed items from the treasure and that his wife, Antónia Elek, was Menyhért Elek's sister.

Ferenc Kubinyi offerred to conduct the on-the-spot investigation of both reports to the Archaeological Committee. However, there is no trace in the subsequent reports of the Committee (until 1870) that anyone had in fact visited Tiszaszőlős. Thus we are justified in assuming that the report on these finds had never been properly investigated.

As regards Mihály Elek of Nyírpazony, there is evidence that he was a collateral relative of the Elek family of Tiszaszőlős, ¹⁰⁵ even though one scholar of the noble families of county Heves denied the connection. ¹⁰⁶ Hampel's notebooks reveal that another member of the Pazony branch, Pál Elek, was known to have been a collector of antiquities. ¹⁰⁷ Owing to these family connections, Mihály Elek had probably seen the objects held by the Dévay family and this is why his inventory of the finds differs slightly from Tariczky's. The former lacks the detailed description of the gold objects, though this can perhaps be ascribed to the brevity of his report, or to the fact that he was only shown the Dévay 'bequest'. There is also a slight divergence as regards the alabaster tablet and the ball. ¹⁰⁸ The tablet is

⁹⁸ Doc. LIX and Doc. LVIII, parts of his unpublished manuscript based on the former.

⁹⁹ Doc. LVIII, no. I.

¹⁰⁰ Doc. LII

¹⁰¹ Doc. X.

¹⁰² Doc. II, III and IV. We know that the Committee tried to acquire the lithographic printing plates showing the finds of Hungarian provenance kept in Vienna. It could be that these drawings had been made after such plates; however, these do not appear to have been used in Hungary. The drawing of pendant B in one of Hampel's manuscripts (Doc. XLVIII) is probably a pilot print from one of these plates.

¹⁰³ Doc. IX

¹⁰⁴ Doc. XI.

¹⁰⁵ The documents of the inheritance lawsuits following Mrs Menyhért Elek's death are to be found in the State Archives of Eger: VII-la, 231, Tiszaszőlős, sheafs 4/1–2.

¹⁰⁶ E. Orosz: Heves- és a volt Külső-Szolnok egyesült vármegyék nemes családjai (The noble families of the united counties of county Heves and former county Outer-Szolnok). Eger (1906) 73.

¹⁰⁷ Doc. XXII

¹⁰⁸ This piece of evidence also found its way into the Hungarian archaeological chronicle as shown by Doc. XII.

mentioned already in Tariczky's first report, ¹⁰⁹ but somewhat independently of the 1839 treasure: a thick tablet carved from white marble or flintstone found during some sort of digging or treasure hunt, and subsequently lost. He does not mention the ball in this report. There is a distinct possibility that these two stone objects also belong to the 1839 discovery. For example, the ball could have been a marble or limestone macehead of the Copper Age, the alabaster tablet being a shallow stone bowl. However, the tablet cannot be identified with the stone vessel in Rómer's list¹¹⁰ since we know from another source that the latter was carved out of obsidian. ¹¹¹ The gold items still in the possession of the Elek family in 1862 undoubtedly originated from the 1839 discovery. Stone objects, either from this discovery or from other finds, could well have been thrown together with these.

All this goes to prove that both Menyhért Elek and his wife, and Capt. Dévay and his wife, Antónia Elek, retained gold finds from the 1839 discovery which in 1862 were still in their possession.

(3) That the collection of Menyhért Elek who had acquired, kept and concealed the majority of the finds from the 1839 discovery was jealously guarded by his wife after his death in 1861 is clearly indicated by Tariczky's words: "In the seventies I was lucky enough to acquire . . . from Mrs Menyhért Elek, a most noble lady, the happy owner of these treasures . . .". If we take Tariczky's words at their face value—and there is little else we can do—then it appears fairly certain that between 1872 and 1878 Mrs Menyhért Elek still had a considerable part of the 1839 treasure. Consequently, Mrs Elek kept not only the beads and the skull from the burial (see below), but also some gold objects; the latter probably until her death on January 19, 1885. It is indirectly supported by the fact that in the 1870s and the 1880s no gold objects appeared on the Hungarian antiquities market or in the museums (the only exception being the notable finds from Ercsi II4) which could plausibly be identified as an item of the Copper Age gold finds from Tiszaszőlős. It is likewise highly improbable that, had Mrs Elek marketed her numerous finds, they would all have slipped undetected past the by this time extremely well-organised museum network. Even assuming a general negligence, Tariczky would undoubtedly have noted these transactions.

There is some evidence that other families beside the Eleks and Dévays kept some finds from the 1839 discovery. The vessel found in the burial, for example, was until the summer of 1878 (i. e. for four decades) in the possession of Mrs János Fekete. ¹¹⁵ According to another of Tariczky's remarks, the Tiszafüred museum received this vessel from István Elek. ¹¹⁶ Yet a third document (Doc. LX, p. 4, no. 58) names Mrs József Elek as the donor. Since both the relevant published information and the two museum inventories in Doc. LX differ concerning the identity of the donor, only so much can be established with certainty that the 'black chalice' was in the hands of either the Elek family or another landowning family for almost 40 years.

Of the objects listed among the finds of the 1839 discovery it was perhaps this wheel-turned black chalice which caused most of the difficulties in unravelling the fate of the treasure. In the end, surprisingly enough, it was the nature and subsequent history of this vessel which could be estalished most reliably.

Most of the misunderstandings were caused by the fact that both in his earlier and more widely-known writings and also in his later articles, Tariczky describes this vessel as having been found in the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' discovered in 1839,¹¹⁷ but without going into details. It is thus hardly surprising that one who did not place much credit in the possibility that a burial equipped with iron objects alongside which lay a horse burial was associated with the gold treasure would obviously try to date this vessel to the Copper Age. It must at this point be noted that, as a result of Tariczky's archaeological investigations, three Early or Middle Copper Age cemeteries are known from the

¹⁰⁹ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

¹¹⁰ Doc. XLI: "une tasse en silex".

¹¹¹ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

¹¹² Doc. LXVII.

¹¹³ See note 60.

¹¹⁴ See below, pp. 97-98.

¹¹⁵ Doc. XXXVIII and Doc. LX, 1878, no. 13

with the Tiszafüred museum. In 1895, for instance, he donated 20 Forints towards the erection of a memorial column commemorating the Hungarian Conquest in Tiszafüred (see the acts of the donation in the museum).

¹¹⁷ Doc. LV: black polished chalice; Doc. LXV: black clay chalice; Doc. LXVII: beautiful black chalice.

surroundings of Tiszaszőlős, ¹¹⁸ and this only increased the confusion. If we include among these sites the Legelőrét, not marked on Tariczky's map¹¹⁹ (Pl. 4), from where finds had also reached the Tiszafüred museum, ¹²⁰ the number of these Copper Age cemeteries rises to four. Unfortunately, the finds in the Tiszafüred museum could no longer be identified or associated with their respestive find spots after Wold War II. Vessels from one of these Copper Age cemeteries—without indication of their provenance—had been exhibited at the 1876 Congress together with human bones. ¹²¹ According to Pál Patay these vessels could no longer be distinguished from other Copper Age vessels in the Tiszafüred museum, and neither could the vessels from the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' be found. ¹²² Matters were further complicated by the fact that the material housed in the Tiszafüred museum suffered further hardships after World War II. ¹²³

As long as the chalice of the 1839 discovery was thought to be a Copper Age vessel (which was not contradicted either by its shiny black surface or by the chalice as a vessel form), the investigation could not yield conclusive results. Tariczky's recently discovered writings, however, clearly state that this vessel was wheel-turned. Tariczky devoted a lot of attention to this vessel, but only from 1878. He was probably not informed about it in the course of his investigations in Tiszaszőlős and this is why it was not included in Rómer's list. 124 Tariczky first wrote about the vessel on July 11, 1878, when reporting that Mrs János Fekete donated to the Tiszafüred museum "a pretty clay chalice" from the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight'. 125 That the vessel was wheel-turned was implied only indirectly in his discussion of the grouping and dating of other vessels in the Tiszafüred museum. According to his description, the black polished chalice had "a proportionately widening base, its calyx and the slender flower-stalk-like foot linking them are convex." ¹²⁶ In his article published on October 30, 1879, ¹²⁷ he repeated his description and assigned the chalice to the category of wheel-turned vessels, emphasizing that it had been found in the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight'. 128 The vessel appears in the old inventory of the Tiszafüred museum as having been donated by Mrs József Elek. 129 (It is hardly surprising that even the locals occasionally mixed up the Christian names of the numerous Eleks!) In the absence of unambiguous evidence, the possibility of a donation by Mrs János Fekete must also be considered, even though it is infinitely more probable that the chalice had been in the possession of the Elek family.

Even though we now know that this vessel was a wheel-turned and finely polished, shiny black chalice, its identification still presents problems. In spite of the fact that two photographs and an engraving of the vessels in the collection of the Tiszafüred museum in 1900 have survived, ¹³⁰ nothing was known about the vessels shown in them. The problem was finally solved by Hampel's notebooks. In 1898, or slightly later, he made a sketch of the vessel found in the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' which was then still to be found in Tiszafüred. ¹³¹ His detailed description is perhaps even more informative than his sketch: "the vessel is executed in classical taste, the grooved foot rises from the flat, disc-shaped base and narrows towards the pear-shaped body to which it is joined by a ring; the body walls flare gently." With the aid of Hampel's two drawings (Pl. 7. 2–3) and this description the chalice could easily be identified on the archive photos showing the vessels of the Tiszafüred museum¹³²

¹¹⁸ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872; and passages of Doc. XXV, XXIX, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV A, B, D, XXXVI, XXXIX, not published here, etc. This issue shall not be discussed at greater length here.

119 Doc. XXXIV.

 120 According to Patay (1961) 83, they had been in the museum since 1874.

121 Doc. XXXIII

¹²² Patay (1961) 83, I could not establish on which documents Patay based his statement that the assemblage had contained not one, but "several vessels".

123 In the 1950s the museum was used as the office of a station for agricultural machines, with the finds stored in the coal cellar (personal observation in 1956). The material was later transferred to the Damjanich János Museum in

Szolnok. It is thus hardly surprising that some of the finds (re)inventorised in 1954 are missing: e.g. the Migration period vessel inventorised under no. 54.1068 (P. Raczky's personal communication).

124 Doc. XLI.

125 Doc. XXXVIII.

¹²⁶ Doc. XXXIX, February 20, 1879.

127 Doc. XXXIX, September 18, 1879.

¹²⁸ The same information is given in Doc. XLIII, with slightly different data in Doc. LV: that it had been a gift from István Elek.

129 Doc. LX.

 130 Borovszky (1909), the figures on pp. 438 and 447

131 Doc. LVIII and LIX.

132 Doc. LXII.

(Pl. 5. → and Pl. 6. →). Agreeing with Tariczky's report, Hampel also emphasized ¹³³ that it belonged to the 1839 gold finds from Tiszaszőlős. Incidentally, the vessel is no longer to be found among the surviving items of the old collection (Pl. 7. 1).

The human skull from the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight' poses few resolvable problems. We have seen that the early documents make no mention of a burial, the only exception being a letter written by Mrs Salamon Elek, who could have been a star witness in this case. This is undoubtedly the skull of her viri olim praepotentis cadaver (Doc. I,9). The grave is next mentioned in Tariczky's series of articles published between 1872 and 1873, in which he discusses the skeleton of the 'knight'. The grave itself was found without any visible traces of a burial mound. 134 (Like other contemporary researchers, Tariczky showed great interest in burial mounds.) He was by this time convinced that the gold treasure and the burial should be associated with each other. He mentions the horse burial, found alongside the human skeleton, only in the continuation of his series of articles: "The knight of Aszópart was buried with his warhorse." 135 We have seen that an expression in Mrs Salamon Elek's letter can perhaps be interpreted as referring to a weapon-bearing warhorse. And even though Tariczky revealed nothing more about the horse skeleton (or horse bones) in his later writings, he did describe the skeleton of the 'knight' at somewhat greater length, stating that "his skull, and other parts of his skeleton indicated a stature greater than that of the average mortal." We know the implications of a skeleton indicating a robust stature for the layman. Nonetheless, this piece of information remains one of the two available descriptions of the skull. Tariczky managed to acquire the skull at a relatively early date, in June, 1872, since Hampel's remark that some items of the 1839 treasure were in the collection of the archbishop of Eger¹³⁶ can only have referred to the skull. On May 21, 1874, Tariczky writes than "the skull, bearing the mark of his heroic bravery (a surviving sword-blow) first became mine, and then passed into the possession of the Eger museum." The skull was exhibited on the occasion of the 1876 Congress, 138 but not, as Tariczky later stated, without indication of its provenance, 139 since the find spot of the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' was precisely described in Hampel's catalogue.

Tariczky finally disclosed in his 1903 manuscript that the skull was a gift from none other than Mrs Menyhért Elek around 1872, and then goes on to say that "I kept this ancient relic of infinite value by myself, safeguarding it as had the genteel lady donating it, and then deposited it in the archiepiscopal museum of Eger." Following its exhibition at the 1876 Congress, the skull was soon forgotten by everyone, except Hampel. Hen Patay started his search for the skull in the 1950s he found that it had disappeared from the Archiepiscopal Lyceum of Eger during World War II. He only other information concerning the skull is that it perhaps bore a cut mark from a sharp implement which perhaps caused the death of the knight. Only from Tariczky's remark (Doc. LXV) do we know that this cut had healed; consequently it could equally well have been a lighter wound or even a scar following trepanation. However, the skull could have been damaged also during the treasure hunt. It will be later shown that there is evidence that the burial was discovered after the collection of the various objects from the treasure, in the course of digging on the river terrace.

I think that the evidence presented in the foregoing supports the conclusion that the objects of the 1839 discovery that had remained in the village after the treasure hunt, the sales and the confiscations were safeguarded for a long time by the various landowning families, and particularly by the Elek family. This can be proved to have been the case until 1878, and probably even later. There is no factual information concerning their fate after 1878, and neither can the further history of the family be traced after Mrs Menyhért Elek's death in 1885. We only know that István Elek, Mihály Elek's son and a

¹³³ Doc. LIX.

¹³⁴ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

¹³⁵ Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872, no. 4.

¹³⁶ Doc. XXII.

¹³⁷ Doc. XXVII, XXXIX (according to which he made the donation to Eger in 1873), XLIII, LIX. Since in 1873 there was no local or societal museum in Eger, the donation could only have been made to the collection of the

archiepiscopal lycée. Thus, the skull could only have been housed there.

¹³⁸ Doc. XXXIII and XLI

¹³⁹ Doc. LV

 $^{^{140}}$ Doc. LXV; essentially the same information is given in Doc. LXVII.

¹⁴¹ Doc. LVIII, no. III.

¹⁴² Patay (1955) 38, and Patay (1959) 85.

grandson of Menyhért Elek, 143 still lived in Tiszaszőlős in the first decades of the 20th century and that he had built a new "ornate mansion" for himself in 1907. 144 It is my firm belief that the building of this mansion played an important role in the subsequent fate of the treasure.

We have seen that the otherwise loquacious Tariczky was conspicuously silent about the 1839 treasure in his letters and, with a single notable exception, he never even hinted at the fact that he knew that the Eleks still possessed some of the gold objects. This cannot be explained otherwise than by assuming that he had no intention of defying the powerful gentry family. Perhaps this was why he wrote his articles for periodicals published in Karcag and Eger, rather than in the local Tiszafüred weekly. This would also explain why neither Rómer, nor Hampel ever made an attempt to look up the owners of the treasure or to visit the site in the village, or to acquire any of the possibly surviving finds. Beside Ferenc Kubinyi's negligence, this is the other main reason why most pieces of the treasure have been lost to Hungarian archaeology.

After the passing of the great Tiszaszőlős 'gold rush', some of the locals returned occasionally to the Aszópart in the hope of further lucky finds; however, "rummaging in the debris they found nothing but rust-eaten scraps of iron, occasionally a silver coin or a few charred clay pots which had either fallen down of their own accord or had been dislodged, and had then been left to their fate after being broken to pieces." Only a gipsy who found some gold buttons while bathing near the find spot of the discovery had any luck. 146

¹⁴³ Doc. LVI.

¹⁴⁴ Borovszky (1909) 85. Cp. also the details mentioned on p. 661 of this monograph.

¹⁴⁵ Doc. XXI, January 30, 1873.

¹⁴⁶ Doc. XXI, August 22, 1872.

THE FIND SPOT, THE FIND CIRCUMSTANCES, THE FINDS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

We can now begin a more detailed discussion of the find spot and the find circumstances of the 1839 discovery, and attempt a survey of the available evidence in order to establish possible links between the gold treasure, the skeleton of the 'knight' and the horse burial, and other finds. In this chapter I shall also try to clarify the nature of the objects known to us only from their description and their chronology.

The find spot

The location of the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight' is marked with the letter E on the map drawn by Tariczky for the 1876 Congress (Pl. 4). 147 Other sources clearly imply that the find spot lay on Mrs Salamon Elek's allodial land in Nagyaszó. Even though there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Tariczky's map, I checked his data in the cadastral registers and maps in the State Archives of Eger. I found that in 1858–1859 Salamon Elek, or to be more precise, his widow possessed only a single holding in Nagyaszó, registered as lot 1727, covering an area of 5800 sq fathoms. 148 The map to the cadastral register 149 (Pl. 2.1) shows that this holding lay in exactly the same area as the find spot marked on Tariczky's map. Even though this registration is not from the year 1839, the fact that its owner is marked as Salamon Elek and not his widow definitely imply that the map reflects not the 1858, but earlier conditions (before 1848). This combined evidence offer secure grounds for the localisation of the find spot.

There exist also other clues for a more accurate pinpointing of the site. One of these is that the discovery was made near a backwater of the Tisza, in an area which featured a high bank washed by the floods of the Tisza which had thus collapsed. This ancient river bed can in all probability be identified with a west–northwest to east–southeast oriented meander marked as Lake Tajbók on most maps. Nagyaszópart was its gently rising southwestern bank between the old meander and the floodplain. It would appear that the extension of this cutoff which had evolved into a lake changed from year to year according to the Tisza floods and/or the rainfall. Thus we know its exact northwestern extension in 1865 (Pl. 3. 2) and 1866 (Pl. 3. 1), 150 and also in 1858 (Pl. 2). 151 Frigyes Pesty's description from 1864–1865 reveals that the word tajbók designated an alkaline, stagnant lake. In no way can it have been freshwater which the Tisza penetrated regularly. 152 The northwestern end of the Tajbók converges into the wide floodplain lying south of the village (to the west of Nagyaszópart), and this channel was probably only cut off by the railway built in 1896. The length of this section was about 80 fathoms, i.e. about 151–152 m. 153 Consequently, the find spot must be sought somewhere around the northwestern end of the Tajbók (point E is marked in this area on Tariczky's map), but slightly to its

¹⁴⁷ Doc. XXXIV

¹⁴⁸ Doc. VIII.

¹⁴⁹ Doc. VII, 1858. The map used by Tariczky was not identical with this cadastral map; I was unable to find the original in the Archives.

¹⁵⁰ Doc. VII, 1865, 1866.

¹⁵¹ See note 149.

¹⁵² Doc. XIV. Tariczky's statement that Nagyaszó, lying on the banks of the Tajbók, was regularly washed away by the Tisza prior to its regulation must, accordingly, be doubted (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872).

 $^{^{153}}$ This is obviously the Vienna $\ddot{o}l,$ which was approximately 1.896484 m. See also Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

west, on the eastern edge on the floodplain. Its exact location can be defined more precisely on the basis of Tariczky's information.

Tariczky clearly states (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872) that Nagyaszópart lies close to Tiszaszólős in the direction of Tiszaszentimre, and that its high banks, having a length of about 2000 steps, face the southwest, the floodplain, which had always been washed by the Tisza, but which was no longer affected by the flood since the regulation of the river. This section of the bank can be confidently identified with the balk stretching between the Tajbók and the wide floodplain, still called Nagyaszópart today. The western–southwestern edge of Nagyaszópart faces the floodplain and has a 2–3 m high bank which in places shows traces of older and more recent collapses. A dirt track leads into Tiszaszólős along the edge of the floodplain at the foot of the bank which, according to the elderly inhabitants of the village, had "always been there" (and which had probably connected the former Elek farm with the village). This was probably the path taken by the gleaner-women on their way back to the village. As can be seen, all the details harmonize with Tariczky's desciptions and data, the only slight divergence being that he localised Nagyaszópart between the village and the find spot marked as point E (Pl. 4). ¹⁵⁴

Moreover, the exact localisation of the find spot is aided not only by the practically unchanged morphology of the area, but also by the archaeological information recorded by Tariczky, who in the spring or early summer of 1872 surveyed the alleged find spot under the guidance of a villager, perhaps one of the finders. He found that with the exception of the middle section, the entire surface of the bank was strewed with finds, or to use his word, 'debris', which he thought to be the remains of an 'ancient pagan cemetery'. "The gold-armoured knight had lain at the very beginning of the cemetery, without any indication of his burial mound." Assuming that Tariczky started out on his fieldwalk from Tiszaszőlős, there can be no doubt as to what he meant when he stated that the burial lay at the beginning of the cemetery (i.e. the surface finds): that it had been found on the northern tip of the bank, near the village, where surface finds first occurred. The find spot of the treasure can thus most probably be localised to the point indicated by the arrow on the map shown in Pl. 2. 2. 156

In order to check this assumption and to pinpoint exactly the find spot I surveyed the area several times in 1982, and conducted a small-scale trial excavation in November 1983. The observations made on these occasions supported Tariczky's data and the above assumption on every point.

A ca. 60–80 m long railway section leads across the western edge of the northern tip of Nagyaszópart, along the line of the former landslip, i.e. in the critical area. Further to the north, the basin of the Tajbók (still cultivated in several places) is separated from the western floodplain by this railway section and its high embankment. South of this 60–80 m long section, the railway line turns towards the inner part of Nagyaszópart, and towards the eastern edge. An east–west oriented deep canal cuts through the narrow northern end of Nagyaszópart, where the Tajbók formerly approached the western edge of the floodplain. This canal was built in the 1960s. Numerous characteristic sherds of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture were found in the course of the 1982 and 1983 surveys on the southwestern bank of the Tajbók, northeast of this canal (Pl. 30. 1–17). However, Bodrogkeresztúr pottery occurred but sporadically in the two trial trenches opened in 1983. It would appear that these finds were brought to the surface when the canal had been dug and that the settlement feature to which they had originally belonged probably lies in line with the canal or to its northeast, towards the eastern edge of the floodplain. This presumed settlement feature cannot lie more than 30–40 m from the find spot of the 1839 discovery and thus its chronological importance is undeniable, even in its present, destroyed state. Bodrogkeresztúr sherds were no longer to be found south of the canal, in the area east of the

¹⁵⁴ Doc. XXXIV

does not disclose the name of his guide. The expression 'pagan cemetery' is well known from the 19th century archaeological literature of Hungary: it was used to denote sites with a large number of vessel fragments on the surface.

However, these could equally well have been settlements or, more probably, urn cemeteries. That this prehistoric site extended for over 4000 m on the Nagyaszópart is a misunderstanding in Rómer's list (Doc. XLI).

¹⁵⁶ Doc. VII.

railway line, except in the immediate vicinity of the canal. Further to the south I found a few Celtic sherds and pottery fragments from the Migration period (Sarmatian age).

The entire Nagyaszópart, especially the area west of the railway line and the sections close to the edge of the floodplain was carefully surveyed again in November 1983. My own observations were exactly matched by Tariczky's made in 1872: a dense surface scatter of sherds in the northern third of the Aszópart, extremely sporadic finds in the central part, whilst the western edge of the southern end was again rich in finds. Four trial trenches were opened on the basis of these observations. The northernmost, trench III, slightly to the south of the find spot of the treasure, lay a few metres from the bank. A section of a Sarmatian pit and an oven associated with it were uncovered in this trench. Nothing was found in trench IV lying to its south. Trench V, to the south of the former, was opened in the southern end of the upper part of Aszópart, in a small depression in the middle of the balk. Part of a Late Bronze Age (Gáva culture) house was excavated in the eastern part of this trench. The fill of this semi-subterranean house consisted entirely of ash in some places. Trench VI was opened in the southernmost part of the balk. A considerable amount of earth had been removed here, from the southwestern corner of the widening ridge, with numerous archaeological features damaged in the process. These included Sarmatian and, probably, Celtic features. Part of a Middle Copper Age pit was excavated in trench VI, which yielded pottery of the Hunyadi-halom group of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

It can thus be established that lot 1727 can be located to the northernmost, narrowing part of the present-day Nagyaszópart, to the area between the Tajbók brook and the wide floodplain, and the dirt track leading along its edge (Pl. 2. 1-2). A railway line leads across the northern part of the 150 m long section, exactly along the line of the former landslip. South of this line, along a ca. 70-80 m long section, the railway line turns inwards. The spot of the 1839 discovery is thus to be sought either under the railway embankment or to its southwest, in a 80 m long section. Consequently, the identification of the find spot through excavation is not entirely hopeless. However, the 150 m long section of the bank would have to be excavated in a 5 m wide zone. The usefulness of a control excavation is furthermore suggested by the fact that many elderly villagers of Tiszaszőlős definitely remember that gold finds had come to light when the railway line was built in 1896. The date had not been confused with 1839 since, as I later confirmed in the Archives of the Museum of Transport and Communication in Budapest, this section of the railway had indeed been built in 1896, and the embankment closing the basin of the Tajbók was probably raised from earth removed from the western edge of Nagyaszópart, i.e. from the area where the spot of the 1839 discovery is to be sought. This earth removal also explains why, in the section where the railway line leads along the western edge of the balk, along the line of the landslip, former lot 1727 narrows to such an extent that in places it is only wide enough for the railway embankment. My own observations suggest that further surface surveys and excavations would yield extremely fruitful results in clarifying various problems of the Tiszaszőlős treasure.

The find circumstances

Little is known about the find circumstances. It will be simplest to list the available evidence:

- (1) It seems beyond doubt that a human skeleton had been found which was thought to be that of a male on the basis of its size (which, for the untrained eye is difficult to ascertain even in the case of skeletons uncovered in systematic excavations), its grave goods and other traits (Doc. I,9: viri olim praepotentis cadaver).
- (2) Tariczky's notes definitely state that a horse burial had been unearthed near the 'knight' (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872).
 - (3) Traces of a burial mound (a low kurgan) could no longer be seen on the site in 1872.¹⁵⁷
- (4) A part of the finds, including the human and the horse skeleton, had been found on the bank, following the landslip.¹⁵⁸

157 Doc. XXI, July 11 and August 1, 1872.

- (5) The 'knight's' skeleton showed no traces of burning. 159
- (6) Vessels, thought to have been funerary urns, various sherds and corroded pieces of iron had also been brought to light. ¹⁶⁰ The possible relationship between the chalice, discussed in the above, and these vessels yet remains to be established. The iron fragments had perhaps been the remains of no longer identifiable grave goods. Nonetheless, it is highly improbable that the vessels, the sherds and the iron fragments had all been deposited beside the male burial and the alleged horse burial. It seems more plausible to assume that beside the gold hoard and the two burials (that of the 'knight' and his horse), the finds of yet another period (or periods) had also been discovered in 1839. This possibility is supported by the fact that on his survey, Tariczky collected a rich ceramic material. My own surveys in 1983 suggested that these pottery and sporadic iron finds could, apart from the grave finds, date either to the Late Bronze Age or to the Sarmatian period. However, the wheel-turned chalice cannot be assigned to the Sarmatian period, and it appears most probable that it should be associated with the male or the related horse burial.
- (7) Beside the 'horse' buried at the side of the 'knight' there also came to light "a large number of closed gold rings, about an inch thick and of various sizes, which could also be worn on the arm." These, then, were solid arm-rings, and not finger-rings.
- (8) The 'knight' had a gold-hilted sword with a leaf-shaped blade, three spans long, wrought from a brown metal. Tariczky defined this alternately as being of iron or bronze; ¹⁶³ but more often of iron. It was undoubtedly forged of iron and at the time of its discovery the blade had not been broken off from the hilt and the blade itself was still intact.
 - (9) Two gold spirals, i.e. arm spirals had been found lying beside the skull of the 'knight'. 164
- (10) The beads were also thought to have belonged to the 'knight'. ¹⁶⁵ The number of collected beads (65 in the Hungarian National Museum, 30 and 37 in the Tiszafüred museum, i.e. a total of 132) would imply that the site was thoroughly sifted for them. In view of the high number of matching bead types it is most unlikely that they can be associated with any of the settlement features uncovered in 1983. Insofar as they cannot be considered contemporaneous with the wheel-turned chalice (dating the male and the horse burial), they apparently represent finds from the burial of yet another period (the Sarmatian age) on this site.
- (11) Pieces of iron, thought to have been arrowheads, had also come to light. 166 Nothing more is known about these.
- (12) A large number of harness ornament-like objects had been discovered (ornamenta armigerorum?), 167 perhaps made of gold.
- (13) Later treasure hunters found clay vessels, corroded iron fragments and, occasionally, silver coins. ¹⁶⁸ These were most probably independent of the hoard (and the two burials), but they can perhaps be linked to the settlement features described in point (6) (see also note 160), and the grave(s) mentioned in point (10). This possibility would be supported by the presence of silver coins.
- (14) The arguments presented in point (4) imply that only one part of the assemblage(s) had come to light following the landslip. The last piece of information from Tariczky is that when "the bank was investigated, the skeleton of the gold-armoured knight was found." This would imply that a part of

159 Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., and Doc. XXXIX, February 20, 1879, furthemore Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872. See also point (12) below.

¹⁶¹ Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872, and Doc. XLI. For the horse burial, see Makkay (1982a) 16–17.

¹⁶² Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872.

¹⁶³ Doc. XXI, August 8, 1872, and Doc. XXXIX, October 30, 1879. Here and in Doc. XLIII of July 20, 1879, he regarded the blade as being wrought of iron.

¹⁶⁴ Doc. XXI, August 8, 1872. Tariczky definitely mentions two ten-coiled spirals (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872). Insofar as the two fragmentary spirals in Vienna (Milojčić (1953) 8, Pl. 1. 2–4, here Pl. 8. 2–4) are in fact fragments of the same specimen, Tariczky's information is in harmony with the surviving pieces. Thus, he either knew precisely the dimensions of the specimens taken to Vienna (perhaps from a source unknown to us or from his personal observation; the surviving documents, e.g. Doc. II, III and IV, do not contain such detailed information), or we must accept that the information he had elicited from the villagers is basically precise.

¹⁶⁵ Doc. XXI, August 8, 1872.

¹⁶⁶ Doc. XXI, August 22, 1872.

167 Ibid.

168 Doc. XXI, January 30, 1873.

169 Doc. LXIX.

the gold hoard had nothing to do with the burial and represents an entirely different period. The first distinction therefore is between the Copper Age treasure and the lavish Migration period male grave and horse burial.

- (15) A similar conclusion is suggested by the two inventories of the 1839 finds (Rómer's list in French and Tariczky's original account in Hungarian)¹⁷⁰ since both mention only the gold-hilted iron sword, the two arm spirals, the helmet and the large pendant in connection with the 'knight's' skeleton. A direct link can only be postulated for the sword and the spirals, whereas the pendant and the helmet can only be associated with this burial through their 19th century interpretation. The pendant could easily have been mistaken for an armour-plate (for the sake of simplicity we shall here assume only a single armour-plate, i.e. pendant) since
 - (a) it lay near the chest of the 'knight', or
- (b) because this seemed the most obvious definition of this strange object on the basis of its size and form.

The gold helmet mentioned in Rómer's list ('le casque que le peuple a appelé bonnet d'or')¹⁷¹ was interpreted on the basis of its proximity to the 'knight's' skull. Leaving now the problems posed by the helmet (since these will be discussed later), it should here only be recalled that Tariczky's text differs somewhat from Rómer's. The former speaks of a 'helmet-like gold plate . . . described as a gold cap by one of the finders.''¹⁷² It must then have been some large gold artefact beside the skull which the finders interpreted as a helmet.

Nothing is known of the find circumstances of the other objects of the gold hoard.

Similarly, no information has survived as to the depth, the form and the dimensions of the grave pit(s) of the burial(s) and the horse burial.

We can thus conclude that the finds discovered in 1839 can be divided into three independent units (mixed together by the finders, which is why they appear mixed up in our sources). These are the following:

- (a) An exceptionally lavish gold treasure which, on the basis of surviving pieces, can be assigned to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The possibility that this assemblage can be regarded as the grave goods of a rich Bodrogkeresztúr burial can be definitely rejected. A possible Copper Age grave is likewise contradicted by various other considerations:
 - (i) the presence of two, but possibly three, large gold pendants;
 - (ii) the difficulties in postulating a horse burial for this period;
 - (iii) the occurrence of an iron sword or dagger in a Bodrogkeresztúr context;
 - (iv) the lack of evidence for vessels, a characteristic feature of Bodrogkeresztúr burials.¹⁷³
- (b) A male inhumation burial of unknown date, to which a horse burial had also belonged (either in the same grave pit, or buried separately). The gold-hilted sword and the wheel-turned chalice had undoubtedly been deposited in this burial. Other gold grave goods and various iron objects had accompanied this burial, alongside iron, gold and other artefacts laid beside the horse burial. I will return to the possible artefact types represented by these finds following the analysis of the entire assemblage.
- (c) The 132 beads probably belonged to a third unit, comprising the pottery sherds, the iron fragments, the coins and perhaps the bone buttons¹⁷⁴ found near the grave(s) and the hoard at the time of their discovery and later. The separation of this unit is undoubtedly one of the most difficult tasks.

An extremely curious point must here be mentioned. Already in 1872, in the first part of his series of articles, ¹⁷⁵ Tariczky proposed that the gold objects of the hoard "be dated to the Copper Age". That

¹⁷⁰ Doc. XXI and XLI

¹⁷¹ Doc. XLI.

¹⁷² Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

¹⁷³ Which Tariczky knew quite well from his collections at Tiszaszólós in 1872 and 1873, and would undoubtedly have recognised from the description given by the gold hunters. However, no Copper Age vessel has survived from the site of the 'gold-armoured knight'. For the

collections made by Tariczky and the Copper Age cemeteries around the community, see notes 118–120. These finds had first been defined as a hoard by Bognár-Kutzián (1963) 392. Patay (1961) mentions a richly furnished grave and Patay (1975) 64 regards it as a cemetery (burial).

¹⁷⁴ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872.

¹⁷⁵ Doc. XXI, August 1, 1872.

he finally assigned the entire assemblage (i.e. the hoard, the male and the horse burial) to the Scythian age¹⁷⁶ can no doubt be ascribed to the fact that in the latter half of the 19th century, the Scythians and the Scythian Age were thought to represent the earliest vestiges of Hungarian prehistory by most educated laymen. Tariczky most probably succumbed to this popular belief since these fabulous gold finds could then more readily be linked to the well-known royal Scythian burials (and the iron objects could then also be fitted into context; see Doc. XXI).

Another of Tariczky's remarks must now also be quoted: "When this find came to light in 1839, some of the more learned men . . . thought that the gold-armoured knight buried with his war-horse at Nagyaszópart could have been none other than a Gepidic chieftain or warlord."¹⁷⁷

That a grave containing a gold-hilted sword and, as likely as not, other lavish grave goods should be dug in exactly the same place where a rich Copper Age hoard had been hidden is an almost too fantastic coincidence. That the Copper Age hoard was not discovered during the digging of the grave pit is an even greater coincidence, especially since a part of the hoard (the arm spirals, at least one pendant, and the plate thought to have been a helmet) must have lain quite close to the deceased (or his coffin, if he had one, or to the walls of his grave pit). Moreover, the fact that the gold finds had been discovered after the landslip and that the skeleton of the 'knight' had only been found in the course of subsequent digging in the bank can perhaps be taken to imply that when the 'knight's' grave was dug, a part of the Copper Age hoard came to light. That the hoard had not been dug out there and then can surely be attributed to the wealth and power of the deceased. In this case it is feasible that a part of the gold objects had been replaced in the grave which would account for the find spot and the interpretation of the 'armour-plate', the helmet-like plate and the arm spirals. It must repeatedly be emphasized that this latter assumption is in no way related to N. Fettich's similar conclusions in an apparently related case, namely his attribution of the gold objects of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (including the large Moigrad pendant) to the gold regalia of the Migration period part of the Moigrad treasure. 178

There is an another possible explanation why Copper Age gold could have been found near the body of the 'knight'. The wall of the grave pit had perhaps collapsed some time after the burial and certain artefacts of the Copper Age hoard had fallen onto the skeleton lying on the floor of a deep grave. This possibility is obviously unprovable, but it cannot be entirely discarded.

The typology and chronology of the finds

In this part, all finds mentioned in the various sources will be listed with an attempt to define the types they represent. The two most important sources in this respect are Tariczky's first series of articles from 1872¹⁷⁹ and Rómer's list, ¹⁸⁰ but other descriptions will also be quoted when necessary. Rómer's definition of the various finds in French are quoted in the respective notes. It must be emphasized that the order in which the various finds are listed in Tariczky's articles from 1872¹⁸¹ and in Rómer's list is identical, implying that Rómer's catalogue is a translation of the corresponding parts of Tariczky's

Hortobágy and the environs of Tiszafüred. Even though his book is not above the average scholarly level of that period, it does display a thorough knowledge of the relevant classical sources. On page 53 he mentions a gold treasure containing a gold diadem, and a crown-like head ornament that had been found to the west of Balmazújváros during the digging of a well. Arnold Ipolyi, however, records that the find spot of this particular assemblage is Balmazújváros–Maláton: Magyar Régészeti Krónika (Hungarian archaeological chronicle). AK 2 (1861) 310.

¹⁷⁶ Doc. XXI, August 22, 1872.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. It must also be mentioned that P. Patay was the first to note that apart from the Copper Age finds (belonging to the burial), finds from a later period, notably the Migration period, are also represented. He still speaks of a burial: "... sprechen gegen eine kupferzeitliche Zuweisung des Grabes" (Patay (1959) 88). In 1976, accepting Patay's arguments, I also considered the Tiszaszőlős hoard to have been found in a grave (Makkay (1976) 285). Unfortunately, Tariczky does not name the "more learned men of the region"; in knowledge of their names, their personal documents could perhaps yield further information. It could be that one of them was Imre Révész, who in his book Etel laka (Etel's abode), published in 1859 in Debrecen, also covers the Migration period history of the

¹⁷⁸ Fettich (1943) and (1953) passim.

¹⁷⁹ Doc. XXI.

¹⁸⁰ Doc. XLI.

¹⁸¹ Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872, pp. 219-220, a brief list.

articles. Tariczky's letters¹⁸² reveal that he had sent Rómer the offprints of his articles. However, the translations in Rómer's list could not always convey precisely the descriptions and definitions of the original Hungarian text. I myself will follow Tariczky's catalogue in the presentation of the artefact types, beginning with the pieces now in Vienna. Unless otherwise stated, the material is gold.

- (1) Two plain arm spirals of ten coils each (Pl. 8. 2-4). 183
- (2) A perforated "armour-plate" or sheet, i.e. pendant (Pl. 8. 1).184 This is pendant B.
- (3) Spherical and elongated buttons, probably gold beads. Insofar as they are indeed beads, some can perhaps be identified with one or both of the two bead types taken to Vienna (Pl. 8, 5–10). 185
 - (4) A gold arm-ring. 186
 - (5) A helmet-like gold plate. 187
 - (6) A gold sword hilt, with a straight and leaf-shaped (iron?) blade three spans long. 188
- (7) Various gold clasps including a type described as "the pair of the male", weighing 26 lats. The expression 'male' is intriguing and difficult to interpret. 189
- (8) Six larger and six smaller pairs of clasps of sheet gold cut into the shape of figure-of-eights, of which the lower half, i.e. the ring, was larger than the upper half. One of each pair had a button, the other was perforated for fastening together. 190
- (9) Several hollow screws. 191 These can perhaps be identified with the tubular beads in Vienna and/or the foraminosus aureus.
- (10) Two handles, about an inch thick, 192 likened to chest-handles by the finders. These could perhaps have been fibulae.
- (11) At least 40 rings¹⁹³ of various sizes. According to Tariczky they were an inch thick and could be worn on the arm.
- (12) Button-like gold objects with winding spiral decoration, resembling acorns; the locals called them hollow gold grains. 194 According to Rómer's list their number matched that of the above rings. It

182 A part of Doc. XXXI not published here.

183 "Deux spirales en fil d'or". Milojčić (1953) 9, Pl.
 1. 2-4. Two coils are missing from the broken specimen.
 Tariczky's measurement (1 foot) is incorrect.

¹⁸⁴Milojčić (1953) 7-8, Pl. 1. 1.

¹⁸⁵Milojčić (1953) 8, Pl. 1, 5–7. It should be borne in mind that the tubular beads (Pl. 1, 6–7) could be identical with another type, the 'screw' bored along its central axis (see also note 191).

¹⁸⁶"Un bracelet". This was the only item that the locals still recalled around 1955: Patay (1955) 38.

187"Le casque que le peuple a appelé, bonnet d'or".
188"L'épée à poignée en or et à lame en forme de feuille était en bon état." For its material and length see note 163.

189"Plusieurs boucles en or dont l'une pesait 0.45 décagrammes, ainsi que cela a été constaté à Tisza-Füred." Rómer probably made a mistake in his conversion of the weight into decimal units. If Tariczky's list is free of misprints and one pair indeed weighed 26 lats (as specified in Doc. XXI, no. 4; July 11), their weight was 455 gr since the Vienna lat equals 17.502 gr. If, however, we assume that the unit 26 given by Tariczky was not in lats, but in 'gold' (arany), the customary weight unit for gold (corresponding to the English dram in the Apothecaries' Weight as the eighth part of an ounce, i.e. 3.887 gr, since I ounce equals 31.103 gr), we get a different value in grammes. The gold discs acquired by the Hungarian National Museum in the last century still bear the inscription recording their original weight according to the original gold weight unit (and incorrectly marked with the old sign of the libra = pound, the # sign). On the basis of the weight of these objects 1 arany equals 3.5 gr. Taking this as a starting point, it is possible that the weight of the two arm-rings was 26 × 3.5 gr, i.e. 91 gr. For the conversion, see J. Makkay: Copper Age gold discs from the territory of the later Pannonia province. Com. Arch. Hung. 5 (1985) 7. For the interpretation of the expression 'male', we have to turn to Ferenc Pulszky: "... there have been found double spirals with a bow on their upper part; these are occasionally wrought of gold, and miniature pieces have also come to light. These small jewels bear some resemblance to the simple clasps called 'male' and 'female' (= hook and eye) clasps by our seamstresses. The double spiral is identical with the 'female clasp'." F. Pulszky: A rézkor Magyarországban (The Copper Age in Hungary). Budapest (1883) 35–36 and Magyarország archaeologiája (The archaeology of Hungary). Vol. I. Budapest (1897) 90. The 'male clasp' also has a sharply-bent bow. See also point (7) on p. 48.

190 "Douze paires de boucles en forme de 8, dont six grandes et six petites; la partie épaisse des grandes était ornée d'une petite boule". In other words, Rómer does not mention that these items were of sheet gold; moreover, he translated the 'buttons' in Tariczky's text as gold marbles (boule).

191 "Une vis en or". The translation is again incorrect since the expression 'hollow inside' was omitted, and neither does their number correspond. For the identification of this artefact type, see also note 185.

192 "Deux morceaux de bijoux avec des marques de la grandeur du pouce; des témoins disent que ces marques avaient la forme de la poignée d'une caisse, ce que nous fait croire que c'étaient des fibules". This translation does not correspond to Tariczky's text.

¹⁹³ "A peu près 40 bagues en or et autant d'agrafes". These probably lay beside the horse.

194 "Une quantité de paillettes et des glands en or avec des lignes en spirales". Rómer mentions two different types in his list, even though Tariczky definitely describes only one. This divergence can only be ascribed to the translation. is most unlikely that the expression cochleata in our sources could be associated with these objects.

- (13) Glass buttons, i.e. glass beads. 195
- (14) Bone buttons, i.e. bone beads or clasps, found together with funerary urns. 196
- (15) One gold finger-ring. 197
- (16) A shallow stone vessel, similar in shape to a wooden bowl, which was broken by the overcurious villagers, its fragments being re-used as flintstones. The vessel was black and lustrous as pitch. Tariczky defined it as obsidian. There were traces of burning in its interior.¹⁹⁸
- (17) Iron fragments and pottery sherds found in 1839 when the hoard was discovered, some of which had been taken to Eger already in 1839. Some had subsequently been taken to Buda, where they were lost. Another part reached Ferenc Nagy, the royal prosecutor, in 1842. Tariczky defined some of these iron fragments found in 1839 as arrow-heads.
 - (18) The chalice, which had been deposited in the grave on its own or together with other vessels.
 - (19) Gold buckles or clasps which were undisputably dress ornaments.
 - (20) Gold buttons found by the bathing gipsy.
 - (21) Various other harness ornament-like gold jewels.

The objects listed under (17)–(21) are not mentioned in Rómer's list in spite of the fact that he probably knew about them; for example, Tariczky quotes his opinion that the gold buttons found by the gipsy were probably belt ornaments.

This, then, is the type list of the artefacts of the Copper Age treasure and the later burial, the two basic assemblages found in 1839, and of the grave and settlement finds which cannot be assigned to either assemblage. Originally, both assemblages must have contained considerably more artefact types and individual pieces, but only so much became known to Tariczky. It proved impossible to keep track of the exact number of finds recovered in the general treasure hunt, even more so since the finders concealed them even from each other, and since the treasure hunt itself went on for seven, or perhaps more days. Consequently, the above list is at best a minimum of the recovered finds.

The dating of the gold and other finds from Tiszaszőlős is relatively easy in the case of surviving objects. These had already been dated to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture by Milojčić. ¹⁹⁹ Most Hungarian prehistorians have accepted this dating regarding the pendant, the two bead types (3)²⁰⁰ and the arm spirals (1).²⁰¹

The large pendant (2) (pendant B) comes second in terms of size and weight after the large Moigrad pendant among the Copper Age gold finds. The typological and chronological problems of these pendants (regardless of their size) have, for the greater part, been clarified.²⁰² No substantial new evidence calling for a review of the ideas and chronological framework outlined in my 1976 study has since come to light. On the other hand, more reliable information is now available on the eight pendants from Vel'ke Raškovce.²⁰³ and the final publication of the pendants from Tiszavalk–Kenderföldek,

195 "Perles en verre"

by Tariczky in his text, was in the last century used to "denote all artefact types (sword hilts, sheaths, harness ornaments), but mostly jewellery (buckles, earrings, etc.) that were ornamented with boss-like decoration.": A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára (The historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language). Vol. I. Edited by L. Benkő. Budapest (1961) 322, s. v. Consequently, Tariczky's boglár cannot be identified with any specific artefact type.

¹⁹⁷ Not mentioned in Rómer's list. Cp., however, a later information according to which an antique carneol ring, carved from one piece, had reached the Tiszafüred museum as an incidental find from Tiszaszőlős (Doc. XL). I was unable to find this ring in the museum.

198 "Une tasse en silex". Tariczky, Doc. XXI, July 11, and August 22, 1872. Rómer's translation as silex is incorrect, either because the translator did not know the French word for obsidian, or because Rómer did not believe in the existence of a vessel carved from obsidian in prehistory. See also note 270.

199 Milojčić (1953) 9.

Bognár-Kutzián (1963) 338, 494; Patay (1975) 16.
 Bognár-Kutzián (1972) 138–139; Patay (1975) 17.
 See also note 341.

²⁰² Makkay (1976) 251-260, with further literature.

²⁰³ Makkay (1976) 252, note 6. For the eight pendants found at Vel'ke Raškovce, see Vízdal (1977) 94–96, Pl. XLII and Figs 6. 5, 12. 4, 19. 6, 23. 1–4, 39. 6–7 from graves 1, 4, 11, 17 and 44. A good photo of the large pendant has been published in J. Paulik's Prähistorische Kunst in der Slowakei. Bratislava (1980) Fig. 61. This photo (which is upside down) clearly shows that originally the pendant had four suspension holes which are severely worn. The pendant had, moreover, been torn. To repair the tear and also to

Tiszavalk-Tetes and Magyarhomorog-Kónyadomb has finally appeared.²⁰⁴ It has been possible to locate the publication of the specimen from Deneva mogila in Bulgaria,²⁰⁵ and it has since been ascertained that the pendant allegedly from the Pervomaia district was found not in the Soviet Union, but in Bulgaria, and is identical with a Bulgarian specimen.²⁰⁶

The inventory of these pendants has been augmented by the two gold assemblages said to have been found in the neighbourhood of Trabzon (Asia Minor) and now in a museum collection in the United States.²⁰⁷ The small pendants from these assemblages have close typological ties with the Bulgarian specimens, and also with the pendants of the Carpathian Basin. Insofar as their find spot can be accepted and they were indeed found near Trabzon, they serve as additional proof for the interconnections between Anatolia and the Gumelnita culture during the final phase of that culture, i.e. the period represented by the Varna cemetery.²⁰⁸ Even though we still await the exhaustive publication of this cemetery, the finds recovered from the Varna burials have considerably enlarged our knowledge of these pendants, and of early copper and gold finds in general. These burials also furnished evidence for the way these pendants were worn. 209 J. Weißhaar has published a clay pendant found at Pevkakia magoula from the earliest Rachmani layer of the tell,210 which can be equated with the EH I period, i.e. with the Tiszapolgár culture.211 Further proof for the close connection between the pendants of the Carpathian Basin and the South-East European specimens are the clay imitations of pendants found not only in Thessaly, but also in the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. One of these is to be found in the Nagyvárad museum (Romania); its exact provenance is not known, but it was probably found in county Bihar.212 Another specimen was found during the excavation of the Bodrogkeresztúr settlement at Tiszavalk-Tetes. Its shape, the central perforation, the four upper perforations and the position of the two bosses correspond to those on pendant B. 213 The near-contemporaneous occurrence of clay pendants in Thessaly and the Bodrogkeresztúr culture again supports the comparative chronological framework outlined in my 1976 study. A recent find, probably from Thessaly and made of stone, 214 corroborates my earlier claim that the origins of these particular pendants should be sought in Greece.

In the past few years, other finds of utmost importance have also come to light. Their implications for Aegean and South-East European prehistoric chronology are so far-reaching that they must be included in any discussion of these gold pendants.

(1) A few years ago a small gold hoard containing six more-or-less crumpled pieces had surfaced in a private collection and was subsequently donated to the National Museum of Thessalonica in

make new suspension holes, six perforations were made. The pendant had two small bossess, one of these is damaged. The reparations and the traces of wear would indicate that this pendant had already been in use in the early phase of the Tiszapolgár culture.

²⁰⁴Makkay (1976) 252, note 9; Patay (1978) 26, Fig. 36; Patay (1978a) 36, Fig. 13, 1–2; Patay (1976) 227–228, Pl. XVIII, 1–6.

²⁰⁵ Makkay (1976) 256; B. Nikolov: Sofronievo. Vraca (1971) 8, Fig. 6.

 206 Makkay (1976) 257, incorrectly localised the find spot to the territory of the Soviet Union.

²⁰⁷ Rudolph (1978) nos 12–13 and 21 on pp. 11–12, and

²⁰⁸ For associated historical problems, see Makkay (1982).

²⁰⁹ Ivanov (1975) Pl. XIX. 1, XLV; Ivanov (1978) Figs. 14 and 27; Egami (1982) no. 88 on p. 40, nos 492–493 on p. 114, no. 515 on p. 115.

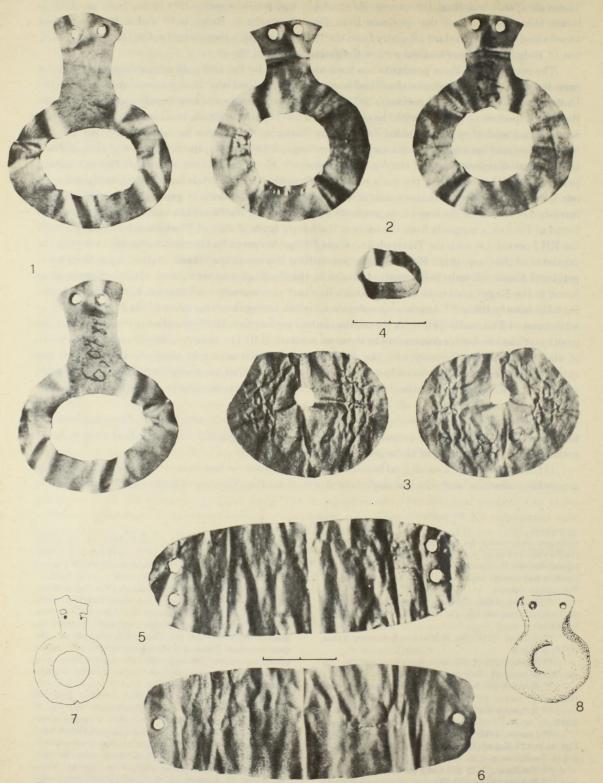
²¹⁰ Weißhaar (1979) 387 and Fig. 2. 6.

²¹¹ Makkay (1976) 270-271.

²¹² D. Ignat Sava: Colecția veche neolitică a muzeului Tării Crișurilor (II) (Die alte neolithische Kollektion von Muzeum Țării Crișurilor II). Crisia 6 (1976) 13, Fig. 1. She cites the analogous finds from the Cucuteni cultue, e.g. from Hăbășești. Her list could be expanded, but this is not our objective. For a discussion of this problem, see J. Makkay: A bodrogkeresztúri kultúra agyag csüngői (The clay pendants of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture). Manuscript. Budapest (1982).

²¹³ Patay (1979) 43–44, for the chronology of these pendants based on their typological variants. He too notes the similarity between the Tiszaszólós pendant and the specimen from Tetes, and the two matching but smaller pendants recovered from grave 9 of the cemetery belonging to the settlement excavated at Tiszavalk–Tetes. For the latter, see Patay (1978a) 36, Fig. 13. 1–2.

²¹⁴ G. X. Hourmouziadis: The Neolithic Mode of Production (in Greek). Antropologika 2 (1981) 41, Fig. 3, upper right. One cannot fail to notice that, if viewed upside down, the main ornamental motif of a painted Dimini bowl recovered during recent campaigns at Dimini corresponds exactly to the gold pendants of South-East Europe. G. Hourmouziadis: Neolithic Dimini (in Greek). Volos (1979) Fig. 34, bottom. Cf. R. C. S. Felsch: Das Kastro Tigani. Samos II. Bonn (1988) 116, note 516.



 $Fig.\ I.\ 1-6.\ The\ gold\ finds\ from\ Aravissos,\ Macedonia,\ Greece\ (courtesy\ of\ D.\ Grammenos);\ 7.\ gold\ pendant\ from\ Sofronievo,\ Bulgaria\ 8.\ clay\ pendant\ from\ Pevkakia\ magoula,\ Thessaly,\ Greece.$

Greece.²¹⁵ Their total weight is ca. 35 gr. They were found in Aravissos, near Yannitsa, in the northwestern part of the Macedonian Plain. The hoard had been found during ploughing in 1955 and it probably comes from an EBA grave. Besides a plain ring (Fig. 1. 4) and two undecorated oval plaques with rounded ends (Fig. 1. 5–6),²¹⁶ the most important objects of this assemblage are undoubtedly the three tabbed pendants with small suspension holes and a large central perforation (Fig. 1. 1–3). The upper part is broken on one, and the cut marks along the irregular line appear to be recent (Fig. 1. 3). The large central perforations of the two intact pendants follow the form of the lower circular or oval rings; the third specimen has a somewhat smaller perforation near the centre. All six objects had apparently been cut from plain sheet gold.

The Aravissos pendants clearly belong to the pendant type distributed throughout the Carpathian Basin, the Eastern Balkans, the Aegean and Western and Northern Anatolia during the Copper, and in the latter territories, in the contemporary Early Bronze Age I–II.²¹⁷ Pendants 1 and 2 come closest to the specimen from Deneva mogila near Sofronievo in Bulgaria (Fig. 1. 7).²¹⁸ According to the kind oral information of Dr. Grammenos, a similar gold pendant was brought to the Volos museum, which had probably come to light nearby.²¹⁹ This is in harmony with the occurrence of a clay imitation of this pendant type in the earliest Rachmani (= EH I) layer of Pevkakia magoula (Fig. 1. 8).²²⁰

(2) During the last seasons of the Ikiztepe–Bafra excavation (near the southern shore of the Black Sea) several essentially similar pendants made of gold, lead and, possibly, stone were recovered from EBA II and III burials. Little has been published about these, but their similarity to the pendants from the Varna cemetery and the Trabzon hoards have been noted.²²¹ The Ikiztepe specimens are cardinal to this issue in view of their secure chronological context and typological similarities to the earliest gold pendants from the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin. One of these (Fig. 2:2) is almost exactly matched by a pendant in the Hungarian National Museum (Fig. 2. 12).²²² This would imply that the gold

of the National Museum in Thessalonica, for his personal communication about these finds and for his generous permission to reproduce the finds in this book. The Aravissos hoard has recently been published in his Doctoral Dissertation, Neolithic studies in Central and Eastern Macedonia (in Greek). Thessalonica (1984) 148–149, Pl. 56. 1–6. See also J. Makkay: Diffusionism, antidiffusionism and chronology: some general remarks. Acta Arch. Hung. 37 (1985) 3–12, and Fig. 1. 1–6.

²¹⁶ The closest parallels to these gold plaques are to be found in the Tiszaszőlős–Moigrad hoard. They probably served as mounts for the wooden handle of two ceremonial sceptres. See J. Makkay: A tiszaszőlősi kincs. Nyomozás egy rézkori fejedelem ügyében (The Tiszaszőlős treasure. In search of a Copper Age prince). Budapest (1985), and J. Makkay: Archaelogical examples of gold-masked statue and mace. Orientalia 56 (1987) 69–73.

 217 For a general survey, see Makkay (1976) and (1978).

²¹⁸ B. Nikolov: Sofronievo. Vraca (1971) 8, Fig. 6.

²¹⁹ D. Grammenos: Neolithic studies in Central and Eastern Macedonia (in Greek). Doctoral Dissertation. Thessalonica (1984) 148.

²²⁰ H.-J. Weißhaar: Ausgrabungen auf der Pevkakia-Magula und der Beginn der Frühen Bronzezeit in Griechenland. *Arch. Korr. Bl.* 9:4 (1979) 387, Fig. 2. 6. Another, but yet unpublished bronze or silver pendant of similar type has been reported from the EBA II cemetery uncovered at Marathon–Tsepi. See the excavation reports by Sp. Marinatos in *AAA* 2 (1970) 154–155 and 349–350.

²²¹ Ö. Bilgi: Metal objects from Ikiztepe-Turkey.
 Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichende Archäologie 6
 (1984) 70, 73-74, and Figs 18. 265 (gold, EBA III) and 18.
 266 (lead, EBA III). M. J. Mellink: Archaeology in Asia

Minor. AJA 88:4 (1984) 445; The Anatolian Civilisations. Exhibition catalogue, vol. I. Prehistoric/Hittite/Early Iron Age. Edited by F. Edgü. Istanbul (1983) 118, no. A. 265; J. Yakar: Regional and Local Schools of Metalwork in Early Bronze Age Anatolia. Anat. Stud. 34 (1984) 65 and the relevant bibliography; O. Höckmann: Frühe Funde aus Anatolien in Museum Altenessen, Essen, und in Privatbesitz. JRGZM 31 (1984) 135, note 235. For a report on the Ikiztepe grave finds, see V. Bahadir Alkım: Einige charakteristische Metallfunde von Ikiztepe. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel. Edited by R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann. Mainz (1983) 29-42. A word of gratitude is here extended to Miss M. J. Mellink, who called my attention to relevant finds and articles. For the Ikiztepe pendants see Ö. Bilgi: Metal objects from Ikiztepe-Turkey. Beiträge zur vergleichende und allgemeine Archäologie 6 (1984) 70-71, Pl. 18. 265-266 (here Fig. 2. 1-2). A specimen similar to one of the Ikiztepe pendants has recently been recovered from one of the Bronze Age levels of Kalinkaya (Fig. 2. 3) lying at a distance of some 3 km from Alaca Höyük. The other finds too show close affinities with the objects of the royal burials at Alaca Hōyük, even if somewhat poorer in quality and execution: J. Yakar: The later prehistory of Anatolia. BAR International Series, vol. 268. Oxford (1985) 202, Fig. XXVIII. 11, and pp. 430 and 432. There is a flat silver (?) pendant from the Corum-Merzifon area in the Ankara Museum (Fig. 2. 4). It has 5 small knobs and the 'eyes' are perforated. It bears a typological resemblance to one of the Ikiztepe specimens (no. 266) (here Fig. 2. 2): kind personal communication from M. J. Mellink. Cp. also H. Hauptmann: Das Festland und die kleineren Inseln. AA (1971) 352, EBA I. It could be that the two latter pendants are in fact one and the same.

²²² Hungarian National Museum, Inv. no. 30, 1878.
See also Patay (1958) 39, Pl. XVI. 10–12.

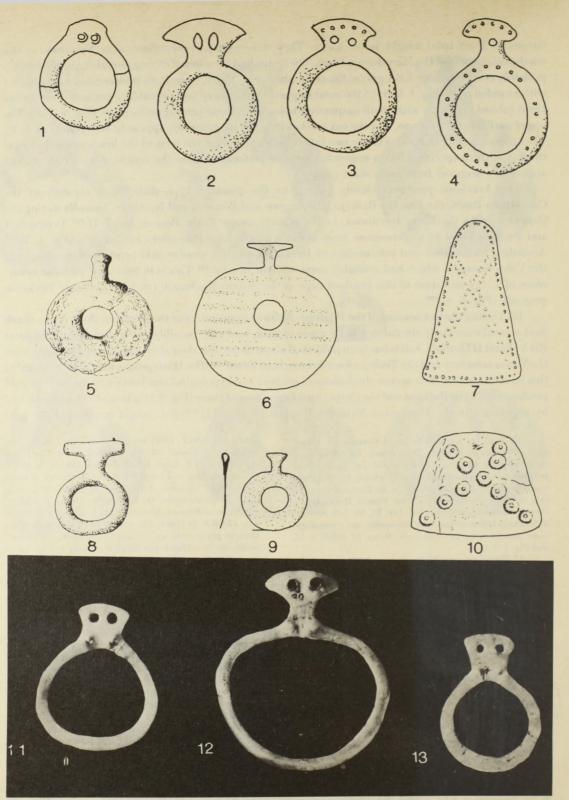


Fig. 2. 1. Gold pendant from Ikiztepe, mound I, building level 3; 2. lead pendant from Ikiztepe, mound I, grave Sk. 192; 3. gold pendant from Kalinkaya, an Early Bronze Age cemetery (East Central Turkey); 4. silver (?) pendant from the Çorum-Merzifon area, Turkey; 5. silver pendant from Poliochni, phase red; 6, 10. stray gold finds from the Sardis area; 7. gold plate from Alaca Höyük, grave M.A.; 8. relief decoration on an Early Bronze Age clay vessel from Anatolia; 9. gold pendant from the Trabzon hoards; 11–13. gold pendants of unknown provenance from the Carpathian Basin (courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum).

pendants of the Carpathian Basin, the Gumelniţa culture (and the Varna cemetery), Thessaly and Macedonia can be assigned to the same chronological horizon, contemporary with the Anatolian EBA II and III period. The wide geographical distribution of this artefact suggests that besides common, 'international' types, there were also local variants made in local workshops. The pendants from Varna and Anatolia, for example, differ slightly from the pieces found in the Carpathian Basin in that the pair of repoussé bosses below the suspension holes are lacking.

- (3) The finds from Trabzon and Ikiztepe offer valuable clues for dating and interpreting three gold objects which had allegedly been found in a grave in the Sardis area before 1899,²²³ and which are now in the Louvre. One of these (Fig. 2. 6) has a good parallel in the Trabzon hoards (Fig. 2. 9),²²⁴ and a trapezoidal plate with rounded corners (Fig. 2. 10) is matched both in its shape and decoration by the essentially similar plaque recovered from grave M. A. of Alaca Höyük (Fig. 2. 7).²²⁵ The Sardis finds can thus be dated to the EBA II or III period.
- (4) A globular jar of unknown Anatolian provenance has recently been published by O. Höckmann. Its shoulder is relief decorated (Fig. 2. 8). Even though this vessel type does not offer a secure chronological context, Höckmann correctly noted its formal similarities with the Yortan vessels.²²⁶ The small relief shows a flat, circular tabbed ring, with the tab widening towards the upper part and a cross-bar on the top. Höckmann has pointed out that this pendant type can be related to the pendants from Sardis (Fig. 2. 6), Ikiztepe (the pendant shown in Fig. 2. 2 and a yet unpublished specimen) and to a silver pendant from Poliochni, phase red (Fig. 2. 5).²²⁷

It would appear that the chronology and distribution of these pendants harmonizes with earlier conclusions. The widespread distribution of these pendant types implies an extensive trading network of goods and ideas that had evolved with maritime trade and specialisation in metallurgy. The high degree of uniformity and similarity between these finds suggests their contemporaneity (within the wider limits of a few decades or a century) and the possibility that they had been manufactured and traded from a few centres in each culture province. None of the pendants from a secure chronological context antedates the ETh II, the EBA II in Anatolia or the Tiszapolgár II phase in the Carpathian Basin. There appears to be a single exception: the Varna cemetery, dated one and a half millennia before this horizon. It is fairly obvious that the chronological framework outlined in the foregoing cannot be reconciled with the calibrated radiocarbon dating of the Varna cemetery.

It finally remains to be pointed out that pendant B from Tiszaszőlős comes closest to the large Moigrad specimen among the presently-known pendants.

In the absence of a detailed description, the gold arm-ring (4) cannot be unambiguously dated. However, metal arm-rings of copper have been reported from both the Tiszapolgár²²⁹ and the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.²³⁰ Consequently, the presence of a gold specimen cannot be exluded in a rich Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr hoard. Various types of gold arm-rings are known from the Varna cemetery.²³¹ Analogous finds can also be quoted from the Southern Pelopponessus: four gold arm-rings with gently flaring terminals found in the Alepotrypa cave.²³² The Tiszaszőlős arm-ring of unknown shape could thus have belonged to either the Copper Age hoard, or the Migration period burial.

²²³ J. C. Waldbaum: Metalwork from Sardis: the finds through 1974. Cambridge Mass.—London (1983) 151–152, Pl. 58, 997–999.

²²⁴ Rudolph (1978) Figs 7. 12 and 8. 12.

²²⁵ H. Z. Koşay: Alaca Höyük Hafriyati 1936 (Excavations at Alaca Höyük, 1936). Ankara (1938) Pls LXXXIII. 53–56 and LXXXVII. 53–56.

²²⁶ O. Höckmann: Frühe Funde aus Anatolien in Museum Altenessen, Essen, und in Privatbesitz. *J RGZ M* 31 (1984) 235. Cf. R. C. S. Felsch: *Das Kastro Tigani*. Samos II. Bonn (1988) 131, Cat. V. 16.

²²⁷ L. Bernabò-Brea: *Poliochni, città preistorica* nell'isola di Lemnos. Vol. I, 1-2. Rome (1964) 376 and 659, Pls CLXX. 3 and CLXXVII. 25 Höckmann quotes a specimen shown in Pl. CLXXVII. 28, which, however, differs both in terms of its size, form and material (bronze).

²²⁸Makkay (1976) passim; J. Makkay: Copper Age gold hoards and their historical setting. Paper read at the 1981 Xanthi Conference; to be published in *Symposia Thracica*, Vol. B; J. Makkay: Diffusionism, antidiffusionism and chronology: some general remarks. *Acta Arch. Hung.* 37 (1985) 3–12.

Bognár-Kutzián (1972) Pls XXXIV. 1, 3–5 and XXXV. 1, 5, see also the Index, s. v. bracelets; Vízdal (1977)
 Figs 6. 3–4, 12. 2–3, 13. 6, 24. 2, 37. 6. and Pl. XLI. 1–5.

²³⁰ Patay (1975) 18, Pls 4. 11 and 5. 18.

²³¹ Ivanov (1978) 57, Figs 5, 7 and 15, 18; Egami (1982) nos 64b, 126–129, 294–295, 352–355, 56–58, ect.

²³² Makkay (1976) 259, with further literature, and Figs 13, 16 and 18–19. Conversely, both assemblages could have included arm-rings, but there is only evidence for one specimen.

What is even more conspicuous about the arm-ring is that both lists only mention one such type of ring. Tariczky's remark that the other gold rings (11) could be worn on the arm seems to imply that these were also arm-rings. Forty or more arm-rings, however, could only have belonged to the Copper Age hoard.

The helmet or helmet-like gold plate (5) is somewhat difficult to interpret. In his 1955 study Patay concluded that the description in Rómer's list could not be identified with any known artefact type.²³³ In 1959 he could only say that "soviel erscheint warscheinlich, daß auf dem Schädel irgendein Schmuck gewesen war."²³⁴ The original Hungarian text of Tariczky's list differs slightly from Rómer's list: Tariczky speaks of a helmet-like gold plate.

Let us first probe the possibility of whether a helmet could have existed in the cultural milieu of the Bodrogkeresztúr period. I devoted a lengthy study to this problem and claimed that helmets had already made their appearance in the period preceding the Bodrogkeresztúr culture in South-East Europe and, probably, in the Carpathian Basin too. 235 Moreover, it proved possible to define several types of helmets. One of these is the boar tusk helmet that could be reconstructed from the finds recovered from one of the early burials of the Mariupol cemetery. The other type was simpler, consisting of antler points or complete boar tusks attached onto a cap. In two cases copper and shell plates were used, which can perhaps be interpreted as helmet plates and imitation horns. The boar tusk shaped narrow copper plate from the Copper Age hoard found at Stollhof (contemporary with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture) could have served as an imitation boar tusk amulet or as an attachment to a leather helmet. 236 These finds appear to support my claim that matching or similar helmets could well have been used in the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. Conversely, helmets covered or ornamented with metal plates could also have been known. As for the occurrence of metal, and especially gold, helmets, the earliest known helmet from the burial of Meskalamdu, a prince of the 1st dynasty of Ur, was made of electrum.²³⁷ (There is scanty evidence that the Dorak burials perhaps contained some sort of helmet, but nothing specific is known yet.²³⁸) I have not the slightest intention of comparing the Tiszaszőlős hoard, no matter how impressive, to the royal burials of Ur; however, the possibility that three or four centuries after the decline of the 1st dynasty of Ur, a simpler gold helmet was worn by the person owning this hoard cannot be entirely rejected. There was sufficient gold flowing around in the Bodrogkeresztúr culture for manufacturing one.

Nonetheless, it is Tariczky's remark that the finders spoke of a helmet-like gold plate that must be taken as a starting point in the definition of this object. Since it has been assumed that the gold plate which had lain near or perhaps on the skull cannot be associated with the burial and thus belongs to the Copper Age hoard, all artefact types which bear but the slightest resemblance to a hemispherical helmet or wide diadem can be plausibly considered. It could also have been a vessel of some sort or a wide diadem; moreover, the presence of both these artefact types sounds realistic in a Copper Age gold hoard from the Carpathian Basin. Gold and silver vessels are known from the period corresponding to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, the EBA II period of the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia. Suffice it here to mention only the specimens found at Alaca Höyük, Troy and Maikop²³⁹ in hoards or royal

²³³ Patay (1955) 39.

²³⁴ Patay (1959) 87.

²³⁵ Makkay (1982a).

²³⁶ W. Angeli: Der Depotfund von Stollhof. Ann. Naturhist. Mus. Wien 70 (1967) 491, Pl.2.

²³⁷ L.C. Woolley: Ur Exavations, II. The Royal Cemetery. Oxford (1934) 156, 292, 296, frontispiece and also Pl. 150. For the history of the helmet, see Makkay (1982a) notes 67–68.

²³⁸ S. Lloyd: Early highland peoples of Anatolia. London (1967) 33.

²³⁹ Makkay (1976) 289, note 255 with further literature. Cf. E. N. Davis: The Vapheio cups and Aegean gold

and silver ware. New York-London (1977) 59-68; S. S. Weinberg: A gold sauceboat in the Israel Museum. Antike Kunst 12:1 (1969) 3-8; Schmidt (1902) nos 5863-5865; P. S. de Jesus: The development of prehistoric mining and metallurgy in Anatolia. Part II. BAR International Series, Vol. 74. Oxford (1980) 316, nos 352 and 358; B. Tezcan: New finds from Horoztepe. Anadolu 5 (1960) 30, Pl. XV; O.W. Muscarella: Anatolia. Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 26:5 (1968) 195, Fig. 2. For a comprehensive evaluation of the gold vessels, see E. Akurgal-M. Hirmer: Die Kunst der Hethiter. München (1961) Pls V and VI. 15-17. For the two gold and 15 silver vessels of the Maikop kurgan, see J.-P. Mohen: Age du Bronze. Avant les Scythes. Préhistoire de l'art

burials. While not dismissing the possible presence of a metal vessel, I myself would rather suggest a diadem or diadems. Even though diadems or similar headbands have not yet been found in Bodrogkeresztúr contexts, a copper diadem has been reported from the Lasinja culture of the Western Balkans. The Osijek-Čepin hoard from Yugoslavia which can probably also be dated to the Lasinja period contained a gold diadem. These simple diadem bands have excellent parallels in the Aegean and Anatolian Early Bronze Age. 142

However, another diadem type, the T-shaped variant of the simple band, can similarly be considered. The specimens unearthed in the Varna cemetery illustrate the way they were worn since they were applied onto the forehead or face of the clay masks.²⁴³ Similar pieces are known from Troy,²⁴⁴ and Mochlos²⁴⁵ and Koumasa²⁴⁶ in Crete; all were recovered from EBA contexts. In the Bodrogkeresztúr culture anthropomorphic specimens, often described as bird-shaped, are found. Four of these come from the Moigrad hoard (Pls 10 and 11),247 one from an unknown site in the Carpathian Basin (Pl. 13, 1-2),248 and another piece was allegedly discovered in Ercsi (Pl. 12, 1-2),249 The shape of the Mochlos diadem with its horizontal arms terminating in spiral-like leafs and the small boss surrounded by a circle of repoussé dots in its centre practically matches two of the T-shaped bands from Moigrad (Pl. 10. 1 and Pl. 11. 2) and the Ercsi specimen (Pl. 12. 1-2). A good parallel to the volute-like spiral decoration is known from Ikiztepe I: an anthropomorphic plate (Fig. 3) which has been assigned to phase 3 of the Early Bronze Age and which is thus roughly contemporaneous with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. 250 The dating of the finds from Moigrad and other sites to the Copper Age and thus, indirectly, to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture is further supported by two double-spiral headed pins found in a Late Gumelnita copper hoard from one of the islets in Lake Boian (Romania).²⁵¹ Judging by the position of the perforations, the function of the anthropomorphic diadem-like pendants from Moigrad probably varied from that of the Varna specimens; nonetheless, their formal affinities cannot be denied. The dating of the T-shaped pendants from Moigrad to the Copper Age is irrefutably proved by a matching pendant carved from schist found in Hlinsko (Moravia) in a pre-Boleráz context, i.e. contemporary with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (Fig. 4). 251a It would appear that the manufacture of

en U.R.S.S. Edited by Réunion des Musées Nationaux. Paris (1979) 119.

²⁴⁰ J. Brunšmid: Nahodija bakranoga doba iz Hrvatske i Slavonije i sisjednik zemalja (Kupferzeitliche Funde aus Kroatien und Slawonien). Vjesnik Hrvatskogo Arheološkoga Drustva N. S. 6 (1902) 60–61, Fig. 19. Cp. Makkay (1982) note 31, with further literature.

²⁴¹ Makkay (1982), note 31, with further literature. See also J. Makkay: Copper Age gold discs on the territory of the later Pannonia province. *Com. Arch. Hung.* 5 (1985) 5–25.

²⁴² Makkay (1976) 283, 289, notes 215 and 259, with further literature; Mellaart (1959) 759; Mellaart (1966) Pl. XVII, left; E. Vermeule: Greece in the Bronze Age. Chicago (1964/72) 33, 54, Fig. 9; R.A. Higgins: Greek and Roman Jewellery. London (1961) Figs 36 and 37, with further information; J. L. Caskey: Investigations in Keos. Part II. A conspectus of the pottery. Hesperia 41 (1972) 386, Pl. 89. E from tomb 16; E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis: Frühkykladischer Schmuck. Kunst der Kykladen. Edited by J. Thimme. Karlsruhe (19764) 131-132; O.T.P.K. Dickinson: The origins of Mycenaean civilisation. Göteborg (1977) 74-75; M. N. van Loon: Korucutepe. Final report on the excavations of the University of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia 1968-1970. Vol. 2. Amsterdam (1978) 11, 61-62, Pl. 109. 1; P. Schauer: Ein bronzezeitlicher Schmuckdepotfund aus dem persisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet. Arch. Korr. Bl. 10:2 (1980) 126, Figs 1. 16. and 17, Pl. 20. la and 2a.

²⁴³ Ivanov (1975) 9, 12 and Pls XIX, XXVII, XVL,

XLVI; Ivanov (1978) Figs 17, 19, 21; Egami (1982) nos 89, 104, 207 (cenotaphs 2–3, 15).

²⁴⁴ Schmidt (1902) 240, no. 6016.

²⁴⁵ Seager (1912) 77, Fig. 20. XXI. 14.

²⁴⁶ St. Xanthoudides: *The vaulted tombs of the Mesarà*. London (1924) 216, Pl. XXIX, b, between EM I and MM. I.

 $^{^{247}}$ Fettich (1953) Pl. XLII. 1–4; Makkay (1976) Figs 25–28; V. Dumitrescu (1972) Pl. 62. 6; V. Dumitrescu (1974) Figs 293–294; Miclea–Florescu (1980) nos 231–232; É. Lakó: Repertoriul topografic al epocii pietrei și a perioadei de tranziție spre epoca bronzului în județul Sălaj (Das topographische Repertoire der Steinzeit und der Übergangszeit zur Bronzezeit in Kreis Salaj). AMP5 (1981) 59, Pl. XI. 1–2. For the three pendants, see also note 41.

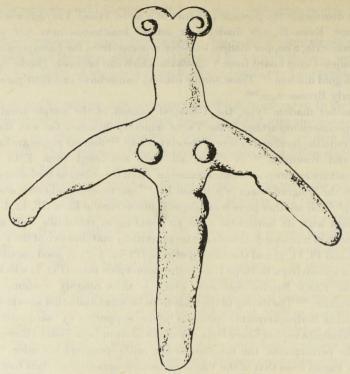
 $^{^{248}}$ Fettich (1953) 63, Pl. LVI. 1; Makkay (1976) Fig. 32. Cp. also Doc. LXIII and LXIV.

 ²⁴⁰ Fettich (1953) 63, Pl. LV. 1; Makkay (1976) Fig.
 29. Cp. also Doc. XLIX. This item was inventorised together with a diadem: Fettich (1953) Pl. LV. 2.

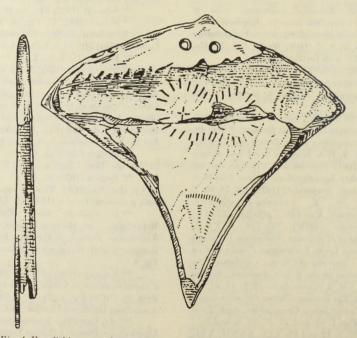
²⁵⁰ U. Bahadir Alkım: Einige charakteristische Metallfunde von Ikiztepe. *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens*. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel. Edited by R.-M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann. Mainz (1983) 37, Pl. 7. 6 and Fig. 6.

²⁵¹ Makkay (1976) 281, note 209; E. Comşa: Le dépôt d'objets en cuivre de Vărăşti. Prace i Materiaty w Łodzi, Ser. Arch. 25 (1979) Fig. 1. 20–21; E. Comşa: Die neolithische Ansiedlung Grădiştea Ulmilor. ZfA 17 (1983) 112.

^{251a} J. Pavelčík: Drobné terrakoty z Hlinska u Lipníku (okr. Přerov) I (Kleine Terrakotten aus Hlinsko bei Lipník (Bez. Přerov) I). PA 73 (1982) 266, Fig. 2. 1.



 $Fig.\ 3.$ Anthropomorphic copper or bronze plate from Ikiztepe I, grave Sk. 41. Early Bronze Age. Length $10.3~\rm cm.$



 $Fig.\ 4.$ Eneolithic stone plate with incised decoration from Hlinsko (near Lipník), Moravia, Czechoslovakia.

the anthropomorphic pendants of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture was inspired by the southern, Varna type diadems. However, their use was different—they were worn as pendants which is why they bear the general ornamental motif of pendants, a pair of bosses, depicting perhaps female breasts. A representation reminiscent of a sickle or a crook can be seen on two similar pieces probably from the same workshop (Pl. 11. 1 and Pl. 12). It must be recalled that grave 36 of the Varna cemetery, a symbolic burial, yielded a pendant and a gold object in the shape of a sickle, ²⁵² good analogies for which can be quoted from the genetic precursor of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, the Tisza culture. The sickle, then, was probably a symbol of power or religion in the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

Curiously enough, the closest parallel to these T-shaped pendants comes from the Bell Beaker culture of France, from Pauilhac (Gers) in Aquitane.²⁵³ At present there are no clues to interpret this similarity.

We cannot thus exclude the possibility that the 'helmet'-like plate mentioned by the finders was a simple diadem band or an anthropomorphic diadem attachment found beside the skull in a secondary position.

Obviously, the possibility that a real helmet had been found cannot be rejected out of hand; in this case, it might have belonged to the 'knight's' skeleton in the grave. However, this latter possibility can be neither proved nor disproved.

Finally, it is also feasible that the object unearthed beside the skull was similar to the bird-like figurine wrought from sheet gold in the Moigrad hoard.

We shall only touch briefly upon the gold-hilted sword with iron blade (6) which Tariczky defined as a dagger since its blade was only three spans long. Even though the occurrence of a gold-hilted sword is not entirely unlikely in the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, 254 it appears more probable that, together with

²⁵² Egami (1982) 96, no. 289, and colour plate on p. 50. It bears a striking resemblance to the sickle on the shoulder of the statuette from Szegyár and to the copper artefact found at Zalaszentmihály. J. Makkay: The Late Neolithic male statuette of Szegyár and the ancient myth of the "Separation of Heaven and Earth". Acta Antiqua ASH 27 (1979) 12, with further data.

²⁵³ J. Roussot-Larroque: Les civilisations néolithiques en Aquitaine. La Préhistoire Française. Vol. II. Edited by J. Guilaine. Paris (1976) 348, Pl. V. 8; Chr. Eluère: Les premiers ors en France. BSPF 74 (1977) 398, Fig. 8.

254 The most important iron finds that precede or are contemporaneous with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture include the iron objects recovered from the royal burials of Alaca Höyük, six of which have been published: two dagger blades, two gold headed pins, an N-shaped fitting and a crescent-shaped plate. The iron daggers have not been analysed yet (one does not appear to be of meteorite iron); the pins and the crescent-shaped plate contained 5.08-9% and 4.3% nickel resp., and could thus have been made of meteorite iron: H. Z. Koşay: Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük, enterprisés par la Soc. d'Hist. Turque. Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux en 1937-1939. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan V, 5. Ankara (1951) No. K 14, 166-167, Pl. CLXXXII. 4; H. Z. Koşay: Alaca Höyük hafriyati 1936 (Excavations at Alaca Höyük in 1936). Ankara (1938) 32, Pl. LI. Al/a, 101?; H. Z. Koşay: The results of the excavations made on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society at Alaca Höyük in the summer of 1936. Belleten 1 (1937) 539-540, states that the iron finds from Alaca had not been manufactured from meteorite iron; J. C. Waldbaum: From Bronze to Iron. The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. LIV. Göteborg (1978) 19-20 specifies that iron finds had been recovered from graves TM, MA, K and MC of Alaca; J. K. Bjorkman: A sketch of metals and

metalworkers in the Ancient Near East. Thesis submitted to the University of Pennsylvania for the degree of Master of Arts in 1968, p. 15, note 59. Bjorkman gives a detailed list of the earliest iron finds that had been recovered from excavations in the Near East until 1968. These sites are the following: Samarra, allegedly from the Samarra period (p. 8, note 35); Chagar Bazar (p. 21, note 88: this artefact revealed no traces of nickel and thus could not have been made from meteorite iron); Uruk, from the Jemdet Nasr period (the Anu ziggurat, from a layer dated to the ED period: p. 31, note 144); al Ubaid, from the ED temple (meteorite iron, indicated by a 10.9% nickel content: p. 33, note 158); Ur, from the Royal Cemetery (an implement of meteorite iron: p. 39, note 212); Kiš, from palace "A" (ED III; p. 44, note 239); Tell Asmar, from the Northern Palace (protoimperial period iron workshop on the basis of lumps of iron); in all cases with further literature. The blade of a dagger from a copper deposit found in room 19 E 16 of the Akkadian palace excavated at Tell Asmar did not contain nickel, and could not thus have been of meteorite iron: H. Frankfort: Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute 1932-1933. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition. OIC 17. Chicago (1934) 56-62: "Technical achievements of the third mill. B. C. as evidenced at Tell Asmar", esp. p. 61; Mellaart (1966) 156 mentions daggers with iron blade from Alaca Höyük and also that a large iron sword had allegedly been found at Dorak (p. 159)—cp. Lloyd (1967) 33. The relevant finds, a small crucible for melting, iron ores and slag dated to the Amuq F period from Tülin tepe, an iron macehead dated to the same period from Korucutepe, and a twisted iron ring recovered from an Amuq G context at Islahiye, by no means imply that the earliest known iron artefacts from Mesopotamia predate the Anatolian ones: U. Esin: Die Anfänge der Metallverwendung und Bearbeitung in Anatolien (7500-2000 v. Chr.). Les débuts de la métallurgie. UISPP IXe Congrès, Colloque XXIII. Nice (1976) 221-222,

the other iron fragments, it had belonged to the 'knight's' burial (see also notes 160 and 168, and point 17 on p. 38).

The dating of the gold clasps (7) is practically impossible since there were several types of which nothing specific is known. One of them was said by Rómer to have been remarkably small (weighing a mere 4.5 gr), On the other hand, Tariczky described the clasp pair as "very heavy" (weighing 26 lats, i.e. 900-910 gr; see also note 189). Both statements are hard to credit, but they must nonetheless be discussed since these were the only pieces of the hoard to have been weighed accurately apart from the objects taken to Vienna. The weight given by Tariczky in his article cannot be a misprint, 26 instead of 2.6, since the decimal system had not come into use at the time his article was written. The weight would suggest a Copper Age object of unknown function, but the form (described as a clasp) would rather imply an assignation to the male burial, providing useful starting points for its dating. It has been shown (note 189) that the expression 'male and female clasp' was in the last century used for denoting two types of spectacle spirals. Spectacle spirals of the female type are also known to have been made of gold. One such specimen was unearthed in grave 69 of the Varna cemetery, the burial of a 20-22 years old male (Fig. 6). Another matching piece has been reported from Ikiztepe II, from phase 7 of layer III (Fig. 5). Both can be regarded as the earliest occurrences of spectacle spirals, antedating even the Mesopotamian specimens. The large spectacle spirals of the Copper Age hoard from Stollhof were wrought from copper. Consequently, the small (or, conversely, the large and heavy) 'female' clasps made of gold were probably similar to the Varna specimens and could thus have belonged to the Copper Age hoard.255



 $Fig.\ 5.$ Copper or bronze pendant from Ikiztepe II. Late Chalcolithic. Length $3.9~{\rm cm}.$



Fig. 6. Gold pendant from Varna, grave 69. Length 1.05 cm.

225-226. Cp. also M. J. Mellink: The Royal tombs at Alaca Höyük and the Aegean World. The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to Hetty Goldman. Edited by S. S. Weinberg. Locust Valley, New York (1956) 45. For the earliest iron finds cp. also T. Stech-Wheeler-J. D. Muhly-K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop-R. Maddin: Iron at Taanach and early iron metallurgy in the Eastern Mediterranean. AJA 85 (1981) 245-268. A piece of iron, probably the pommel of a dagger (and now broken into two), was recovered from Troy II. It was probably meteorite iron: Schmidt (1902) no. 6116a-b on p. 244; Branigan (1974) 56. This incomplete list of the Early Bronze Age occurrences of iron (contemporaneous with or preceding the Bodrogkeresztúr culture) suggests that the possible presence of a gold-hilted iron dagger in a hoard as lavish as the Tiszaszőlős assemblage cannot be discarded on theoretical grounds. Nonetheless, I would rather assign this gold-hilted iron weapon to the Migration period burial. It must, however, also be recalled that a small lump of iron was found among the remains of a leather pouch recovered from burial 7 of kurgan 3 excavated at Kétegyháza: I. Ecsedy: The people of the pit-grave kurgans in Eastern Hungary. Fontes Arch. Hung. Budapest (1979) 23 and Fig. 16. 6, with further data; I. Ecsedy: Egy kunhalom 4000 éves vasérc talizmánja (A 4000 years old talisman from a kurgan). Természet Világa 104:7 (July 1973) 309, with a photo on the cover; Gy. Duma-I. Ecsedy: Die "Ockerklumpen" der Grubengrab-Kultur–Jamnaja-Kultur. Mitt. Arch. Inst. 4 (1973) 129–133. The following must also be noted in this respect: "If one wishes to associate magic with certain metals, gold, silver and iron are slightly better candidates. In the series ŠÅ. Zl. GA, pulverized iron and magnetic iron ore are mentioned time after time as ingredients mixed with oil, for restoration of potency." R.D. Biggs: ŠÄ. ZI. GA, Ancient Mesopotamian potency incantations. TCS II. Locust Valley, New York (1967) 12, 17–18, 22, 23, 33, 42, 63, 65–67.

²⁵⁵ Varna: Egami (1982) 114, Fig. 490, 1.05 cm long; Ikiztepe II: U. B. Alkım: Einige charakteristische Metallfunde von Ikiztepe. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel. Edited by R.-M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann. Mainz (1983) 32, Fig. 3, 3.4 cm long; Stollhof: W. Angeli: Der Depotfund von Stollhof. Ann. Naturhist. Mus. Wien 70 (1967) Pl. 1. Double spirals of copper and other metal finds have recently been published by J. Pavelčík: Hortfund des Kupferschmuckes aus Hlinsko bei Lipník. PA 70 (1979) Figs 10. 4 and 9. 2-3, 5-6. The only Copper Age 'male' spiral was found alongside the Stramberk disc, a silver disc with three bosses of the Stollhof-Csáford type: L. Jisl: Hortfunde auf dem Berg Kotouč bei Štramberk. Časopis Slezského Muzea, Ser. B. 16 (1967) Pl. II. The lack of 'male' spirals was already noted by F. Pulszky (see note 189).

The 12 pairs of clasps of sheet gold cut into figure-of-eights (8) can, with a fair measure of certainty, be identified with the small or medium-sized pendants of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. Their forms correspond to Tariczky's description in that their lower circular part was usually larger than their upper suspension part which, if not exactly round, was usually rounded. The 'knobs' were probably the bosses on the suspension part, and the 'hole' was probably the central perforation of the lower part. The joint occurrence of such a high number of pendants is not at all unusual since eight pendants were recovered from various graves at Vel'ke Raškovce, ²⁵⁶ six at Magyarhomorog, ²⁵⁷ and eleven in the Hencida hoard. ²⁵⁸ The type closest to the figure-of-eight pendants from Tiszaszőlős is known from Magyartés and dates to the early phase of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture or slightly earlier. According to Patay the Magyarhomorog cemetery which, with a single exception, yielded typologically similar pendants had ceased to be used during the early phase of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. ²⁵⁹

It could, however, equally plausibly be argued that these figure-of-eight objects were clasps of the sort also found in the Migration period part of the Moigrad hoard (Pl. 29. 4). They would fit Tariczky's description fairly accurately.

The hollow gold screws (9) were most probably tubular beads and can accordingly be assigned to the Copper Age hoard.²⁶⁰ However, a more precise definition of their type is not possible unless we assume that the tubular beads taken to Vienna represent this type (Pl. 8. 5–6).

The two gold handles (10) are fairly enigmatic. Comparable finds are entirely lacking in contemporaneous or slightly later assemblages. In the last century the word fogantyú (handle) was never used for denotic archaeological objects. The expression 'marques' in Rómer's list is probably an error in the translation, mistaking the word for thumb for the word for inch (both hüvelyk in Hungarian). Finds analogous to these objects can be quoted from the Trialeti culture, dated to the very beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.: the handles to a bronze chest unearthed in kurgan 3 at Zurtaketi. ²⁶¹ There exists, then, the remote possibility that such objects were also present in the Copper Age of the Carpathian Basin. Nonetheless, Rómer's suggestion that these two objects were fibulae and should thus be associated with the male burial appears to be more plausible.

The gold rings (11), over forty in number, of various sizes and about an inch thick, can be readily assigned to the Copper Age hoard.

Little can be said of the button-like gold objects (12) reminiscent of acorns, and sometimes described as gold grains. The expression 'helical' still defies all attempts of interpretation. Rómer suggested some sort of spiral pattern. If we accept this interpretation, their dating to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture is possible since the anthropomorphic pendants of the Moigrad hoard are also embellished with spiral motifs. ²⁶² Otherwise, the spiral as an ornamental motif was not used to decorate the metal artefacts of this culture. It would be more plausible to assume that they were button-like objects comparable to the discs from Cófalva, Somogyom and Ottlaka (Romania) which indeed resemble the upper part of an acorn. ²⁶³ However, this would complicate the Tiszaszőlős situation even further since it would imply the presence of a third gold unit beside the Copper Age treasure and the Migration period burial within the same few square metres of earth. Thus I would tend to assign these objects, on a purely intuitive basis, to the Copper Age.

²⁵⁶ Vízdal (1977) Pl. XLII. 1-5.

²⁵⁷ Patay (1976) Pl. XVIII. 1–6.

²⁵⁸ Gazdapusztai (1967) Pl. I. 1-5, 7-12; Gazdapusztai (1968) Pls II-III. Cp. Makkay (1976) Figs 2-12.

²⁵⁹ Patay (1976) 228 and 239. It could be that these figure-of-eight shaped specimens resembled an Anatolian pendant type: Rudolph (1978) 20, Fig. 8, 14, no. 14.

²⁶⁰ See notes 68–69, 185 and 191. These 'screws' were perhaps similar to the small spirals found in the Varna cemetery: Ivanov (1978) Fig. 15; Egami (1982) 84, no. 131, and 99, no. 323.

²⁶¹ O.M. Djaparidze: Arhaeological excavations in

Trialeti. The history of Georgian Tribes in the Second Mill. B.C. (in Georgian). Tbilisi (1969) 279, Pl. a and Fig. 11. on p. 32; L. G. Žoržikasvili–E. M. Gogadze: Relics of the Early and Middle Bronze Age Trialeti Period. Catalogue II (in Georgian). Tbilisi (1974) Pl. 80. 687 and Pl. 107. 967; E. M. Gogadze: The origins and the periodisation of the Trialeti kurgan culture (in Georgian). Tbilisi (1972) Pl. 30. 12.

²⁶² See notes 247-249.

 ²⁶³ A. Mozsolics: Goldfunde des Depotfundhorizontes
 von Hajdúsámson. BRGK 46–47 (1965–1966 [1968]) 28–34,
 Pls 3. 5–15, 14, 15, 5–10, 16, 1–2, 9–10, etc.

As regards the glass beads (13), it is highly probable that they have nothing to do either with the Copper Age hoard or with the male burial.²⁶⁴ The same can be said of the bone beads, the bone clasps or buckles, and a part of the urns (14). But if we recall the small trapezoidal bone buckles from the Varna cemetery²⁶⁵ and the clasp-shaped bone idols from the same site and other sites of the Gumelniţa culture, ²⁶⁶ a part or perhaps all of the Tiszaszólős specimens can be dated to the Copper Age. Possible parallels could include the clasp-like objects from Spondylus or Dentalium (both similar in appearance to bone) unearthed in the Late Neolithic cemeteries of Romania.²⁶⁷ However, a Copper Age dating for these objects can only be accepted if and when similar objects are recovered from the Bodrogkeresztúr or other related cultures.

The gold ring (15) could have belonged to either assemblage.

The obsidian cup (16) mentioned by Rómer—which was interpreted in various ways by P. Patay²⁶⁸—does not appear to be controversial. We have a description of its form (resembling a shallow wooden bowl), its fabric (obsidian) and we also know that it had probably been used for crushing paint or for burning offerings. The traces of red colouring observed in its interior tends to support the former since obsidian disintegrates if exposed to fire. It is thus part of the Copper Age hoard, a unique specimen. Comparable pieces can be sought among the stone vessels of the Aegean where they were in use since the Early Neolithic. The Varna cemetery has yielded marble vessels.²⁶⁹ However, none have yet been reported from Bodrogkeresztúr sites.

Obsidian vessels were understandably extremely rare and restricted to royal assemblages or very lavish hoards. The fragment of an obsidian vessel was found in grave W 38 of the royal cemetery of Abydos (dating to the Protodynastic period), two small cups were unearthed in the mastaba of Adu I in Denderah (VIth Dynasty, the age of Pepy I and II, i.e. around 2250–2200 B.C.), and the hoards from Illahun and Dahsur also contained obsidian vessels. King Abishemu's grave in Byblos yielded an obsidian ointment pot embellished with gold which can be dated to the XIIth Dynasty, to the reign of Amenemhat III (1842–1795 B.C.). A shallow bowl and various fragments have been reported from layer III of Acemhöyük, contemporaneous with Karum Kaniš II. They were unearthed in the Sarikaya palace, and can be dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C. The earliest similar find from Crete is a vessel fragment found in an EM II context in Knossos. The footed goblet unearthed in the palace of Kato Zakro was made of obsidian from Giali (near Karpathos), while three delicate vases from the later palace period had been carved from Çiftlik obsidian from Cappadocia. We also know of another vessel

²⁶⁴ Patay (1959) 88 suggested that these beads were perhaps made of stone and could thus have belonged to the Copper Age burial. However, in the light of Tariczky's data and other information, these beads could not have belonged either to the Copper Age collection, or to the Migration period in view of their find circumstances (see above).

²⁶⁵ Ivanov (1975) Pl. XXX. 18, from pit 3 (a symbolic grave); Egami (1982) 81, no. 454 and 78, no. 84.

²⁶⁶ Ivanov (1975) Pls XIV. 73, XXIX. 16, XLIII–XLIV; E. Comșa: Date despre un tip de figurină neolitică de os (Quelques données sur un certain type de figurine néolithique en os). *SCIVA* 27 (1976) 557–563; Egami (1982) nos 84, 318, 335, 454.

²⁶⁷ E. Comşa: Parures néolithiques à coquillages marins découvertes en territoire Roumain. *Dacia* 17 (1973) 61–76, Fig. 3.

²⁶⁸ Patay (1959) 88 suggests that the finders had probably mistaken curved silex blades for a flat obsidian bowl. This suggestions seems a little far-fetched.

to light from tomb 102 of Tepe Gawra: A.J. Tobler: Excavations at Tepe Gawra II. Philadelphia (1950) 82, Pl. LIII. b-c; Ivanov (1978) 58, Fig. 41; K. Kånchev: Microwear

studies on weapons and tools from the Chalcolithic necropolis at the city of Varna. Studia Praehistorica 1-2 (1978) 47; D. Theocharis: Neolithic Greece. Athens (1973) Figs 209-210, 239, 275, 276; D. Theocharis: The beginning of prehistory in Thessaly (in Greek). Volos (1967) Figs 68-70; P. Preziosi: Frühkykladische Steingefäße. Kunst der Kykladen. Edited by J. Thimme. Karlsruhe (19764) 97-100. There is evidence suggesting the presence of Middle Neolithic marble vessels in the Danube region and the Carpathian Basin, such as the fragments found at Vinča, at a depth of 9.3, 8.9 and 8 m resp.: M. Vasić: Preistoriska Vinča (Prehistoric Vinča). Vol. I. Belgrade (1932) 38, Pl. XV. 63; J. Chapman: The Vinča culture of South-East Europe. Part II. BAR Int. Ser. 117. Oxford (1981) Fig. 100. A finely executed marble vessel has been reported from a burial of the Hamangia culture uncovered at Limanu, lying on the western shore of Lake Mangalia (Romania): N. Hartuche: Un vas de marmură descoperit într-un mormînt de tip Hamangia (A marble vase discovered in a Hamangia-type burial). Revista Muzeelor 3 (1966) 445-446. István Ecsedy has kindly informed me about a small fragmentary marble bowl from the district of Szeghalom in county Békés (Hungary), without closer knowledge of its exact find spot. Its typological traits date it fragment either late Middle Minoan or early Late Minoan in date.²⁷⁰ In other words, there is no reason for doubting that a Copper Age obsidian vessel had in fact been unearthed at Tiszaszőlős,

The chalice (18) can undoubtedly be assigned to the male burial. That it had been found intact in spite of the landslip and the ensuing treasure hunt would imply that it had been discovered in the 'knight's' grave and not recovered from some other settlement feature (of the third period possibly represented at Tiszaszőlős).

Nothing can be said of the gold buckles (19), the gold buttons (20) and the harness ornament-like gold objects (21); even their exact number remains unknown. The latter could have included objects characteristic of both periods. However, the Migration period burial could well have contained gold harness ornaments.

To sum up: the surviving descriptions and Rómer's list only cover a small part of the 1839 artefacts. The surviving finds (pendant B, the two spiral arm-rings and the beads) can be confidently dated to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. Nonetheless, it seems highly improbable that only the pieces which have survived to the present day were of a Copper Age date and there is thus some justification in assigning some of the objects known only from their descriptions to the Copper Age. A dating to the Copper Age can be claimed for the helmet-like plate(s) (5), the gold clasps (7), the 12 pairs of figure-ofeight clasps of sheet gold (8), the gold screws (9), the over 40 gold rings (11), the button-like objects (12), the obsidian vessel (16) and a part of the buckles or clasps (19), the buttons (20) and the harness ornament-like gold objects (21). The gold-hilted sword (6), the chalice (18) and a part of the iron fragments (17) can be assigned to the Migration period male burial. The gold arm-ring (4), the two handles (10), some of the objects listed under (19), (20) and (21), furthermore the buttons (12), the bone

to the Neolithic. See also J. Makkay: Some stratigraphical and chronological problems of the Tartaria tablets. Mitt. Arch. Inst. 5 (1974-1975 [1976]) 18-19. For the EBA and Eastern Aegean connections of the two marble vessels, a shallow bowl and a rhyton, unearthed in grave 41 of the Varna cemetery, see H.-J. Weißhaar: Varna und die ägäische Bronzezeit. Arch. Korr. Bl. 12 (1982) 324-325. In this study, incidentally, the high chronology suggested for Varna is rejected.

²⁷⁰ Abydos, grave W 38: C. Renfrew-J. R. Cann: The characterisation of obsidian and its application to the Mediterranean region. PPS 30 (1964) Table I, no. 73; Denderah: Kt. F. Petrie: The funeral furniture of Egypt with stone and metal vases. Warminster (1977) (reprint) 19, no. 390, D. XXI; Kt. F. Petrie: Dendereh 1898. 17th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. London (1900) 8, Pl. XXI, top right; Gubla-Byblos: Ch. Virolleaud: Découverte à Byblos d'un hypogée de la douzième dynastie Egyptienne. Syria 3 (1922) 284, Fig. 8 and Pl. LXVII. 1; E. Neville: Le vase à parfum de Byblos. Syria 3 (1922) 291-295, with further references; Acemhöyük: N. Özgüç: Excavations at Acemhöyük. Anadolu (Anatolia) 10 (1966 [1968]) 48-49, Pl. XXIII. 3a-b, and Fig. 6 on p. 24; A. Özten: Two stone plates from the Sarikaya palace at Acemhöyük. Belleten 43 (1979) 387-388, Pl. III. These obsidian vessels had been stored together with other luxury items in room 17 of the western wing of the Sarikaya palace, and had perished in the first half of the 18th century B.C., when the palace was destroyed by fire. Obviously, this is only a terminus ante quem for their manufacture and use. The fragments of various obsidian vessels have been recovered from a building assigned to level Ib of Kültepe-Kaneš: T. Özgüç: New finds from Kanesh and what they mean for Hittite art. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel. Edited by R.-M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann. Mainz (1983) 425. For the obsidian vessels from Crete (Knossos, Zakro, Tylissos), see A. Evans: The palace of Minos at Knossos, I. New York (19642) 86-87, Fig. 55. c, and Fig. 127e on p. 178 (a MM bowl fragment from Knossos), p. 412 and p. 56 in vol. II (the fragment of an ewer of MM III date); C. Renfrew-J. R. Cann: The characterisation of obsidian and its application to the Mediterranean region. PPS 30 (1964) Table I, no. 77; C. Renfrew-J. R. Cann-J. E. Dixon: Obsidian in the Aegean. BSA 60 (1965) 240, with further literature; S. Hood: The arts of prehistoric Greece. Harmondsworth (1978) 147, with further literature; Chr. Willms: Obsidian im Neolithikum und Äneolithikum Europas. Ein Überblick. Germania 61 (1983) 327-328. The available evidence, especially that from 3rd millennium Egypt, suggests that small obsidian vessels could well have occasionally been carved in the distribution area of Tokaj obsidian. Moreover, it cannot be mere chance that such a vessel should have been found in the Tiszaszőlős hoard. However, neither can the possibility that the obsidian vessel found at Tiszaszőlős had not been manufactured locally, but had been imported from the Eastern Aegean be excluded. Still, now that the vessel is lost the issue cannot be resolved. There is evidence for an 18th or 19th century vessel carved of obsidian from the Zemplén Mts: "olla ex obsidiano Comitatus Zempliniensis ad formam rotundi vasculi polite tornato, circumsepta undique armillis ex subtilissimis ductilis argenti filis operculo quoque ex iisdem filis, contexto, quam Steph. Marczibányi suo aere tornari, et filis argenteis vestiri curauit, eius autem successores Museo resignarunt." Cimeliotheca Mvsei Nationalis Hungarici, sive Catalogus Historico-criticvs Antiqvitatum, Raritatvm et Pretiosorvm . . . Budae (1825) 24. Cp. also the Acta Litteraria Musei Nationalis Hungarici Tomus I (Budae 1818) 129: "Anno MDCCCXI. 8. Olla ex lapide obsidiano Comitatus Zempliniesis, filis argenteis, similique operculo vestita, ... omnia praenobili Familiae Marczibányi de Puchó in acceptis referuntur." This superb piece has since also been lost; it can no longer be found either in the Hungarian National Museum, or in any other museum.

objects (14) and the ring (15) could have belonged to either assemblage. The glass beads (13), the urns (14) and the remaining part of the iron fragments and vessel fragments (17) are probably finds of yet a third period. This tentative dating could be confirmed by a control excavation on the site which would be of help in defining more precisely this hypothetical third period or periods. My own preliminary survey in 1983 indicated that this third period would most probably be the Sarmatian Age: the high number of beads would in fact suggest a Sarmatian burial. Moreover, the possible occurrence of Sarmatian period burials on the site cannot be excluded.

On the basis of our present knowledge and the available evidence, nothing more can be said about the 1839 finds from Tiszaszőlős. The gradual increase in the gold inventory of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture that can be expected from future discoveries will sooner or later enable an identification of these clumsy descriptions with various, yet unknown types. The discovery of further written documents is similarly to be expected.

I. Bona has recently published a curious theory according to which four circular gold discs of the Transdanubian Lasinja group—that had originally been part of the Jankovich Collection, and of which three later passed into the possession of the Hungarian National Museum, whilst one went to the Storno Collection in Sopron—, had in fact originated from the Tiszaszőlős treasure found in 1839. 270a One of the arguments supporting this theory is that one of the gold discs of the Hungarian National Museum (inv. no. 30.1900) had been found in Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Transylvania), suggesting that these gold discs which had hitherto only come to light in Transdanubia and in areas to its west could also originate from Bodrogkeresztúr sites of the Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania. The find spot of this gold disc and that of the 'ray' shaped pendant of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture previously thought to be of unknown provenance (inv. no. 3.1902.1-4; Doc. LXIII-LXIV, here Pl. 13.1-2) was subsequently specified as Nagyszeben in the acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum. (In fact, these items had not been purchased from Sigismund Roth, a collector in Nagyszeben—as suggested by Bóna—, but from Zsigmond Réti; see Doc. LXIII.) A careful check of the acquisitions register in question revealed that this subsequent entry should not be read as Nßeben, but simply as safeben (i. e. 'in the safe'), implying that these items were at that time kept in the safe reserved for gold finds. This is further supported by the fact that the remark safeben ('in the safe') occurs beside a number of other entries describing gold finds:

11.1894. Jákó, county Szabolcs, gold arm-ring;

79.1894. Gyerk, county Hont, gold spiral;

5b.1895. Nagyvárad, electron arm-ring;

40.1895.21. gold diadem, unknown provenance;

57.1896. a pair of gold rings, probably from Nagyenyed;

124.1897. open gold ring, Hajdúszoboszló;

62.1898. Magyar-Valkó, gold arm-ring;

68.1899. Gyulafehérvár, gold pendant;

1.1900. Székelyhid, gold arm-ring;

119.1901. gold finger-ring, county Békés;

58.1902. gold arm-ring with bull head terminals, Transylvania;

98.1902. gold arm-ring, Hercegmárok.

In knowledge of the correct reading of the remark *safeben*, there is no need to dwell at greater length on Bóna's ideas concerning Copper Age gold finds, including the Tiszaszőlős treasure. As for Bóna's lengthy discussion of the Migration period part of the Moigrad hoard (Pl. 29. 1–6), a survey of the possible forgeries in it would definitely exceed the scope of this study.^{270b}

^{270a} I. Bóna: Über Goldfunde aus der Hochkupferzeit, and Ein gepidisches Fürstengrab aus dem 6. Jahrhundert in Tiszaszólós? A Veszprém Megyei Múzemok Közleményei 18 (1986/1987/) 21–72 and 95–110.

^{270b} J. Makkay: Pannonia or Dacia: comments on the history of Hungarian archaeological research in the last and present century, and the questions of Copper Age gold discs and pendants. Manuscript. Budapest (1988).

Before turning to a comprehensive evalution of the Tiszaszőlős treasure, the problems surrounding the Moigrad hoard must also be unravelled.

One of the main reasons for this is that similarly to the Tiszaszőlős hoard, the circumstances of the discovery of the Moigrad assemblage are likewise entirely unknown.

In spite of the fragmentary state of the Tiszaszőlős hoard it can be regarded as the second largest gold find of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (in terms of its weight), second only to the Moigrad hoard. The same is true in regard to the range of artefact types since the Hencida hoard (which numbers more objects) contained only pendants.²⁷¹ The fact that the Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad hoards are the most lavish gold treasures not only of the Carpathian Basin but, with the exception of the Varna cemetery, also of South-East Europe²⁷² in itself calls for a comparison of the two assemblages. The most superficial comparison immediately reveals that the find spot of the Tiszaszőlős hoard is precisely known but that the finds, aside from a few notable exceptions, are missing, whereas several hundred pieces of the Moigrad hoard have lain safe in a museum since 1912, but the find spot and find circumstances are totally unknown. I shall return to this curious fact later on. First the Moigrad finds need to be classified according to types, again based on analogous or matching finds excavated elsewhere, as in the case of the Tiszaszőlős hoard.

²⁷¹ Gazdapusztai (1967) 290–297, Pl. I; Gazdapusztai (1968) 33–52. Cp. Makkay (1976) Figs 1–12.

²⁷² According to Ivanov (1978) 55, the 2000 gold objects found in the Varna cemetery until 1977 could be divided into 28 types and weigh 5.5 kg altogether. The number of gold artefacts found in graves 1, 4, 36 and 43 of the 38 burials yielding gold objects of the 204 graves uncovered until 1982 totals 2400 and their weight totals 4921 gr: I. S. Ivanov: The Varna Chalcolithic necropolis. In Egami (1982) 21. In a more recent study, however, 30 types have been distinguished among the 3000 gold objects-to-

talling 6000 gr-recovered from the Varna cemetery to date. I. Ivanov: Die Ausgrabungen des Gräberfeldes von Varna (1972–1986). Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Edited by A. Fol and J. Lichardus. Saarbrücken (1988) 58, 60. The total weight of the Tiszaszólós hoard cannot have been much less (and could, in fact, have been more), since the weight of the surviving pieces (Pl. 8, without 11–12) totals 456.91 gr. One of the undisputably Copper Age artefacts of the Moigrad hoard, the large pendant, weighs 750 gr, even though Burda (1979) 8 and 63 specifies its weight as 800 gr—however, his measurements are unreliable.

We know only from Nándor Fettich's book ²⁷³ and his recollections that in 1912 József Hampel refused the purchase of the Moigrad hoard for the Hungarian National Museum—most probably after a long speculation. He probably had two sound reasons for his decision: first, he perceived that the assemblage contained finds from two different periods, and second, Mauthner, the antiquities dealer offering the assemblage for sale could not present sufficient guarantees for the exact provenance of the hoard. These are mere assumptions since there are no known notes or records written by Hampel concerning this matter—perhaps because he died the following year. Some of Géza Supka's (one of the keepers of the Prehistoric Department) letters to Hampel informing him about the work in the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities in the year 1912 have survived; however, no mention is made either of Moigrad or Mauthner. Neither are there relevant documents to be found in the Archive of Manuscripts of the Hungarian National Museum.

The finds were finally purchased by Béla Pósta for the National Museum of Transylvania in view of their alleged Transylvanian origin.²⁷⁴

The find spot of the hoard and the circumstances of its purchase

The site of the Moigrad treasure is based on the oral communication of the infamous antiquities dealer László Mauthner. There is no evidence that either Hampel or Béla Pósta, or for that matter, anybody else, ever investigated the alleged find spot. ²⁷⁵ Moigrad, a small village numbering 792 souls in 1913, lay in the Zilah district of former county Szilágy; ²⁷⁶ today it belongs to Mirşid (Nyírsid in 1913) in county Sălaj, Romania. ²⁷⁷ Since the find spot of a treasure cannot be localised to the area of an entire village it was, and since then has been, assumed that it had been found in the Roman military camp of Porolissum lying halfway between Moigrad and Zsákfalva. The camp itself lies on the peak of Mt. Pomeţ (rising to 502 m), at a distance of ca. 2165 m southeast of Moigrad as the crow flies. ²⁷⁸ I. Bóna has suggested a Gepidic royal seat in this military camp on the basis of the Migration period burial assemblage belonging to the hoard. ²⁷⁹ But neither he, nor any other researcher studying the hoard has seriously considered or accepted that the find spot of the assemblage sold by Mauthner had in fact been

²⁷³ Doc. LXXVI.

²⁷⁴ Fettich (1953) s. v. Mojgrád.

²⁷⁵ No possibility was granted to me to study either the documents in the archives of the National Museum of Transylvania in Cluj–Kolozsvár, the inventory registers of the year 1912 (if they survived), or the finds themselves. I have been informed that the find circumstances of the Moigrad hoard are presently studied by Pál Gyulai (personal communication from Gh. Lazarovici, 1983). I have also been told that the present-day inhabitants of Moigrad know nothing about any kind of treasure allegedly found there.

²⁷⁶ A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Helységnévtára (A Gazetteer of the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown). Edited by the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Budapest (1913) 926, s.v.

²⁷⁷ Miclea-Florescu (1980) 88.

 $^{^{278}}$ A. Buday: De Porolissum. Abrégé. Dolgozatok 5 (1914) Fig. 1. An excellent photo of Mt. Magura can be seen in an article by J. Nandris: A reconsideration of the South-East European sources of archaeological obsidian, Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 12 (1975) Pl. XXIII. For the results of recent campaigns in the Roman camp on Mt. Pomet, see E. Chirila et al.: Vorläufiger Bericht über die in den Jahren 1977–1979 in Moigrad (Porolissum) durchgeführten Ausgrabungen. AMP4 (1980) 81–104, and E. Stoicovici–N. Gudea: Die Römerlager von Pomet. AMP7 (1983) 159–194.

²⁷⁹ Bóna (1974) 25, 26 and 62. I know from his kind personal communication that he too has his doubts about the site.

Moigrad or the Roman camp at Porolissum. In the absence of more precise information Fettich accepted the site, but cautiously termed it an alleged find spot. 280 In 1944-1945 Patay similarly agreed that the site should be accepted only provisionally.²⁸¹ Later he modified slightly his opinion and on his map showing the distribution of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, Moigrad appears with a question mark.282 Horedt emphasized the lack of three cardinal facts concerning the treasure: the find circumstances, the dubious authencity of the finds and, finally, that the location of the find spot was speculative: it had not been surveyed either then or later, and neither had a control excavation been carried out.283 Fettich explained the neglect in investigating the site by suggesting that prior to World War I most museums did not bother with controlling the authencity of a given site. 284 His explanation, however, can be easily refuted by quoting the appeal of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of January 7, 1868, that the find spots be dutifully reported.²⁸⁵ It would appear that the control of the alleged site in 1912 and later was not neglected because the archaeologists and museologists active in those days were unaware of the information necessary for authenticating a gold treasure or because they were simply not interested in the find spot of their finds. One of Fettich's remarks is very instructive in this respect: "The numerous small fragments would suggest that Mauthner exhausted the site. Nothing remained there. It is also certain that various items of the treasure had been dispersed when it had first come to light."286 It should at this point be recalled that, on the basis of the documents, the same could be said of the Tiszaszőlős hoard.

Between 1900 and 1908 József Hampel assembled a register of the antiquities from the Migration period and the early Middle Ages according to counties. In the section dealing with the Szilágyság²⁸⁷ (i.e. former county Szilágy) where Moigrad is also listed, not a word is said about the Moigrad treasure. Knowing that for several decades all prehistoric, Roman and Migration period finds and, especially, treasures of the Hungarian Kingdom were referred to Hampel and that Hampel was in touch not only with all museums and active archaeologists, but also with most antiquities dealers, it is unimaginable that he would not have been informed about the discovery of a treasure of this size, irrespective of whether it had been found before 1900 or between 1900 and 1908. Obviously, then, the treasure could not have been found at Moigrad or anywhere else, for that matter, until 1908.

There is ample evidence for the contacts between the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities of the Hungarian National Museum or rather, Hampel and Mauthner. A list of the items, and their value, sold to the Hungarian National Museum by Mauthner has also survived. According to this register László Mauthner had first sold objects, various guild relics, on September 22, 1902. ²⁸⁸ Until 1908, however, these purchases were few and far between, and only became more regular from 1910. He rarely appeared with important archaeological finds; the few he managed to acquire included the La Tène finds from Szob, the prehistoric gold finds from Temesrékás and the Neolithic finds unearthed by Baron Jenő Nyári in the Aggtelek cave. We know exactly the methods of transaction employed by Mauthner—and these wholly characterise the methods employed in this case. ²⁸⁹ It would appear that both his customers and his sellers fully trusted him.

The above would imply that Mauthner started to peddle the Moigrad treasure from 1908 at the earliest, but more probably from 1910. According to Fettich he tried his luck not only with Hampel,

²⁸⁰ Doc. LXXIV and LXXVI, p. 61. According to him, Pósta saw no reason to doubt the authencity of the site. Still, it would be more precise to state that there is no mention of his doubts (if any) in his surviving articles and manuscripts.

281 Doc. LXXV.

 282 Patay (1975) 15: ''angeblich Mojgád'', and the question mark on Beilage I.

²⁸³ Horedt (1977) 7, 17. It must also be noted that in view of the geographical location of the site, Horedt was one of the few persons who could have successfully searched for contemporary sources and who could have surveyed the alleged site of Moigrad. It should also be recalled that the site of the Tépe treasure (found in 1912–1913) could still be

precisely located in 1956–1957. Horedt does not mention (when he complains about the scantiness of information about the site) whether he ever controlled the available evidence. Neither does he mention any efforts of this kind in the Romanian variant of his 1977 study: Tezaurul de aur de la Moigrad (Der Goldfund von Moigrad). *Pontica* 10 (1977) 289–293.

284 Doc. LXXVI.

285 Doc. XIX.

286 Doc. LXXVI

287 Doc. LXI.

288 Doc. LVII.

289 Doc. LXX.

but also with other museums: "This lavish gold treasure thus wandered from museum to museum until Béla Pósta finally purchased it . . . in 1912."²⁹⁰ In the meantime, Hampel must have changed his mind about the Moigrad hoard for some reason or other since, following the purchase made by the Kolozsvár museum or roughly at the same time, on November 28, 1912, he nonetheless bought one single artefact of the treasure, together with another item, for 140 crowns.²⁹¹ The piece in question is an oval gold sheet ornamented with longitudinal ribs and perforated at both ends, broken in half (Pl. 21. 10; see also type 11 below). If this sheet is bent back into its original form a tube or cylinder jacket is obtained resembling the other three or four similar pieces of the treasure (Pl. 21. 2–3, 7–8) which had probably been straightened out by Fettich during his study of the hoard; in other words, if its present length is taken as its circumference and the diameter of the cylinder jacket thus obtained is calculated, it becomes apparent that this object had originally been riveted onto a wooden (?) haft about 2.5 cm thick. The two rivet holes at either end cover each other precisely if the two ends are fitted onto each other. Moreover, the dimensions and the direction of perforation also correspond. This sheet, then, was originally mounted and then riveted onto a wooden haft. It had perhaps belonged to the gold-mounted haft of the fork or a sceptre, together with three (or four) other pieces (Fig. 7).

In the lack of more detailed or reliable evidence we can only quote Béla Pósta's brief report concerning the purchase of the hoard: "A most impressive gold find numbering about 150 items ... reached our museum from county Szilágy. The purchase of this assemblage involved a considerable financial sacrifice . . . but we could in no way refuse it." The following must be noted:

Pósta mentions this acquisition in connection with the Migration period collection and thus he probably knew next to nothing about the dating of the Copper Age gold pendants of the Hungarian National Museum—unique, at that time, throughout Europe. This also holds true for the pendants from Transylvania (Marosvásárhely)²⁹³ and Nagyvárad²⁹⁴ acquired in 1877 and 1897. But it also applies to pendant B which Pósta should have been familiar with either from the 1884 Catalogue,²⁹⁵ or the exhibition itself, since from 1883 until 1899 he had worked in the Hungarian National Museum.²⁹⁶

The hoard comprised not 150, but 467 items.²⁹⁷ The number of finds given by Pósta perhaps means 150 artefact types.

Nowhere in Pósta's report is Moigrad mentioned. At the same time, we do not know what to make of his statement that he could not refuse the purchase of these finds.

The purchase was most probably financed from the money mentioned by J. Banner in his biography of Pósta: the loan of 30 000 crowns from the Bank of Transylvania.²⁹⁸ This, incidentally, happens to be the only piece of information about the price or value of the treasure.

It has been shown that Pósta neglected to investigate the site of the treasure, perhaps because he did not deem it either possible or necessary. The alleged find spot, Moigrad or Porolissum, could hardly have been unknown to the director and the workers of the Transylvanian National Museum in Kolozsvár. Following the excavations conducted by Károly Torma in the 19th century and the

²⁹⁰ Doc. LXXVI. Unfortunately, Fettich does not mention to which museums Mauthner took the hoard. If this were known, further relevant sources could perhaps be found in the archives of these museums. This is not entirely impossible even so; however, this would undoubtedly be a toilsome and, most probably, fruitless work.

²⁹¹ Doc. LXXI. Its parallels from Moigrad and from the collection of the Kolozsvár museum have been published by Fettich (1953) Pl. XLIX. 1–3, 6–8. He somehow forgot about the piece in the Hungarian National Museum, even though it was part of the Migration period collection until 1981. Márton Roska was aware of this specimen for he quotes it in Doc. LXXIII. It was finally found by Éva Garam, who called my attention to it, for which I would like to express my gratitude.

²⁹² Doc. LXXII.

²⁹³ Patay (1958) 39, Pl. XVII. 4 (and not XVI. 4.).

²⁹⁴ Patay (1958) 39, Fig. 2.

²⁹⁵ Doc. L.

²⁹⁶ J. Banner: Pósta Béla születésének százados ünnepe 1862–1962 (The centenary of Béla Pósta's birth 1862–1962). Budapest (1962) 5.

²⁹⁷ Doc. LXXII, p. 40. According to Roska (1942) the inventory number of these pieces (purchased in two lots for unknown reason) was II. (Migration period) 6804–7731; according to Fettich (1953) 56, 6805–7077 and 7551–7736. In other words, only the number given by Fettich (459 pieces or lots) is more-or-less compatible with the 467 items recorded in contemporary sources. The inventory numbers were still visible on some of the photographs published by Fettich, and on those in the Hungarian National Museum (these are listed in the concordance table).

²⁹⁸ J. Banner: Pósta Béla születésének százados ünnepe 1862–1962 (The centenary of Béla Pósta's birth 1862–1962). Budapest (1962) 15–16.

investigations by Count Domokos Teleki in 1907,299 the site had become one of the major interests of the Archaeological Institute of Kolozsvár. This statement need not be proven in detail, but certain points should nonetheless be noted. Following extensive preliminary work, the Museum Society of Transylvania and the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities of the Transylvanian National Museum finally began the excavations at Porolissum in 1908. (Both organisations were directed by Béla Pósta; his colleagues, Gábor Finály and Árpád Buday, were both renowned specialists of their time.) In his report of the archaeological activities of the year 1908, prior to the first campaign, Pósta states that the finds from Porolissum are "the most insignificant" among the acquisitions of the museum. 300 Thus, no trace of the Moigrad hoard appears either in the archaeological world, among the records of the tenant of the territory, or the documents of the administrative organs of the district and the county in 1907-1908. The finances of the excavations begun in 1908 were supported by 2000 crowns given by county Szilágy. Moral support came from the Lord-Lieutenant, the Deputy Lieutenant of the county and the royal prefect of Zilah district. The landowner of the military camp and of the entire territory, Baron Miklós Wesselényi, readily allowed the excavations to proceed "and assured . . . the proprietary rights of the museum over the finds." 201 Pósta expressed his gratitude to the tenant of the excavation area, György Szabó, for his "invaluable service" to the excavations. 302 From 1909 a guard was hired to ensure the protection of the excavated area. It is practically impossible that under these exceptionally favourable conditions for professional archaeological activity the hoard would have been found and illegally sold without the knowledge of the baron (who himself indulged in archaeology), the state apparatus represented by the Lord and Deputy Lieutenants and the royal prefect, the tenant of the area, the hired guard or the three professional archaeologists. The only occasion when the hoard could possibly have been discovered was in the winter of 1908-1909 when the "ignorant Vlah population destroyed the walls uncovered in the year 1908." Seven in this case, it is most unlikely that the excavators and their local supporters would have remained uninformed. Taking the Tiszaszőlős discovery as an example, it would appear that treasures found and collected by the 'ignorant' locals (the documents, e.g. I, 36, emphasize that if the finders are illiterate they should put a cross instead of their signature) soon passed into the hands of the local landowners. It is similarly unlikely that the hypothetical finders of Moigrad could have concealed a hoard numbering 467 artefacts so successfully that they evaded the vigilance of the museums, the general public and the antiquities dealers. These circumstances strongly argue against the possibility that the hoard was unearthed either in Moigrad, in the Roman camp, in Porolissum or in the village itself. Likewise, a discovery prior to 1908 is also unlikely.

On the other hand, Mauthner who had by then established his contacts with the museums of Hungary knew full well the commitments of the Transylvanian National Museum to Moigrad. Thus, when he offered the hoard for sale he gave Moigrad as its find spot. This was reasonable since various treasures had in fact come to light there since 1855, partly from Mt. Magura (between the village and the Roman camp), and partly from Mt. Pomeţ itself.³⁰⁴ It is now understandable why Pósta could simply not refuse the purchase of the hoard.³⁰⁵ the richness of the hoard and, more important, its alleged provenance. This assumption could only be contradicted by a single fact: if we knew whether, prior to his negotiations at Kolozsvár, Mauthner had given Hampel a find spot and whether that was Moigrad. Unfortunately, no records of Hampel's purchase have survived in the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum,³⁰⁶ and thus this question remains unresolved. What we do know is that Hampel's purchase and its registration occurred on November 28, i.e. after the first purchase in

²⁹⁹ Banner–Jakabffy (1954), s.v. Porolissum on p. 282, and nos 7900–7903. Cp. also E. Tóth: Porolissum. Das castellum in Moigrad. Ausgrabungen von A. Radnóti, 1943. Régészeti Füzetek II. 19. (1978), bibliography on pp. 117–120.

³⁰⁰ Doc. LXVIII, p. 38.

³⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

³⁰² Ibid., pp. 39-40.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Roska (1942) 184-185.

³⁰⁵ Fettich (1953) 60. According to Doc. LXXVI, the hoard was purchased in view of its Transylvanian provenance. Transylvania, and not Moigrad, is stated explicitly. Sensu stricto, Moigrad lies in the Partium, and not in Transylvania.

 $^{^{306}}$ Quoted in the unpublished part of Doc. LXXI. Its inventory number was 360/1912. It is not known when and how it was lost.

Kolozsvár. The treasure was bought and entered into the inventory by Pósta on two different occasions: the first before April 10, 1912 (when he paid a sum of 12 940 crowns). Its inventory number became II. (= Migration period) 6804–7077, the corresponding written document was registered under 202/1912. Incidentally, the exact date of the second Kolozsvár purchase remains unknown, but it probably took place between April 10 and the end of the same year. Mauthner gave Moigrad as the find spot of the hoard when he somehow tried to sell the single sheet to the Hungarian National Museum.

Another possible argument against the localisation of the site to Moigrad is that it lies outside the distribution territory of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures (Pl. 1, 2),307 It is unfeasible that such a lavish treasure would have been hidden in alien territory, even more so, since the first Eastern European influences affecting the Great Hungarian Plain in the transitional period between the Tiszapolgár and the Bodrogkeresztúr cultures—the earliest possible date for the Moigrad hoard, a terminus post quem³⁰⁸—can be traced to the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin, to Transylvania.³⁰⁹ The hiding of the Moigrad treasure can undoubtedly be associated with appearance of the Kainari-Casimcea-Marosdéese group which was in some respects related to the early phase of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. 310 There are two good reasons why the Moigrad hoard cannot be regarded as the easternmost treasure of the late Tiszapolgár-early Bodrogkeresztúr cultures buried in face of the danger evoked by these migrations. In this respect, the Hencida hoard appears as a more likely candidate, a possibility first suggested by Gy. Gazdapusztai.311 Since, however, certain artefact types of the Copper Age part of the Moigrad hoard are unknown in the gold inventory of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, whereas other types, such as the small pendants, also occur in other Copper Age cultures of South-East Europe, and the fact that Moigrad lies outside the distribution territory of these cultures would not in itself argue against Moigrad as the possible find spot.

The problems concerning the alleged find spot of the Moigrad treasure will be discussed later. First, the hoard itself must be reviewed at greater length, and the various periods represented by it must be identified. The hoard made a bad impression on Hampel owing to its mixed nature. ³¹² We have seen that Pósta assigned the entire assemblage to the Migration period. ³¹³ According to Fettich, the hoard contained Copper Age, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Dacian and Hunnic objects, as well as modern forgeries. ³¹⁴ Patay thought it to be an assemblage of Copper Age and Early Iron Age objects, Migration period finds of unspecifiable date and of artefacts from the last century. ³¹⁵ A reliable dating of the Migration period part of the hoard was first given by István Bóna, who associated these finds with the burial of a Gepidic ruler. ³¹⁶ (However, we know from his kind oral communication that he no longer advocates this view.) Even though certain advances have been made regarding Copper Age artefacts since 1943 (Fettich's article: Doc. LXXIV), 1944–1945 (Patay's study: Doc. LXXV)³¹⁷ and 1976 (my work on the Copper Age origins of various other types³¹⁸), we still need a reappraisal of the

³⁰⁷ After Patay (1975) Beilage 1. No Bodrogkeresztúr site has been reported since then either from Transylvania, or from the northern part of the Partium, east of Csomaköz-Ciumesți. P. Roman: Forme de manifestare culturală din eneoliticul tîrziu și perioade de tranziție spre epoca bronzului (Formes de manifestation culturelle de l'énéolithique tardif et de l'âge de la période de transition vers de l'âge du bronze). SCIVA 32 (1981) 25. The Bodrogkeresztúr culture is termed Gornești type in this article. According to Bóna (1974) (see also note 279) Moigrad probably lies within the borders of Little Gepidia-the Transylvanian country part of the Gepids-or on its western periphery. The treasures found at Szilágysomlyó indicate that, as a territory, Moigrad definitely lay within Gepidia by the first half of the 5th century. Bóna has moreover suggested that one of the royal seats was at Moigrad after 454 (ibid., 26 and 58). He has since revised his former views about the dating and ethnic attribution of the Migration period finds from Moigrad (personal communication). See also note 270a!

³⁰⁸ Makkay (1976) 285.

 $^{^{309}}$ I. Ecsedy: A new item relating the connections with the East in the Hungarian Copper Age. $MFM\acute{E}$ (1971:2) 9–17, esp. 15–16.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 17.

 $^{^{311}}$ Gazdapusztai (1967) 297. Cp. Ecsedy,
 $op.\ cit.$ (note 309) 16.

³¹² Doc. LXXVI, p. 56.

³¹³ See notes 293 and 297.

 $^{^{\}rm 314}$ Fettich (1943) 12–14, and (1953) 56, 60–61, especially as regards the forgeries.

³¹⁵ Doc. LXXV. I could not trace S. Gallus' opinion as quoted by Fettich (1953) 56 in the book mentioned by him in his article: B. Szász: A hunok története (The history of the Huns). Budapest (1943).

³¹⁶ See notes 279 and 307.

³¹⁷ See notes 31 and 34-36.

³¹⁸ Makkay (1976) 281, 283.

objects which are definitely not Migration period in date. Horedt's 1977 article³¹⁹ turned out to be more of a throwback, than anything else: his evaluation of the metal fork (quoting J. Werner) practically echoed Fettich's weird notions in the realm of the history of ideas.

The present analysis is greatly hindered by the fact that I could not personally examine the finds in question. It would appear that since Fettich's meticulous study and the publication of his book in 1953 no one has taken the trouble to personally study the hoard. Neither does Horedt's study reflect a first-hand knowledge of the assemblage since he adopted Fettich's data and descriptions in spite of the fact that for several decades he had been active in the Kolozsvár museum where the greater part of the finds is housed. In the following I shall only discuss the Copper Age part of the hoard. I originally intended to publish A. Kiss's study on the Migration period part of the hoard as an Appendix. (His paper was read at two international congresses, but as far as I know, it has not yet appeared in print. 320) However, A. Kiss has retracted his paper owing to severe criticism from German scholars. Even though I cannot claim to be an expert in this field, it is my firm belief that a part of this critique, based on Fettich's alleged mistakes (that the Migration period artefacts of the Moigrad hoard are forgeries which Fettich failed to recognise), is unfounded. The evaluation of such an important assemblage cannot rest on the simple statement that it is a modern forgery, especially if the finds themselves have not been personally studied.

The richness of the Moigrad hoard is indicated not only by the quantity of its objects, but also by the range of its artefact types: it surpasses the inventory of gold finds from all other sites of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. The Late Neolithic, Copper and Early Bronze Age gold and other metal finds of South-East Europe, the Eastern Aegean and Anatolia will be used as comparisons for defining the chronology of the various artefact types. The chronological value of shared traits is tantamount to typological parallels from the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. Suffice it here to quote a single example: the pendants, which were truly 'international' types of the South-East European Copper Age and the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean.

The Copper Age part of the Moigrad hoard

The finds published by Fettich and the single item in the Hungarian National Museum can be divided into three groups according to the reliability of the arguments on which their dating to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture rests.

- (A) This group comprises the objects which are undoubtedly of Copper Age origin. Excellent parallels to these artefacts can be found in the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures and/or in other related or contemporary complexes. The following artefacts can be assigned to this group:
- (1) The large pendant weighing 750 gr, with a length of 31.1 cm (Pl. 9.1).³²¹ This is the heaviest gold find not only from the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, but also from other

³¹⁹ Horedt (1977) 15, note 22, and its Romanian version quoted in note 283. É. Lakó, who compiled the list of prehistoric sites in county Szilágy did not specify the exact location of the find spot of the Moigrad treasure (see note 247). The fate of the treasure is now studied by Pál Gyulai in Kolozsvár (see note 275).

 320 A brief summary of A. Kiss' paper read at Mainz in 1982, together with Wiedemann's and Böhme's comments challenging the dating and the authencity of the Migration period finds (i.e. that the assemblage cannot have been recovered from one burial and that a dating to the second half of the 6th century is also questionable) has since been published in JRGZM 30 (1983) 534. Attila Kiss has in the meantime withdrawn his dating: $Acta\ Arch.\ Hung.$ 38 (1986) 117. See also note 270b.

³²¹ Fettich (1953) 165, Pl. LIII. According to the old inventory of the National Museum of Transylvania in

Kolozsvár the weight of this item was 772 gr (measured in 1912). Its old inventory number was 7077. See also note 41. Pulszky already suggested a Copper Age date for some Copper Age gold finds, namely the gold discs of the Lasinja culture: see Makkay (1982a) 21, note 61. The Copper Age date of the small gold pendants of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture was first noted by Ferenc Tompa (25 Jahre Urgeschichtsforschung in Ungarn 1912–1936. BRGK 24–25 (1934-1935 [1937]) 53) on the basis of the observations made by Sándor Gallus on his excavations. His dating was later confirmed by P. Patay: Szentesvidéki rézkori temetők (Kupferzeitliche Gräberfelder aus der Gegend von Szentes). Arch. Ért. 70 (1943) 40. However, at the time that he wrote this article, Patay did not know about the two largest pendants, the specimens from Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad. In the same year, N. Fettich associated the Moigrad pendant with the small pendants found by S. Gallus at Jászladány

contemporary cultures of South-East Europe. Recent advances in the research of these pendants have already been discussed above.³²² The formal similarities between pendant B from Tiszaszőlős and the Moigrad pendant must again be emphasized.

- (2) The small pendant (Pl. 17. 1).³²³ It is matched by the specimens unearthed in Jászladány,³²⁴ Pusztaistvánháza,³²⁵ Nagyvárad,³²⁶ and, more recently, in Tiszavalk–Kenderföldek.³²⁷ Patay considers this type to be later than the Magyartés type and, accordingly, he dates it slightly later than the beginning of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. There is an apparent contradiction between Patay's dating³²⁸ and the fact that the large Moigrad pendant is closest to the Magyartés type in form. This would suggest that the two pendants of the Moigrad hoard represent two distinct phases of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture; accepting the validity of the pendant chronology (set up on typological grounds), the burial of the hoard cannot be assigned to the beginning of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. This apparent contradiction is misleading since it has been shown that the dating of the various pendant types is not possible on formal and stylistic traits alone.³²⁹
- (3) The small cylindrical or biconical beads (Pl. 17. 3–4)³³⁰ do not require a detailed analysis since the same holds true for them as for the Tiszaszőlős specimens.³³¹
- (B) This group comprises the objects that at present have no known parallels in the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, but can nonetheless be assigned to the Copper Age since they have good analogies in contemporary or near-contemporary cultures. Another argument in favour of their Copper Age date is that similar artefact types are unknown from later cultures of the Carpathian Basin and surrounding areas. The following can be assigned to this group:
- (4) Four, or perhaps five, anthropomorphic pendants or diadems (Pl. 10. 1–2, Pl. 11. 1–2, Pl. 19. 2.). ³³² These have been variously described a T-shaped, bird-shaped or duck-shaped pendants. I have written about this pendant type at greater length elsewhere. ³³³ Suffice it here to note that the specimen shown in Pl. 19. 2—differing from the basic type—shares most similarities with the diadems unearthed at Varna. (See also note 253 for a parallel from the Bell Beaker culture of France.)
- (5) Four arm-rings, two plain (Pl. 18. 1–2) and two twisted (Pl. 18. 3–4).³³⁴ The plain arm-rings have gently flaring terminals which overlap slightly. The twisted specimens are open, with quadrangular cross-section. The plain arm-rings are matched by the specimens found in the Alepotrypa cave³³⁵ and the Varna cemetery.³³⁶ There are no comparable pieces to the twisted arm-rings from the Aegean Copper and Early Bronze Age and they can thus equally well belong to the Migration period part of the hoard.
 - (6) 204 plain, mostly closed rings (Pl. 20. 1-204). 337 This simple type occurs in all periods

(see note 30); but his correct attribution was accompanied by unscientific comments and conclusions: Fettich (1943) 13. A critique of his views was given by P. Patay: Néhány őskori tárgy kormeghatározása (Zeitbestimmungen einiger Gegenstände aus der Urzeit) Arch. Ért. 71–72 (1944–1945) 27–28. True enough, Patay assigned a part of the Moigrad artefacts, such as the T-shaped pendants, to the Early Iron Age. The large Moigrad pendant had thus come into the focus of archaeological interest. A renewed critique of Fettich's views, which he published again in 1953, can be read in Patay (1958) 41, note 35.

322 See notes 202-227.

³²³ Fettich (1953) 164, Pl. XLIX. 11.

³²⁴ Patay (1958) Pl. XVI. 3-4.

³²⁵ Ibid., Pl. XVII. 1.

³²⁶ Ibid., Fig. 2.

 $^{^{327}}$ Patay (1978) Fig. 36. See also Patay (1958) 40–41, for a general discussion of this type.

³²⁸ Patay (1976) 228.

³²⁹ Makkay (1976) 255. Almost all variants of the small pendants occur in the two assemblages from Trabzon: Rudolph (1978) Figs 1, 12–14, 6, 12–14, 7, 12–13, 10, 21–24 and 13.

³³⁰ Fettich (1953) Pl. XLIX. 10-11

³³¹ See note 200.

³³² Fettich (1953) 162–163, Pl. XLII. 1–4, and perhaps the fragment of another specimen on Pl. L. 23. The old inventory number of the three specimens with spiral ends (Pls 10. 1–2 and 11. 2) was 6808–6810, and their weight totalled 56 gr. This practically corresponds to the results of recent measurements: Pl. 10.1 = 17.4 gr; Pl. 10.2 = 18.525 gr; Pl. 10.2 = 20.2 gr, i.e. a total of 56.125 gr. See also note 41.

³³³ See also notes 242–250. Similarly to the function proposed for the Varna diadems, Davaras has suggested that the diadems from Mochlos perhaps indicate the early appearance of some sort of funerary mask: Davaras (1975) no. 6 on p. 104, Pl. 21 b and p. 110.

³³⁴ Fettich (1953) 164, Pl. XLVI. 1-4.

 ³³⁵ See note 232 above. Cp. also Ivanov (1978) Fig. 15.
 ³³⁶ Ivanov (1978) Fig. 7; Egami (1982) 42, no. 129.

³³⁷ Fettich (1953) 165, Pl. LIV. 1–204. Their old inventory number was 6813–7016, and the total weight of the 204 specimens was given as 75 gr, which seems to be a little low, since in this case one piece would have weighed no more than 0.36 gr.

represented by the hoard. Fettich considered them to be modern forgeries, arguing that they had been manufactured from a long, hollow tube with simple automatic cutting. At the same time, he did note certain differences, but did not devote much attention to these. He mentions double rings, rings with a convex outer side and six experimental rings. Fettich's arguments sound unconvincing for proving that these rings are modern forgeries. (Besides, the sources quoted by him mention 5 forgeries only. Fettich, however, regarded the 204 rings as one lot (Doc. LXXVI, pp. 57 and 60); moreover, the 'five objects', the five gold items can in no way be identified with the five forgery types.) As for the manufacturing technique of these rings, the similar rings found in a grave of the Gumelnita culture at Reka Devnia near Varna were made using exactly the same technique: cutting a hollow tube at regular intervals. 339

- (7) Two fragments of an arm spiral with ten twists, of wire with convex outer side; the ends are hammered flat. According to Fettich these perhaps imitated snake heads (Pl. 19. 3–4). The only analogies are with the arm spirals from Tiszaszőlős, even though the latter have more twists and were of wire with circular cross-section (Pl. 8. 2–4). The flat cross-section of the wire, on the other hand, is matched by the copper arm spirals of two or more twists from the Tiszapolgár, Bodrogkeresztúr, Gumelniţa and Tripolye cultures, ³⁴¹ and some of the above rings.
- (8) A hat-pin-like object with hemispherical head, which Fettich could no longer find in the collection (but which did not prevent him from stating that it was a forgery).³⁴² In the absence of a surviving drawing neither the former issue, nor its dating can be resolved. It should nonetheless be noted that one of the Bodrogkeresztúr pin types bears some resemblance to this description.³⁴³ This type, known from the Jászladány cemetery, is in fact a miniature sceptre (Fig. 10).
- (C) This group includes artefact types which, on the basis of typological comparisons, can likewise be dated to the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr period, suggesting that they could have been part of the Copper Age hoard. However, a few of the items assigned to this group have no known parallels yet.
- (9) Partly damaged and partly intact strips of sheet gold of interesting form. Both ends of the intact specimen have hook-like projections resembling bird heads and facing opposite directions (Pl. 23. 1–25, Pl. 24. 1–25, Pl. 25. 4–5: the hook-like projections are probably missing from this latter).³⁴⁴ The other fragments could probably be joined to form similar strips. A row of repoussé dots runs along their edge, interrupted with an occasional hole. (The assignment of some of these strips (Pl. 23. 8, 15–18) to this group is doubtful in the lack of a personal autopsy.) I am unaware of any published analogies, and their function also eludes me.
- (10) Long, narrow, undecorated bands, perhaps the remains of former fillets, diadems or other dress ornaments (Pl. 25. 1–3, Pl. 26. 1–4). The same applies to their Copper Age parallels as has been noted in the case of the diadems (see note 333).
- (11) Short, wide, oval ribbons ornamented with lightly incised, rather than repoussé, grooves (Pl. 21. 2–3, 7–8, 10). Other ribbons are more rectangular in shape and are decorated with wider repoussé grooves (Pl. 21. 1, 4–5, 6,9). Another small fragment (Pl. 21. 12) can probably be joined with a large damaged oval ribbon (Pl. 21. 7–8). Their ends are perforated by one to three holes. The ends of the

³³⁸ For the manufacture and alleged forgery of the gold rings, see Fettich (1953) 60.

339 M. – Mirčev: Trois sépultures de l'époque énéolithique. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique à Varna 12 (1961) 119, Fig. 7. Beads made with a similar technique have also been reported from Varna: Egami (1982) 232.

³⁴⁰ Fettich (1953) 163, Pl. XLIV. 1-2. The old inventory number was 6811, and its weight was 101 gr.

341 See also notes 201 and 229–231. Cp. A. Dzieduszycka-Machnikova: Aus der Forschungen über die Wirtschaft der Endphase der Polgár-Kultur in Kleinpolen. Thracia Praehistorica. Supplement to *Pulpudeva* 3 (1982) 297, Fig. 5; V. Dumitrescu et al.: *Hábáşeşti*. Bucharest (1954) Fig. 41.2 and Pl. CXXIV. 3. Two or more similar arm spirals are known from the treasure found at Split-Gripe:

B. Jovanović: Metalurgija eneolitskog perioda Jugoslavije (Metallurgy of the Eneolithic Period in Yugoslavia). Belgrade (1971) 110.

342 Fettich (1953) 60.

³⁴³ Patay (1975) Pl. 5. 11–12. In I. Bóna's opinion this piece was part of the Migration Period finds (see note 270a).

³⁴⁴ Fettich (1953) 164, Pl. XLVII. 1–20, and perhaps Pl. XLVIII. 4–6. There are no known parallels to this item. 55 strips of sheet gold, weighing 102 gr, were inventorised in 1912. Their old inventory number is 7017–7071. It must also be noted that these strips cannot be related to types (9), (10), (11) or (12).

345 Fettich (1953) 164, Pl. XLVIII. 1-3, 7-11.

346 Fettich (1953) 165, Pl. XLIX. 1-2, 4-5.

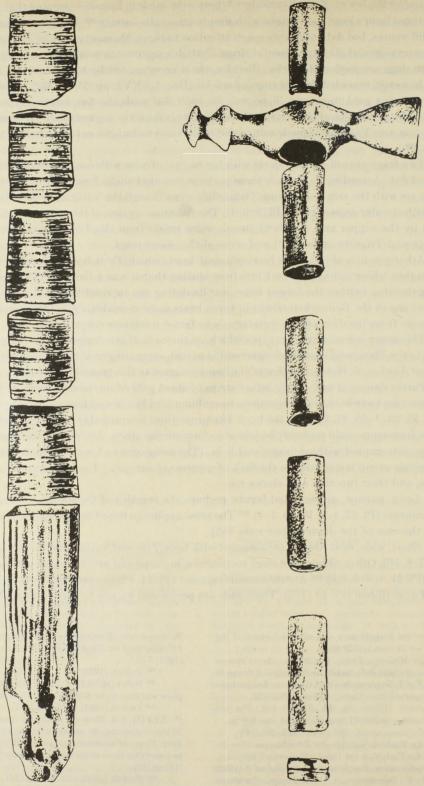


Fig.~7. A reconstruction of the Moigrad sceptre, on the basis of the fragments shown in Pl. 21, 2–3, 7–8 and 10–11 (ca. 1:1).

 $Fig.\ 8.$ The Varna sceptre with a gold hammer from grave 36.

smaller rectangular ribbon (Pl. 21. 4-5) are hammered flat, the ends of the larger ones (Pl. 21. 1, 6 and perhaps 9) are either missing or cannot be seen on the photograph. The comparison between Fettich's photos³⁴⁷ and those of the Hungarian National Museum clearly reveals that these ribbons were flattened smooth from their curved original form for photographing, and that some of them became distorted and damaged in the process. It can no longer be established when this occurred since Fettich's photos were probably made before the ones in the Archive of Photographs of the Hungarian National Museum, even though unflattened specimens are to be seen on the latter. That these ribbons had orginally been bent into a cylindrical shape is suggested by the specimen in the Hungarian National Museum (Pl. 21, 10; incidentally, this is the only piece I could personally examine); the rivet holes fit each other if the two ribbon fragments are placed above each other. 348 Both ribbon types had probably been used for ornamenting a handle or a shaft (this had already been suggested by Fettich). Judging by the dimensions of the specimen in the Hungarian National Museum this handle or shaft had a diameter of ca. 2.5 cm, and these ribbons were riveted onto it. Parallels can be quoted from the Varna cemetery, albeit it is not clear whether these cylindrical sheets had been mounted on the two sceptres along the entire length of the shaft or only at their ends. On the testimony of the Spondylus bracelet recovered from grave 43 of Varna it is also possible that they served as coverings for stone bracelets.³⁴⁹ The Moigrad specimens allow the reconstruction of at least one, but possibly two, sceptres, symbols of power or religion. One of these was perhaps surmounted by the gold hammer of the hoard (Pl. 17.2), the other by the magnificent fork (Pl. 17, 10 and Fig. 12). Fig. 7, shows the suggested position of these ribbons on a sceptre shaft.

(12) A folded sheet with rivet holes along one side which had perhaps been fastened onto the lower end of a shaft resembling a scabbard tip in form, made of wood or some other perishable material (Pl. 21. 11). 350 It may originally have had a circular section; at present it is flattened. It had probably been folded over and riveted onto the tapering and rounded end of a shaft. Lightly incised grooves, similar to the ornamention of the previous ribbons, decorate the flattened sides suggesting that it had possibly adorned the same shaft as the ribbons described under (11). We can thus confidently reconstruct a sceptre similar to the one quoted from Varna, either surmounted by a stone axe³⁵¹ or by a copper or gold hammer³⁵² (Fig. 8). Similar objects wrought of precious metal and also shaft mounts have been unearthed in the royal burials at Alaca Höyük: the battle axe with gold-mounted shaft found in grave E (Fig. 9) matches the axe-mounted sceptre from grave 4 of the Varna cemetery. 353 A Copper Age date for the Moigrad sceptre with its gold-covered shaft is also supported by a bone object recovered from grave 18, a male burial, of the Bodrogkeresztúr cemetery in Jászladány. 354 Patay suggested that this 22 cm long hollow tube made of red deer metatarsal was the handle or shaft of some other artefact. It could well have belonged to the shaft of the copper axe from the same grave. The above seem to offer

³⁴⁷ Fettich (1953) Pl. XLIX. 4-5.

³⁴⁸ See note 291 above, and also Doc. LXXI.

³⁴⁹ Ivanov (1975) Pl. XXXIV, without perforations and ornamentation; Pl. VII. 9–11. Egami (1982) nos 132–134 and 149 (with stone axe) on p. 48; nos 276–286 (with gold hammer) on p. 48; nos 356–360 and 367 (with copper axe) on p. 55; nos 60–61, 64a and 72 (with copper axe) on p.75. The undecorated ribbons (no. 124 on p. 83) had been nailed onto a shaft, similarly to the Moigrad specimen. On the testimony of the Spondylus bracelet listed under no. 377 on p. 56 that was ornamented with gold strips with repoussé decoration, a similar function can perhaps be suggested for a part of the Moigrad gold strips, that Fettich had defined as mounts covering the haft of a whip: Fettich (1953) 59.

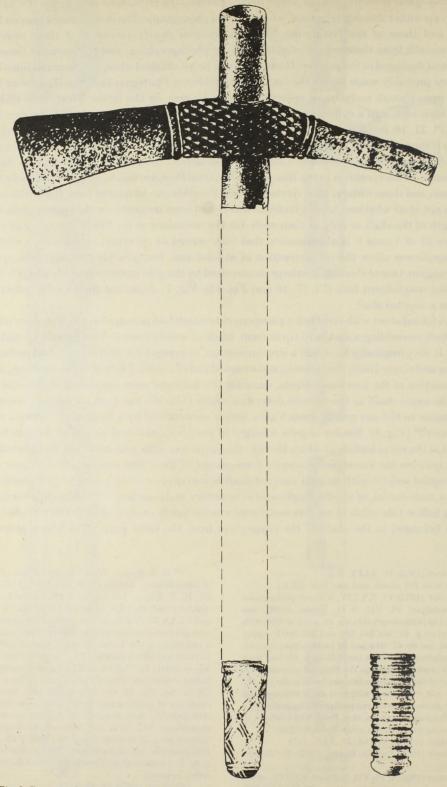
³⁵⁰ Fettich (1953) 163-164, Pl. XLV. 1-1a.

 $^{^{351}}$ Ivanov (1978) Fig. 28; Egami (1982) (for details, see note 349).

 $^{^{352}}$ Ivanov (1975) 4, Plş VII. 5–6, and XXXIV, upper and lower right; Ivanov (1978) Figs 24 and 30; Egami (1982) (for details, see note 349).

³⁵³ H. Z. Kosay: Alaca Höyük hafriyati (Excavations at Alaca Höyük). Ankara (1938) Pl. LXXX. 1, 63-65 and Pl. CI; H. Z. Koşay: Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1937-1939. Ankara (1951) Pls CXXXI. 36-37, CXLVIII. 76, CLXVI. 2 and CLXXXI. The stone axe terminalled sceptre covered with gold mounts recovered from grave 4 (a symbolic burial, a cenotaph) of the Varna cemetery (Egami [1982] 42, nos 132-134 and 149) is matched by a similar piece published by Kosay (1951) Pl. CLXVI. 1, E 7. A gold-mounted woodenhafted sceptre was allegedly also found at Dorak: Mellaart (1959) 754; Fig. 12. Cp. also J. Makkay: Archaeological examples of gold-masked statue and mace. Orientalia 56 (1987) 69-73.; idem: Angaben zur Archäologie der Indogermanenfrage, III. Äxte und Beile als Machtsymbole und Götterwaffen. Acta Arch. Hung. 40 (1988) 3-25, and idem: Hittite sources and archaeological finds: a short review. Acts of the X. Congress of the Turkish Historical Society. Ankara (1986, in press).

³⁵⁴ Patay (1975) 14, Pl. 3. 13.



 $\it Fig.~9$. Copper or bronze axe terminalled sceptre from Alaca Höyük, grave E.

sufficient proof that a sceptre with gold-covered wooden shaft could well have belonged to the Copper Age part of the Moigrad hoard in which case the gold hammer (Pl. 17. 2), considered by Fettich to be a modern forgery, or rather, a modern goldsmith's tool, could have been the head of this sceptre. Consequently, the Copper Age dating of the hammer is not challenged in that it is made of gold, ³⁵⁵ only by recent analytical results (see below).

- (13) Figurines and figurine fragments of sheet gold depicting a highly schematised human bust (Pl. 27. 12 and Pl. 15. 1–8). They had probably been applied onto wood or other perishable material (textile). There are no clues to their function, irrespective of whether they are dated to the Copper Age or not. A Copper Age date is nonetheless suggested by the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age gold plates from Bulgaria, Romania and Anatolia which, although slightly different in form, also depict the human body and fall into the same period as the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. These human representations can perhaps be viewed as models for the gold pendants giving a far more schematised and abstract rendering of the human body. It thus seems fairly reasonable to date these sheet gold figurines to the Copper Age. An argumentum ex silentio supporting this dating is the complete lack of similar finds in all subsequent, pre- or protohistoric, cultures of the Carpathian Basin.
- (14) Eight duck head shaped objects of sheet gold (Pl. 14. 2–9), probably applied onto wood or other perishable material.³⁵⁸ The length of the longest specimen is 6.7 cm. There are no visible traces of riveting. The 'beak' of the smallest specimen is ornamented with three pairs of lightly incised lines (Pl. 14. 9). There are no known parallels and their dating to the Copper Age remains controversial.
- (15) Twenty-one bird claws of sheet gold, originally folded over wood or some other perishable material without riveting (Pl. 16. 5–34)³⁵⁹ Excellent parallels can be quoted from graves A, D, E, H, K, L, S and T of Alaca Höyük: the bronze and, in one case, silver 'hooks' which, similarly to the Moigrad specimens, are unlikely to have belonged to bird figurines. Similar 'claws' have recently been recovered from disturbed Early Bronze Age burials in the Çorum area (the sites at Oymaagac or Göller) of Anatolia.³⁶⁰ A Copper Age date for these artefacts seems plausible, especially if the claw-like objects of the Maikop culture are recalled (see note 412).
- (16) The Moigrad hoard also includes a bird figurine fashioned from sheet gold, similar in form to a cup (its body) and its handle (the neck and head). ³⁶¹ It had probably been applied onto wood or other perishable material. The wings and the plummage are indicated by shallow fluting and ribbing, and its eyes were perhaps filled with some sort of inlay (Pl. 14. 1 and Fig. 11). There are no matching specimens either from the Carpathian Basin or from neighbouring areas. The fragments of a silver bird vase with gold spout from grave I of Dorak is perhaps comparable. ³⁶² The 'cap' (i. e. 'helmet') found beside the skull of the 'gold-armoured knight' of Tiszaszőlős could equally well have been a similar bird-shaped cup.
- (17) Fragments of sheet gold ornamented with ribbing and deep grooves, some of which perhaps belong to the types listed in the above (Pl. 22. 1, 6–7, 10).³⁶³ Unfortunately, nothing more can be established about these pieces without their personal study.
- (18) The most unique object of the Moigrad hoard is undoubtedly the five-pronged gold fork (Pl. 17. 10 and Fig. 12) to which I have devoted a separate chapter.³⁶⁴ Suffice it here to emphasize that there are no substantial arguments challenging a Copper Age dating.

specimen of copper has come to light at Boškovice in Moravia, in a context that can be synchronised with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture: Z. Farkaš: Zu den Anfängen der Kupfermetallurgie in Böhmen und Mähren in Bezug zur Slowakei. Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, História, 77 (1983) Fig. 3.2. Thus, the Moigrad hammer could be assigned to the Copper Age on the basis of its form.

 356 Fettich (1953) 164 (termed animal heads), and Pl. LI. 1–11.

 357 For a detailed discussion, see Makkay (1976) 283, note 217.

358 Fettich (1953) 58, Pl. XLIII. 1-8.

359 Fettich (1953) 58, Pl. XLIII. 9-31

360 T. Özgüç: Some Early Bronze Age objects from the

district of Çorum. Belleten 44 (1980) 469–470, Pl. V and Fig. 2, with information on the 31 claws found at Alaca in note 6. For similar claws from the Maikop complex, see Iljukov (1979) 142–143, Fig. 5 and Munchaev (1975) 248, Fig. 51. 3.

 361 Old inventory number was 6812, its weight was given as 30 gr.

³⁶² Mellaart (1959) 754: "crushed remains of a silver bird-vase with a gold spout and gold ribbing, indicating the bird's plummage." Cp. Fettich (1953) 59–60, Pl. LII.

 363 Fettich (1953) 59, Pl. L. 1. See also the concordance table.

³⁶⁴ Fettich (1953) 58–59, Pl. XLV. 2, and J. Makkay: Metal forks as symbols of power and religion. Acta Arch. Hung. 35 (1983) 313–344. This section is in fact a revised and enlarged version of this article.

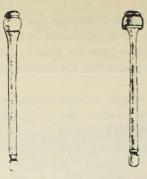


Fig.~10. Two small sceptre-like gold pins from Jászladány, grave 15. Bodrogkeresztúr culture (ca. 1:1).



 $Fig.\,11.$ Side view of the bird-shaped figurine shown in Pl. 14 (courtesy of Gy. László).



 $\it Fig.~12$. The Moigrad fork (after the description and illustration published by Fettich).

The finds and artefact types of the Moigrad hoard listed in the foregoing can thus be definitely, provisionally or tentatively considered to have belonged to a significant Copper Age hoard.

I first presented a paper suggesting the above composition of a Copper Age hoard with the provisional site of Moigrad at the XI th International Conference on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in South-East Europe held in Xanthi. At that time I also assigned the flat knife-like artefacts (Pl. 17. 5–9) and the gold hammer (Pl. 17. 2) to the hoard. In his comments on my paper, N. Vlassa accepted the dating of objects (1–18) to the Copper Age and also my reconstruction of a lavish Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr hoard. I shall now quote the results of the modern analytical examination of these objects with his kind permission. These have wholly confirmed Vlassa's suggestions made on typological considerations. These analytical results which, I hasten to add, are entirely independent of my own grouping, nonetheless harmonize neatly with my thesis.

According to Vlassa the hoard, with the exception of the fork, was subjected to neutron activation analysis which revealed the presence of 30 trace elements. The analysis showed that the objects of the hoard had been manufactured from two basic gold types of differing composition. Both groups show smaller variations, but their range is not wide enough to present serious obstacles in assigning each item of the hoard to one or the other group. The first group contains 976% pure gold with measurable traces of tellurium and selenium. The artifact types I assigned to the Copper Age from typological considerations were without exception made from this gold type. In other words,

the pendants(1-2),
the beads (3),
the anthropomorphic pendants or diadems (4),
the arm-rings (5),
the rings (6),
the arm spiral (7),
the strips, bands and ribbons of sheet gold (9-11),
the scabbard tip shaped folded sheet (12),
the figurines (13),
the duck head shaped objects (14),
the bird claws (15),

Even though the fork (18) had not been analysed, Vlassa was similarly convinced on the basis of its colour and nature that this object should be assigned to the Copper Age. The results of the analyses carried out on the sheet gold fragments (17) are unknown to me, but I would nonetheless suggest their grouping in this category.

It must be noted that the analytical results of the Moigrad hoard published by Hartmann differ somewhat from Vlassa's data. The objects examined by Hartmann (the large pendant and three anthropomorphic pendants) were all of 'B' gold. The large pendant contained 10–15% silver, the three anthropomorphic pendants contained 7–8% silver, 0.16–0.32% copper and one contained also traces of nickel: the analysis does not appear to have been particularly precise.³⁶⁸

the bird figurine (16).

study): 10–15% silver, 0.46% copper and less than 0.01% nickel contents; while another FRX analysis gave $93.1\pm0.8\%$ gold content, with $6.2\pm0.1\%$ silver and $0.65\pm0.4\%$ copper; one of the anthropomorphic pendants (no. 5130; here Pl. 10.1): 8% silver, 0.20% copper; the other pendant (no. 5129; here Pl. 10.2): 7% silver, 0.32% copper, with traces of nickel; the third pendant (no. 5132; here Pl. 11.2): 8% silver and 0.16% copper. The remaining pendant, that had not been submitted to analysis, and has not been published by Dumitrescu, or any other Romanian scholar (it has perhaps been lost), is thus probably identical with the specimen illustrated in Pl. 11.1, a close parallel to the Ercsi pendant (Pl. 12.1–2).

³⁶⁵ Makkay (1982), and also the unpublished papers of this Congress.

³⁶⁶ Fettich (1953) 163, Pl. XLIV. 4–8. For their EBA parallels, see Makkay (1976) 281, note 214.

³⁶⁷ Fettich (1953) Pl. XLIV. 3. A highly similar small hammer dating to the Copper Age with traces of hammering from Boškovice contradicts Fettich's opinion that this artefact is a modern forgery since traces of a jeweller's hammer can be observed on both ends. For the Boškovice hammer, see Z. Farkaš: Zu den Anfängen der Kupfermetallurgie in Böhmen und Mähren. Zbornik Slovenského Národného Múzea, História, 77 (1983) Fig. 3.2.

 $^{^{368}}$ Hartmann (1982) 152–153. The analytical results are the following: the large pendant (no. 5135; Pl. 8. 1 in this

It must nonetheless be recalled that in his discussion of artefact types (10–11), (14) and (16–17) Fettich lists certain analogies which could equally well suggest a Migration period date.³⁶⁹

The items belonging to the other group were of 833% pure gold, with traces of copper and tin. The following finds can be assigned to this group:

the flat, knife blade shaped artefacts,

the hammer, 370

the characteristic finds of a lavish Migration period royal burial, 371

the gold ingot³⁷² (Pl. 19. 5), and finally

the gold disc with figural ornamentation (Pl. 19. 1).373

This latter was defined by Vlassa as the cover of a 5th-6th century Byzantine bulla; there is no apparent reason for considering either this object or the gold ingot a modern forgery (as had been suggested by Fettich). Vlassa too regarded these finds as the grave goods of a princely burial from the first half of the 6th century.

The correlations between the typological study and the analytical results offer substantial proof that the items listed under (1)–(7) and (9)–(16) can be confidently assigned to the Copper Age hoard, together with the gold fork, the date of which was established through comparisons with similar artefacts from other regions. This dating can, at the same time, provide a suitable basis for further chronological refinement with the aid of other analogous finds or new discoveries.

The gold fork of the Moigrad hoard

It has been shown that the treasure can be divided into two parts, one being the treasure of a rich chieftain of the early Bodrogkeresztúr culture (with a part of the hoard already amassed during Tiszapolgár times). The most intriguing item of the treasure is undoubtedly this 102.8 cm long golden artefact weighing 200 gr. This five-pronged fork, i. e. pentadent, is in fact doubly three-pronged in that two double prongs branch off under each other at the same height from the central long prong. The long haft was most probably already bent back by the time it reached the museum. It can no longer be ascertained whether this happened when it had been buried, when it was found or afterwards. The long haft is partly cylindrical in cross-section, partly rectangular. The edge of the latter sections is serrated and occasionally twisted. The continuation of the haft is similar in the lower prong. In the upper prong, however, the middle branch (the continuation of the haft) is rectangular in cross-section, has serrated edges and is twisted. The side branches are mostly twisted and serrated (Pl. 17. 10 and Fig. 12). The prongs of the upper branch run parrallel to the central branch, while those of the lower ones are sligthly divergent.³⁷⁴

In spite of the fact that this pure gold artefact was obviously part of a princely treasure (regardless of whether it had been found at Tiszaszólós or Moigrad), scientific research has practically neglected it since it reached the museum in 1912. According to Fettich it was a gold copy of the royal insignia of a ruler of the Migration period, with the original set aside for his heir. Fettich did not offer any suggestions as to what the original could possibly have been made of if its copy had been fashioned from gold. Fettich considered the Moigrad gold finds to have been the grave offerings of a royal Hunnic burial; however, he could not quote a single parallel to the fork. Neither could Horedt who also dated the fork to the Hunnic period and who, quoting J. Werner, stated that "als Totenbaum analog dem Lebensbaum angesprochen werden kann. Die Belege für die Adlersymbolik werden demnach durch die Darstellung eines 'Adlerbaumes' ergänzt." This forced interpretation involving totemistic concepts

³⁶⁹ Fettich (1953) Pls XXIV, VI. 7–8 and VI. 13–14.
³⁷⁰ See notes 366 (the knife blades) and 367 (the hammer). Old inventory number was 7072, its weight was

specified as 48 gr.

³⁷¹ Fettich (1953) Pl. XLI (here Pl. 29). Old inventory

number was 7074 (= Pl. 29. 1–2), weight given as 30 gr; and 7075 (= Pl. 29.5), weight given as 13 gr.

³⁷² Fettich (1953) Pl XLIX. 12 (here Pl. 19.5).

 ³⁷³ Fettich (1953) Pl. LI. 12 (here Pl. 19. 1). Old inventory number was 7073, its weight was given as 9 gr.
 ³⁷⁴ Fettich (1953) 58–59, 63–64, Pl. XLV. 2, 2a–b. Old

inventory number was 7076a.

³⁷⁵ Horedt (1977) 15, note 38.

was probably introduced because neither Werner, nor Horedt took the trouble to contemplate the chronology, the distribution and the function of similar artefacts, i. e. forks. Not for one moment did it occur to them that a similar artefact, the trident, was an attribute of the god Poseidon.

Even though the gold of the 'Moigrad' fork has not yet been subjected to modern analyses (unlike the other gold artefacts of the tresaure) and there is thus no direct evidence confirming its Copper Age dating, I am nonetheless convinced that it is part of the Copper Age treasure. The late N. Vlassa was of a similar opinion. Its execution and decorative techniques (the serration of the edges and the twisting) are far more reminiscent of prehistoric, than of Migration period craftsmanship. Moreover, hardly any matching pieces can be quoted in favour of a Hunnic or, in a broader sense, a Migration period date, even though this can only be regarded as negative evidence (see notes 506–507).

Another line of argument appears more convicing, namely that copper finds which can readily be interpreted as parts of similar artefacts have been reported from Bodrogkeresztúr contexts. My primary argument, however, is that numerous copper, bronze and iron forks of various shapes are known from the Near East, Asia Minor, the Levant, the Caucasus, Iran and Greece. Their dates range between the second third of the 3rd millennium and the first third of the 1st millennium; the majority can be assigned to the 2nd millennium. They functioned as insignia, symbols of power, or attributes. Being analogous finds to the Moigrad fork, they corroborate the Copper Age dating and function of the latter. It must again be stressed that only the Moigrad fork was made of gold and it is thus cardinal to the fork problem, regardless of its dating.

A list of copper objects which can perhaps be regarded as fragments of similar artefacts of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture has already been assembled by P. Patay. I shall first review these. It must at this point be mentioned that these are without exception stray finds; they can, nonetheless, be confidently assigned to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. Their fragmentary condition can be attributed to their find circumstances. It is thus to be expected that intact forks will sooner or later be recovered during future excavations on sites of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

The fragment of a twisted copper wire was rescued from among the grave goods of burials destroyed in the course of earth moving operations between the June and September campaigns in 1949 on the territory of the Copper Age cemeteries of Fényeslitke (county Szabolcs, eastern Hungary). The wire was rectangular in cross-section and pointed towards one end, without traces of twisting; the other end was bent and broken. According to Patay its original form could not be reconstructed. Its length was 39 cm. Patay concluded that "no matter how unusual . . . a twisted copper wire is . . . we have no reason to doubt that it came from one of the graves of the cemetery, destroyed prior to the excavation [between two excavation campaigns], even more so, since it is not entirely without analogies." Aside from the matching specimens from Emőd and Nagyhalász (see below) "there was a five-pronged . . . gold artefact whose prongs are twisted and rectangular in cross-section among the gold finds which László Mauthner, an antiquities dealer, sold to the Kolozsvár Museum as 'finds coming from Moigrad'. If one branch of the latter were broken off we would gain a fragment similar to the Fényeslitke specimen since the prongs of the former also taper towards their end and are not twisted. It would thus appear that the above copper fragment comes from a similar artefact, perhaps a symbol of power or endowed with magical properties.³⁷⁶

Grave I of Emőd (county Borsod) was discovered in 1950 during the planting of a fruit tree. Its grave goods were reburied. The finds included a copper hook. Patay mentioned that this hook was in fact "a fragment of twisted copper wire of rectangular cross-section, partly bent. One (perhaps two) of the fragments tapers towards one end and is not twisted." The length of these fragments is 21.1, 15.3, 14.4 and 14 cm respectively, i. e. 76.3 cm altogether.³⁷⁷

A copper axe and "three fragments of a handle-like object twisted from copper wire of rectangular cross-section (having a width of 3 and 5 mm)" reached the Nyíregyháza museum from

³⁷⁶ P. Patay: A fényeslitkei rézkori temető (Das kupferzeitliche Gräberfeld von Fényeslitke). A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve 11 (1969) 46, 54–55, Pl.

XIV. 9. Cp. Patay (1975) 18, Pl. 5.25. He mentions several wire fragments from Fényeslitke, probably a slip of the pen.
 ³⁷⁷ Patay (1961) 20, Pl. X. 2; Patay (1969) 54, Pl. XV.
 2–6, and Patay (1975) 18.

Nagyhalász–Szőlőhegy; they had been found during cultivation. "The length of the fragments taken to the museum is 42 + 28 + 13.6 cm. The two larger fragments join." The preserved length of the wire is thus 83.6 cm, but it must originally have been somewhat longer, around 1 m.

Albeit these copper wires were stray finds and none of them were intact, their specific details (their dimensions, rectangular cross-section, the twisting, the curving and its evennes) all match those of the Moigrad specimen and suggest that they had been parts of similar artefacts. It is highly improbable that they are fragments of large-sized bracelets or neck-rings, since neck-rings have not yet been reported from the Bodrogkeresztúr culture and the bracelets of the culture do not taper towards their end. On the other hand, these twisted fragment indicate the presence of two, as yet unparallelled, twisted gold arm-rings among the Copper Age items of the 'Moigrad' hoard since twisting as a decorative technique was already known in the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The Patay also considered the 'Moigrad' gold fork to be a find of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture for similar reasons.

A fragmentary copper object which could well have been a two-pronged fork is known from the third Pločnik hoard (Fig. 22. 4).³⁸⁰ It must be mentioned that Stalio referred to the Caucasian connections of this specimen, quoting mostly two-pronged forks (which shall presently be discussed).

The above survey has convincingly demonstrated that metal forks were not alien to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, thus the attribution of the 'Moigrad' fork to the Copper Age on typological grounds alone cannot be dismissed; moreover, on the basis of the presently known archaeological material of the Carpathian Basin (and not only the Copper Age assemblages) such a dating is highly probable. The uniqueness of the 'Moigrad' fork lies not only in its form, but also in the fact that it was executed in gold and in its symbolic function within the Bodrogkeresztúr culture: that it had been a symbol of power or religion. It had probably been a symbol akin to the well-known large copper-shafted copper axe from Osijek (Yugoslavia). The slender haft of the Moigrad fork was probably fitted into a hilt that had been covered with the gold mounts which would fit onto a (wooden) handle having a diameter of ca. 2.5 cm (see type (11) of the hoard and Fig.7).

Seeing that there is no known find (or, for that matter, figural representation) similar in form and function to the Moigrad fork from the cultures contemporary or related to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, we must turn to other territories in our search for possible parallels. Forks—both three-pronged tridents and two-pronged bidents—were rare, but nevertheless characteristic artefacts of the period between the latter half of the 3rd millennium, the entire span of the 2nd millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium. They occur in the Maikop culture of the Caucasus, among the Hittite finds of Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, in Iran and in the Biblical lands. With the notable exception of Boehmer's detailed survey, 382 there is no comprehensive evaluation of this artefact type. For this reason I have attempted to assemble a full list of forks that can be quoted as comparable analogies.

Two-pronged and, occasionally, three-pronged forks which, however, are smaller than the 'Moigrad' specimen occur quite frequently in the Novosvabodnaia phase of the Maikop culture distributed in the northwestern area of the Caucasus, in the valley of the Terek and Kuban rivers and, in one case, in the Crimea.³⁸³ The earliest specimens, three two-pronged forks (Fig. 21. 1–3) and a peculiar three-pronged one decorated with human figures (Fig. 21. 7) were found in 1898 in the central chamber of dolmen 1 of kurgan 1 at Tsarskaia (or Tsarevskaia, present-day Novosvabodnaia).³⁸⁴ They

³⁷⁸ M. Roska: A rézcsákányok (Über die Herkunft der kupfernen Hacken, Axthacken, Hammeräxte und Pickelhacken vom ungarischen Typus). Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából II (1942) 45, and Fig. 43 on p. 46. The copper axe is illustrated in Fig. 42 on p. 46; Patay (1969) 54, Pl. XV. 7–10, Patay (1975) 18.

³⁷⁹ See Pl. 18. 3–6, and p. 60 (the twisted bracelets).
³⁸⁰ B. Stalio: Dépôt d'objects métalliques nouvellement mis à jour à Pločnik près de Prokuplje. Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja Beograd 4 (1964) 36, notes 12–13, and Fig. 9. The length of this specimen is 15.7 cm.

³⁸¹ M. Bulat: Bakrene sjekire u Muzeju Slavonje (Haches en cuivre de Musée de la Slavonie). Osjeckia Zbornik

^{8 (1962) 18-24,} Pls IV-VI; B. Jovanović: Rudarstvo i metalurgije eneolitskog perioda Jugoslavije (Mining and metallurgy in the Eneolithic of Yugoslavia). *Praistorija Jugoslovenskih Zemalja*. Vol. III. Eneolitsko doba. Edited by A. Benać. Sarajevo (1973) 40-41, Pl. I. 1-3.

³⁸² Boehmer (1972) 139-143.

 ³⁸³ Iljukov (1979) 138–146; Munchaev (1975) Fig. 52
 on p. 249, Fig. 64 on p. 280 (no. 25), and Fig. 67 on p. 293
 (no. 4); Djaparidze (1976) Figs 99 and 100.

³⁸⁴ Tallgren (1934) 20–24, Fig. 21. 10; Iljukov (1979) Figs 2. 2–3 and 3. 2; Tallgren (1934) Fig. 21. 10, probably identical with one of the pieces illustrated in Iljukov (1979) Fig. 2 (here Fig. 21.2).

were allegedly made of bronze, even though the other metal artefacts which had been found alongside them (three chisels, three axes, eight daggers and a spear-head) were said to have been wrought from copper.³⁸⁵ Other two-pronged specimens have been reported from Bamut (Fig. 21. 4), Mahosevskaia (Fig. 21. 5), Prikubane (Fig. 21. 6), Tsegem (Fig. 21. 8), Psebaiskaia (Fig. 21. 9) and the Inozemtsevo site of the Stavropol district (Fig. 21. 10).³⁸⁶ Interestingly enough, no such artefact was recovered from the large Maikop kurgan. So far only the Inozemtsevo specimen has been analysed: it was made of the same type of arsenical bronze as the metal artefacts of Maikop group II.³⁸⁷ A three-pronged, long-shafted specimen (Fig. 22. 3),³⁸⁸ unique among the Maikop finds, claims special attention being the most closely related piece to the eastern three-pronged harpoons of the 3rd and 2nd millennia (see below). The Maikop forks can be dated between 2300 and 2100 B. C.,³⁸⁹ a period which corresponds to the traditional date of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.³⁹⁰

Iliukov has suggested that the Maikop forks "were used for the extraction of boiled meat from a copper cauldron during ritual feasts. Because 'life' in the 'country of the dead' was supposed to be similar to real life, the necessary artefact—a two-pronged fork—was laid into the graves of ministers of religious worship." It is impossible to establish the exact nature of the archaeological observation on which this suggestion rests and to ascertain to what extent it had been influenced by the well-known Biblical passage (1 Sam. 2: 13–14; for related problems, see below). In any case, it is most unlikely that these forks served practical purposes. As regards their connections with forks from other areas Childe has already pointed out that in the 2nd millennium there existed similar types in Luristan and Byblos, as well as other sites of the Eastern Mediterranean. But since he considered these forks to have been metal variants of wooden prototypes he assumed that they could have emerged indepently of each other in various areas. 392

The next horizon of two- and three-pronged forks in the Caucasus can be dated to the close of the 2nd millennium or the beginning of the 1st millennium. The majority stem from old excavations and thus their date is somewhat uncertain. The two-pronged specimens include the piece from kurgan 1 of the site formerly known as Helenendorf (Fig. 20. 1), 393 the Late Bronze Age kurgan burials of Armenia (formerly termed Gandsa–Karabagh culture) in Kalakent (Fig. 20. 2), 394 Sirchavanda–Ballukaia (Fig. 18. 10), 395 Davšanli–Arcadsor 396 and Vardakar (Fig. 20. 4) which can perhaps be assigned to the 13th–10th centuries. 397 F. Hančar saw an (unpublished?) Transcaucasian specimen similar to the imposing, 95 cm long Helenendorf fork in the Historical Museum of Moscow. Schaeffer has published a bronze fork from Tak–Kilisi, 398 the shaft of which was decorated in a manner similar to that of the Sirchavanda specimen. The most securely dated pieces are known from Armenia: two-pronged bronze forks dated to the 12th–11th centuries from Leninakan (Fig. 20. 10), a bronze specimen from Potrevklu, probably dating to the 10th century (Fig. 20. 12), a bronze fork from the tenth century burial at Nizhni Adiaman (Fig. 20. 11), another from Getasen (Fig. 23. 1) and a large three-pronged piece from Ltchasen unearthed in kurgan 1–2 assigned to the 13th–12th centuries (Fig. 20. 9 and Fig. 23. 9). 399 The large dimensions of these forks (especially the proportion of the haft to the fork part: the

385 At least according to Tallgren (1934) 22.

³⁸⁷ Korenovsky-Petrenko (1982) 108, and no. 21070 on p. 109, with an arsenic content of 1.5%.

351–358; Yakar (1976) 151–157 and (1979) 51–67.

390 Makkay (1976) 269-275, and (1982) passim.

³⁹⁸ Hančar (1934) 50–52, does not specifity the find spot; Schaeffer (1948) 499, 502, and Fig, 274. 16.

A. A. Martirosjan: Armenia in the Bronze and Early Iron Age (in Armenian). Erevan (1964) 123, Fig. 49. 1
(Leninakan), 142–143, Fig. 59. 2 (Potrevklu), 157, Fig. 64. 7
(Nizhni Adiaman), 105, Pl. IX. 10 (Ltchasen). Martirosjan mentions the similarity of the latter piece to the fork from Ugarit (see below); he considers the specimen from Nizhni

³⁸⁶ Iljukov (1979) 138–140, Fig. 2. 1–10, and the piece from Inozemtsevo: Korenovsky–Petrenko (1982) 105, Fig. 8. 11 Fig. 9. 6.

Jiss Iljukov (1979) Fig. 3. 1, from Verchnee Eseri. Cp.
 Djaparidze (1955) Pl. X. 1 left, and (1976) Fig. 87 on p. 189.
 Mellaart (1966) 153, 163; Betancourt (1970)

³⁹¹ Iljukov (1979) 146.

³⁹² Childe (1936) 117.

³⁹³ Hummel (1933) 234, Fig. 30; Hančar (1934) 50.

³⁹⁴ Hančar (1934) Fig. 8; Beck (1893) 63, Fig. 3.

³⁹⁵ Hančar (1934) Fig. 8b; Rösler (1896) 104, Fig. 72.

 $^{^{396}}$ Rösler (1896) 94, Fig. 26. The length of the piece is 24.4 cm.

³⁹⁷ L'art arménien de l'Ourartu à nos jours. Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Paris (1970–1971) Fig. 36a, Made of bronze, with a length of 70 cm. For the Vardakar complex, see T. S. Hačatrjan: The ancient culture of Sirak in the 3rd to 1st millennium B.C. (in Armenian). Erevan (1975) Fig. 2 on p. 16, dated to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.

haft of the Helenendorf specimen measures 35 cm, its fork part has a length of 60 cm) belies any practical use these forks could have been put to, especially in view of the execution and lavish ornamentation of the Sirchavanda fork. Rösler and Hančar have already proposed that this latter had been an insignia of rank judging from the panther heads on the lower end of the prongs.

In the lack of securely dated pieces it is yet impossible to ascertain whether there was a genetic connection between the typologically different Maikop forks (featuring but a single three-pronged piece) and these Late Bronze Age specimens from the Caucasus. What appears to be certain, however, is that the Late Bronze Age tradition of forks lived on east of the Caucasus, as documented by the two-pronged forks of the Early Iron Age from Kazakhstan, dating to the 1st millennium B. C. (Fig. 22. 1–2).

The Iranian pieces include the two-pronged fork from Turang tepe which was first published in 1844 (Fig. 19. 8).401 Turang tepe may be tentatively identified with the find spot of the famous Astarabad treasure and thus the piece published in 1844 may also have belonged to this treasure. At least two of the copper (?) forks of the Astarabad treasure were to be found in the Royal Treasury of the Iranian Shah. One of these, published by Mallowan, dates to the Hissar IIIC period (a little after 2000 B. C.). 402 The Shah's collection also included a two-pronged, damaged piece, but it is not known whether this had similarly belonged to the Astarabad treasure or whether it came from an unknown site in Turkestan (Fig. 20. 3).403 Nagel mentions a specimen from Tepe Giyan.404 The two large twopronged copper forks from Hissar III and the ones from Turang tepe have been compared to similar bronze forks from Central and Western Persia and the Transcaucasus; 405 however, the latter can also be dated to a later period. Heine-Geldern was the first to associate the use of these forks with the Indo-Iranians. A two-pronged specimen of unknown provenance from Western Iran (Fig. 20. 5) was compared to the Late Bronze Age two-pronged forks of the Caucasus by Hančar. 406 The exact chronological position of most of the above pieces remains unknown, as for example, the find spot and the date of a 48 cm long, finely wrought bronze specimen from Luristan, dated to the local Iron Age III period, i. e. the 8th-7th centuries B. C.407 Among the securely dated forks from this area, the twopronged piece from grave 45M of the Marlik cemetery (Fig. 18. 8) dates to the 14th–11th centuries. 408 It matches the Caucasian Late Bronze Age specimens and the afore-mentioned two-pronged forks from Iran, and also many of the forks found in the Sialk B cemetery. Most of the Sialk forks were made of bronze, rarely of iron and, with the exception of a single iron specimen, they were two-pronged. These forks were recovered from eight burials (graves 15, 21, 25, 38, 52, 66, 74 and 78) of the 218 burials in the Sialk B cemetery; in three graves (15, 52 and 78) two or more forks had been deposited in the same burial (Fig. 18. 1-7, Fig. 19. 1-7). 409 In his publication of the cemetery Ghirshman noted that "On les

Adiaman to be contemporary with that from Vardakar. O. S. Hnkikian: *The arts and crafts of Armenia in the Bronze Age* (in Armenian). Erevan (1977) 36, Pls VI. 5 (Vardakar), VI. 6 (Getasen) and VI. 7 (Ltchasen).

400 Fig. 22. 1: Sauskum-Uskol: P. Agapov-M. Kadirbaev: Treasures of Ancient Kazakhstan. Monuments of Material Culture (in Russian). Alma-Ata (1979) 111; Fig. 22. 2: Elista (Kalmukian Autonomous Republic): I.V. Sinitsin-V. E. Erdniev: The kurgan mound of Elista (in Russian). Elista (1971) Fig. 1. 2 on p. 115.

⁴⁰¹ Originally published in Archaeologia 30 (1844) Pl. XVI. 11, and mentioned by W. Nagel: Djamdat Nasr-Kulturen und frühdynastische Buntkeramiken. Berlin (1964) 101 and Pl. 66. 9. In note 39, Nagel makes the following remark: "Hierzu die Editorialanmerkung in Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology 5. New York 1938, p. 9, note 11: 'This type of fork (two-pronged copper forks) has also been found in Luristan. An example is in the Hermitage Museum and several others passed through the Tehran market'."

⁴⁰² M. E. L. Mallowan: Early Mesopotamia and Iran. London (1965) Fig. 140, bottom left. 403 J. de Morgan: La préhistoire orientale. Ouvrage posthume publié par L. Germain. Tome III: L'Asie Antérieure. Paris (1927) Fig. 225. 1 on p. 233. Bronze.

⁴⁰⁴ W. Nagel: Djamdat Nasr-Kulturen und frühdynastische Buntkeramiken. Berlin (1964) 101; Cp. also Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran 1 (1929) 67–68.

⁴⁰⁵ R. Heine-Geldern: Archaeological traces of the Vedic Aryans. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 4 (1936) 9, Fig. 44, and E. F. Schmidt: Tepe Hissar Excavations, 1931. *Museum Journal* 23 (1933) 401, 446, Pls CXXII, CLH and CLHI.

 408 Hančar (1934) 64, Fig. 14; E. Herzfeld: Prehistoric Persia, II. ILN (1929) 943, Fig. 6.

⁴⁰⁷ W. Meier-Arendt: Bronze und Keramik aus Luristan. Auswahlkatalog. Frankfurt (1984) no. 51 on p. 52.

⁴⁰⁸ Negahban (1981) 369, Pl. 61 and Fig. 8. After a drawing of the burial. Cp. also E.O. Negahban: *A preliminary report on Marlik excavation. Gohar Rud expedition.* Tehran (1977²) 43, no. 35, Fig. 35. It has a length of 61 cm, and was found at 'XVE'.

⁴⁰⁹ The forks from the Sialk B cemetery in the order of their illustration in this study: trouve indiffèrement dans les tombes d'hommes ou des femmes, riches ou pauvres. Le fait à lui seul indique déjà qu'il est impossible de voir dans ces objets, des armes d'apparat ou des marques de dignité. Les fourches servaient à griller la viande ou le gibier, et nous avons recueilli quelques-unes qui portaient des traces d'os d'oiseaux collés au métal. Au cours du repas funéraire qui précédait l'ensevelissement, elles servaient à la préparation des mets. Variant entre 20 et 75 centimètres de longueur, les fourches sont à douille ou à soie." The only three-pronged specimen was a heavily corroded iron fork. As regards the bird bones, it should be recalled that the hooks found in kurgan II of Tsegem (Maikop culture) most probably served to hang fowls onto the walls of the burial chamber.

Negahban's evaluation of the material unearthed in the Marlik cemetery is extremely instructive in tracing the connections of the Iranian forks. According to him the deceased buried in Marlik were the leaders of a strong Indo-European group of the 14th-11th centuries B. C. who under Assyrian pressure moved to Sialk at the beginning of the first millennium. The material from the Sialk B cemetery (contemporary with Sialk VI) containing also somewhat later, 1st millennium artefact types, is highly similar to their material culture. 413 There is also evidence indicating a break between cemetery A and B (i. e. Sialk V and VI) alongside the features suggesting a continuity between the two cemeteries. 414 The boundary between the two periods is marked by the appearance of new elements, including also the two-pronged forks of Sialk. According to Young there existed a continuity between Iron Age I (= Sialk V, 1300/1250-1000~B.~C.) and Iron Age II (Sialk VI, 1000-800~B.~C.). Iron Age I is best characterised by the spread of plain grey pottery to the east from the western plateau, Iron Age II by the spread of iron metallurgy. Significant connections can be demonstrated between Sialk VI and Hasanlu IV, as, among others, the presence of two-pronged forks. 415 Young concluded that the Iron Age I culture probably "represents the initial and major migration of the Iranians into the Zagros."416 What appears to be certain is that the Iranian forks can be regarded as characteristic artefacts of an early Indo-Iranian population. Forks are no longer attested after the Sialk VI-Hasanlu IV period, 417 a feature which would clarify their ethnic associations. Their close relations with the Late Bronze Age two-pronged forks of the Caucasus is nonetheless unquestionable. The nature of these connections can be taken to indicate strong ethnic ties which would imply that the Late Bronze Age cultures of the Caucasus can also be associated with Indo-Iranian groups.

Fig. 18.

- 1 = Ghirsman (1938) II, 233, Pl. LVII, S 843b, tomb 15; bronze, with a length of 31.5 cm.
- 2 = Ghirsman (1938) 238, Pl. LXV, S 867 (= Pl.XXIV. 10), tomb 38; bronze, with a length of 60 cm.
- 3 = Ghirsman (1938) 239, Pl. LXVIII, S 723a, tomb 52; iron, with a length of 18 cm.
- 4 = Ghirsman (1938) 239, Pl. LXVIII, S 723b, tomb 52; iron, with a length of 15 cm.
- 5 = Ghirsman (1938) 239, Pl. LXVIII, S 711b, tomb 52; bronze, with a length of 46 cm.
- 6 = Ghirsman (1938) 244, Pl. LXXVII, S 968, tomb 78; bronze, with a length of 71 cm.
- 7 = Ghirsman (1938), 242, Pl. LXXIII, S 932, tomb 66; bronze, with a length of 60 cm.

Fig. 19.

- 1 = Ghirsman (1938) 233, Pl. LVII, S 843a, tomb 15; bronze, with a length of 31 cm.
- 2 = Ghirsman (1938) 239, Pl. LXVIII, S 711a, tomb 52; bronze, with a length of 40 cm.
- 3 = Ghirsman (1938) 244, Pl. LXXVII, S 969, tomb 78; bronze, with a length of 32 cm.
- 4 = Ghirsman (1938) 234, Pl. LIX, S 622, tomb 21; bronze, with a length of 40 cm.
- 5 = Ghirsman (1938) 236, Pl. LXII, S 768, tomb 25; bronze, with a length of 72 cm.
- 6 = Ghirsman (1938) 238, Pl. LXVI, S 867, tomb 38; this piece differs considerably from the one shown in Pl. 7.2, which allegedly represents the same specimen.

- 7 = Ghirsman (1938) 243, Pl. LXXV, S. 911, tomb 74; bronze, with a length of 65 cm.
- ⁴¹⁰ Ghirsman (1938) vol II., p. 53; Cp. Ghirsman (1977) 53, where he quotes a Scythian funerary custom as an analogous practice, together with a passage from Herodot (IV. 73) which, in fact, does not reveal anything about the use of forks.
- 411 Ghirsman (1938) 234, Pl. LVII, S 845c, with a length of 20 cm.
 - 412 Iljukov (1979) 140, with further literature.

⁴¹³ Negahban (1981) 369.

- 414 Ghirsman (1977) 52-59, with further literature.
- ⁴¹⁵ Young (1967) 22–26. He quotes fork Sialk S 711 as a matching piece (Pls 7. 5 and 8. 2 in this study). To my knowledge, the forks from Hasanlu are still unpublished. As regards the so-called grey pottery, it is somewhat confusing that the pottery appearing in Turang Tepe IIA (middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.) is also termed thus, and is likewise associated with the appearance of the Indo-Iranians: Deshayes (1969) 13–17.

416 Young (1967) 32.

⁴¹⁷ For further references to forks prior to the Early Iron Age in Iran, see notes 401–404. An artefact of Hissar III date (Fig. 18. 9) cannot be typologically related to the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age forks from Iran and the Caucasus. For the find itself, see E. F. Schmidt: Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan. Philadelphia (1937) 208, 423, Pl. LIX, no. 3195, from CF 97.

Oddly enough, the forks known from Urartu, lying between the Caucasus and Iran, belong to a different tradition. The presently known four pieces (Karmir Blur: Fig. 20. 6–7; Toprak Kale: Fig. 20. 8) are made of iron and are three-pronged. They can probably be dated to the 8th–7th centuries B. C. The form of these three-pronged specimens is most closely matched by the forks from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in spite of the fact that with the exception of a single figural representation (Nimrud: see Fig. 13. 1) à considerable time gap separates them from the Mesopotamian specimens.

In Mesopotamia a two-pronged copper 'harpoon' dated to the Jemdet Nasr (Protoliterate) period has been found in grave 189 (grave B) at Ur (U 19246, BM 123565). It has a total length of 16.5 cm (Fig. 13.6). 419 A two-pronged copper staff-head (?) found in grave C 77 at al 'Ubaid dates to the earlier phase of the Early Dynastic period. "The spike at the base preserves traces of the wood in which it was fixed. . . . It would be difficult to explain it as a tool or weapon, and that it served some ceremonial purpose is more likely. Height 0.145 m, width 0.065 m" (Fig. 13. 7). 420

Disregarding a yet unpublished(?) harpoon head found at Abu Salabikh which can probably be dated to the ED III period, ⁴²¹ the presently known earliest three-pronged forks come from the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Their exact date can only be established with difficulty and since they had been found in various parts of the cemetery, they can hardly be contemporary. ⁴²² Their majority can be assigned to the Gudea period, i.e. to the close of the 23rd century B. C. ⁴²³ They include both three-pronged forks and a two-pronged one, all made of copper. A 26 cm long three-pronged piece was recovered from a disturbed inhumation burial (Fig. 13. 5). ⁴²⁴ Another 26 cm long, but more slender specimen was found in grave 1850 (Fig. 13. 2). ⁴²⁵ The other three-pronged fork is not listed in the monumental publication of the Royal Cemetery, but it is exhibited in the British Museum, in the exhibition presenting the finds from the Royal Cemetery (Fig. 13. 4). Its inventory number (U 120832), form and state of preservation (one of its prongs is broken) definitely prove that it cannot be identical with any of the previous two forks. Woolley has also published a two-pronged fork (Fig. 13. 3) which, however, is not listed in his catalogue, ⁴²⁶ and thus its find circumstances and chronological position remain unknown. Woolley regarded these objects as simple fishing implements (fish spears) of everyday life. ⁴²⁷ However, these

418 Piotrovsky (1959) 141, and Fig. 8 on p. 140 (Toprak Kale) = C. F. Lehmann-Haupt: Armenien einst und jetzt. Vol. II, 2. Leipzig (1931) 507, Fig. on the right, and the Fig. on p. 546 (here Fig. 20. 8); Piotrovsky (1959) 162, Fig. 24; B. B. Piotrovsky: Karmir Blur I (in Armenian). Erevan (195?) 39, Fig. 20 on p. 40. The length of the larger fork is 83 cm, which in itself precludes its practical function as a weapon or some sort of implement or tool. The rich booty taken by Sargon II from Urartu during his 714 B.C. campaign included a silver artefact with gold decoration. Mayer has suggested that this artefact was a flesh-hook, that can therefore perhaps be identified with the royal insignia of the Urartian kings, the three-pronged fork. W. Mayer: Die Finanzierung einer Kampagne = TCL 3, 346-410. Ugarit-Forschungen 11 (1979) 571-595, esp. 578, and 574, line 358. The treasures had originally been stored in the Urzana Palace.

⁴¹⁹ L. Woolley: Ur Excavations. Vol. IV. The Early Periods. Philadelphia (1955) 114 and 203, Pl. 30; Moorey (1982) 22.

420 H. R. Hall–L. C. Woolley: Ur Excavation. Vol. 1. Al 'Ubaid. Oxford (1927) 200, 210, Pl. XLVIII (L); Moorey (1982) 25. Yet another 'harpoon' from Uruk, mentioned by Moorey (1982) 22, and dated to period Uruk IVa, is in fact a 'Bronzebügel' that has nothing in common with these forks: H. Lenzen: XIV. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Uruk–Warka. Berlin (1958) 13–14, Pl. 17b. M. Falkner mentions a two-pronged specimen from the latest phase of the Uruk III period, from the Eanna of Uruk (Reallexikon der Assyrologie. Vol. 3. Berlin–New York (1957–1971) s. v. 'Gabel' on p. 130). This piece has a length of 6.1 cm and, in

view of its form and type, cannot be associated with the forks discussed here. The original publication of this specimen does not state that it was of silver: E. Heinrich: Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk. Berlin-Leipzig (1936) 47, Pl. 35f, W 14766c. For the chronology of the Uruk hoard ('Sammelfund'), see J. D. Muhly: Kupfer. B. Archäologisch. Reallexikon der Assyrologie und Vordersasiatische Archäologie. Vol. 6. 5. Berlin-New York (1983) 354-355 (the close of the Uruk IV period). It must at this point also be recalled that the archaic written signs of the Uruk IV period also include signs resembling three- and four-pronged forks: A. Falkenstein: Archaische Texte aus Uruk. Berlin-Leipzig (1936) nos 322a-322b. Cp. G. A. Barton: A comparative list of the signs of the so-called Indo-Sumerian seals. A ASOR 10 (1930) 91.

⁴²¹ J. N. Postgate—P. R. S. Moorey: Excavations at Abu Salabikh, 1975. *Iraq* 38 (1976) 167, Abs. 855, probably from copper. Since the artefact was defined as a harpoon, it probably cannot be linked to the forks discussed here.

⁴²² H. -J. Nissen: Zur Datierung des Königsfriedhofes von Ur. Bonn (1966) Pl. 17: 'Harpunen'.

⁴²³ Boehmer (1972) 139, note 24; M. B. Rowton: Chronology of Ancient Western Asia. *CAH* 3 I. 1. Cambridge (1970) 219.

⁴²⁴ Woolley (1934) 309–310, 540, Pl. 230, no. 9004; Boehmer (1972) 139, Fig. 45b.

⁴²⁵ Woolley (1934) 309–310, 540, no. 17,926, PG 1850, burial 9, Pl. 230; Boehmer (1972) 139, Fig. 45a.

426 Woolley (1934) Pl. 230, no. 15313.

427 Woolley (1934) 309-310.

artefacts cannot have been simple everyday implements since no other specimen is known from the entire archaeological material of Mesopotamia unearthed until now. The only known Mesopotamian representation of such a fork can be seen against the shoulder of a Syrian or Phoenician man paying tribute to Sulmani-asaridu III on an ivory plaque from Nimrud (Fig. 13. 1). 428 The pieces to be listed in the following also challenge the postulated practical function of these artefacts. Unfortunately, in contrast to the Iranian forks which are later by more than a millennium and the somewhat later ones from Asia Minor and the Levant, no conclusions about possible ethnic associations can be drawn from the Mesopotamian specimens which are, moreover, restricted to Ur, i.e. Southern Mesopotamia.

Three-pronged forks are known from most major sites of Asia Minor. The earliest specimen is somewhat related to the Mesopotamian pieces insofar as it had been recovered from the Assyrian trading colony at Kültepe–Kaneš. In the lack of conclusive evidence it would at the moment be rash to suggest a link between the forks of Asia Minor and Ur through the mediation of Assyrian merchants. The three-pronged bronze fork in question was unearthed in Kültepe–Kaneš Ib, in other words, it dates to around 1900 B. C. (Fig. 14. 2). 1s prongs are rectangular in cross-section and taper towards the tip. Its total length is 70.2 cm to which must be added a wooden haft of unknown length. The bronze 'harpoon' found at Ikiztepe a few years ago is contemporary with the former, i.e. its date "must be Old Hittite or transitional Early to Middle Bronze." Nothing else is known about this piece.

A three-pronged bronze fork with a length of 27.6 cm was found in the royal palace excavated at Maşat Höyük in an area connected with Hittite level I, i.e. in a 13th century context (Fig. 23. 2).⁴³¹ Its form and especially the symmetrical loops of the lateral prongs resemble very much the piece from Ugarit. T. Özgüç suggested that it had been imported from Northern Syria.

These three early forks (harpoons) which can surely be linked to a Hittite ethnic group are complemented by a specimen from Boğazköy, recovered from level 1 of Büyükkale. The length of this iron shaft-holed fork is ca. 80 cm (Fig. 14. 1). According to Boehmer its date cannot be established with certainty; on the basis of analogous finds it can be assigned to the beginning of the 1st millennium B. C. 432 We shall see that, with the exception of the Ur pieces, the parallel finds from Ugarit, Beth Shan, Lachish and Defenneh by Boehmer seem to support the date suggested by him. However, the forks not mentioned by Boehmer and other, recently found specimens are closer to the Boğazköy fork not only from a chronological, but also from a typological point of view. Consequently, the dating of the Boğazköy fork to the period of the Hittite Empire cannot be excluded on typological grounds.

Three three-pronged bronze forks were found in grave I, and five partly damaged bronze three-pronged forks were uncovered in grave II of the royal burials in Byblos at the beginning of the 1920s (Fig. 17. 1–8).⁴³⁴ Their exact dimensions are not known (they were 43 cm long on the average);⁴³⁵ however, they had undoubtedly been part of the original grave goods of the plundered graves. Grave I, the burial of Abi-shemu, king of Byblos, yielded an obsidian vessel bearing the name of Amenemhat III (XIIth Dynasty, 1842–1795). Grave II, belonging to his son, Yapi-shemu-abi, contained objects

 428 Boehmer (1972) 142, note 146 (with further literature), and Fig. 47.

⁴²⁹ T. Özgüç: Küllepe-Kaniş.New researches at the center of the Assyrian trade colonies. Ankara (1959) 56, 109, Fig. 63 on p. 56, and Pl. XLIX. 11; Boehmer (1972) 139, Fig. 45c.; T. Özgüç: Kültepe-Kaniş II. New researches at the trading center of the Ancient Near East. Ankara (1986) 75: "Two more forks were also found in Ib level tombs at Kanish. The prongs are rectangular in section, their tips now missing. One specimen was put in the tomb after the central prong had been lost. In the tubular shaft remnants of wood survived. Forks from Ras Shamra and Maşat Höyük are later than those from Kanish. The Kanish forks measure L. 29 cm, W. 11.5 cm, and L. 30.6 cm, W. 10.1 cm, respectively. A third fork was found in a level II house; it is two-pronged. L. 40 cm, W. 10 cm. Two- and three-pronged forks were used

in both Colony periods. I have no doubt that these forks were made in Kanish workshops following Mesopotamian prototypes." (Pl. 128, 7–9).

 430 M. J. Mellink: Archaeology in Asia Minor. AJA~80 (1976) 266.

⁴³¹ T. Özgüç: Maşat Höyük II. A Hittite center northeast of Boğazköy. Ankara (1982) 113, Pl. 56. 1.

 432 K. Bittel: Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Bogazköy 1936. MdOG75 (1937) 49, Fig. 30. It has a length of 70 cm. Boehmer (1972) 139, 141, Pl. XLV. 1268.

433 Boehmer (1972) 139, 141, with further literature.
 434 Montet (1929) 181–182 and Pls CVIII. 666–668,
 CIX. 666, CX. 663–665; Vincent (1923) 556, 573, Pl. VII. 20
 Montet (1929 no. 663; Virolleaud 919, 220 277–281;
 Pottier (1922) 299–305; Jidejian (1971) 27, Figs 38, 42, 44.

435 Montet (1929) 181: "longeur moyenne: 0 m 43"

inscribed with the name of Amenemhat IV (1798–1789). According to Tufnell the vessels found in these graves had been manufactured locally. She does not discuss the forks. According the function of the forks found in the royal burials of Byblos, the deposition of fishing implements can be practically excluded. It has been suggested that "they appear to have had a double function in a manner similar to the early mace-heads. It is possible that they were used as a symbol of power and at the same time as a weapon." In spite of the fact that in several cases these forks were damaged and deformed, it can nonetheless be clearly discerned that the side-prongs always curved inwards. Montet has pointed out that this feature contradicts the suggestion that they had been used as flesh-hooks, first proposed by M. Macalister in his publication of the Gezer pieces. Montet regarded the Byblos forks as parallels to the three-pronged weapons depicted in the hands of one of the deities on a Sam'al relief (Sindjirli), or in the hands of Syrians on Egyptian reliefs. Pottier, however, who to my knowledge was the first to refer to an analogous find from Mycenae, again opted for the flesh-hook (pempobolon) used in sacrificial ceremonies by the ancient Greeks. It cannot be resolved to what extent the Biblical passages, I Sam. 2: 13–14 and Exodus 27: 3, influenced a similar interpretation of the forks from the Caucasus, Iran (Sialk) and Byblos (i.e. as flesh-hooks used in sacrifices).

A 65 cm long three-pronged fork made of bronze and showing traces of contemporary repair has been found in Ugarit (Fig. 15. 5). 41 In Schaeffer's opinion "vu la fragilité des pointes, il ne s'agit guère ici d'une arme, mais plutôt d'une enseigne ou d'un outil pour rôtir de la viande." It has been dated to the 13th century B. C. A three-pronged fork is known from Gezer (Fig. 15. 4) which, owing to its find circumstances ("from III 13") cannot be accurately dated. 42 It can most probably be assigned to the last two centuries of the 2nd millennium since we know that the latest prehistoric levels of Gezer date to the Early Iron Age. 43 A small three-pronged iron fork dating to the 8th century has been published from level IV of Beth Shan (Fig. 16. 1). 44 A similar iron with broken prong has been recovered from Defenneh (Fig. 16. 2); it dates to the 7th century B. C. 44 two-pronged iron fork which can be associated with the Philistines was found in grave 90 of the northern cemetery at Beth Shan, dating to the 12th–11th centuries B. C. 446 In contrast to the other three-pronged forks this specimen is related to the Egyptian ones (see below).

The large-sized iron fork from grave 521 of Lachish (Fig. 15. 1) has a length of at least 62 cm. It is dated to around 1000 B.C. since grave 251 was the "earliest large tomb exclusively belonging to the Iron Age which has so far been recovered from the site. The trident and one of the three iron knives are comparable to products of the Early Iron Age in Europe." I personally am unaware of these European Iron Age tridents (see also note 505).

As a result of recent archaeological activity there have come to light more accurately dateable forks. A 50 cm long three-pronged bronze fork was unearthed in grave B 3 containing three skeletons

⁴³⁶ O. Tufnell: The pottery from royal tombs I–III at Byblos. Berytus 18 (1969) 7, 17; W. F. A. Albright: Some remarks on the archaeological chronology of Palestine before 1,500 B.C. Chronologies in Old World Archaeology. Edited by R.W. Ehrich. Chicago (1965) 54–55.

⁴³⁷ Jidejian (1971) 27.

438 Montet (1929) 182.

439 Montet (1929) 182.

440 Pottier (1922) 305, with further literature.

⁴⁴¹ C.F.A. Schaeffer: Une épée de bronze d'Ugarit portant la cartouche du pharaon Merneptah. *Ugaritica* 3 (1956) 178, Figs 123–124.

⁴⁴² R.A.S. Macalister: *The excavations of Gezer*. Vol. II. London (1912) 46, Fig. 244a. According to Montet (1929) 182, several forks reminiscent of the Byblos specimens had been found at Gezer. Nothing more is known about these, save for the fact that they were two- and three-pronged.

 443 K. Kenyon: Archaeology in the Holy Land. London (1965²) 312–313.

444 G. M. Fitzgerald: Beth Shan excavations 1921–1923. Vol. III. The Arab and the Byzantine levels. Philadelphia (1931) 41, Pl. 38. 33; F.W. James: The Iron Age at Beth Shan. A study of levels VI–IV. Philadelphia (1966) 131, Fig. 118. 11, Field no. 3230; for the chronology, see p. 139.

⁴⁴⁵ W.M. Flinders-Petrie: Tanis, Part II. Nebesheh (AM) and Defenneh (TAHPANHES). Fourth Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. London (1888) 77, Pl. 37. 3 ("perhaps for fishing"); W. M. Flinders-Petrie: Tools and weapon. London (1917; reprinted in 1974, Warminster) Pl. LXXII. 54.

446 E. Oren: The northern cemetery of Beth Shan. Leiden (1970) 118–119, 228, no. 5, Fig. 4515. 76, 14; Dothan (1967) 218, Fig. 2, 220, Fig. 2; T. Dothan: Philistine civilisation in the light of archaeological finds in Palestine and Egypt. Eretz-Israel 5 (1958) Pl. 8. 5; Dothan (1976) 22, type I. 13, Pl. 4. E.

⁴⁴⁷ O. Tufnell: Lachish III. Tell ed-Duweir. The Iron Age. London–New York–Toronto (1953) 222, 387, Pls 56, 38, 8, 3 and 40, 7. In Thomsen's opinion the piece had probably been an artefact used by priests (Tell ed-Duwer. AfO (1935) 388).

(two males and one female) of the cemetery lying north of Akko (Fig. 15. 2).⁴⁴⁸ The Bronze Age fork whose 14th century dating is also supported by Late Mycenaean III Al–2 imports can be linked to a warrior class which marks the first appearance of the Philistines. The piece had been originally repaired at the point where the side-prongs branch off; this, incidentally, corresponds to the point where the pieces from Ugarit (Fig. 15. 5) and Tell Jedur (Fig. 15. 3) were broken. The fork from Akko "was obviously not intended for actual work, but served some other function."⁴⁴⁹

A burial cave was discovered at Tell Jedur near Hebron in 1974 which functioned as the burial place of a rich family in the Late Bronze Age II, from the 14th century to the close of the 13th century. The finds included a 40 cm long three-pronged bronze fork, a sickle-sword, two daggers and numerous arrow-heads. One of the side-prongs of this fork is missing (Fig. 15. 3). Two bronze objects have been found in a pit lined with stones (pit D–I 17.20) at Deir 'Alla lying in the Jordan valley in Jordania (Fig. 16. 3–4). They can be assigned to phase IV, "the earliest and major phase excavated in this area." In terms of chronology it is either contemporary or earlier than the Middle Bronze Age–Late Bronze Age transition. The two forks which can be dated to the 14th century or earlier had apparently been deposited in a sacrificial pit. The haft of the larger three-pronged piece was bent several times in order to squeeze the originally 95 cm long fork into the 70–90 cm wide pit. These, as yet unparallelled, objects which can undoubtedly be regarded as forks, had probably been symbols of power or religion and can in no way be interpreted as weapons or implements of everyday use.

An intact burial cave was discovered at Tell Ḥalif near Khuweilifeh in Israel in 1965. 215 grave goods, including two-pronged iron forks, had been deposited beside the skeletons. The exact number and dimensions of these forks remain unknown (Fig. 16. 7). Their date ranges between the close of the 10th century and the beginning of the 8th century B.C.

Two bronze artefacts, slightly differing from forks, have been reported from grave 912B of Megiddo, dating to the Late Bronze Age II or slightly earlier, to the Middle Bronze Age II (Fig. 16. 5–6). Their form is reminiscent of tweezers, but in view of their dimensions, such a function can be excluded. It would appear that they are but a peculiar variant of two-pronged forks. The head of these artefacts had been fitted into a wooden haft with the aid of a ring (Fig. 16. 5). This appears to have been the fork quoted as an analogue to the specimen from Tell Deir 'Alla (Fig. 16. 4).

A detailed study of the two-pronged forks from the northern cemetery of Beth Shan has already been published. Dothan is correct in stating that these small two-pronged specimens should be distinguished from the larger, usually three-pronged Palestinian forks also regarding their function even though they 'had a dual function as spear-butts and ends of ceremonial staffs or sceptres." In her opinion 'the Palestinian examples are clearly Egyptian in origin, having excellent parallels in Egypt, with the same range of types." She links the Palestinian forks to the Philistines. Of the three-pronged forks, the pieces from Gezer, Lachish, Deir 'Alla and Akko can also be associated with the Philistines. The dating of these pieces also supports this suggestion (with the exception of the uncertain specimens from Deir 'Alla, even though a 14th century date cannot be excluded even in this case), if we accept a date around 1370 for the first infiltration of the Philistines into the Levant. In this case the fork from Ugarit, that is typologically similar to the Lachish specimen, can also be linked to the Philistines. It must at this point be recalled that on the basis of the scanty evidence the Philistine language appears to have been related to the Anatolian (Hittite and Luwian) and Greek tongues.

⁴⁴⁸ G. E. Edelstein: Tombs of merchant-warriors near Acco (in Hebrew). *Quadmoniot* 5 (1972) 19–21, Fig. on p. 20, top; Z. Goldmann: Accho. *Encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land*. Vol. I. Edited by M. Avi-Yonah. London (1975) 14–23, Fig. on p. 21; Ben-Arieh–Edelstein (1977) 2–5, 30–31, Pl. VI. 3 and Fig. 15. 2; cp. also *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8: 2 (1972) 38.

⁴⁴⁹ Ben-Arieh-Edelstein (1977) 86.

⁴⁵⁰ S. Ben-Arieh: Tell Jedur. *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981) *81, and Fig. 1 on p. 13, Pl. with Hebrew numbering.

⁴⁵¹ Franken-Ibrahim (1977-1978) 76, Pl. XLI. 2,

⁴⁵² A. Biran-R. Gophna: An Iron Age burial cave at

Tell Ḥalif (in Hebrew). Eretz-Israel 9 (1969) 135, Pl. 6 of the Hebrew section, Fig. 2.

⁴⁵³ P.L.O. Guy: *Megiddo tombs*. OIP vol. 33. Chicago (1938) Pl. 125. 10–11.

⁴⁵⁴ Franken-Ibrahim (1977-1978) 76.

⁴⁵⁵ Dothan (1976) 20-34.

⁴⁵⁶ Dothan (1976) 34.

⁴⁵⁷ Dothan (1976) 34.

⁴⁵⁸ Dothan (1967) 218-220; Dothan (1958) 64.

⁴⁵⁹ See notes 442, 447-448 and 451.

⁴⁶⁰ Kitchen (1973) 63.

⁴⁶¹ Kitchen (1973) 67.

It must also be established whether two- and three-pronged forks are depicted on cylinder seals. These forks are rarely listed among the religious symbols of Near Eastern religion. 462 True enough, it is extremely difficult to distinguish forks from lightning forks, the so-called 'Blitzbündel' on cylinder seals. A brief survey reveals that two-, three- and sometimes even four-pronged forks appear on cylinder seals during a period and over an area compatible with the distribution of these artefacts. Disregarding a representation from Tepe Gawra (level XIA) which obviously depicts a simple twopronged fishing fork, male deities holding a fork-like implement (weapon? symbol?) only appear from the Akkadian period on. A distinction can be drawn between forks and lightning forks appearing at roughly the same time, since the prongs of the former are never wavy or zig-zag shaped, but always straight, even if divergent. Even so, it is sometimes extremely difficult to distinguish between the two, especially in the case of three-headed lion clubs. After the Akkadian period two- and three-pronged forks are known from the Old Babylonian period, and from Susa from the end of the 3rd millennium. An interesting four-pronged type has been published from the Kassite period. A peculiar three-pronged item which could well be a hook-ended fork has been unearthed at Karmir Blur. A fork is depicted on the royal seal of a clay bulla in the palace of king Rusa (probably Rusa I, ca. 730-714 B.C.) at Bastam which matches the forks from Urartu down to the smallest detail. It is not in the least surprising that depictions of three-pronged forks on seals were abundant in Anatolia in Hittite contexts from the Assyrian Colony period, even if the interpretation of certain implements as forks is debatable. It would appear that no conculsions as to the symbolic function of these forks can yet be drawn on the basis of the sporadic and at present still unsystemized depictions occurring on cylinder seals. This is all the more true of the religious and mythological role of these forks.

I have already mentioned a passage of the Old Testament according to which "the priests' custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priests' servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or cauldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself. So they did in Shiloh onto all the Israelites that came thither."463 The flesh-hook (i.e. fork) could well have been the sacral implement used for 'procuring' the flesh needed for offering a sacrifice or the portion due to the priests. 464 (Homer recounts that youths holding five-pronged forks, 465 πεμπώβολα, stood in a circle when bloody sacrifices were presented to Athena and Apollo.) Regarding forks, however, the most controversial passage is 2 Sam. 5: 8 (and the parallel text in 1 Chron. 11: 6) especially as regards the precise meaning of snwr = sinnôr in the text reading $kl \, mkh \, ybswy \, wyg' \, bsnwr \, (2 \, Sam. \, 5:8)$. Forty-two different translations of this word (and passage) have so far been advanced; three of these propose a weapon, or, to be more precise, a trident. 466 E.L. Sukenik was the first to suggest this interpretation and to quote the Gezer and Byblos forks, as well as the trident of Poseidon in this context. "The sinnôr was then the trident of God, with which he struck the sea and created the breakers. There may be here some Mediterranean, possibly Aegean influence." 467 The word sinnor, 'gutter', only occurs in one other passage of the Old Testament (Psalms 42: 8); flesh-hooks are denoted by another word. This word is at present usually translated as 'watercourse', 'canal' or 'watershaft', following the clarification of the problems surrounding the Jebusite underground tunnel, 468 and attempts have been made to interpret the passage in this context. 469 It would nonetheless appear that this issue is far from resolved; Yadin's

 $^{^{462}}$ J. Makkay: Metal forks as symbols of power and religion. $Acta\ Arch.\ Hung.\ 35\ (1983)\ 337–338,$ with the relevant literature.

^{463 1} Sam. 2: 13–14, and Exodus 27: 3. Cp. G. E. Wright: Biblical archaeology. Philadelphia–London (1957) 141–142: "the flesh-hooks . . . were used in connection with the altar. . . . Several of these three-tined forks have turned up in the excavations, having been used from very early times."

 $^{^{464}}$ In fact, the portion be fitting the god (or gods) from the sacrifice is the priests' due.

 $^{^{465}}$ Il. I. 463 and Od. 3, 460 The lines of the Odyssey are but a repeatal of the verses of the Iliad.

⁴⁶⁶ G. Brunet: David et le sinnôr. Studies in the historical books of the Old Testament. Supplement to Vetus Testamentum 30 (1979) 73, notes 4 and 9.

⁴⁶⁷ E. L. Sukenik: The accounts of David's capture of Jerusalem. *JPOS* 8 (1929) 12–16; According to Yadin (1963) vol. II, 268, the relevant passage reads "whosoever . . . smiteth . . . the lame and the blind with his trident . . .".

⁴⁶⁸ A. Vincent-A. Steve: Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament. Paris (1954) 260 and 269 ff; K. Kenyon: Jerusalem. London (1967) 19–22.

⁴⁶⁹ These are the following (in chronological order): S. Birch: The Siloam inscriptions. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quaterly Statements* 22 (1980) 208–209; H. Vincent:

suggestion that sinnôr should be translated as 'trident' agained significance in a new context. Surprisingly enough, the basis for this new interpretation was provided by Hittite texts.

The fact that forks have also come to light on Mycenaean sites has either been totally neglected or simply disregarded in the research of the fork-problem. A fork "with three bent prongs and semicircular handle" (Fig. 14. 5) dated to the MC I (or II-III) phases is known from tomb 21: 163 of Lapithos in Cyprus. Its length is 8.2 cm. 470 The Pera hoard, found at a site near Nicosia in 1896 included a flesh-hook with three flat, bent and tapering prongs; it also dates to the Middle Cypriote II-III period.⁴⁷¹ Åström mentions other contemporary analogies from the tombs at Lapithos.⁴⁷² A threepronged bronze fork has recently been found in a shaft burial excavated at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fig. 23. 3).⁴⁷³ The magnificent trident lay at the feet of the deceased man. This burial can be dated to the 13th century B.C. This fork shares numerous similarities with the Ugarit, Akko and Maşat Höyük specimens. This piece is probably an import from the Levant and thus confirms the eastern connections of the Myceanean settlements on Cyprus. Catling considers the two other specimens from Lapithos and Pera to be of foreign origin. An object with fenestrated socket and six prongs was found in grave 4 of Sellopoulo, near Knossos; it has been dated to the LM III A, period. 474 It was part of a splendid series of bronzes belonging to burial land it has an almost exact parallel among the bronzes found in the dromos of chamber tomb 2 at Dendra. 475 These Cypriote and Cretan pieces can most probably be linked to the presence or influence of Myceaneans in this area.

On the mainland the various Mycenaean fork types have come to light exclusively in royal burials or in royal centers. The 19.5 cm long three-pronged bronze fork found in shaft grave IV at Mycenae by Schliemann (Fig.14. 3) was considered to be the forerunner of Homeric and later $\pi \epsilon \mu \pi \acute{o} \beta o \lambda \alpha$ or $\chi e \epsilon \acute{a} \gamma e \alpha i$ by Karo, i.e of an implement used in the kitchen or at sacrifices ('Opfergerät'). 476 Nothing is known about its exact position within the grave which contained three gold-masked male skeletons and two female skeletons. 477 A "six-pronged fishing-spear" was found in chamber tomb 22 of Dendra: "its socket has two rows of holes, 7 below, 8 above. It cannot have had a wooden shaft ..." Together with numerous other finds, the only 11.2 cm long bronze implement (Fig. 14.4) was unearthed in a pit covered with large stone slabs lying under the entrance to the tomb; it had probably been a sacrificial

Jérusalem. Vol. I. Jérusalem Antique. Paris (1912) 156-161; W. F. Albright: The sinnôr in the story of David's capture of Jerusalem. JPOS 2 (1922) 286-290; E. H. Vincent: Le sinnôr dans la prise de Jérusalem. Revue Biblique 33 (1924) 357-370; H. L. Ginsberg: Lexicographical notes. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums NF 10 (1933) 308-309; G. Bressan: L'espugnazione di Sion in 2 Sam 5, 6-8, 1 Chron 11, 4-6 e il problema del "sinnôr". Biblica 25 (1944) 346-381; A. Fernandez: El sinnôr (2 Sam. 5, 6-8). Biblica 35 (1954) 217-222; H. J. Stobe: Die Einnahme Jerusalems und der sinnôr. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 73 (1957) 73-99; Yadin (1963) vol. II, 268-269; Y. Yadin: Is the Biblical account of the Israelite conquest of Canaan historically reliable? Biblical Archaeology Review 8: 2 (1982) 16-23; Th. A. Busink: Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes. Vol. I. Der Tempel Salomos. Leiden (1970) 90; G. Brunet: David et le sinnôr. Studies in the historical books of the Old Testament. Supplement to Vetus Testamentum 30 (1979) 73-74; V. Sasson: The Siloam tunnel inscription. PEQ 114 (1982) 115-116.

⁴⁶⁹a Yadin (1963) vol. II, 268-269.

⁴⁷⁰ E. Gjerstad: Studies on prehistoric Cyprus. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1926, Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper 1. Uppsala—Stockholm (1926) 240, and Fig. 1 on p. 237. That this piece can indeed be dated to the Mycenaean period is corroborated by Karo (1930–1933) 223; H. W. Catling: Cypriot bronzework in the Mycenaean world. Oxford (1964) 66, Fig. 4. 7.

⁴⁷¹ P. Åström: The Pera bronzes. Lund (1977) 30, 38, no. 88, and Fig. 18. 57 on p. 25. Its length is 9. 7 cm.; H. W. Catling: Cypriot bronzework in the Mycenaean world. Oxford (1964) 66, Pl. II. h.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 38, note 8.

⁴⁷³ P. Åstrom: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Archaeology 37 (March-April 1984) 77, and Fig. on p. 58.

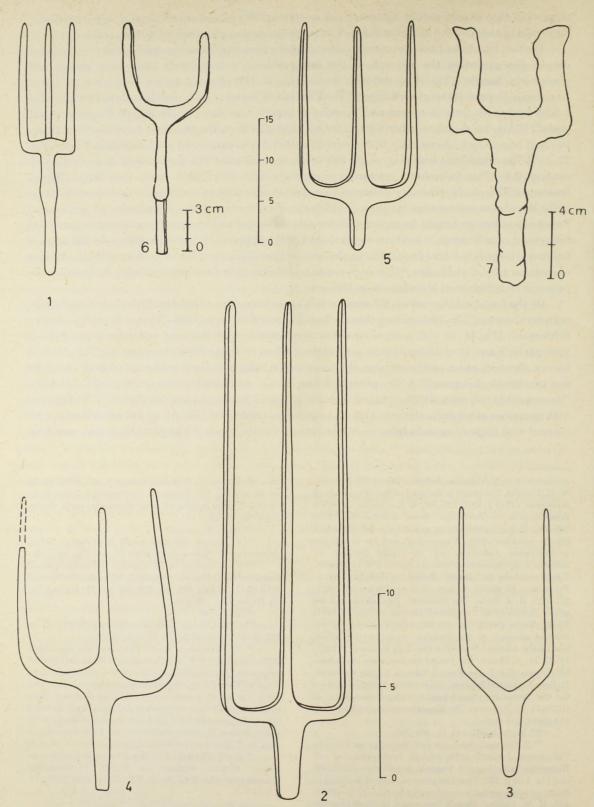
 $^{^{474}}$ E. A. Catling–H. W. Catling: Sellopoulo tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos. The bronzes. $BSA\ 69\ (1974)\ 225–254,$ esp. 229 and 246, Pl. 40e and Fig. 18. Its length is 10. 1 cm.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 246.

⁴⁷⁶ H. Schliemann: *Mycenae*. London (1878) 255, no. 372; Karo (1930–1933) 223, Pl. CH. 515.

⁴⁷⁷ Sp. Marinatos: Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas. Munich (1973²) 164. According to Mylonas (1966) 91, this grave contained the remains of two males and three females. The three gold masks would suggest that Marinatos' statement is more acceptable than Mylonas'. Only two of the skulls have survived; both belong to young males (25 and 35 years of age): J. L. Angel: Human skeletons from grave circles at Mycenae. Published in G. E. Mylonas' Grave circle B of Mycenae (in Greek). Athens (1973) vol. A, 384.

⁴⁷⁸ A. W. Persson: The Royal tombs at Dendra near Midea. Skrifter utgivna an Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund XV. Lund (1931) 97, Pl. XXXIV. 1.



 $\label{eq:Fig. 13.1. Nimrud; 2-5. Ur, Royal Cemetery; 6. Ur, grave 189; 7. al {}^{\circ}\text{Ubaid, grave C 77.}$

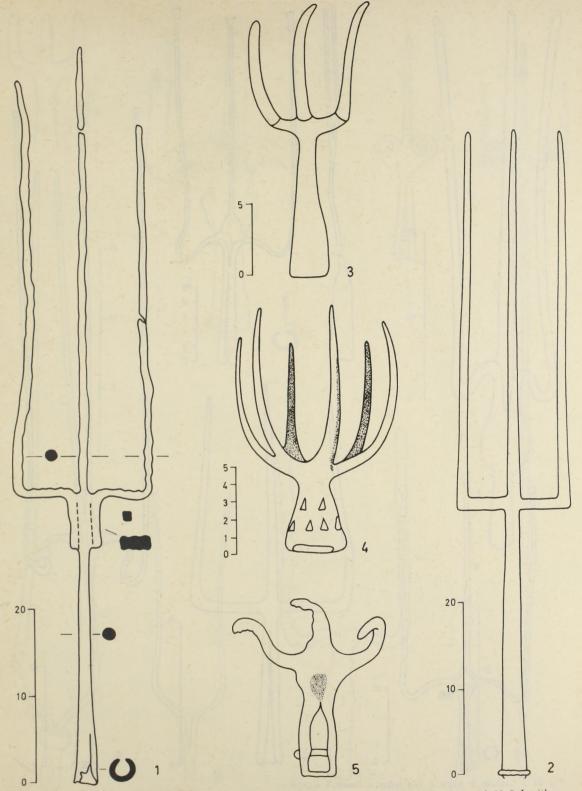


Fig. 14. 1. Boğazköy–Büyükkale; 2. Kültepe–Kaneš; 3. Mycenae, shaft grave IV; 4. Dendra, chamber tomb 22; 5. Lapithos, tomb 21: 193.

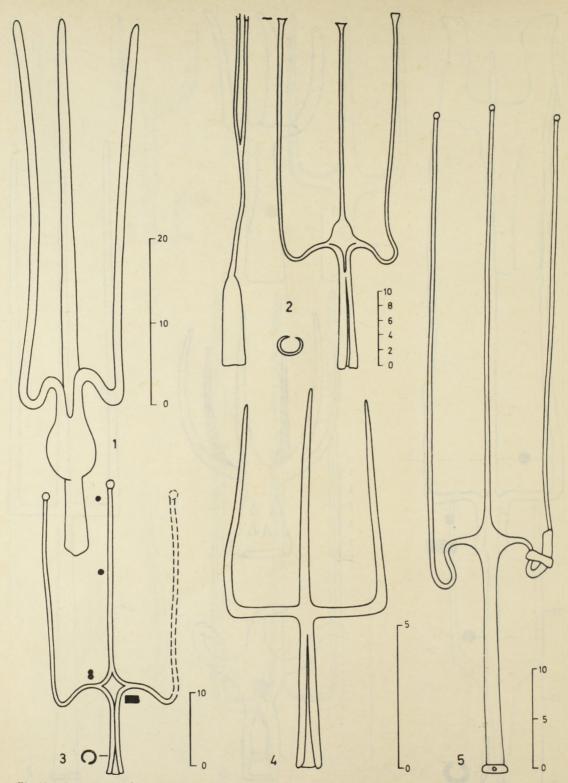


Fig. 15. 1. Lachish; 2. Akko; 3. Tell Jedur; 4. Gezer; 5. Ugarit.

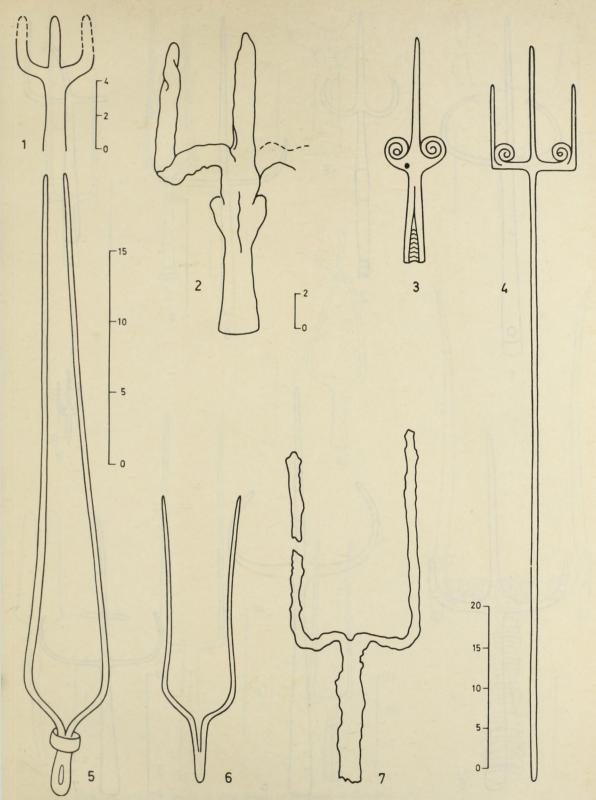


Fig. 16. 1. Beth Shan; 2. Defenneh; 3–4. Tell Deir ^cAlla; 5–6. Megiddo; 7. Tell Ḥalif.

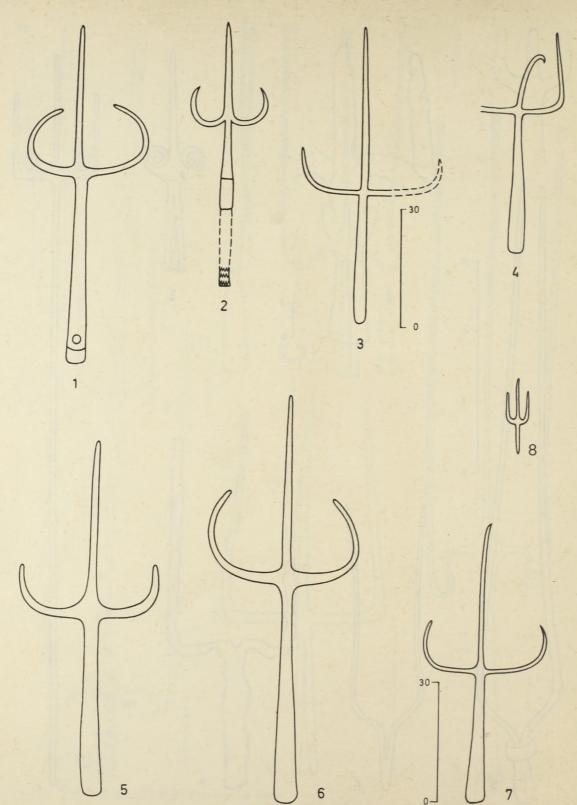


Fig. 17. 1-8. Byblos, the royal burials.

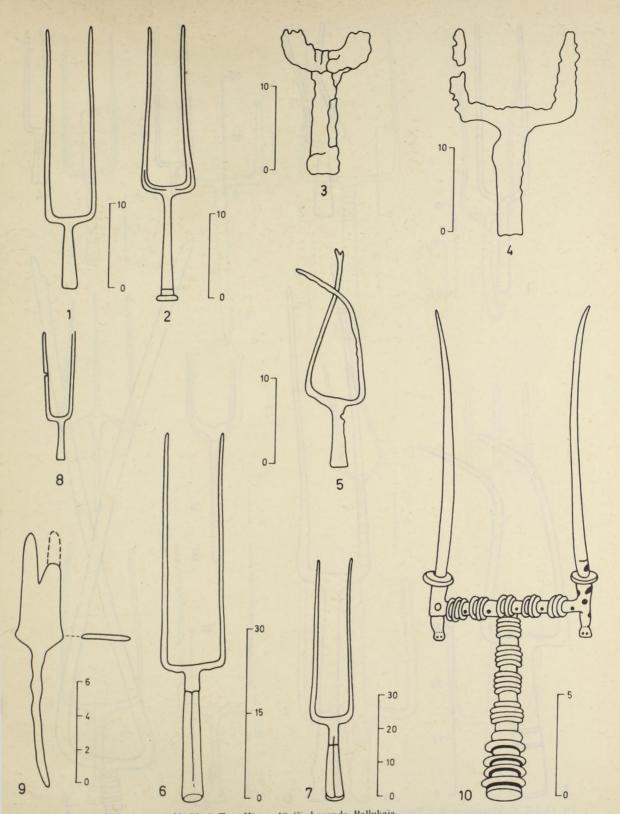
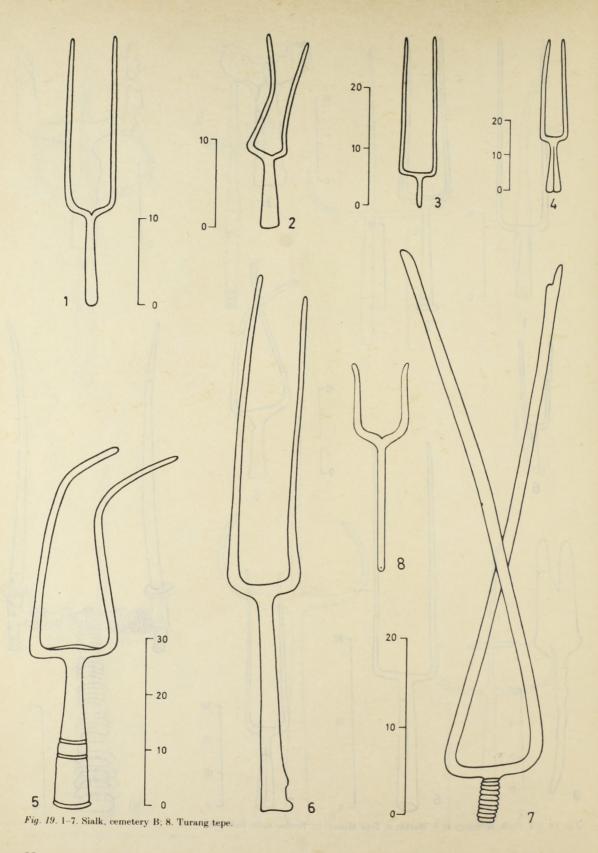


Fig. 18, 1–7, Sialk, cemetery B; 8, Marlik; 9, Tepe Hissar; 10, Sirchavanda–Ballukaia.



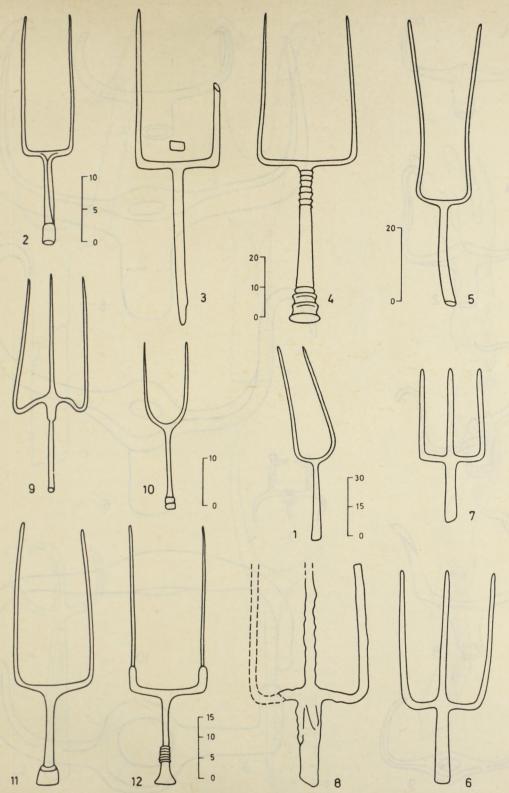
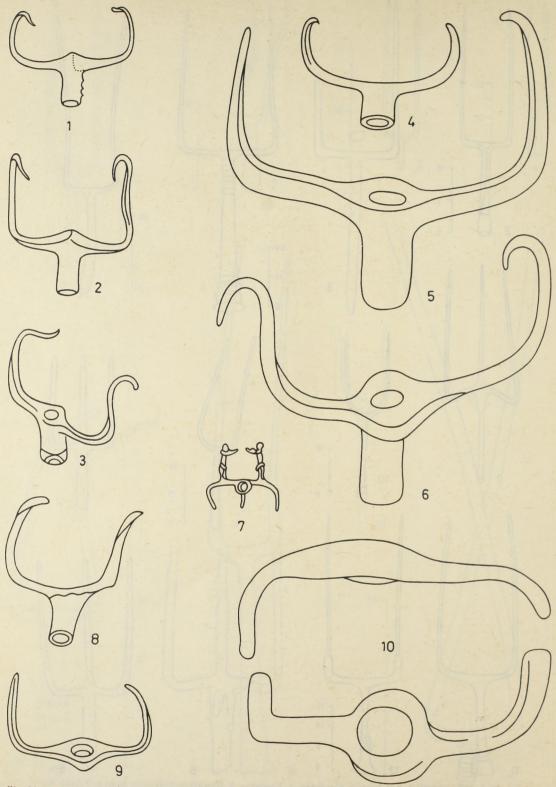


Fig. 20, 1. Helenendorf; 2. Kalakent; 3. Kurdistan; 4. Vardakar; 5. Iran (?); 6–7. Karmir Blur; 8. Toprak Kale; 9. Ltchasen; 10. Leninakan; 11. Nizhni Adiaman; 12. Potrevklu.



 $Fig.\ 21.\ 1-3,\ 7.\ Tsarskaia-Novosvabodnaia;\ 4.\ Bamut;\ 5.\ Mahosevskaia;\ 6.\ Prikubane;\ 8.\ Tsegem;\ 9.\ Psebaiskaia;\ 10.\ Inozemtsevo.$

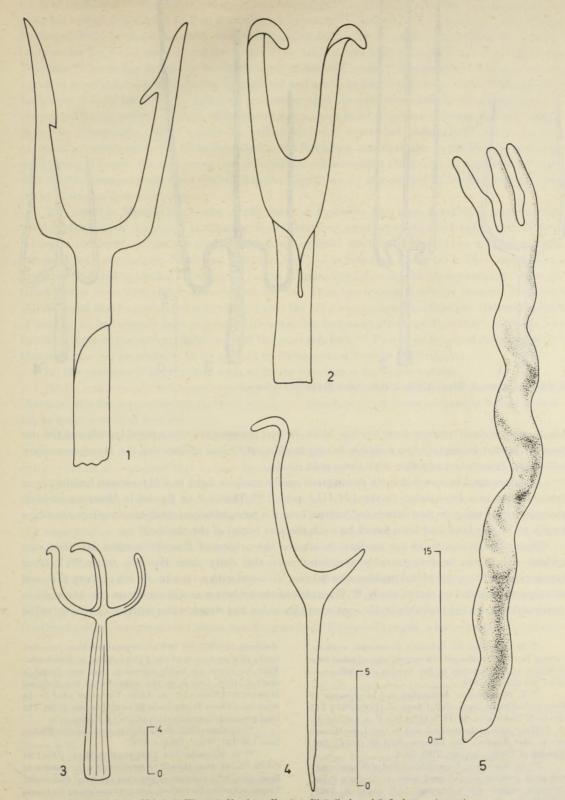


Fig. 22. 1. Sauskum–Uskol; 2. Elista; 3. Verchnee Eseri; 4. Pločnik, hoard 3; 5. Assur, ziggurat.

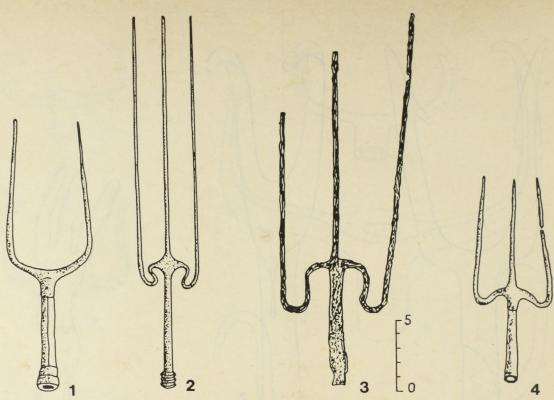


Fig. 23. 1. Getasen; 2. Maşat Höyük; 3. Hala Sultan Tekke; 4. Ltchasen.

pit. In view of its divergence from average forks, its find circumstance (in a royal burial) and the site itself, it cannot be regarded as a simple fishing implement,⁴⁷⁹ and neither can the Mycenaean piece which had been found together with three gold masks.

A six-pronged bronze fork with fenestrated socket came to light in a Myceanean building near Orchomenos, in a level dated to the LH IIIA period. Tholos 2 at Routsi in Messenia yielded, alongside other weapons (ten swords and knives) two two-pronged bronze flesh-hooks or forks having a length of 14 cm; both had been found beneath the last burial of the tholos. 481

These Mycenaean forks are cardinal in tracing the origins of Poseidon's main attribute, the trident, which can be demonstrably associated with this deity since Homeric times. Related typological and iconographical problems have been discussed with a view to the 5th century B.C. and subsequent periods in a recent study. The mark of the trident was still shown on the Acropolis in classical Athens, most probably on the spot where Poseidon had struck water with his lightning (or the

⁴⁷⁹ As suggested by Persson's excavation workers. Catling, however, challenged this suggestion, and asked for a definition of the function of the Dendra and Sellopoulo forks. See also note 474.

⁴⁸⁰ T. Spyropoulos: Antiquities and monuments of Boeotia (in Greek). *Arch. Delt. Chron.* 27 (1972[1977]) 313 and *Arch. Delt. Chron.* 28 (1973/1979) 263. E. A. Catling-H. W. Catling: Sellopoulo tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos. The bronzes. *BSA* 69 (1974), 246. Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 2798–2803.

⁴⁸¹ Sp. Marinatos: A magnificent find of Homeric gold and gems from an unplundered tomb at Nestor's Pylos, including superb inlaid daggers. *ILN* (April 6, 1957) 540–543, Fig. 20; Sp. Marinatos: Excavations near Pylos. Antiquity 31 (1957) 99. In his interpretation these were firehooks (the pa-ra-to-ro of the Pylos tablets) or flesh-hooks. Both specimens are highly corroded; they were found in shaft 2. 1956. One is in the collection of the National Museum in Athens (inv. no. 8359). The other went to the museum of Chora Triphylias in Messenia (inv. no. 2739). The kind personal communication of Dr. G. Korrès.

⁴⁸² Guthrie (1962) 95; Aeschylus, Seven against Thebes, lines 130–131; Wüst (1953) c. 478.

⁴⁸³ R. Wünsche: Der 'Gott aus dem Meer'. JDAI 94 (1979) 77–111, even though he considers it to be a statue of Zeus, since he is unaware of any vase paintings that depict Poseidon hurling his trident, and interpretations that seem acceptable for the Artemision statue. hoofs of his horse). 484 The deity performed numerous mythological feats with his trident, which was regarded either as a fishing fork or a symbol of lightning. 485 He stirred up the seas, evoked floods, destroyed chariots, shook the earth, created islands, cleaved rocks, destroyed the walls of the Achaean camp under Troy and constrained the Titans. This trident had been wrought by the Cyclops or the Telchines. 486 According to Nonnos, however, it was of Assyrian origin. 487 The images of Poseidon bearing a trident mostly date to the post-Pheidian period and are to be found mainly on coins. 488 The shaft of his trident is fairly long, and the fork itself is three-pronged: its side-prongs branch off at right-angles to the central prong and are pointed, often resembling a spear-head. The central prong is usually longer than the side-prongs which sometimes branch outward somewhat obliquely. 489 These features practically correspond to the forks described in the foregoing, and thus also to the Moigrad fork (the main prong is longer, the side-prongs are pointed and set somewhat obliquely). It must also be noted that the five-pronged implement described in the Iliad 480 is only represented by the Moigrad specimen in the Eurasian fork inventory.

The possible Myceanean origin of the fork of Poseidon has been practically neglected by prehistoric research. According to Schachermeyr the trident, as an attribute which can be derived from fishing implements, is but secondary, Poseidon's original attribute having been a lightning fork (adopted from an eastern, Anatolian, Thunder God) as befitted an Earth God. This adoption can probably be dated to the beginning of the Ionian colonisation following the Mycenaean age, when the Greek tribes came into closer contact with the sea. That the trident gradually became Poseidon's attribute can also be associated with the fact that the sea gods and demons of the pre-Hellenic peoples of the Aegean had already been endowed with a real fish-fork as an attribute. Poseidon's attribute is in fact a mixture of the eastern lightning and the local fish-fork.⁴⁹¹ Two basic tenets of Schachermeyr's theses presenting an obstacle to its present usefulness must here be pointed out:

- (a) the prehistoric background with which he operates is no longer tenable;
- (b) he was strongly influenced by the idea that forks (tridents) can only be associated with a characteristic fishing implement (in other words, the possibility that it can perhaps be linked to flesh-hooks never occurred to him).

Poseidon's name, functions, mythical feats and cult undoubtebly contain numerous elements which are alien to a Sea God and even to the sea itself. If we accept that Poseidon is an entirely Greek deity we must also assume that he was brought into closer contact with the sea when he appeared together with the Greek tribes migrating into Greece (or moving south from more northerly areas). Since contact with the sea is beyond dispute in the case of the Mycenaean Greeks (at least from the period following the shaft grave period), the cult of a Sea God is likewise beyond doubt; consequently, this immigration (or southward migration) resulting in closer contact with the sea can only have occurred around 1700 B.C. at the latest if we now only concentrate on the transformation in Poseidon's nature. However, even this idea must be revised in the light of recent advances in the field of Mycenaean research. Poseidon appears in the text of Mycenaean tablets, even if in sometimes unclarified contexts. Moreover, he is endowed with the title of wanax in the Oil Tablets found at Pylos, as the leading deity of Pylos. Mr to take as a starting point that "it is an undoubted fact that the Greeks were immigrants to Greece, speaking an Indo-European tongue, who entered the peninsula

⁴⁸⁴ Pausanias I. 24, 3 and I. 26, 5–6; Schachermeyr (1950) 36 and 144; M. P. Nilsson: σχήμα τριαίνης in the Erechtheion. *JHS* 21 (1901) 325–333; Gruppe (1906) vol. I, 25.

⁴⁸⁵ Wüst (1953) c. 478.

⁴⁸⁶ Gruppe (1906) vol. II, 1160, note 4; Wüst (1953) c. 478–479, and Apollodorus I. 2, 1 and I. 7; Callimachus Hymm 4, 31.

⁴⁸⁷ Dionysiaca 43, 19.

⁴⁸⁸ Wüst (1953) c. 479 and 533-557.

⁴⁸⁹ W. H. Roscher: Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Vol. III, 2. Hildesheim (1965; reprint) c. 2856.

⁴⁹⁰ See note 465.

 ⁴⁹¹ Schachermeyr (1950) 50, 144, 160, 164–166,
 183–184, with further literature.

⁴⁹² Guthrie (1962) 94-97.

⁴⁹³ Mylonas (1966) 136–137, 159, note 103; Chadwick (1976) register, s.v. Poseidon.

⁴⁹⁴ Mylonas (1966) 159; L. R. Palmer: Mycenaeans and Minoans. London (1965²) 131–132; Cp. Od. 3. 1–9; L. R. Palmer: Mycenaean religion, methodological choices. Res Mycenaeae. Akten des VII. Internationalen Mykenologischen Kolloquiums in Nürnberg. Edited by A. Heubeck. Göttingen (1983) 338–362, esp. 352–361, the "Mycenaean Poseidon".

and the adjacent islands in a series of waves, probably between about 2000 and 1000 B.C.,"495 two possible explanations can be offerred for Poseidon's trident attribute: he took over the role and the attribute of a local ancient deity or he was already endowed with the trident prior to the immigration. Aside from complicated suggestions, there is no factual evidence supporting the former possibility since the forks of the Mycenaean age represent the attributes of a Mycenaean Poseidon. Thus, the latter possibility, according to which the trident-shaped attribute had originally already been an attribute of Poseidon appears to be more probable, independently of whether the Greeks (i.e. the Mycenaean Greeks) migrated to Greece around 1900 B.C. or earlier, or whether they had already inhabited this area (or migrated there) earlier. The Moigrad pentadent is cardinal to the solution of this issue since it attests the presence of the fork attribute in the last third of the 3rd millennium (according to the traditional chronology of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture)496 in an area which figures prominently as a possible background to the Greek migration (i.e. the Carpathian Basin and the Northern Balkans); it is, moreover, the most imposing specimen ever found in this area. In this case, there is no need for assuming a fishing implement as a possible prototype. Schachermeyr correctly noted an essential aspect of this problem when he stressed the need for a more accurate knowledge of the elements rooted in an earlier, Indo-European, tradition in order to gain a more profound insight into the Middle Helladic cult and figure of Poseidon. 497 The trident, as an attribute, can undoubtedly be traced to the latter. This is also evidenced by its connections with eastern forks and by the conclusions that can be drawn from their distribution since their majority have come to light in royal or sacral centres, from royal princely burials, often in a ritual context (such as sacrificial pits). This undoubtedly proves that, in this context, forks cannot have been implements of everyday life or warfare. 498 They were symbols of power wielded by high-ranking persons, attributes of deities and weapons of mythological combat. These features correspond to the fact that in Mycenae and Dendra the forks had been deposited in royal or princely burials as symbols of power and that it had been an attribute of Poseidon (even though this latter feature can only be documented at a relatively late date as compared with the former).

Another important feature must likewise be emphasized, namely that the majority of Eurasian forks was found in a definitely Indo-European or Indo-Iranian context. This is undeniable in the case of the Iron Age specimens from Iran, and appears to be the case regarding the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pieces of the Caucasus. A similar possibility cannot be rejected as regards the third millennium B.C. Maikop forks which, however, do show slight typological differences. It is unnecessary to demonstrate the Indo-European (Hittite) affiliations of the specimens from Boğazköy, 499 Maşat Höyük and Kültepe. 500 Of the specimens from the Levant, the pieces found at major Philistine sites (see notes 445, 447-448, 451) can be confidently regarded as characteristic symbols of power or religion of the Philistines. If we accept that the Philistines spoke an Indo-European tongue, this feature again links forks as symbols of power or religion to an Indo-European ethnic group. It is moreover possible that the other specimens from the Levant, primarily the fork from Ugarit, can also be associated with the Philistines or with Philistea which existed until 604 B.C. 501 The forks from Mycenaean royal burials (Mycenae, Dendra, Routsi), royal palaces (Orchomenos) and lavish Mycenaean graves or hoards from Cyprus (Lapithos, Pera, Hala Sultan Tekke) and Crete (Sellopoulo) can likewise be linked to Indo-Europeans. There is also evidence for regarding the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr population as an ethnic group speaking a yet imprecisely defined Indo-European language. 502

 $^{^{495}}$ W. K. C. Guthrie: The religion and mythology of the Greeks. $CAH^2,$ vol. II. 2. Cambridge (1975) 853–856. Cp. Mylonas (1966) 160–161.

⁴⁹⁶ Makkay (1976) passim.

⁴⁹⁷ Schachermeyr (1950) 65.

⁴⁹⁸ Evidence for their use as weapons is only known from ancient Rome: the three-pronged forks of the gladiators. *PWRE* Ia, I, 690–693 (1914) s.v. retiarii.

⁴⁹⁹ Since on the basis of analogous finds it could also date to the period of the Hittite Empire, and not only to the 8th century B.C.

⁵⁰⁰ For the mostly Indo-European (Hittite) population of Kaneš in the 19th–18th centuries B.C., see I. Singer: Hittites and Hattians in Anatolia at the beginning of the second mill. B.C. *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9 (1981) 119–134, with further literature.

⁵⁰¹ Kitchen (1973) 67

⁵⁰² See J. Makkay: Developing trends of the Hungarian Neolithic. Studies in Ancient Economy and Society. Vol. I. Edited by L. Castiglione and J. Makkay. Budapest (in press); J. Makkay: A vonaldiszes kerámia és az indoeurópai népek őstörténete (The Linear Pottery and the prehistory of the

Only the forks of three distinct groups differ conspicuously from the fairly uniform pieces that can be linked to early Indo-Europeans appearing over a fairly extensive area: the forks from Urartu, the Ur burials and the royal graves of Byblos. These cannot be yet linked to a definite ethnic group. Moreover, there is no historical evidence on the basis of which these three, apparently isolated, groups could be linked to an Indo-European group. This feature renders the clarification of the ethnic background of forks especially problematic since the presently known earliest specimens come from Ur and can hardly be related to an Indo-European ethnic group. Regarding the forks from the royal graves of Byblos, there is no apparent reason for considering them presents from Amenemhat III or IV, as could well be argued for other regal objects found in these burials, for the simple reason that similar forks were unknown in Egypt. It would appear that the Byblos forks should rather be connected with the Anatolian (Hittite) pieces of the 19th–18th centuries B.C.

Thus the Moigrad fork can be regarded as an early Indo-European symbol of power, or perhaps a divine attribute, of the Copper Age. It is equally important that in this Bodrogkeresztúr context the fork, as an implement and/or attribute, can hardly be associated with the sea. If, however, the forks can be related to an archaic Indo-European male deity who was an early ancestor of Poseidon or a similar deity, the corresponding elements of the myths surrounding him (that he was the consort and husband of the Earth Goddess and that, moreover, he was an Earth God in his own right) can readily be associated with this artefact. These conclusions are compatible with the suggestions advanced by Marinatos and Chadwick on the basis of the Pylos tablets. Lidence supporting the assumption that Poseidon's divine power was symbolized by the harpoon (= fork) during the Mycenaean and preceding periods can in the future be expected from Elis and Triphylia.

The forks and their representations occurring from the 24th-23rd centuries to the 7th-6th centuries B.C. after which they abruptly disappear from the Near East, and the Poseidon attribute definitely prove that the Moigrad fork cannot be dated to the Migration period, not only because there are a number of matching pieces from 3rd and 2nd millennium contexts, but primarily since no corresponding finds can be quoted from later millennia, the only possible exception being a threepronged (iron?) fork from the St. Kanzian cave dating to the Hallstatt A phase; however, this specimen is typologically related to the Mycenaean forks.⁵⁰⁵ It must nonetheless be mentioned that the miniature gold copies of various tools and implements attached to the chain of the first Szilágysomlyó treasure also include a small, ca. 5 cm long three-pronged gold harpoon, the points of which, however, are barbed. 506 In his discussion of this gold miniature copy O. Herman mentions an allegedly Roman two-pronged iron fork, the prongs of which are also barbed, that was said to have been found at Moigrad or Porolissum. 507 An iron fork with barbed points from the Gepidic cemetery unearthed at Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok (grave 65) would tend to support a similar dating.⁵⁰⁸ There would thus be evidence in favour of dating the 'Moigrad' fork to the Migration period on the basis of the similarities between the two, almost contemporary treasures (the Szilágysomlyó treasure and the Migration period assemblage of the 'Moigrad' hoard); moreover, the find spots of the two would be extremely close to each other if the 'Moigrad' hoard had in fact been found there. I am nonetheless convinced, on the strength of the arguments presented in the above, that the gold fork should be assigned to the

proto-Indo-Europeans). Manuscript. Budapest (1985). For a summary of this unpublished manuscript, see J. Makkay: The Linear Pottery and the early Indo-Europeans. Proto-Indo-European: the archaeology of a linguistic problem. Studies in honour of Marija Gimbutas. Edited by S. N. Skomal and E. C. Polomé. Washington (1987) 165–184.

⁵⁰³ J. Makkay: Kísérletek újkőkori mítoszok rekonstrukciójára (The reconstruction of Neolithic myths: some perspectives). Előmunkálatok a Magyarság Néprajzához. Vol. III. Mítosz és történelem. Edited by M. Hoppál and M. Istvánovits. Budapest (1978) 392–393.

 $^{^{504}}$ Marinatos (1973²) 79–80; Chadwick (1976) s.v. Poseidon. See also note 494.

J. Szombathy: Altertumsfunde aus Höhlen bei St. Kanzian im österreichischen Küstenlande. Mitt. Präh. Komm. II (1912[1913]) 156, Fig. 133.

J. Hampel: Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn I-III. Braunschweig (1905) Vol. II, 15–16, Vol. III Pl. 14, no. 'ad', after a drawing by J. Arnerth. Cp. Gy. László: The Art of the Migration Period. Budapest (1974) 24, Pl. 21, bottom right. The small pendant is also mentioned by O. Herman: A magyar halászat könyve (The book of Hungarian fishing). Budapest (1887) vol. 1, 191.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 191, Fig. 72. 2.

⁵⁰⁸ Presently kept in the Tornyai János Museum in Hódmezővásárhely.

Bodrogkeresztúr culture and to the Tiszaszőlős hoard. It is an artefact which, had it been executed in some other material (bronze or iron), could well have served some practical purpose, but, being fashioned from gold, could only have been a symbol of power or the symbolic attribute of a magnificent statue representing a god. To go fishing with a gold fork—if this is even remotely possible—would have been somewhat extravagant even in the 'golden age' of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The 'Moigrad' fork matches the gold thunderbolt found on the southeastern side of the Adad ziggurat in Assur (Fig. 22.5), that had probably been placed into the hand of a statue dedicated to, and perhaps representing, the Weather God Adad, most probably a votive gift from Sulmanu-asaridu III (858–824)⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ W. Andrae: Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. A: Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit, I. Wissenschaftliche

Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 10. Leipzig (1909) 77, Pl. XXXIV; W. Andrae: Das wiedererstehende Assur. Munich (1977²) 71, 212, 215, Fig. 196. My initial premise is that the lavish Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad treasures can be proved to have existed and their composition can be reconstructed. I have also demonstrated that the Copper Age part of both assemblages were buried hoards and not grave finds accompanying a burial. The following conclusions are based on this premise and other considerations. My starting points are the following known facts and striking coincidences:

(1) The find spot of the reconstructed Tiszaszőlős hoard—whatever its original composition—is precisely known; on the other hand, with the exception of a few items, there are no traces of the finds from the hoard. This is equally true of the finds belonging to the Migration period burial. Moreover, it is not in the least surprising that only a few artefact types of the Copper Age hoard and the burial are mentioned or described in the documents on the basis of which the composition of the hoard has been reconstructed: this is partly due to the circumstances of recovery and partly because Tariczky, no matter how conscientious, was no longer able to gain information about a fairly high number of the finds. These include the objects that were melted down, sold or purchased by jewellers and, mainly, those finds which the finders concealed even from each other. There is ample evidence that the locals had made a thorough job of the collection since even the tiniest fragment, numerous small beads, scraps of iron and pottery sherds had been recovered.

On the other hand, the Moigrad hoard which comprises a variety of small items and at the same time lacks important objects (more conspicuous in the case of the Migration period assemblage) has no find spot: to be more precise, it is impossible to localise the find spot to the area of an entire village. There are no known references to the Moigrad treasure before 1912, in spite of several decades of intensive archaeological activity.

- (2) The Tiszaszőlős treasure disappeared from the archaeological scene at roughly the same time that the Moigrad hoard made its appearance, between 1906 and 1912.
- (3) The alleged find spot of the Copper Age part of the Moigrad hoard falls outside the distribution territory of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. It is extremely unlikely that such a rich hoard should have been buried outside the distribution territory of these cultures, especially if it is recalled that the only danger calling for its burial, a possible attack or invasion, came from the east. A glance at the map shows that Moigrad lies along the route connecting Central Transylvania with the northern and central areas of the Great Hungarian Plain, i.e the heartland of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. In the case of an eastern threat the path of the refugees would scarcely have led eastwards, towards Moigrad. There is, obviously, the hypothethical possibility that the hoard had been buried at Moigrad by these eastern raiders in the course of their retreat or withdrawal. It must also be considered that neither the Tiszaszólós, nor the Moigrad hoard can be precisely dated to a specific phase of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr sequence. However, the political and military upheavals in the east, in Transylvania and other regions, did not cease during the early Bodrogkeresztúr phase, thus the burial of large treasures is often connected with internal—social—troubles and transformations.

In contrast to Moigrad, Tiszaszőlős lies in the heartland of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr distribution territory. Even though there is no reliable excavation evidence, Early and Middle Copper

Age cemeteries and settlements appear to have been dense around Tiszaszőlős.⁵¹⁰ Traces of a Bodrogkeresztúr settlement have been observed a few metres from the find spot. It would appear that a major Bodrogkeresztúr centre once lay near Tiszaszőlős. The hoard had probably belonged to the clan or tribal leaders in this centre.

Horedt's words about the Copper Age part of the Moigrad hoard must now be recalled (see also note 283; however, he assigned fewer objects to the Copper Age): "Es bleibt die Frage zu erörtern, inwieweit die Fundortgabe 'Mojgrad' zutrifft. Für den kupferzeitlichen Fundteil ist sie weniger glaubwürdig, da Mojgrad zwar in der Nähe der siebenbürgischen Goldvorkommen liegt, aber in der Bodrogkeresztúr Kultur eine ausgesprochene Randlage einnimmt. Man würde einen so repräsentativen Fund viel eher in das zentrale Verbreitungsgebiet der Kultur an die Theißebene verlegen." The suggested site of Tiszaszőlős harmonizes neatly with Horedt's observation.

- (4) There is another striking coincidence, namely that neither hoard contained artefacts wrought from copper, silver, or any other metal beside the gold objects. This would imply, even in the case of the Copper Age hoard from Tiszaszőlős, that copper artefacts had not been hoarded. (This is clearly implied since our sources specify the different kinds of materials: gold, obsidian, iron, clay—however, no mention is made of oxidised copper. It is most unlikely that no indication of the possible presence of copper artefacts in the Tiszaszőlős hoard would have survived simply because they had not been preserved.) It is a strange coincidence indeed that exactly the same holds true of another hoard. It has been shown that the Tiszaszőlős hoard probably included stone items (the obsidian vessel and the marble macehead), bone objects and, presumably, some copper artefacts. These could have been lost since there was no demand for them in the 19th century antiquities trade. It would again be a strange coincidence that similar finds had likewise been lost from the Moigrad hoard, consisting of finds from the same two periods.
- (5) There are numerous documents proving that for a long time most of the Tiszaszőlős finds remained in the hands of local landowners, the Elek family and their relatives. If Tariczky's recollections (Doc. LXVIII, from 1906) are accepted only for the date of the event related there (the acquisition of the skull), this date can be put until around 1872. There are no grounds for assuming that soon afterwards the hoard had been marketed (sold to an antiquities dealer, smuggled out of the country, melted down as raw material, etc.). It can hardly have been smuggled out of the country since in that case some pieces would undoubtedly have turned up in various museums, private collections or in the antiquities trade. (As was the case, for instance, with the gold discs of the Lasinja culture found in Transdanubia and Slavonia in the latter half of the 19th century that have and are still surfacing in various museums and private collections of Western Europe.) The melting down of the hoard can likewise be excluded since it is most unlikely that the family jealously guarding this treasure for 33 years, which had probably become part of the family heirloom over the years, would have suddenly been prepared to devalue the treasure by melting it down. Moreover, the National Museum had by this time established contact with the Central Assay Office in Budapest, one of the possible channels for melting down, and was occasionally informed about various finds—and sometimes, as in the case of certain objects connected with these hoards, certain objects were even handed over.

The Elek family did not sell the treasure, most probably because the entire county knew about the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek and, later, his wife. Menyhért Elek had never denied that there were

only possible using the notes made by her in the first half of the 1950s (which she kindly placed at my disposal). At that time, three Tiszapolgár vessels, two pedestalled bowls and a cup, were entered into the acquisitions register under nos 52.5.1, 52.6.1 and 52.7.1, as material acquired in 1874, found at Tiszaszólős–Legelőrét. However, the identification of this site with any of the above is uncertain. For the grave finds of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, cp. Patay (1961) 83–84. Their exact find spot is still unknown. Bognár-Kutzián (1972) sites 72–73, and notes 118–122, describes two further Tiszapolgár sites (settlements).

Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr, sites are indicated by the surviving evidence: see Doc. XXV (along the road leading to the village), Doc. XXV and XXIX (the brickmaking place in the western part the village), Doc. XLI (Pernyéshát or Temetőhát), Doc. XXXIV (sites A, B, and D). The exact localisation of these sites would require further research. I. Bognár-Kutzián described the two sites whose material could, in the 1960s, still be identified to a certain extent: Bognár-Kutzián (1972) 100–101, sites 71 and 74. Since then, these finds have been mixed up, and their identification is

gold objects in his possession, but he never divulged the actual quantity. Consequently, the gentry family whose members were well-known throughout the county and who held important public offices, could not afford to admit, even if indirectly by selling the hoard, that they possessed considerably more than was actually sought on them. This would, moreover, have clashed with accepted gentry morals. The same considerations underlay the family's decision that when selling a part of the hoard—sometime after Menyhért Elek's death—a mediator was chosen in the person of Mihály Elek of Pazony. Moreover, the offer was made to Flóris Rómer, rather than to dealers active in the by then flourishing antiquities trade.

Consequently, the next possible date for the sale the of hoard (or at least of the part formely possessed by Menyhért Elek) can be put to the last years of Mrs Elek's life or the few years after her death in 1885. Nonetheless, traces—no matter how faint—of this move, irrespective of whether the hoard was offered to a Hungarian or a foreign museum or customer, would undoubtedly have survived; Tariczky would surely have known about the sale. There is, in fact, indirect evidence that part of the hoard was sold at this time. This part is not necessarily the one possessed by Mrs Elek since we know that the hoard was in the possession of at least two, but probably more, persons: Mrs Elek, Mrs István Dévay Anthónia Elek and her son-in-law, János Hosszufalusi, and perhaps Menyhért Elek's brother, Mihály Elek, and their offspring. Mrs János Fekete, the owner of the chalice, must similarly be considered in this respect.

The sale made at the beginning of the 1880s is indicated by the so-called Ercsi finds (Pl. 12. 1–2) which reached the Hungarian National Museum in 1882.⁵¹¹ Hampel acquired this find from the Central Assay Office, and he never took the trouble to control its provenance. The document recording the circumstances of its acquisition has since been lost from the Archive of Manuscripts of the Hungarian National Museum.⁵¹²

The site of Ercsi as a possible find spot cannot be rejected out of hand since the map of the distribution territory of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture drawn by P. Patay clearly shows that Ercsi lies within the Transdanubian distribution of this culture, even if this distribution has never been convincingly documented with finds. There are at least as many arguments in favour of assigning the finds from sites listed as Bodrogkeresztúr cemeteries in northeastern Transdanubia to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture as there are against it. There are good reasons for challenging the attribution of a pendant (Pl. 12. 1–2) and a gold ribbon from Ercsi to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (i.e. for assuming that they had been recovered from a grave or a hoard buried there). Moreover, a

Bodrogkeresztúr culture. There is nothing indicating that these two vessels had come to light from a grave since V.G. Csánk explicitly states that they had been found in a 45 cm deep pit having a diameter of 1 m. The connection between the inhumation burial uncovered beside 'patch 5' and the vessels found nearby is somewhat doubtful in the lack of precise documentation. The other sites listed by Patay (1975), sites 68 and 108, yielded only stray finds. Moreover, Ercsi is not marked on Patay's map. The most simple solution to this problem is the one suggested by I. Bognár-Kutzián: Über südliche Beziehungen der ungarischen Hochkupferzeit. Acta Arch. Hung. 9 (1985) 166-168. In her opinion, the attribution of these vessels to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture can be definitely rejected. The sites around and to the south of Budapest along the Danube can be assigned to the group indicated by the sites lying between Szomód and Sárpilis. These are synchronous with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, but belong to another complex. The two groups distinguished by I. Bognár-Kutzián can be identified with a phase of the Lasinja culture in the south, and with the Ludanice group around and to the north of Budapest. Consequently, these vessels can be regarded as import finds in the Ludanice group, whose affinities with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture are amply documented.

⁵¹¹ Doc. XLIX; Fettich (1953) 63, Pl. LV. 1-2.

 $^{^{512}}$ According to Doc. XLIX, its inventory number was 59. 1882.

⁵¹³ Patay (1975) Beilage 1.

⁵¹⁴ There is nothing to suggest that two of the three vessels found in graves A and B at Erd (Patay (1961) Pl. XI. 10-11) can only be dated to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. According to Patay, the form of the third vessel, a milk-jug shaped vessel (not illustrated by him) cannot be precisely defined. The finds from Budapest-Rákoscsaba do not include vessel forms that could exclusively be assigned to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (Patay (1961) 18-19, Pl. IX. 1-8). A vessel, similar in form to the milk-jug shape (Patay (1961) Pl. IX. 1), is known from Soponya (J. Makkay: A kőkor és a rézkor Fejér megyében (Die Steinzeit und Kupferzeit im Komitat Fejér). Fejér megye története I. 1. Edited by J. Makkay. Székesfehérvár (1971) 37, Fig. 24. 5): it can be assigned to the Lasinja culture or the Ludanice group. The vessel found at Budapest-Békásmegyer (V.G. Csánk: Megfigyelések a békásmegyeri őskori telepen (Observations faites dans la station préhistorique de Békásmegyer). Arch. Ért. 91 (1964) 201-212) and an unpublished two-handled vessel from the same site are likewise also assignable to cultures other than the

characteristic gold disc of the Lasinja culture is known from Kisapostag, lying nearby. 515 Consequently, the antropomorphic gold pendant can at the most be interpreted as a Bodrogkeresztúr import to Ercsi and the Lasinja culture which used entirely different gold discs that can be easily distinguished from the Bodrogkeresztúr types. Also, this imported type would have been unusual in the Bodrogkeresztúr inventory since apart from a stray find of unknown provenance⁵¹⁶ (Pl. 13. 1-2) this anthropomorphic type is presently known only from the Moigrad assemblage. The comparison of the Ercsi specimen (Pl. 12. 1-2) and one of the Moigrad pendants (Pl. 11. 1) clearly shows the similarities in form, execution and decoration, the only exception being that the Ercsi pendant lacks the small repoussé boss under the upper perforations. The figure-of-eight accentuating the breasts encompassed by three repoussé ribs, the undecorated rib halving the figure-of-eight and the motif resembling a sickle or a club are identical to the smallest detail on both pieces. Their dimensions are likewise similar. The diadem ribbon found alongside the Ercsi pendant is likewise matched by the Moigrad specimens. 517 Considering that similar pendants are unknown from elsewhere, this striking correspondence suggests that both pendants had been manufactured in the same workshop. It is my firm conviction that the Ercsi assemblage had not been found in Ercsi, but comes from the same source as the Moigrad hoard. Accepting the possibility that the sale of the Ercsi assemblage can be taken as proof for the marketing of the gold hoarded by the landowning families of Tiszaszőlős, this implies no less than that the 'lost' Tiszaszőlős assemblage and the Moigrad hoard without known provenance are in fact one and the same treasure.

The complexity of this problem is amply illustrated by the following coincidence that cannot be seen as the result of mere chance. When in 1912 Hampel purchased a single item of the Moigrad hoard (Pl. 21. 10; Doc. LXXI) he also bought a gold ring (Hungarian National Museum, inv. no. 106. 1912. 1). Its site was first set down as Moigrad, but was later changed to Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Iulia in Romania). The report of the 1912 activities of the Hungarian National Museum, ⁵¹⁸ however, again gave Moigrad as its find spot. A. Kiss has kindly informed me that this ring can chronologically be associated with the grave goods of a 6th century royal burial, reconstructable on the basis of the Moigrad (Tiszaszőlős) finds. Moreover, a bracelet (Pl. 18. 5) allegedly found at Gyulafehérvár is matched, among others, by bracelets from the Moigrad hoard (Pl. 18, 3-4) and from an assemblage of unknown provenance purchased by the Hungarian National Museum in 1902 (Pl. 18. 6; Doc. LXIII). This latter bracelet was, in turn, acquired together with an unornamented T-shaped, i.e. bird-shaped or anthropomorphic pendant (Pl. 13. 1-2) for which analogies can only be quoted from the Ercsi assemblage (Pl. 12, 1-2; Doc. XLIX) and the Moigrad hoard (Pls 10-11). Knowing the methods employed by Mauthner in his deals, it is perhaps not too precarious to assert that the ring and the bracelet from Gyulafehérvár (or Moigrad) and the assemblage of 'unkown provenance' purchased in 1902 were in fact parts of the Tiszaszőlős hoard, sold bit by bit. In fact, both Tariczky's report (Doc. XXI, July 11, 1872) and Rómer's list (Doc. XLI) mention bone buttons or clasps ('agrafes en os') which could equally well have been buttons, beads or clasps. The Ercsi assemblage purchased in 1902 also included bone beads (accompanied by a pelvic bone, perhaps human) that can perhaps be identified with the Tiszaszőlős specimens mentioned in the descriptions. Unfortunately, these have since been lost from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. Nonetheless, so much can be established that there is a striking typological resemblance between the relevant finds of the Tiszaszőlős (Moigrad) hoard, the Gyulafehérvár and the Ercsi assemblage, and the 1902 finds of unknown provenance; moreover, the intricate web of other correlations appears to imply a meaningful relationship between these finds: that they had originally belonged to the same assemblage.

(6) Another argument supporting the identity of the Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad assemblages is that

⁵¹⁵ Makkay (1976) 287, notes 228 and 245; J. Makkay: Copper Age gold discs on the territory of the later Pannonia province. Com. Arch. Hung. 5 (1985) 5–25.

 ⁵¹⁶ Doc. LXIII and LXIV; Fettich (1953) 63, Pl. LVI.
 1-2. Hampel had purchased this from another infamous antiquities dealer, Zsigmond Réti.

⁵¹⁷ Fettich (1953) 63 had already noted these similarities. Cp. also Makkay (1976) 283.

⁵¹⁸ Jelentés az MNM 1912. évi működéséről (Report on the 1912 activities of the Hungarian National Museum). Budapest (1913) 41.

there are no grounds for assuming that two such lavish treasures had been hoarded in the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr period. This issue obviously involves problems concerning the social structure of the cultures, the number of their separate units (clans? tribes?), their hierarchy, etc.⁵¹⁹ Future investigations will undoubtedly clarify whether the social structure of these cultures implies the existence of a single or more tribal or tribal confederacy centres.

- (7) The next substantial proof is that both the Tiszaszőlős and the Moigrad hoard comprises finds from two distinct periods. One of these is the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, the other is the later Migration period (5th–6th centuries). This date is suggested, in addition to the chalice, by the gold-hilted iron sword (known from descriptions of the Tiszaszőlős hoard), whose fittings, if my assumption proves to be correct, are to be found in the Moigrad assemblage. But not its blade, which is known to have been lost in the village. The statistical probability that of the two gold assemblages from the same two periods, the one with a well-circumscribed find spot should disappear without a trace, while the other without known provenance should survive almost completely, is extremely low. 520
- (8) Beside the gold-hilted sword, the correspondence between various finds similarly suggests that the two hoards are in fact identical with each other. One of these is pendant C which was undoubtedly one of the most extravagant Tiszaszőlős items. My assumption is that the foraminosus aureus found by Mária Sipos passed to Capt. Dévay, and then to Menyhért Elek. The marked similarity between the two large pendants from Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad would suggest that they can be traced to the same source and workshop. In other words, the Moigrad pendant can perhaps be confidently identified with pendant C guarded by the Elek family. The small pendant from Moigrad (Pl. 17.1) is probably the only surviving piece of the numerous figure-of-eight-shaped gold objects of the Tiszaszőlős treasure (listed under point (8) on p. 37). On the other hand, if this item should rather be assigned to the inventory of the Migration period burial it can be identified with the figure-of-eight-shaped buckle of the Moigrad assemblage (Pl. 29. 4). The various gold ribbons and bands listed in the descriptions could well be the diadems and strips of sheet gold of the Moigrad hoard, the button-like objects with winding spiral decoration being identical with the anthropomorphic pendants (including the specimen from Ercsi). The helmet-like gold plate is perhaps the bird figurine from Moigrad. The simpler artefact types of the two hoards, the rings, the arm-rings and beads, suggest not only similar types, but also identical pieces. The identification of the other Tiszaszőlős types with the Moigrad finds is impeded by the fact that the lists compiled from Tariczky's descriptions who, in turn, could rely only on the information gleaned from the finders, can hardly be translated into modern archaeological language (e.g. the 'acorns'). Moreover, Tariczky's list is far from complete since the finders could have had no knowledge of all the items collected during the great treasure hunt and since Tariczky could no longer speak with all the finders. Nonetheless, the size of the 'two' hoards, in terms of the number of items and the range of artefact types, appears to have been roughly the same.

The contradictions, assumptions and possibilities listed above can best be reconciled with each other if we assume that the Moigrad hoard is in fact the surviving part of the Tiszaszőlős hoard purchased by Mauthner. Accepting this, it is superfluous to search for the 'lost' finds of the Tiszaszőlős hoard and the non-existent find spot of the 'Moigrad' hoard. In other words, an existing assemblage without known provenance and a 'lost' assemblage with known provenance complement each other. Similarly, the Ercsi finds which reached the Hungarian National Museum before Mauthner appeared on the scene are probably also part of the Tiszaszőlős hoard.

It would appear that following Mrs Elek's death in 1885, the family preserved the Tiszaszőlős hoard for some time and only sold it to Mauthner at the beginning of the 20th century. This sale may have been prompted by the building of a mansion by István Elek, Menyhért Elek's grandson, in

⁵¹⁹ For details, see J. Makkay: A tiszaszólósi kincs. Nyomozás egy rézkori fejedelem ügyében (The Tiszaszólós treasure. In search of a Copper Age prince). Budapest (1985) 177–192, and also G. Nevizánszky: Sozialökonomische Ver-

hältnisse in der Polgár-Kultur aufgrund der Gräberfelder-Analyse. Slov. Arch. 32 (1984) 263–308.

⁵²⁰ For statistical probabilities, see J. Makkay: The earliest use of helmets in South-East Europe. Acta Arch. Hung. 34 (1982) 17–19.

1907.⁵²¹ The costs were in part covered by the sum paid by Mauthner for the treasure (probably less than 30,000 crowns). It would be a strange coincidence indeed if this had in fact been the case; the Elek mansion was demolished between 1940 and 1944 by its then owner (who was not a member of the Elek family) and the still usable building materials were transported to Transylvania.⁵²²

When selling the hoard Mauthner obviously concealed the real find spot and gave Moigrad as its provenance which had a better ring in the Kolozsvár Museum. At the time of the large-scale excavations at Moigrad the Kolozsvár Museum could hardly have avoided the purchase of a tresaure allegedly found there. Another good example of Mauthner's unscrupulousness in such matters is the case of the Szabadbattyán buckle; Mauthner gave Szabadbattyán as its find spot to the Hungarian National Museum, while to the Sopron museum he specified Kismarton. 523

Thus, according to my suggestion, the treasure unearthed at Tiszaszőlős in 1839 was purchased by Béla Pósta in 1912 as having been found at Moigrad, and it was entered into the inventory of the Kolozsvár museum as such. When Hampel declined the purchase of the hoard, or postponed it until Béla Pósta had made his move, he missed the opportunity to acquire one of the finest prehistoric gold hoards for the Hungarian National Museum. This is all the more griveous if the find spot had in fact been Tiszaszőlős. The hoard was only housed in the Hungarian National Museum once: during World War II, when it was temporarily safeguarded there. However, its trials did not end there. One part has recently been moved to a new location in Bucharest. These constant ordeals are partly to blame for the fact that a detailed analysis and the documentation of all finds are still not available.

521 See note 144.

522 Information from the inhabitants of the village in 1981

523 See A. Kiss: Germanische Funde von

Szabadbattyán aus dem 5. Jahrhundert. Alba Regia 18 (1980) 107. Mauthner sold forgeries (?) of gold bracelets to the museum in Szombathely, that are similar to the Moigrad ones: Doc. LXXV.



Convincing arguments have been forwarded in the above that the Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad hoards are identical, comprising a lavish Copper Age hoard and the grave goods of a royal burial from the Migration period. The Copper Age hoard had been buried in the heartland of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The following brief comments, however, are still valid even if the sceptical reader should consider the finds to have belonged to two distinct Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr hoards from Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad.

The earliest possible date for the burial of the hoard is the transitional period between the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures; however, it had probably been hidden at a somewhat later, not precisely definiable date. Obviously, this does not imply that the manufacture and the hoarding of the various artefacts can only be dated to this brief period. Some had possibly been made earlier in the same or in several related workshops, and the accumulation itself can only be imagined in terms of a longer time span. However, Copper Age gold finds cannot be dated on the basis of typological traits alone with enough precision to enable a finer chronological subdivision.

The richness of the hoard (the number of items, the range of artefact types, and its total weight) indicates a far more sophisticated and extensive gold metallurgy than reconstructable from the presently known gold finds of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. This richness obviously had a broad economic and social background. In terms of the former, gold metallurgy in the Carpathian Basin, emerging at the dawn of the Copper Age, only became a large-scale industry in phase B of the Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture. 524 This was the third phase of gold metallurgy in the Carpathian Basin. The extensive working of gold in phase B of the Tiszapolgár culture is best illustrated by the pendants from Vel'ke Raškovce. 525 The appearance of such large quantities of gold was probably based on easily recognisable and exploitable surface outcrops. These were then further exploited in phase 4, the Bodrogkeresztúr period, showing an even greater variety of types and quantities of gold. The decline of gold metallurgy in the late Bodrogkeresztúr phase⁵²⁶ can probably be attributed to the temporary exhaustion of native gold sources. 527 Since there is no historical evidence for gold panning in the Middle Tisza region it is almost certain that the raw material of the Tiszaszőlős hoard had been acquired from the well-known surface sources of the Carpathian Basin in Transylvania and the Northern Mountain Range. This gold reached its later burial place at Tiszaszőlős either as raw material or as finished products. This involves problems in the location of possible workshops. However, in the lack of relevant information, it is as yet impossible to define these. All that can be said in this respect is that several types of pendants had been current and that their distribution seems fairly even. This does not necessarily imply the existence of several workshops since these types could indicate chronogical differences. Obviously, the procurement of raw material for the pendants and their manufacture had not been done separately by each small Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr community and thus a few workshops can be postulated for each period, involving a far-reaching exchange network and a flow of information between these workshops and communities. The latter is primarily indicated by the wide distribution of similar pendants even outside the Carpathian Basin.

⁵²⁴ This statement and the chronology outlined in the following is quoted from Bognár-Kutzián (1972) 201–202.

⁵²⁵ Vízdal (1977) Pl. XLII. 1–5.

⁵²⁶ Bognár-Kutzián (1972) 201-202.

⁵²⁷ In this case, the term 'temporary' means that erosion and changes in the vegetation could have exposed geological layers which again yielded gold nuggets, enabling later, e.g. Middle Bronze Age, surface collection.

The social background to the accumulation of such an impressive hoard similary involves certain existing conditions. It could be argued that the hoard originates from a specific workshop or an itinerant merchant. However, this attractive hypothesis is contradicted by the fact that aside from the rings, there are no mass-produced items among the finds. Besides, the accumulation of gold rings would have been one of the simplest means of hoarding unworked gold. Moreover, certain artefacts of the hoard are expressively symbols of power and rank; the fork, the sceptre and the large pendants. These would suggest that the hoard had been possessed by a person or a family at the peak of some sort of social hierarchy, or that it had perhaps been the treasure of an entire community. In the latter case, we can postulate an assemblage of items deposited and safeguarded in a central sanctuary, with the extreme possibility that various objects had been placed in the sanctuary during recurring ceremonies or rituals, or that they had been offered to a cult statue in that sanctuary. Analogous practices are abundant in the Near East, but since there is no evidence of similar customs in the Early and Middle Copper Age of the Carpathian Basin, this possibility can be practically rejected.

No matter how we explain the accumulation of the hoard, possibilities were limited to a small group or persons wielding social or religious power (a tribal leader, the leader or leading family of a tribal confederacy; a central sanctuary). This is suggested by the uniqueness of the hoard throughout the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr territory. 528 (Even assuming the separateness of the Moigrad and Tiszapolgár hoards, i.e. accepting the existence of two lavish hoards, the above statement is not contradicted.) The next task would be the definition of these persons, group of persons (families) or social groups (the use of terms such as layers or class is intentionally avoided). They could have been leaders of a tribal society or members of a group who rose to power and introduced its hereditary nature. The most plausible explanation would to postulate a leading group that transgressed the bounds of a social structure characterising a tribal organisation, but which was nonetheless established along the lines of consanguinity that would account for its hereditary nature. A hypothetical central leader could have arisen from this group either through election or the hereditary process. The main point is that the number of such persons was obviously restricted, especially in the case of military and religious functions and ranks. The acquirer, accumulator and inheritor of such a lavish treasure can be linked to a family of such rank (or its head). The treasure had been handed down over at least two, but possibly three generations until it was buried under the historical circumstances outlined in the foregoing, at an unknown date. Even if the hoard is considered to have belonged to a sanctuary and certain issues must be interpreted along other lines, its accumulation for 2-3 generations and the circumstances of its burial need not be explained otherwise.

The range of artefacts and the weight of the Tiszaszőlős hoard surpasses not only the average gold contents of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cemeteries, but also the wealth of the presently known richest cemetery (Vel'ke Raškovce). It could be argued that personal and family heirlooms were not deposited in burials, but that—similarly to hoards—they were inherited. The apparent contradiction between the quantity of gold finds in cemeteries and hoards can only be resolved by a knowledge of the exact range of metal artefacts from the settlements of both cultures, a task for future investigation.

The Tiszaszőlős hoard can also be examined from another aspect. The gold metallurgy of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures formed a considerably closed circle or metallurgical province. This could easily be outlined on the basis of cemeteries, the Hencida assemblage and various stray finds, even without knowledge of the Tiszaszőlős hoard. The variety and number of types distinguished in the hoard and the quantity of items assignable to specific types again supports the existence, in both cultures, of a copper and gold metallurgy with a distinct range of artefacts, capable of producing large series if necessary. At the same time, the majority of these artefact types shows close typological affinities with the gold, copper and silver metallurgy of the Balkans and the Aegean. These typological links have been partly discussed in previous chapters, and exhaustively reviewed

elsewhere. 530 I shall thus only cover them briefly. The pendants and anthropomorphic pendants, the human bust of sheet gold, the various ribbons and diadems, the reconstructed sceptre, the bird claws and a part of the arm-rings have excellent parallels in the South-East European Chalcolithic and in the Early Bronze Age of the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia. Most of these links can be traced to the gold and copper metallurgy of the Gumelnita culture, to the finds from the Varna cemetery. These parallels cannot be restricted to the above-listed areas since the direct links and interconnections indicate that the metallurgy of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures was part of the Pontic metallurgical province. Interestingly enough, ties appear to have been weakest with the Cucuteni-Tripolye complex, in spite of the fact that its western borders lay close to the two cultures flourishing in the Great Hungarian Plain and to the Transylvanian 'relative' of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, the small group characterised by the Marosdécse type finds. Accepting the hypothesis arguing for the existence of a network of metallurgical circles along the northern, western and southern (Anatolian) shoreline of the Black Sea in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, and judging from the number and range of analogous finds, the Tiszapolgár-Bodrogkeresztúr province appears to have had the strongest ties with the Eastern Balkanic province with Varna as its centre. The hoard also includes objects (artefact types) that have their parallels in faraway areas of this metallurgical province. However, there is no need to assume the existence of 'mysterious links' in this case, but rather that corresponding finds have not yet come to light from closer areas. This holds true for the gold fork. The multiple similarities reflect the necessity for an exhaustive study of the complex interrelations between the Varna province, the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture, the Aegean and Anatolian Early Bronze Age and the Caucasus (the Maikop circle). A study of this kind would be of immense value to the absolute chronology of the Carpathian Basin and South-East Europe. Initial studies in this direction have shown that the currently fashionable radiocarbon dates (calibrated or unicalibrated) cannot be reconciled with the chronology based on traditional comparative methods. The latter correlates the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures of the Carpathian Basin with phases I-II of the Eastern Aegean Early Bronze Age. The rate of their development was more-or-less synchronous, and they maintained closer or looser ties. Thus the Tiszaszőlős hoard can be set alongside the royal treasures from Troy II and the royal burials of Alaca Höyük, and other contemporary lavish treasures and burials, such as the graves of the Varna cemetery. Its richness relates the hoard to these assemblages: it had probably belonged to a leader or leading family of similar rank. It could well be that the treasure unearthed at Tiszaszőlős in 1839 was the only one of its kind, testifying to the rank, power and wealth of the Copper Age ruler of the Carpathian Basin.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., with further references. See also J. Makkay: Diffusionism, antidiffusionism and chronology: some general remarks. Acta Arch. Hung. 37 (1985) 3–12.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA Athens Annals of Archaeology

AASOR Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem

Acta Arch. Hung. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AK Archaeologiai Közlemények
AMP Acta Musei Porolissensis

Ann. Naturhist. Mus.

PPS

Wien Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien

Arch. Delt. Archaiologikon Deltion Arch. Ért. Archaeologiai Értesítő Arch. Hung. Archaeologica Hungarica

Arch. Korr. Bl. Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt

Anat. Stud. Anatolian Studies

BAR British Archaeological Reports

BRGK Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission

BSA Annual of the British School at Athens
BSPF Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française

CAH Cambridge Ancient History

Com. Arch. Hung. Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae

DMÉ A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve ESA Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua

Fol. Arch. Folia Archaeologica

Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae
ILN Illustrated London News

JAMÉ A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve

JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

JPOS Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society

JRGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums MAG Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft

MdOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin

MFMÉ A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve

Mitt. Arch. Inst. Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der

Wissenschaften

Mitt. Präh. Komm. Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen

Akademie der Wissenschaften

OIC Oriental Institute, Communications
OIP Oriental Institute, Publications
PA Památky Archeologické
PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly

Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

Pauly-Wissowa Realencyklopädie PWRE SA

Sovietskaia Archeologia

Ștudii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie SCIVA

Slov. Arch. Slovenská Archeológia

SzMMÉ A Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve

Zeitschrift für Archäologie ZfA

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This section offers a survey of all written sources relevant to the discovery and subsequent fate of the Tiszaszőlős and Moigrad treasures, that I found in the course of my research in museum archives, state archives and various libraries. It is almost certain that other records still lie undetected among various documents and books of the last century, and that these shall only surface accidentally. Most of the documents published here have not yet appeared in print, while others that have are not readily accessible to the general reader or even the specialist, and this is why their re-publication is necessary. Yet another small part of these documents, albeit well-known and available, has been quoted so often that their relevant passages have also been included in order to spare the reader's efforts in hunting them up. All documents in Hungarian have been translated into English; however, the numerous archaic expressions occurring in these texts have, more often than not, not been rephrased in modern English. The occasional square brackets indicate illegible or unintelligible words and, whenever necessary, small corrections. The Latin, French and German texts have not been translated. Occasional comments to these texts are in a smaller print.

The documents are published in chronological order, and are marked with Roman numerals, with the Arabic numerals marking variations, replies, etc. within the same source group.

I

June 27, 1839-March 29, 1864

The legal documents concerning the Tiszaszőlős treasure in the State Archives

The lawsuit over the Tiszaszőlős treasure lasted exactly 25 years, without attaining its goal: the acquisition of the gold objects for the Royal Treasury. It would nonetheless appear that the legal proceedings did not come to an end after these 25 years; however, documents recording the continuation of the lawsuit have not yet been found. The documents to be published in the following are kept in the State Archives: one part of the records of the Tiszaszőlős treasure is to be found in section E.643.12, no. 80, sheaf 350 and numbers 358 pages (including some other documents that had accidentally got mixed up with this case). These are probably the records that had in 1864, when the proceedings had come to a temporary halt, been in Pest, in the office of the K. K. Finanzprokurator für das Kronland Ungarn. Another part is kept in section E, no. 613 of the State Archives: these are the records from the Royal Prosecution in Eger, filed under no. 11, Thesauri, in sheaf 9. Of the 18 documents surviving in this sheaf, the first is dated to July 13, 1839, and the last to March 12, 1844. These records had originally been kept in the office of the Royal Prosecution of Eger, and had been forwarded to Pest at an unknown date. Some are copies or variants of the documents of the Finanzprokurator. As a general rule, the documents published here are those from the Finanzprokurator, except for the records that have only survived in the archives of the Royal Prosecution of Eger (these are marked by an asterisk[*]). Photocopies of these documents are deposited in the Archives of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (inv. no. 495/83.1-358). I have only published documents, either in full or in excerpts, that contain information relevant to the clarification of archaeological problems connected with the Tiszaszólós treasure. The documents from the office of the Finanzprokurator also include German texts which, however, contain no additional information when collated with the Hungarian or Latin records, and thus their publication has been omitted.

die 27^a Junii 839. hora matutina 10^{ma}

To the Imperial and Royal Salt Office with due respect

Poroszló

Much respected Imp. and Royal Salt Office!

A man by the name of Gyarmaty found some 24 lats* of gold in my allodial ploughland, which he promptly sold to the Greek of Madaras, but which I then had brought back. In that same ploughland, a gipsy man found some 14 lats of gold and sold it to the Jew of Igar. From whom [?] the honourable Captain Dévay... had the finds brought back and then purchased them for a decent sum...

your obedient servant Juliánna Nagy the widow of Salamon Elek of N. Pazony

* 1 lat = 15.5517 gr

1.2

370, 28. Junii 839

3047. 4ª Julii 839. D° 28. Junii 839. A Poroszlóiense R. Salis Officio

Inclyto Causarum Regalium Directoratus Officio Pesthini. Inclytum Causarum Regalium Directoratus Officium!

Domina Juliánna Nagy Salamonis Elek vidua R. huic Salis Officio insinuavit in terris allodialibus Possesionis suae "Tisza Szőllős" una circiter statione abhine distantis per colonos quosdam thesaurum esse repertum, parte in aliqua jam effective manibus suis assertum, majori tamen in parte per inventores hunc dum occultatum. Cum pertractatis hujus objecti, et faciendae nefors uberiores investigationes ad functiones Fisci Regii Advocati pertineant; R. hoc Salis Officium denuntiationem Juliánnae Nagy districtuali Fisci R. Advocato D. Francisco Nagy fine capiendi congrui usus sub hodierno transmittit; quod ipsum F. Regalium Causarum Directoratus Officio pro notitiae statu eo demisse notato refertur, quod ex parte processualis Judlium circa revindicationem ocultati thesauri—ut publicus rumor vulgat—notabilem valorem efferentis—pervestigatis instituatur,— Officio tamen hoc nullum huiusque in eam influxum habente. Poroszloini die 28ª Junii 839

Franciscus Szutterer Reg. Salis Perceptor Stephanus Hlatkÿ Contragens No. 370, 28. Junii 839

29 Junii 839. hora 10^a matutina Ad No. 526–839. Advocati Fisci Regii Cottus Hevesiensis.

A Poroszloiense R. Salis Officio Spectabili ac Generoso Domino Francisco Nagy

Agriae

Spectabilis Domine Fiscalis!

Domina Juliánna Nagy Salamonis Elek vidua medio advoluti certificati insinuat, in terris allodialibus Possessionis suae Tisza-Szőllős una statione circiter abhinc distantis per quosdam colonos thesaurum esse repertum; in aliqua parte jam etiam effective partim per se, partim per D. Capitaneum Dévay apprehensum, et ab inventoribus vindicatum. Cum uberior investigatio, et faciendae nefors in hoc objecto congruae dispositiones in sensu altiorum resolutionum spectabilitatem Vestram concernant; ideo R. hoc Salis Officium nullam pars hic et nunc fine securisandorum Fiscii Regii jurium provisionem fecit; pervestigatione cetero, quin circa notabilem thesauri partem per inventores ocultati per processualem D. indhinc [?] citra officii influxum jam intaminata. Poroszlóini die 28ª. Junii 839.

Franciscus Szutterer Perceptor Stephanus Hlatky Contragens

I.4

July 7, 1839

Ad. No. 526. 839. Advocati Fisci Regii Cottus Hevess No. 4.

To the much-respected Ferencz Nagy, the prosecutor of the Royal Fisc

Much-respected Sir Prosecutor!

I did, best as I could, regain the gold items discovered in my land at Tisza-Szőlős from alien hands given to predation, and, beside reporting the matter, hand over the finds to the much-honoured lord Fiscal, and I wholly believed and hoped that the high and benevolent laws being known to all would be followed and obeyed. However, Menyhért Elek, a judge of the County Court, not only did not hand over the gold items in his hand to the much-honoured lord Fiscal, but, moreover, bides his time and is intent on proving that, since the Tisza-Szőlős property is invested on the male line, one-third of the gold found in my land, which I possess by right of jointure, should be accorded to him, and not to me; that this be a preposterous statement is clear to all, since the usufruct of any widow's property befits her ... throughout the entire length of her widowhood, as if she were the inheritor of that property, and neither written, nor practical law has yet deprived the widow from simple [?] usufruct ... since otherwise it would also follow that the widow should not mould or bake even bricks ... being compelled to reach into the bowels of the clay earth and rob it. The wishes of Menyhért Elek should thus deserve no attention, and I humbly beg Your Honour that you effectively accomplish that Menyhért Elek surrender the gold in his possession, and, should there be need for further investigation,

there be one, and that one-third of the discovered gold or their value be given to me, as the person on whose land it had been found, and another third as to the person writing the notification. . . .

your obedient servant Juliánna Nagy widow of the former Salamon Elek of Pazony

I,5*

13. Julii 1839 3047 18. Julii 839

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Fisci Regii Advocato Francisco Nagy consig. urgens

Agriae

Perillustris Domine!

Regio Salis Officio Poroszloiensi dato 28ª Junii a. c. isthuc id insinuante: quod in terris allodialibus possessionis Tisza-Szőlős ad proprietatem dominae Juliannae Nagy Salamonis Elek relictae viduae spectantis — per Colonos quosdam thesaurus notabilis repertus sit, qui parte in aliqua jam effective manibus memoratae Dominae casum hunc une detegentis assertus, maiori tamen in parte per inventores occultatus habetur; eapropter praedictam Dominationem vestram eo inviandam habeo: ut cum respectivo processuali judlium, inquisitionem et pervestigationem ... objecto ut refertur iam instituenti, ad cointelligentiam ponere, et ex parte Fisci Regii eo, ut occultatus thesaurus revindicetur collaborare, ac subiri isthuc more praescripto penes transpositionem ipsius thesauri tam e manibus ... Dominae viduae Elekianae, pro consueta normali pertractatione, erga Reversales recipiendi, quam ab occultatoribus reacquirandi referre velit. Solito cum honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini 13ª Julii 1839.

servus obligissimus Stephanus Vörös de Monostor Dirigens Reg. Fiscalis

1,6

16^{ae} Julii 839 526 3320 21ⁱ Julÿ 839

Magnifice Domine Consiliarie Regie, Causarum Regalium Director, et Sacra Regni Coronae Fiscalis

Domine Domine Gratiosissime!

Perceptis officiosis Regii Salis Officii Poroszlóiensis 28ª Junii exaratis hic sub No 1 in origine una cum provocato 29ª Junii hora 10ª matutina litteris, circa thesaurum in Possessione Tisza-Szőllős adrepertum, ad me parlatis, instantanee me itineri accingendo 30ª Junii in consortio Legalis Testimonii in eadem Possessione Tisza-Szőllős comparui: ubi Thesaurum praemanibus denunciantis Dominae Juliannae Nagy, Salamonis Elek relictae viduae, nec non per Judicem Nobilium ad se, ab inventoribus respectivis receptum. Domino pensionato Locumtenenti Stephano Dévay traditum universim 26 ¾ semi unciarum puri auri, ad me recepi, circa residuam vero partem thesauri aliquot diebus citius adreperti per Dominum Stephanum Dévay resignati, aut (?) eadem ipsa occasione mihi per D. J. Judicae Assessorem Melchiorem Elek compossessorem Tisza-Szőllősiensem via facti praetestit [ur] (?)

ex illo, quod in fundo communi adinventum sit, quodve 100. thaleros non adaequet, adeoque ad hoc Fiscus nullum jus habeat, — jus hoc apprehensionis Fisco neque competat, resolutionibusque non gubernemur, — ademti (?) protestatione, admonitione, inhibitioneque, ut sub N^{ro} 2 usus sum. Inquisitionem una sub N^o 7 hinc admittam (?), peragendo.

Quod ipsum penes reversalium Salis Officii Agriensis super resignatione quaestionati thesauri in paribus sub N^{ro} 3. litterarum item Salamonis Elek relictae viduae hoc in obiecto serius mihi missarum sub N^{ro} 4. specificationemque diurnorum, et expensarum praejuncturalium fine procurandae gratiosae exassignationis, et quidem Legalis Testimonii fines Salis Officium Poroszlóiense sub N^{ro} 5 a 6 huc acclusionem, dum humillime una officiose referrem, altis gratiis commendatus jugi cum venerationis cultu persevero. Agriae die 16^a Julii 1839

humillimus servus Franciscus Nagy advocatus

1,7

4. Sept. 839 32228 4129.20 7br. 839

Spectabilis Domine Consiliarie, nobis observandissime!

Advocatus Fisci Regii Franciscus Nagy, duo frusta auri $26\frac{3}{8}$ semiuncias appendentias, Regio Salis Officio Agriensi consignavit, quae per hoc ad Gremiale Thesauratus Officium submissa sunt.

Praevio proin ex incidenti P. D. V. committitur: út a praedicto Advocato super eo, per quem et ubinam questionatus thesaurus inventus sit, et quidnam nummorum aut rerum pretiosarum in se contineat, circumstantialem relationem, nec non fassiones respectivorum inventorum et testim exigat, isthuc comite opinione substerneneas.

Datum ex Consilio Reg. Camera Hung. Aul. Budae die 4ª Septembri 1839

ad officia paratissimi Franciscus Skultety Stephanus Lukits

I,8

541, 16ª Oct. 839

5226 22^a X^{br.} 839 D^{to} 16^a X^{br.} 839

Inclytum Causarum Regalium Directoratus Officium!

Ad humillimam meam sub dato 16 Junii a.c. N° 526 intuitu Thesauri in possessione Szőllős Comitatu Hevesiensi ingremiata adreperti transmissique praestitam relationem nulla hucdum altiori dispositione existente, siquidem tam a denunciante quam ab inventoribus indefinenter molestor, intuitu elargiendorum quo prius gratiosorum ordinum directoralium demisse suplicare necessitur.

Agriae die 16^a Decembr. 839

humillimus servus Franciscus Nagy advocatus

The correct dating of document No. 526 is July 16, 1839 (see document I,6!).

115

12ª Julii 840 1065

> Magnifice Domine Consiliarie, et Causarum Regalium Director! Domine Gratiosissime!

Anno adhuc 1838 [sic!] in terreno Possessionis Szőllős in Comitatu Hevesiensi ingremiatae, subditi mei, in rata praecise mea inhumatum quoddam, ut redere par est, viri olim praepotentis cadaver, elluvione Tibisci praeindigitatum effodiendo, aureas fibrillas, alias idgenus armigerorum eius aevi ornamenta comperiendo, haec postquam aurea comperissem subditis meis ademi atq [?] Regio Salio Officio medio Georgii Jósa Tabuleo Judiciarico assessoris insinuavi thesauri huius inventionem, erga quam insinuationem meam districtuali fiscali Francisco Nagy subin ad me comparensi in praetentio Legalis Testimonii eadem sub spe illa resignavi quod idem facta insinuatione Magnificentiae Vestrae, meam, inventorumque ratam legeremus competentem extradaturus sit cum tamen alterum iam in annum eundem Fiscalem praepostera tamen semper sollicitassem, ab inventoribusque incessanter sollicitares, sustineo idcirco Magnificentiam Vestram demisse interpellare, quatenus me gratiose edocere dignarentur quid sub sit quod ordinationum altissimarum dispositio haec in merito, in alterum iam annum differatur, gratiis in reliquo devota iugi cum venerationis cultu persevero. Agriae die 12ª Julii 1840

Magnificentiae Vestrae

humillima ancilla vidua Salamonis Elek

I,10

3320/1839 4129/1839 5225/1839 5226/1839

3100/1840

D^{to} 5 Septri 840 Ex Camera

Ex incidenti factae per Regium Salis Officium Poroszloiense ope scripturo sub ·/. copialiter demisse advoluta quod thesaurus in terris allodialibus Juliannae Nagy, Salamonis Elek relictam viduam in terreno possessionis Tisza Szőllős tentis per non multos ejates incolas inventum, insinuationis, ea data est. Fisci Regii Advocato Hevesiensi abhinc iniuratio ut se cum respectivo processuali judlium, qui respectu inventi, et eodum jam distracti thesauri inquisitionem pertractatus erat, ad cointelligentiam ponata, et ex parte Fisci Regii eo, ut occultatus thesaurus revindicatur collaboret, subin vero thesaurum e manibus denunciantis viduae Salamonis Elek recipiat, quam ab occultatoribus recaptivata, atque normali pertractatione sua via substenuat, cuius in sequelam idem advocatus Hevessiensis relationem sub ·//. in copia, una cum provocatis adjacentem isthuc prostitit.

E tenoribus relationis huius gratiose informari dignabitur Ex Camerale Consilium: quod referens in consortio legalis testimoniam ad possessionem Tisza Szóllós comparendo, thesaurum partim a denunciante vidua Salamone Elekiana, partim a pensionato locumtenente Stephano Dévay in quantum huic per inquirentem judlium post interventam a respectivis inventoribus recaptivationem resignatus fuisset, in toto $26\frac{3}{8}$ semi uncias auri ponderantem ad manus suas recepuit, subin via Regii Salis officii Agriensis ad excelsum Camerale Consilium promotum, — quod item residiam partem thesauri prima occasione in terreno ejusdem possessionis Tisza Szóllós inventi, ex referenti pariter per Stephanum Dévay resignati, compossessor ejas Melchior Elek via facți ea de causa ademenit; quod hic thesaurus in fundo communi adinventus sit, quodve 150 thaleros non adequet, adeoque Fiscus Regius

eundem apprehendere non valeat; quo facto referens protestatio — admonitoriam cautelam interposuit, hac tamen non obstante, Melchior Elek occupatum per se thesaurum non restituit.

Quod attinet thesaurum per referentem receptum, et hactenus in Taxationatus Officio Camerali existentem; hunc sedria aestimatione, detractisque investigationalibus expensis, per Fisci Regii Advocatum Hevesiensem, et legale testimonium sub Nos 5. et 6. ad ·//. liquidatis, quarum thalera Offici Rationarii revisione gratiosam assignationem expeto, trifariam ducendum, et duas tertias ejusdem viduae Salamonis Elek, nata Juliánna Nagy, qua denuncianti, et fundum, in quo thesaurus repertus est, poss[ess]idente, sive in natura, sive quo re nata in aequivalenti gratiose addicendum, residuam vero tertiam per Fisco Regio ratiendam esse censeo.

Quod autem partem thesauri a referente per Melchiorem Elek via facti ademti, attinet: cum ex inquisitione collaterali: sub 7. ad ·///. adjacente, ac signanter adestium primi et secundo fassionibus evenit, thesaurum hunc in fundo communique verum inventum fuisse; hac de causa Melchiori Elek qua compossessori sit, ad partem thesauri huius in rata proportione competens negari quidem non potest: cum tamen jus hoc pari e ratione tam denuncians vidua Salamone Elekiana, quam et alii nefas possessionis Tisza Szőllős compossessores ad thesaurum hunc foveant, adhoc vidua Salamone Elekiana qua denuncianti ex hoc etiam thesauro rata tertia sensu benignarum resolutionum, et curialum sententiarum competat; quo Fiscus Regius ab expensis minimine maneat, demisse censeo: denuntiantem viduam Salamone Elekianam eo iniurandam [?] esse ut compossessorem Melchiorem Elek qua thesauri huius illegitimum detentorem conveniat, — in quam ex parte Fisci Regii respectu ratae tertio ingessio subin admonenda esset.

Quod tamen altiori decisioni in sequelam quoque gratiosorum dto 4° Sept. a.p. 32228 isthunc . . .

The remaining part of the document is missing.

I,11

32523. 23. Sept. 840

4399 14a 8br. 840

Ex Consilio Camerae Regiae Hungarico-Aulicae

Spectabili Domino Magistro Antonio Feyes de Balaton

.

Pestini

Spectabilis [sic!] Domine Consiliarie nobis observandissime!

Erga relationem dato 5° Septembris a.c. N° 3326.–4129. 5225, 5226. 3100 — Praedictae Dominationae Vestrae hisce reseribitur unave comittitur: ut opinionem suam circa partem thesauri in territorio Possessionis Tisza Szőllős inventi, quam Melchior Elek e manibus advocati fisci regii Francisi Nagy via facti ademit, depromtam, ad effectum dirigat.

Circa diurna et itinerales sumptus in negotio praeattacti thesauri per dictum fisci regii advocatum et concernens legale Testimonium emeritos, ulteriores abhinc subsecuturi sunt ordines. Datum ex Consilio Camerae Reg. Hung. Aulicae. Budae die 23^a Septembris 840.

ad officia paratissimi ... Gabriel Baro Joannes Geramb Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Fisci Regii Advocato Francisco Nagy consig

Agriae

Perillustris Domine!

Interea donec in obiecto thesauri in tenutis possessionis Tisza Szöllös, ad proprietatem Juliannae Nagy Salamonis Elek viduae spectantibus inventi et per Praedictam Dominationem vestram via Regii Salis Officii Agriensis ad Excelsam Cameram Regiam Hungarico Aulicam promoti. Altior resolutio supervenerit, Excelsum Camerale Consilium recenter significavit, cum ad illud thesauri in fundo communi praedictae possessionis inventi constitutivum, quod Melchior Elek via facti occupavit, jus in rata proportione, tam praedicta vidua Salamone Elekiana, quam et alii nefors possessionis Tisza Szöllös compossessores foveant, insuper vero viduae huic, qua denuntianti, e thesauro hoc si normalem valorem adequaverit sensu benignarum normalium resolutiorum Regiarum, et sententiarum curialium tertia pars competat, eandem viduam Salamone Elekianam eo inviandam esse, ut haec una cum aliis nefors compossessoribus, Melchiorem Elek cui tam quam compossessori aeque tantum rata proportionalis obvenit qua illegitimum thesauri detentorem, processu conveniat.

Quod ipsum pDv provocative ad relationem sub dato 16 Julii anno praedicto Nro. 526 isthuc praestitam, eo subiuncto hisce officiose significandum habeo: ut memoratam viduam Salamone Elekianam praemissis conformiter inviare, et dum haec una cum aliis nefors compossessoribus contra Melchiorem Elek successum suscitaverint, praedicta Dominatio Vestra ad hanc respectu ratae tertiae Fisco Regio competentis, ingessionem adornare super effectuatis autem relationem praestare velit, solito honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini 25 Octobris anno 1840

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Camerae Regiae Vice Director

I,13

39004, 11. Nov. 840 Ex Consilio Camerae Regiae Hgco-Aulicae 4904, 21. Nov. 840

Spectabili Domino Magistro Antonio Feyes de Balaton . . .

Pestini

Spectabilis Domine Consiliarie ...!

Desiderata ope [?] remonstrationis sub 25. Octob. a: c: N° 4399. isthuc factae acta, thesaurum in fundo communi Possessionis Tisza Szőllős inventum respicientia Praedicante Dominationae Vestrae in advoluto transponuntur, ceterum quod thesaurum hunc sequentia observanda veniunt.

a. Occupationem partis thesauri huius per Melchiorem Elek, quam constitutus ibidem Fisci Regii Advocatus in praesentia sua nullatenus admittere debuisset, contra rectum ordinem intervenisse, cum taliter quivis thesaurus, qui sensium in terreno quopiam a pluribus inventoribus colligitur, sub colore quod normalem valorem non attingat, dirripi possit, praememoratus vero Melchior Elek pro aestimatione thesauri nequaquam haberi queat, siquidem aestimatio eius liber inventi per Pestiense Caesareum auri, et argenti reluitorum officium genuine fieri consveverit, et ideo etiam minores thesauri pro eruendo valore, atque instituendo pro Cymeliarchiis publicis selectu manibus cameralibus pro normali pertractatione resignandi sint, quod etiam in praesenti casu eo magis observari debuisset, cum

e substratis actis eveniat, unam partem quaestionati thesauri 13. alteram vero 21. Junii inventam fuisse, ambas vero partes et qualitatis ad eundem thesaurum pertinere; quapropter detenta per Melchiorem Elek particula thesauro, huic reapplicanda, aut adminus in ratam Dominii terrestralis imputanda esset, et eusdem antequam differentia haec complanata non fuerit, rata dominio terrestrali e praevio invento competens extradari nequiet.

b. Cum alteram partem thesauri manibus Fisci R. resignatam ductu fassionum signanter puncto 3.º elicitarum neutiquam Julianna Nagy Salamonis Elek vidua denunciaverit, verum Michael Toth, et Stephanus Fazekas invenerint, dominioque terrestrali annunciaverint hinc licet eorum domestici, quibus interea foveam latentis thesauri custodiendam reliquerunt, per alios incolas abinde depulsi sint, iidem tamen rata sua inventoris frustrari nequeunt. demum

c. Pro statu notitiae Praedic. D. V. subjungitur: quod in casibus ubi inventi thesauri normalem valorem 150 ft non adaequant, tales facta praevie aestimatione, et delectu pro parte Cymeliarchiorum publicorum in natura una cum aequivalenti pro delectis frustris praestito restituantur, inter Dominium terrestrale, et inventores citra influxum Fisci Regii partiendi, quodve saepenumero Dominio terrestrali erga reversales de excontentando inventore extradari consveverint, quietantiae vero per ipsum respectivum terrestrale Dominium, aut inventores exaratae in R. Gremiali Archivariatus officio asservari soleant.

Quapropter Praedictae D. Vae committitur: ut invitatione circa praevium thesaurum isthine sub 23. Septem a: c: No. 32 520. dimissa tantisper in suspenso relicta, meritum hoc habita praeattactarum observationem reflexione reassumat, et ulteriorem desuper opinionem depromat. Datum ex Consilio Camerae Hgco-Aul. Budae die 11^a Novemb. 840.

ad officio paratissimi Gabriel Pl...

I,14

4904. 29. Novembris 840 Ex camera

In sequalem gratiosorum Ex Cameralis Consilii ordinum quod thesaurum in terreno possessionis Tisza Szőllős inventum Dto 11. mensis, et anni curr. No. 39,004 isthuc editer demisse refero: Fisci Regii Advocatum Hevessiensem partem inventi huius thesauri, compossessori Tisza Szőllősiensi Melchiori Elek benevole hanc resignasse, verum talem via facti eidem ademtam fuisse; ...

Relate ad punctum 2^{um} memoratum gratiosorum ordinum demisse observandum habeo: perhibente Regii Salis Officii Poroszloiensis relatione sub /. una cum reliquis obiectum isthoc facientibus actis, erga futuram gratiosam remissionem readvoluta quod thesauri huius vero nominis [?] denunciante habendam esse Dominam Juliannam Nagy, Salamonis Elek viduam, in quantum antem inventores thesauri Michael Tóth, et Stephanus Fazekas, thesaurus hunc dominae suae, praestatae viduae Salamonis Elek, bona fide denunciarunt, eatemque renumerationem aliquam eosdem . . .; an tamen hanc Ex Cam Consilium defrigere, aut vero id dominae viduae Salamone Elekianae deferre dignabitur, pudet a gratiosos ExCamConsilii ambitio; quaestioneat tamen huius decisionem ad illud tempus relegandam fore consultus putarem, dum recaptivatio in via juris per viduam Elek ab hinc via Fisci Regii Advocati Hevessiensis in sequelam gratiosorum ExCaalis Consilii ordinum Dto 23^a Sept. a. c. No. 32523. isthuc editorum, jam dto 25^{tae} Octobris edictam ab occupante Melchiore Elek thesauro, tota quantitas thesauri huius cognosci, et altius judicium de qualiter instituenda ejusdem repartitione potuerit.

Dto Pesth

without signature

43220, 16. Decembris 840 Ex Consilio Camerae

> Spectabile Domino Magistro Antonia Feyes, ... Camerae Regiae Hungarico-Aulicae Consiliario

Pestini

In merito thesauri in territorio Possessionis Tisza-Szöllös inventi P.D.V. erga relationem sub 29. Novembr. a.c. No. 4904 praestitam penes remissionem provocatorum committi: ut a Fisci Regii Advocato Francisco Nagy informationem exigat, an Julianna Nagy Salamonis quondam Elek relicta vidua ad recaptivationem thesauri per Michaelem Elek e manibus antelati Fisci Regii Advocati via facti adempti, juris viam contra eundem illegalem thesauri occupatorem jam effective ingressa sit, si ita eotum P.D.V. ingessionem Fiscii Regii omnio illico fieri disponat, et cursum causae solerter invigilari curet; si vero causa haec per viduam Elek realiter necdum suscitata foret, actionem nomine Fiscii Regii Melchiori Elek instantanee exhiberi procuret, siquidem juxta praxim etiam per Judicia Regni stabilitam, Fiscus Regius principalis thesaurorum vindex et exclusivus manipulans sit. Datum ex Consilii Camerae Regiae Hungarico-Aulicae Budae die 16. Decembris 840.

Comes Gabriel ... (illegible name)

I.16*

5527. 17. Jan 841.

23. Januarii 841

Domino Advocato Nagy Perillustris Domine!

In nexu ordinum in obiecto thesauri in tenutis possessionis Tisza Szölös ad proprietatem Julianne Nagy, Salamonis Elek viduae spectantibus inventi, dato 25^a Oct. a.p. Nro 4399 ad praedictam Dominationem vestram ab hinc dimissorum, penes respectivorum aetorum remissionem eandem Praedictam Dominationem vestram jussu altiori eo inviandam habeo: ut capta eatenus, num vidua Salamone Elekiana ad recaptivationem thesauri, per Michaelem Elek praedictae Dominationi vestrae via facti adempti, juris viam contra eundem illegalem thesauri occupatorem jam effective ingressa sit, vel minus? informatione; casu in priore ingessionem nomine Fisci Regii respectu ratae tertiae eundem respicienti, in decurrente processu illico adornare et subin cursui causae hujus solerter invigilare, casu autem in posteriore, si quippe vidua memorata processum necdum suscitasset, actionem nomine Fiscii Regii contra Melchiorem Elek instantanee erigere, atque in omnem casum horsum referre velit, solito cum honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini die 17^a Januarii 1841

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg V.Director

I,17

4759, 10. Febr. 841

1024, 17 Febr. 841

Spectabili Domino Magistro Antonio Feyes ...

Pestini

E thesauro in Possessione Tisza-Szőllős Comitatui Hevessiensi ingremiata in fundo Juliannae Nagy denati Salamonis Elek viduae reperto, aut potius e summa 480 fl per Numophylaceum Caes. reg. titulo relu[i]tionis ejusdem praestita, atque supputatis abhinc investigationalibus expensis 48. fl. $4\frac{3}{4}$

xem. efferentibus, pro trifaria divisione cum 431 fl. $55\frac{1}{4}$ xem resultatente, antelatae terrestri dominae 143 fl. $58\frac{1}{3}$ x.; inventori vero Michaeli Toth, et denuncianti Stephano Fazekas insimul pariter 143 fl. $55\frac{1}{3}$ x. competunt.

Datum ex Consilio Camerae reg. H. Aulicae Budae die 10. februarii 841.

Comes Gabriel ... (illegible name)

I.18*

1024. 26. Febr. 841

3 Martii 841

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Fisci Regii Advocato Francisco Nagy

consig.

Perillustris Domine!

Agriae

E thesauro in possessione Tisza-Szöllös Comitatui Hevessiensi ingremiata, in fundo Juliannae Nagy denati Salamonis Elek viduae reperto, aut potius e summa 480 fr. per Numophilaceum Caesareo Regium, titulo relu[i]tionis ejusdem praestita, atque supputatis abhinc investigationalibus expensis 48 florenos $4\frac{3}{4}$ xros Con.Mon. efficientibus, pro trifaria divisione cum 431 florenis $55\frac{1}{4}$ xris Con.Mon. resultante, antelatae terrestri Dominae 143 fl: $58\frac{1}{4}$ xri inventori vero Michaeli Toth, et denuncianti Stephano Fazekas insimul pariter 143 floreni $55\frac{1}{3}$ xri competunt.

Quemadmodum igitur ratae e thesauro hoc, praememoratae viduae, atque inventori ac denuncianti obvenientes, per Excelsam Cameram Regiam Hungarico Aulicam sub dato 10^{ae} Februarii a.c. Nro. 4759 penes Poroszloviense Regium Salis Officium, erga scorsivas percipientium quietantias assignantur, ita id ipsum praedictae Dominationi vestrae erga relationem suam sub dato 16^{ae} Decembris 1839 Nro proprio 541. horsum praestitam, et in nexu ordinum sub dato 17^{ae} Januarii a.c. Nro. 5527: 1840 abhinc obtentorum, fine edocendorum de praevia assignatione praememoratorum percipientium utpote Juliánnae Nagy denati Salamonis Elek viduae, atque inventoris Michaelis Toth, ac denunciantis Stephani Fazekas et sui directione hisce officiose significo, solito honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini 26^a Februarii 1841.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,19

1366, 7 Martii, 841

To the much-respected royal councillor, Antal Fejes Balatonyi!

Two years have passed since I handed over the gold finds discovered in my land ... at Tisza Szőllős ... to Ferencz Nagy ... for the Royal Treasury; ... and since then I have in vain urged and awaited the delivery of the two-thirds befitting me ... from the Royal Prosecution after my rights ... that had been proven by the prosecutor of Eger.

I beseech Your Lordship to remove ... the possible obstacles ... and to benignly influence the Prosecution ... in this matter. ...

your obedient servant Mrs Salamon Elek landowner in Tisza Szőllős 2181. 20 Maii 841 [Domino Advocato Nagy!]

Perillustris Domine!

Remonstrationem Poroszloiensis Regii Salis Officii in objecto thesauri in possesione Tisza-Szöllös reperti ad Excelsum Camerale Consilium factam, una cum acclusis eidem documentis, erga futuram remissionem sub·/. in specie, praedictae Dominationi vestrae ea cum invitatione transpono: ut cum ex actis, praedictae Dominationi vestrae ab hinc dato 17 Jan: a.c. Nro 5527/1840 transpositis, thesauri in Tisza-Szölös reperti inventores Michaelem Toth, et Stephanum Fazekas fuisse, evenerit, in praesentibus vero actis Alexander Gyarmati, et Valentinus Bokor inventores esse perhibeantur, quaestionem: quis pro inventore habendus, an non inventore nefors rem celante, aliqui praenominatorum pro denuntiantibus habendi sint, in quantum fieri potest, absque expensis elucubrare, et eatenus quo prius penes copiae primaevae inquisitionis remissionem isthuc referre velit, solito cum honore perseverando. Pestini die 20 Maii 1841

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,21

July 16, 1841

27. Julii 841. Ad No. 622 – 841 Advocati Fisci Regii com. Heves.

Much-respected lord Fiscal:

... I again beseech Your Honour, that since Menyhért Elek has seized a part of the gold found in my Tisza Szőllős land and has no intent of surrendering it, and thus robs the Royal Fiscal of the third befitting him, and robs me of the other third; and since I cannot litigate against Menyhért Elek, I beseech Your Honour to extract from him, if need be even by legal action, the seized gold and to present me with the third befitting me. ...

your obedient servant Julianna Nagy widow of the former Salamon Elek of Pazony To the much-respected prosecutor of the Royal Fisc, Ferenc Nagy.

I.22*

Ad item 671

Eger, August 2, 1841

Advocati Fisci Regii Comitatus Hevesiensis We offer our services to the much-respected Judge of the County Court!

The Councillor of the Royal Treasury, Antal Feyes, the Director of Royal Matters and a Prosecutor of the Hungarian Holy Crown, has brought before us a matter for the purpose of administering justice:

It has been reported by the Sworn Prosecutor and representative of the community of Tisza-Szöllős of the Royal Counties of Heves and Outer-Szolnok, Ferenc Nagy, on June 30 of the year 1839: that certain inhabitants of T. Szöllős found several lats of gold in the allodial ploughland of the lady Juliánna Nagy, the widow of Salamon Elek, who promptly notified the royal fiscal and the treasury, and handed over one part for judgement and division as prescribed by the National Laws . . . , but $10\frac{5}{16}$ lats* of gold in the possession of Captain István Dévay, a retired captain, were forcefully seized by your lordship, and are still withheld in spite of judicial admonitions.

And since according to paragraph 5 of part 1 of Werböczy's Code, but also in accordance with public justice striving to grant each man his own . . . and the highest decrees serving as a directive in judicial matters, the royal fiscal acts as plaintiff against arrestors of treasure, and the Director of Royal Matters summons your lordship to court, not only that the treasure be surrendered, but also that the usufruct, and the caused as well as future expenses be reinbursed.

Wishing therefore to comply with all requests . . . I summon your lordship for final judgement . . . in the present year of 1842 [sic!] . . . to the archiepiscopal town of Eger . . .

without signature

*1 lat = 15.5517 gr

This document is a somewhat inaccurate copy of an original in Eger, dated to August 2, 1841, filed under Ad no. 623, and whose envelope file bears the remark "Advocato Fisci Regii Cottus Hevesiens. Projectum actionis . . . contra Melchiorem Elek . . . ". The version published here was found in the Eger sheaf, while Ad. no. 623 in the Pest sheaf. The remark on the envelope file makes it quite clear that the indictment was against Menyhért Elek.

I,23

623. ? Aug. 841

4038, 16 Augusti 841

Magnifice Domine Consiliarie Regie Magister Causarum Regalium Director!

Gratiosis dto 17^{ae} Januarii a.c. No. 5527/1840 emanatis ordinibus Directoralibus injunctum mihi erat, ut capta eatenus: num vidua Salamonis Elekiana ad recaptivationem thesauri in tenutis possessionis Tisza-Szőllős ad proprietatem Juliannae Nagy Salamonis Elek viduae spectantibus inventi, per Melchiorem Elek mihi via facti ademti, juris viam contra eundem illegalem thesauri occupatorem iam effective ingressa sit, vel minus ? informatione; casu in priore, ingessionem nomine Fisci Regii respectu ratae tertiae eundem respicientis in decurrente processu illico adornem, casu autem in posteriore nomine Fisci Regii contra Melchiorem Elek actionem erigam, quibus . . . superius nominatam viduam qua denunciatricem litteratorii, ... Agriae constitutum verbotenus, erigendi processus, vel vero procurationis inquisitionis ergo super eo, peragendae, quod quaestionati thesauri in terreno illius titulo juris vidualis ad eam pertinente reperti sint, provocavi, quae oretenus declaravit: se processum inchoari nomine proprio nolle, sed nec inquisitionem peragi curari velle, quod ipsum scriptorenus declaratum spondebat; declaratione hac diutius exspectata, nunciationibus adursionibusque meis interventis sub /. demisse huc admettis litteris perceptis, penes documentorum negotiam hoc respicientium in frustis E [?] huc adnexorum transmissionem non ... opinionem respectu prosecutionis thesauri quaestionati processu meliariter faciendae, P. M. V. judiciis substernere in eo ... quod ex superabundanti comparandis in ... de eo fassionibus testimon. quod deutrales thesauri in Possessione Tisza-Szőllős adreperti, mihi resignati per Melchiorem Elek ademti in tenuto viduae Juliannae Nagy adreperti sunt, summaria repositione vi art. 13. 1807 competente per evolutionem unius anni reiteranda sub decursu unius anni contradictiones non reservata jam evanescente processus repositorius contra Melchiorem Elek qua illegalem thesauri detentorem coram vice Comite Comitatus Hevessiensis dictamine 22. 802. II^{ac} 6. 1542. 4. Dec. p. 193 juxta hic sub NB demisse adiectum projectum actionis inchoandus sit. . . .

Agriae die Augusti 841

Franciscus Nagy advocatus

I,24*

4038/1841 27. Jan. 842

2 Februarii 842

[Domino Advocato Nagy]

Perillustris Domine!

Erga relationem praedictae Dominationis vestrae quod erigendam contra Melchiorem Elek qua thesauri in tenutis possesionis Tisza-Szöllös ad proprietatem Juliannae Nagy, Salamonis Elek viduae spectantibus inventi, violentum occupatorem, nomine Fisci Regii actionem mense Augusto a.p. Nro suo 623. horsum praestitam rescribendum habeo: eundem detentorem penes actionem sub ·/. adjacentem coram iudlium et iurassore Comitatus Hevessiensis conveniendum esse. Quem in finem acta per praedictam Dominationem vestram isthuc exhibita sub ·//. remittendo, una vero praedictam Dominationem vestram ad praestandam erga ordines dato 20 Maji a.p. Nro. 2181 abhinc dimissos relationem reflectendo, periodicas super cursu erigendi processus relationes operiturus, solito cum honoris cultu persevero: Pestini 27ª Januarii 1842

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,25

2032. 10. Maii 842. ExDir

> Fisci Regii Advocato Hevessiensi Francisco Nagy

Illa ex declaratione Melchioris Elek, coram articulari testimonio elicita, quod inventum in communi Possessionis Tisza Szóllós territorio thesaurum, Fisco Regio pro normali pertractatione, ideo resignari non teneatur, quia ille valorem centum Imperalium praetensive non adequat; — suapte fluit, — quod, prout factum suum arbitrarium, hac b. normalium resolutionum dispositione defendit, ita etiam alteri illorum parti; qua aestimatio cuiuslibet inventi thesauri, Pesthiensi Regii auri et argenti Reluitorio officio, etiam fine delectus, erga refundendorum refusionem pro Cymeliis publicis defertur, stare teneatur: — idque tanto magis, cum b. hac normales ex eminenti terrae principis dominio profluentes, usui, memoriam humanam fere iam escedenti, positivisque ex Curiae Regiae praejudiciis, conformes ex discerta Partis II tituli 6. dispositione, insfar Juris Consvetudinarii, vim legis scriptae habentis deserviant, quibus hoc in speciale casu, pro superpondio, idquoque accedit, quod pertractatio quaestionis thesauri, a pertractatione alterius, qui per viduam Salamonis Elek, Juliannam Nagy fisco Regii effective resignatur, normaliter tractatur, velut eodem in loco unoque tempore inventus,

spectata praeprimis eadem amborum qualitate, avelli non possit, sed tamquam integrans pars posterioris considerari debeat.

Pestini 10. Maiy 843

Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

The original document is without signature and date; the copy published here, however, gives an incorrect date, for the undated original (in the Pest file) can be dated to May 10, 1842 on the basis of the reference numbers.

I,26

16495, 25. Maji 842 Ex Consilio Camerae Regiae Hgco-Aulicae 2641, 5 Junii 842

Spectabilis Domine Consiliarie Antonio Feyes

Pestini

Adjacens relatio Poroszlóensis Regii Salis Officii, ductu cuius ex incidenti attestati pro Alexandro Gyarmati et Valentino Bokor circa thesaurum in territorio Possessionis Tisza Szőlős inventi per communitatem eiusdem Possessionis exarati, intuitu ratae cum $\frac{1}{3}$ obvenientis cuinam dependendae sibi invitationem dari petit, . . .

Budae die 25 Máji 1842.

Baro Aloysius Mednyánszky

I,27*

1121/2461. 2 Julii 842

12 Julii 842

[Domino Advocato Nagy] [Domino Advocatio Hevessiensi]

Perillustris Domine!

Erga relationem praedictae Dominationis vestrae quoad thesaurum in possessione Tisza Szölös inventum dato 6^{ae} Martii a.c. Nro suo 671 horsum prestitam, penes actionis contra detentorem eiusdem thesauri Melchiorem Elek sine mora erigendae remissionem rescribendum habeo; processum hunc indigitantibus id ipsum sententiis curialibus instituto ad acquisitionem inventi thesauri promovendum esse. In quantum vero praedicta Dominatio vestra altissimas resolutiones actoratum ad acquisitionem thesaurorum in defectu legis tribuentes inter acta sua non haberet, tales interea etiam donec pro re nata alia adhuc transponi possent, eadem praedictae Dominationi vestrae sub // advolvo; eandem una provocando: ut de termino levandae huius causae mox isthuc referre, una vero expensas processuales designare velit.

Caeterum Excelso Camerali Consilio ex incidenti relationis Poroszloiensis R. Salis Officii sub /// in origine erga futuram proximiorem advolutae informationem super eo; quisnam genuine pro inventore in questione vertentis thesauri habendus, adeoque cuinam rata inventoris extradanda sit? Sibi praestari praecipiente hoc in respectu reflexe etiam ad ordines dato 20^{ac} Maii 841 Nro. 2181 ad

praedictam Dominationem vestram dimissos, eandem ult. provocandam habeo; ut excussis actis, quaestionibus thesaurum respicientibus hac in questione horsum referre velit; solito honoris cultu perseverando — Pestini 2ª Julii 842

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,28

3893, 25 Aug. 842

10 Sep 842 O.D. dato 25. Aug. 842 Nro. 3893 in merito thesauri in terreno Szöllösiensi adreperti dimissi

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Advocato Francisco Nagy

Agriae

Perillustris Domine!

Ad usum causae ratione thesauri Tisza Szöllösiensis incaminandae, sententias per Ex. Curiam Regiam in causa Fisci Dominalis Dominii Episcopatus MVaradiensis Latini ritus contra Alexandrum Vulcs et alios promota latas, praedictae Dominationi vestrae in nexu ordinum dato 2^{ac} Julii a.c. numeris 1121/2461 abhine dimissorum sub·/. ea cum invitatione transpono; ut parandam suo tempore fundamentalem repplicam quae mox post adornatam levatam apponenda erit, pro revisione horsum-exhibere velit; solito cum honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini 25^a Aug 842

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I.29*

5690, 22. Dec. 1842.

[Domino Advocato Francisco Nagy]

Individua, Fiscii Regii negotia processualia promoventia, velut decreto nominationis Excelsae Camerae Regiae Hungarico Aulicae, nomine suae maiestatis sacratissimae expedito, virtutem plenipotentiae redolente provisa, et qua talia publico Regni Hungariae schematismo, in rubrica advocatorum Fisci Regii in Comitatibus Regni constitutorum inserta; mandatariatum suum constanter perseverantem, in omnis generis Fisci Regii sive processualibus, sive extraprocessualibus negotiis, per praevia coram respectivis Regni Tribunalibus Iudiciariis legitimant, et hinc provenit: quod procuratorias constitutiones admodum pauci e Fisci Regii procuratoribus expetant, talesque iis abhinc non nisi erga specificum desiderium administrantem reliqui vero omnes in praedescriptis constanter perdurantibus Fisci Regii procurantorum qualitatibus suis, universas curae suae creditas causas qua Actores in levatam deducant, aut in respectivis . . . processibus qua incatti compareant, agendare in iis agant, et ita omnia eorundem Fisci Regii procuratorum acta et facta absque productione specialis procuratoriae constitutionis per respectivos judices passim rati habeantur.

Quod ipsum praedictae Dominationi vestrae erga relationem suam sub dato 12ª Decembris a.c. nro. proprio 738, isthuc intuitu causae Fisci Regii contra Melchiorem Elek, qua thesauri in Tisza-

Szőllős adreperti detentorem 1ª Decembris a.c. in levatam deducto, ex propter defectum contemporaneae procuratoriae constitutionis periculo condescensionis obnoxiando prostitam, cum eo officiose significo: ut, siquidem retrograda procuratoria constitutio, qualis in limine procitatae relationis suae attingitur, hic loci haud praeexistat, adeoque praedictae Dominationi vestrae transmitti nequeat, secundum prodeducta precedentem in praedescripta causa judicem capacitet, eumque eo disponere satagat, ut rejecta partis in catteae antelata exceptione, causam in cursu suo relinquat, partemque incatteam ad se modo sibi suppetente defendendum inviet; eo ceteroquin suapte sub intellecto; quod si non attentis promissis, causa hoc deponenda esset, cum judici si exceptionem [illegible subsequent interpolation] partis incatteae pro fundata adinvenerit, in praesenti casu prescribi non possit, ea, quae hoc fine necessaria sunt, per Praedictam Dominationem vestram agenda, ex eadem causa postmodum, suo modo resuscitanda, subindeque desuper ulterior relatio praestanda sit; — pro futuro autem ex incidenti, quod hic loci varia Fisci Regii in partibus occurrentia negotia, diversi huiates Regio Directorales Fiscales pertractent, ex ideo similium minutiorum circumstantiarum, nexum cum heterogeneis negotiis habentium cognitio a singulo desiderari [processus?] nequeat, neque uni superinspectionem gerenti in faragine tantorum agendarum ad omnia distinctim pertractari solita sensus esse possit, — ad provertendas similes confusiones ac perplexitates, relationes completae, ad alia in eventuris huiusmodi consentaneis casibus subversantia adjuncta reflexorio prostandae veniant.

Queis rescriptis, relationem praedictae Dominationis vestrae prostolaturus, solito honore persevero Pestini die 22^a Decembris 1842.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,30

705, 12. Octobr. 842

4819 27. Oct. 842

Magnifice Domini Consiliarii Regii Magister Causarum Regalium Director, . . .

In humillimum obsequium gratiosorum d¹o 2ªe Julii a.c. N. 1121/2409 respectu thesauri in possessione Tisza Szőllős adreperti dimissorum ordinum directoralium, relationem Poroszloiensis Regii Salis Officii Excelso Camerali Consilio eodem in merito factam una cum provocato in frustis 2 reacludendo actis investionalibus excussis demisse refero: thesaurorum actu per D. Melchiorem Elek detentorum, inventores Georgium Burai, et Josephum Varga, Michaelem Tóth, Stephanum Fazekas, et Mariam Sipos incolas Szőllősienses, eorum vero, qui laudabili zelo viduae Elekianae incaptivati, mihi resignati, per me vero altiori loco transpositi erant, Alexandrum Gyarmati, Blasium Bokor, praesentibus Julianna Ban, et Maria Törős puellis atque T. Szőllősiensibus, qui secundum inratam fassionem Alexandri Gyarmati, in medietate participis facti sunt — receptione participiali thesauri . . . subsecuta — fuisse.

Agriae, die 12. Octobr. 842.

Franciscus Nagy

A variant of this document, without signature, has also survived; since, however, there are certain differences concerning minor details, it is also published here:

4819/482 27 Februarii 843 ExDir

Advocato Francisco Nagy!

Iuxta relationem . . . sub Dto 12^{ac} Octobris a.p. No. 705 cujus acclusa erga futuram remissionem hic sub '/. readjacent, quoad inventores thesauri in territorio Possessionis Tisza-Szőllős reperti, isthuc prostitam, inventores numorum actu per Melchiorem Elek detentorum, Georgis Burai, Josephus Varga, Michael Toth, Stephanus Fazekas et Maria Sipos incolae Szöllősiensis fuerunt; numorum autem zelo viduae Elekianae captivatorum inventores Alexander Gyarmathy, et Blasius designatur, qui secundum juratam fassionem Alexandri Gyarmaty — receptione thesauri subsecuta — in medietate thesauri hujus participes facti sunt.

Antequem igitur relatio hoc abhinc Excelso Camerali Consilio substernatur, velit P. D. V. . . . clarius referre: qualiter . . . postremo nominati Alexander Gyarmaty et Blasius Bokor antelati thesauri in medietate participes facti fuerint? Duo circa ab ulteriore ocyori relatione operiturus, solito cum honoris cultu persevero

without signature, draft

I,31

792, 30 Maji 843 Adv. Franciscus Nagy 2576, 10. Junii 843

Magnifice Domine Consiliarii Regie Causarum Regalium V. Director . . . !

Thesauri in terreno Szőllősiensi per Alexandrum Gyarmaty et Blasium Bokor praesentibus Julianna Bali, Maria Törös et Blasii Gyarmaty ancilla adreperti, zelo viduae Elekianae captivati de denunciati et per me Regio Salis Officio resignati, inventores sed et occultatores nominatos fuisse, ex inquisitione erga futuram remissionem sub :/. huc adnexa clarum est, . . .

In the following those earlier statutes are considered which can serve as a starting point for establishing the amount of compensation to be paid to the finders and the informant (6707, May 2, 1798; 2309, February 26, 1779; Vienna decree 279 of the year 1776). In the light of these, one-third should be divided between Alexander Gyarmaty and Bálint Bokor.

Franciscus Nagy advocatus

The name Julianna Bali is written thus also in the original; the correct form is Julianna Bán. It would appear that the error in Doc. I,56/3, from the year 1860, can be traced to this source.

I.32*

2576. 22 Junii 843 [Domino Advocato Nagy]

5 Julii 843

Perillustris Domine!

Dubietas, que ratione tertialitatis thesauri die 21^{ma} Junii 839 in possessionis Tisza Szöllös agro viduae Salamonis Elek, Juliannae Nagy inventi, titulo ratae inventori cedentis, cui assignandae? Subversatur, per relationem praedictae Dominationi vestrae dato 30^{ac} May a.c. Nro. 792 horsum praestitam soluta minime est; — velit itaque eadem praedictam Dominationem vestram super sequentibus punctis, adaequatam quo prius informationem suppeditare.

- 1º: An in collaterali inquisitione, erga subsemturam remissionem sub / in origine adnexa occurrentes 3^{tius} et 4^{us} testis Michael Tóth et Stephanus Fazekas, inventum per se frustillum aureum, prelibatae viduae Elekianae reapse resignaverint et an haec in sequelam in specie insinuationis per hos testes factae aut quo ex incidenti Madarassinum contenderit, et thesaurum per Alexandrum Gyarmathy ibidem venui expositum revindicare sit?
- 2º: An Marianna Sipos testis in inquisitione hac 5^{ta} foraminosum aureum per se inventum, reapse sua sponte Capitaneo pensionato Dévay immanuaverit, et an ille integrantem partem thesauri per praedictam Dominationem vestram effective recepti constituat.
- 3º: An veritate nitatur testis in inquisitione 9ⁿⁱ Valentini Bokor illud assertum, quod ex inventis per se quatuor frustis aureis, tria viduae Elekianae bona fide resignaverit, et quid cum quarto apud se retento factum fuerit.

Super quibus ocyorem relationem operiturus, solito honoris cultur persevero. Pestini 22ª Junii 843

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,33

813, 10 Julii 843 Franciscus Nagy 3119, 18 Julii 843

Magnifice Domine Consiliarii Regie Causarum Regalium Vice Director!

Ut gratiosis dto 22. Junii a.c. No. 2576 ad me dimissis ex 5 m c. horsum perlatis ordinibus circa nonnullas quaestiones intuitu thesauri in terreno Tisza Szőllősiensi adreperti positas, adaequate respondere valeam, sub hodierno Bd: Judlium Comitatus Hevesiensis Augustinum Okolicsányi, penes communicationem inquisitionis, hoc in merito peractae finem in eum requisitum esse, ut in quantum desideratae circumstantiae ex ... inquisitione non elucesserent, illas in vicinia suae habitationis situata Possessione Szőllős — absque agrario Altissimi Aerarii Regii resciendo eas notitiae mihi dare non gravetur — pro ... notitiae statu Magnificentiae Vestrae hisce demisse refero.

Agriae Die 10 Julii 843

Franciscus Nagy advocatus

Ferenc Nagy presented the "responsum clarificatorium Domini ... Augustini Okolitsányi" as a supplement to his letter dated to September 26, 1843 (No. 837). Unfortunately, this document remains unknown, it has not survived in the file.

I,34*

3511. 6. Sept. 843

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Advocato Francisco Nagy consig

Perillustris Domine!

Agriae

Ex incidenti noviorum ex Cameralis Consilii Consignationalium ordinum, praedictam Dominationem vestram hisce inviandam habeo; ut appromissam, erga directorales ordines dato 22.ª Junii a.c. Nro. 2576 in merito thesauri in Tisza Szöllös inventi, dato 10ªc Julii a.c. numero proprio 813

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exhausientem relationem suam, quo licuerit [illegible word] praestare contendat; solito honoris cultu perseverando. Pestini 6ª Sept. 843.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I.35

4286, 9. Octobris 843

15. Octobris 843

Excelso Camerali Consilii!

Dignabatur dto. 25. Maii 842 No. 16495 id gratiose disponere, ut super eo, cuinam genuine tertialitas thesauri in Possessione Tisza Szóllós die 21^{mo} Junii 839. inventi, competat? audito etiam Fisci Regii advocato Hevessiensi Francisco Nagy, opciativa informatio adornetur, idque gratiosis suis ordinibus dto 31. Maii a.c. Nr. 18393 edidit, — cuius adnexa sub:/. in specie readvoluatur adurgere; — quorum in obsequium copiam relationis praelibati Fisci Regii Advocati dto 30. Maii a.c. Nr. 792 praestitat, cum specificis provocatis — quibus etiam . . . Cameralis Decretio dto 25. Maii 842. No. 16495 adjacent, — sub://.

lum Michaelem Tóth et Stephanum Fazekas primos fuisse, qui ex quaestionis thesauro, unum frustum aureum uncinatum invenerunt, quod pensionato Capitaneo Stephano Dévay cum debita insinuatione, spontanee resignarunt, — non stare tamen illam expositionem, quod in sequelam insinuationis per eosdem etiam viduae Salamonis Elek Juliánnae Nagy factae, haec ad Madaras prosecta fuerit et thesaurum per Alexandrum Gyarmathi ibidem venu[t]i expositum revindicaverit.

2^{do} Mariam Sipos duo frusta aurea uncinata, per se inventa benevole deterisse et Capitaneo Dévay resignasse.

3^{tio} Valentinum Bokor, tria frustella aurea, quorum duo cochleata erant, per ipsum reperta peracque sponte revellasse et viduae Elekianae tradidisse.

4¹⁶ Thesaurum per Alexandrum Gyarmathi in praesentia respective cooperationibus propria sua ancilla, nobili Julianna Bán et Mária Törös inventum, interque hos, exclusa ancilla Gyarmathiana, partitum, partim Madarassini, quorsum Alexander Gyarmathi suam ratam distractionis causa absportaverat, zelo viduae Elekianae, partim vicissione collateralis significationis, a tradueris Francisco Fekete et Salamone Sáli, quibus utpote praementionatae feminae ratas suas vendiderunt, pro Fisco Regio revindicatum [...]isse.

Harum facti circumstantiarum, ad b. normales Dto 2. Maii 1798. No. 6731. et 26 Junii 1798. No. 1392. applicatione sequeretur: Michaeli Tóth et Stephano Fazekas, — Mariae Sipos, — et Valentino Bokor, . . . tertialitatem valoris aureorum per se in specie inventorum, per Taxatoratus Officium e respectivis specificationibus ejectandam, — Alexandro e contra Gyarmathi, — nobili Juliannae Bán, et Mariae Törös, inventum thesaurum attacitandibus nihil plane competere, — . . . thesauro illo, quem Alexander Gyarmathy Madarassinum absportaverat, viduae Elekianae, qua denuncianti, unam nonalitem addicendam fore.

Quia [?] nihilominus pro Michaele Tóth et Stephano Fazekas illa ... circumstantia, quod non tantum Capitaneo Dévay, sed etiam viduae Elekianae, licet tardius, bona fide insinuationem fecerint, et Alexander Gyarmathi, qui attentatam thesauri distractionem necdum confirmavit, una cum feminis nobili Julianna Ban et Maria Törös, ignorantia juris quadamtenus excusari possuit, in specie haec posterior, meritum incitationis ad fodicationem continuendam habeat, sina qua thesaurus fors nec inventus fuisset, — et quia demum innegabile est, in tanto conflictu fassionum cointeressatorum partium per ordinem esse, judicium ad litteram b. normalium, plena cum conquiescentia ... ab altiori gratia dependabit, an non salva rata denunciatoriae viduae Elekianae, id, quod ex tertialitate inventi thesauri ad huc supermansurum est, inter omnes praerecensitos, ad inventionem et detectionem thesauri coniurrentes, ancilla Gyarmathiana peracque horsum intellecta, in aequales partes

subdividendum, ordinari debeat. Sui in reliquio, originalem collateralem inquisitionem, ad usum causae contra Melchiorem Elek decurrentis ... capto usus remitti ...

draft without date and signature

The heading listed 4 supplements: 2869/843, from the director of the Hungarian Treasury, 2576/843, from Ferenc Nagy, a copy, 2576/843, Copia Directoralium Ordinum, 4286/843, Copia relationis Nagyianae

I,36

38273, 31. Octobris 1843 Ex Consilio Camerae Regiae Hungarico Aulicae 5137, 20. Novembris 843

Spectabile Domino Magistro Antonio Feyes ...

Pestini

Quaestione illa, interquos tertialitas thesauri in territorio Possessionis Tisza-Szöllös . . . inventi, per Pestiense caesareo regium auri et argenti reluitorium officium ad 462 flos . . . aestimati, per caesareo regium Numophilaceum Viennense cum 480 fl reluti, supputatisque ex hac summa sumtibus investigationalibus cum 48 fl 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ xrem factis, pro repartitione cum 431 fl 55 $\frac{1}{4}$ xr remansi subdividenda veniat? . . . Michael Tóth, Stephanus Fazekas, Maria Sipos et Valentinus Bokor, quam etiam nobilis Julianna Ban, Maria Törös et Alexander Gyarmaty huiusque ancilla pro inventoribus attacti thesauri habeantur, decisa regio Poroszloensi Salis Officio sub hodierno committi: ut assignatione ratae tertiae sub 10. Februarii 1841. N^{ro} 4759. pro Michaele Tóth, et Stephano Fazekas cum 143 fl 58 $\frac{1}{3}$ xris facta praesentibus revocata, et extra vigorem posita, eandem tertiam ratam cum centum quadraginta tribus florensis $58\frac{1}{3}$ xris . . . initio attactis inventoribus utpote Michaeli Toth, Stephano Fazekas, Mariae Sipos, Valentino Bokor, nobili Juliannae Bán, Mariae Törös, et Alexandro Gyarmathy, ancilla Gyarmathÿana peracque huc intellecta, cum obtingentibus singillativis . . . si scripturae gnari non essent, cruce signandam . . . extradet, . . .

Datum ex Consilio Camerae Rg. Hg. Aulicae Budae, die 31ª Octobris 1843

Ladislaus Geőczy

I,37*

5137. 5. Dec. 843

12ª Dec. 843

[Domino Advocato Nagy]

Spectabilis Domine Fiscalis!

In conformitate opinionis abhinc depromtae, dignabatur excelsum camerale consilium gratiose decidere, ut fundamento supletorie institutae investigationis tam Michael Tóth, Stephanus Fazekas, Maria Sipos, et Valentinus Bokor, quam etiam nobilis Julianna Bán, Maria Törös, et Alexander Gyarmathy, huiusque posterioris ancilla ad fodicationem peraque concurrens, pro inventoribus thesauri in territorio possessionis Tisza-Szőllős reperti, habeantur, regio Poroszlóiensi Salis Officio eatenus iam inviato, ut assignatam penes illud, cum 143 f 58 ½ xrs C.M. ratam inventoriam in ter praerecensitos, cum obtingentibus singillativis ..., erga quietantiam, — in quantum scripturae gnati

non essent, cruce signandam, et per fide dignam personam coramisandam, extradet, et ad rationem generalis solutorii officii erogato inducat.

Quo super penes originalis collateralis inquisitionis, ad usum causae contra Melchiorem Elek de currentis, necessariae sub 1. remissionem nexu relationis suae dato 26 Sept. 1840 Nro. 837 praestitae, praedicta Dominatio vestra pro notitiae statu certiorata; super progressu praeattactae Elekianae causae, omni pro posse admaturandam, ulteriorem relationem operior, et solito honoris cultu persevero — Pestini die 5^a Dec 1843

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I.38*

6153. 5 Jan. 844

15. Jan. 844

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Advocato Nagy consig

Agrie

Spectabilis Domine Fiscalis!

Erga relationem praedictae Dominationis vestrae dato 26. Dec. 1843 Nro. 883 praestitam, eidem significandum habeo: circa assignationem taxae processualis et levatae in causa Melchioris Elek, per eandem praedictam Dominationem vestram, cum 26 florenis C. M. anticipatae, jam sub dato 30 Octobris 1843 numero 4576 abhine excelso camerali consilio demonstrationem adornatam fuisse, a cujus resultato proxime subsecuturo tantis per adhuc praestolandum esse; — solito honoris cultu perseverando Pestini die 5ª Januarii 1844.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I,39*

6051. 5. Jan. 844

15. Jan. 844

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Advocato Nagy consig

Agriae

Spectabilis Domine Fiscalis:

Relatione praedictae Dominationis vestrae, quoad causam Fisci Regii adversus Melchiorem Elek, thesauri in Tisza-Szőllős adinventi detentorem promotam, sub dato 22^{ac} Dec. 1840 Nro. 873 praestita, pro interim ali notitiae statu sumpta; de sententia in actoratus, et instituti quaestione perferenda, ulteriorem ejusdem praedictae Dominationis vestrae relationem operior; et solito honoris cultu persevero. Pestini die 5^a Jan. 1844.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirrector 987. 4. Martii 844

Regio Salis Officio Agriensi Domino Advocato Nagy consig

Agriae

Spectabilis Domine!

Joanni Szombathelyi comitatuum Heves et Szolnok articulariter unitorum Jurassori, titulo diurnorum occasione exhibitionis litterarum citatoriarum Melchiori Elek, partem thesauri in terreno Tisza Szóllós inventi detentori sonantium emeritorum, habitarumque vecturalium expensarum rectius 4 fl. 55 xr MC penes Regium Salis Officium Poroszloiense sub dato 31^{ac} Januarii a. c. praedictae Dominationis vestrae vero solutos titulo taxarum processualis et levatae ex proprio 26 fl. MC penes Regium Salis Officium Agriense, sub eodem dato erga quietantias, ad rationem praememorati thesauri et respectivi gremialis solutorii officii extradandas, cameraliter assignatus haberi, eidem praedictae Dominationi vestrae erga relationem suam dato 30^{ac} Maii 843 Nro. 794 prestitam, fine directionis et respective edoctionis percipientis iurassoris, hisce perscribo, et solito honoris cultu persevero. Pestini 4^a Martii 844.

servus obligissimus Josephus Eötvös Caar. Reg. VDirector

I.41

February 5, 1848

Ad Nº 390. Fisci Regii Cottus Hevess. 848

Ruling

of the Court of the Royal County of Heves in Eger on February 5 of the year 1848

The Plaintiff has quoted the Royal Decrees appended under B., C., E. and F., and various court rulings, as well as paragraph 3 of statute 1715: 28 and statute 1729: 35, stating the right of the Royal Prosecutor over one-third of treasure troves — the Defendant submitted that . . . the treasure trove had come to light on several occasions and that its value does not even come near 100 Thalers, and that he had purchased it from the finders on several occasions, which fact he can prove with an official report drawn up at T. Szőllős, which the Plaintiff did not append to the documents . . . and did not deny . . . and thus tacitly acknowledged — . . . and since the statutes quoted by the Plaintiff do not mention treasure troves, whereas statute 2: 35 of King Stephen's Laws state that real, and not feudal, possessory rights befit the possessors of nobiliary goods — and there being no laws decreeing otherwise or concerning treasure troves, the action of the Plaintiff is dismissed — . . .

The Royal Prosecutor lodges an appeal against this unfavourable judgement. The Defendant likewise lodges an appeal insofar as his expenses are not covered.

Ruling

The appeals are granted ...

without signature

I,42

2305

June 1, 848

To Sándor Nagy, the Royal Prosecutor of county Heves

The court summons of ... Menyhért Elek ... is hereby appended under /....

without signature

The following remark can be read on the envelope file: dead-line of appearance is August 28, 848.

According to the testimonial filed under no. 466 and written on July 6, 1848, in Eger, sent to the Ministry of Finances on July 10, a court summoning had been sent to Menyhért Elek.

According to document 4019/1848 of the Ministry of Finances, the proceedings had taken place on August 28, 1848, before the Royal Court of Appeal. According to document 234/1851, dated to October 2, of the Royal Prosecution of county Heves, the proceedings instituted by the Director of Royal Matters were still in progress in October, 1851.

I, 43

2318

June 2, 848

To the Ministry of Finances

The Royal Prosecutor, having won the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek over the treasure . . . found at Tisza-Szőllős before the district administrator, but having lost it before the County Court, has lodged an appeal to the Royal Curia . . .

without signature

I. 44

308

November 25, 1851

8884, November 29, 851

Royal and Imperial Councillor, Director of Royal Matters ... Ede Fluh

I have already complained about the unfavourable ruling (A) in the proceedings instituted against Menyhért Elek by the royal prosecutor, filed under no. 13.234, in October of the present year, and when the ruling of the High Court was proclaimed (B), I lodged an appeal (C) that was granted (D), which I hereby enclose that the necessary notice be more successful, and the ruling of the first acting court be pronounced valid, that Your Honour be able to reverse the unexpected ruling of the High Court, griveous to Royal rights, through the Agency in Vienna.

Eger, November 25, 1851.

Sándor Nagy royal prosecutor of county Heves

I, 45

333

November 30, 1851

9024. December 4, 851

Royal and Imperial Councillor, Director of Royal Matters . . . Ede Fluh

Pest

I have come upon an excellent ... decree appended under ·/. to the presentation filed under no. 310 on September 25 concerning the proceedings instituted against Menyhért Elek resulting in an unfavourable ruling before the Pest law-court, against which was lodged an appeal to the Supreme Court of Cassation, that, had I come across it earlier, I would have been able to justify the appeal even better — and I now hasten to forward this ... that the Vienna Agent be able to annul the ruling ... of the Court of Heves and the High Court of Pest.

Eger, November 30, 1851.

Sándor Nagy royal prosecutor of county Heves 7750

8884

9024

December 2, 1851

To Ignácz Kassics, royal prosecutor, concerning the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek ...

The proceedings instituted by the royal fiscal against Menyhért Elek as defendant on December 1, 1842, before the chief justice of county Heves ended with the condemnation of the defendant on December 6, 1845, whereupon the defendant lodged an appeal to the County Court of Heves which duly examined this matter and dismissed the action of the plaintiff, whereafter the matter was taken before the Imperial and Royal High Court of Pest by both parties, which on September 30 of the present year pronounced that the ruling of the County Court of Heves be sustained, whereupon the royal fiscal lodged an appeal to the Supreme Court.

I hasten to forward this ruling, appended under . E, together with the ... lawsuit and the directive issued on May 10, 1843, under no. 2032 to Your Honour, with the official request: that since the lawsuit has been forwarded to the Supreme Court under no. 3175 on 28th of the present month, . . . that Your Honour be able to extract from the Supreme Court the affirmation of the ruling of the first law-court ...

Pest, December 2, 851.

[Ede Fluh] draft without signature

December 2, 851

The file envelope bears the remark 'Urgent' and that "All appendices from A to E of petition no. 8848 and the original of appendix '/. of the present petition be appended under '/.'

The answer to this petititon reveals that Ede Fluh's petition was addressed to Ignácz Kassics, the royal fiscal in Vienna. Kassics's answer was as follows:

Ad 7750

8884

9024

612. Arrived February 8, 852, dated to January 30,

852

To His Honour, the Royal and Imperial Councillor, Director of Royal Matters, Ede Fluh

Pest

The proceedings instituted against Menyhért Elek by the royal fiscal concerning the treasure trove before the chief justice of county Heves which, through successive appeals, was brought before the Imperial and Royal Supreme Court, was on January 23 of the present year relegated to the High Court of Pest ... with the order that certain missing documents be appended ...

Vienna, January 30, 852.

your obedient servant Ignácz Kassics

I, 47

March 15, 1853

Eger, March 15, 1853

Much-respected Royal and Imperial County Court!

Complying with the decision of the Imperial and Royal Supreme Court of Cassation in Vienna issued under no. 10930.851 on the 7th day of the month of the Blessed Virgin in 1851, that it be informed at greater length about the place and circumstances of the finding of the treasure and its value, the following are hereby appended:

A./. The certified copy of the lawsuit under A ...,

The ruling of the Imperial and Royal Supreme Court affirming the ruling of the county court of Heves

B./. under B,

The appeal lodged against that ruling

C./. under C,

The ruling of the Supreme Court of Cassation ordering the prosecution of the action

D./. under D,

The official investigation of the discovery of the treasure

E./. under E,

The notification from the widow of Salamon Elek of Pazon

F./. under F,

And her letter to Ferencz Nagy, the royal prosecutor, urging the reclaiming of the gold seized by Menyhért Elek, and the delivery of the third befitting her

G./. under G,

The letter of the Imperial and Royal Salt Office of Poroszló to the royal prosecutor of county Heves concerning the treasure

H./. under H,

The certificate stating the quantity of the treasure delivered to the Imperial and Royal Salt Office of Eger

I./. under I — and I request on the basis of the statement of claim and p. 17 of the lawsuit promising the surrender of the treasure by Menyhért Elek, that the higher royal decrees be observed ... and that justice and law be administered.

Eger, March 15, 1853.

your obedient servant Ede Fluh Imperial and Royal Councillor, Director of Royal Matters

The following remarks are to be read on the envelope file:

1476, 853

1476, arrived on May 18, 853 Session on September 5, 853

Ruling

of the Imperial and Royal Court of county Heves Szolnok in Eger on September 5, 1853

Menyhért Elek is requested to present a cross-action within 30 days to this action . . .

Pál Kovács acting judge

I, 48

11054

December 24, 1853

350., December 24, 1853

From the Imperial and Royal Prosecutor of county Heves

To His Honour, Ede Fluh, Imperial and Royal Councillor, Director of Royal Matters, and Agent of the Hungarian Holy Crown

The proceedings instituted against Menyhért Elek before the County Court of Heves in the year 1842, and relegated by the Supreme Court of Cassation, concerning the treasure trove can ... be continued ... in view of the expression [illegible word] in the statement of claim that the gold had been found in several lats* ... as revealed by the appended statement of claim and its appendices E, F, G, H and J, and the ... principal suit.

Whereupon the defendant raised an objection ... before the Court—as shown by his most

ingenious answer.

I beseech Your Honour's advice and instructions as to how I could avoid the requested dismissal of this matter.

I furthermore request that the records of the case be sent back to me . . . for the answer is to be presented within eight days.

Eger, December 24, 853.

Sándor Nagy

* 1 lat = 15.5517 gr

I, 49

11054

December 31, 1853

11054, December 31, 1853

To Sándor Nagy

I have to inform Your Honour that while the documents appended to your report filed under no. 350 on December 24 of the present year concerning the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek, the seizor of the treasure found at Tiszaszöllős are hereby sent back . . . I cannot offer the requested advice since you failed to forward appendices B, C and D . . . of the . . . statement of claim—from which certain grounds for the determination of judicial authoritativeness could perhaps have been drawn.—However, definitely ask for postponement, if this proves possible, until January 21—citing as a reason that the counterdeclaration against the defendant's pleas can in no way be prepared within 8 days—and forwarded here for scrutiny and sent back again ... and in this case forward the appended documents with the missing appendices;—and endeavour to refute the defendant's plea by stating that neither in the statement of claim is the required compensation determined as a definite sum of money,—nor did the royal fiscal request a sum of money exceeding 500 Forints in the statement of claim—but rather, the royal fiscal—in his statement of claim—urged that the unlawfully seized treasure whose value is at present unknown—and will be appraised . . . by the authoritative Imperial and Royal Office after it has been surrendered . . . to the Treasury—be . . . recovered—and since the value of this treasure has still not been lawfully ... determined—the royal fiscal was compelled to institute this action before the County Court of Justice . . .

Pest, December 31, 1853.

without signature

I, 50

4786 September 13, 1854 September 22, 1854 copy filed under no. 1641/1856.7

To the prosecutor Sándor Nagy!

The Imperial and Royal Court of Justice in Pest has, by right of its official power granted by His Apostolic Highness,—the proceedings instituted by the Director of Royal Matters, represented by

Sándor Nagy, the royal prosecutor—against the defendant Menyhért Elek, represented by Mihály Nánásy—concerning the surrender of a treasure weighing $10\frac{6}{16}lats*...$ —on December 1, 1842, before the County Court of Heves, and ending with the sentencing of the defendant in December, 1845,—whereafter the defendant lodged an appeal and on February 5, 1848, was acquitted by the County Court of Heves,—and following the appeal of both parties on September 30, 1851, the Imperial and Royal High Court of Pest upheld the ruling of the County Court, filed under no. 205/850—, whereupon the plaintiff appealed to the Imperial and Royal Supreme Court of Justice and Cassation, which in an order issued on January 7, 1852, relegated the lawsuit to the authoritative law-court, that the find spot of the treasure, the circumstances of its discovery and its precise value be established—and as a consequence, the lawsuit reinstated by the plaintiff before the Imperial and Royal County Court of Szolnok on May 18, 1853—ended on April 20, 1854, after the law-court pronounced itself unauthoritative ...—and has been approved by the Imperial and Royal County Court ...

*1 lat = 15.5517 gr

I, 51

368.854

October 4, 854

12883, October 7, 854

To the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution:

A judgement has been pronounced on the lawsuit instituted by the royal fiscal against Menyhért Elek concerning the exaction of the treasure, appended under A. My appeal is appended under B, and the ruling of the District High Court under C.

I am convinced that this ruling is most unlawful, but since there is no possibility for a rehearing ...—the lawsuit should be presented to the officials of the Tiszafüred district ... I hasten to add that this unexpected ruling was disclosed to me on October 2 of the present year.

Eger, October 4, 854.

Sándor Nagy Imperial and Royal Prosecutor of county Heves Szolnok

The letter of the Financial Prosecution dated to November 21, 1854 (of which only the envelope file has survived) instructs Sándor Nagy that he "should not hesitate to institute proceedings against Menyhért Elek before the District Court of Tiszafüred".

I. 52

310/1-2, 857

18477. December 6, 857 December 2, 1857

To the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution in Pest!

The proceedings instituted against Menyhért Elek, the unlawful seizor of a certain treasure before the District Court of Tiszafüred of county Szolnok ... has been dismissed ... and sent back ... on October 10 of the present year ... for further scrutiny and correction ... and I hereby append also the previous records of this case.—

When checking these records I was unable to find the original copy of the official investigation, said to be appended under E . . . —however, among the records hereby forwarded, I have found a copy of this investigation showing some corrections in pencil . . . —

Seeing that this case has been taken before so many authorities, but without request for the presentation of the official investigation, and that the finding of the treasure is admitted by the defendant therein, and that the lawsuit should rather be centered on its surrender or retention and the

establishment of its quantity, I have no real need of the original copy of this investigation, but I would nonetheless like to know its whereabouts.

I ask that an enquiry into the whereabouts of the original copy be made ... Eger, December 2, 1857.

Sándor Nagy prosecutor in Heves

31/858

1282/1858 January 27, 858 January 24, 1858

To the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution in Pest!

Thinking that the original copy of the official investigation, one of the records of the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek concerning the surrender of the treasure found at Tisza Szőllős to the Treasury, was in your possession, . . . I requested the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution to order an inquiry into its whereabouts,—however, I have today accidentally come across the sought document

Eger, January 24, 1858.

Sándor Nagy prosecutor in Heves

I, 53

1282/1858

To the prosecutor, Sándor Nagy

Concerning your report of December 2, 1854, filed under no. 510/1-2 and of January 24 of the present year, filed under 31, you are requested to forward the original copy of the official investigation, and also the other documents of the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek . . . concerning the surrender of the treasure . . .

Pest, $\frac{5}{12}$ 859 [sic!].

illegible signature 20698, December 16, 1859

1003

To the much-respected Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution!

I have already forwarded the original copy of the investigation requested in your letter of January 24, 1858, filed under no. 31/858, on January 24, 1858, and I can now append, together with their register, whatever other documents remained in my possession concerning the exaction of the ancient treasure . . . held by Menyhért Elek.

Eger, December 13, 1859.

Sándor Nagy

I, 54

222/860. III.

TFüred, February 8, 1860

Ruling

The action of the plaintiff is hereby dismissed for according to statute V of the Code of Civil Procedure it cannot be permitted in the present case, seeing that it has not been presented for judgement, for according to statute III of the Code of Civil Procedure a ruling has already been

pronounced in this lawsuit and it is the reversal of this ruling that is requested, and since the written order issued on November 29 of the year 1859 . . . clearly states . . . how and within how many days actions of this kind may be presented, the action of the plaintiff is to be dismissed for he has disregarded this.

TFüred, February 8, 1860.

illegible signature district administrator

I, 55

371/860

TFüred March 20,1860

The appeal presented within the time period prescribed by the law, paragraph 317 of the Code of Civil Procedure is hereby accepted, ..., its duplicate copy is to be forwarded to István Balog, representative of the defendant ...—while the original is to be forwarded to the High Court of Justice in Pest, together with all other records pertaining to this matter ...

TFüred, March 20, 1860.

illegible signature district administrator

The appeal of the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution has been preserved in a document filed under no. 2650/1860, a rough draft and its appendix, dated to February 18, 1860. Similarly to the records of the case written in Hungarian, this document too surveys the history of the proceedings until 1860. A document signed by the district administrator of Tiszafüred, dated to August 2, 1860, requests the plaintiff to present a statement of claim until August 25 of that year (no. 1289/860).

I, 56

19.9.860

14277/860 19.9.860

2.

To the much-respected Sándor Nagy ... in Eger

Your Lordship is requested to submit a report concerning the whereabouts of the original copy of the appendices to the application submitted against Menyhért Elek . . . concerning the surrender of a certain treasure, especially the document appended under E, the record of evidence . . .

Pest.

3.

To the district administrator of TiszaSzőllős

The local magistrate is hereby requested to inform us about the present whereabouts of the following inhabitants of Szőlős . . . ,

- 1. György Burai, 41 years of age in 1839
- 2. József Varga, 28 years of age at that time
- 3. Mihály Tóth, 51 years of age at that time
- 4. István Fazekas, 28 years of age at that time
- 5. Mária Sipos, 23 years of age at that time
- 6. Sándor Gyarmati, 25 years of age at that time
- 7. Bari N. Julianna, 18 years of age at that time
- 8. Mária Tórös, 17 years of age at that time
- 9. Bálint Bokor, 19 years of age at that time

10. Ferencz Fekete, and

11. Salamon Sáli, of the Jewish faith.

The said persons . . . are known to have been questioned in the year 1839 concerning the discovery of some gold . . .

Pest, 19/9, 860

illegible signature Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution

Julianna N. Bari, listed under no. 7, is incorrect, the person sought is Julianna Bán, as indicated by Doc. I, 58. The source of the mistake is probably Doc. I, 31, which specifies Julianna Bali.

I, 57

696/860, September 22

14718 September 24,860

To the much-respected Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution

I can state the following concerning your request of September 19 of the present year, filed under no. 14277, concerning the whereabouts of the original copy of the record of evidence . . . appended under E to the lawsuit instituted against Menyhért Elek . . . :

Complying with your request of December 13, 1859, filed under no. 1282, I have already forwarded the documents pertaining to the case . . . , including the investigation conducted by Ferenc Nagy, the royal prosecutor, on June 30, 1839, . . . which reached the Office of the Imperial and Royal Prosecution, as testified by the acknowledgement of receipt in my possession . . .

Eger, September 22, 860.

Sándor Nagy prosecutor

I, 58

269/860, October 3

15213 October 6, 860 October 3, 860

From the magistrate of the community of T Szőllős To the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution

in Pest

Concerning your request filed under no. 14277, I can inform you that 7 persons of the gold-finders are still alive, and 6 of these are presently living in T. Szőllős: György Burai, József Varga, Mária Sipos, Sándor Gyarmathi, Julianna N. Bán, Bálint Bokor; one of them, Ferencz Fekete, has moved to T. Füred; and 4 of them, Mihály Tóth, István Fazekas, Mária Tőrös and Salamon Sáli, of the Jewish faith, are no longer alive.

Tisza Szőllős, October 3, 860.

Imre Lázár magistrate September 27, 1861

To the County Court of Justice of county Heves Szolnok in Eger

The Imperial and Royal Prosecution had appealed to the Imperial and Royal County Court on October 21 of the present year (filed under no. 15190) ... for the extraction of the treasure of $10\frac{5}{16}$ lats* of gold or a payment of its counter-value, defined as 245 Forints and 11 krajcárs ... from Menyhért Elek ... which appeal has not yet been settled.

The ... Financial Prosecution is thus necessarily compelled to request the ... County Court ... to take appropriate action ...

Pest, September 27, 1861.

Paulitz (?) Imperial and Royal Financial councillor

*1 lat = 15.5517 gr

I, 60

A document, whose copy (without number) has survived, mentions that the following ruling was made concerning a request from the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution in Pest issued on September 27, 1861 (filed under no. 8949) to the County Court of county Heves–Szolnok:

"this court is ordered to comply with the orders issued on October 2 of the present year and displayed at the county hall . . .

'Notification

The counties of Heves and Outer Szolnok hereby announce that all parties of lawsuits pending before courts of this double county ... are requested to again present their case ... to the authoritative law-court.'"

A letter dated to November 8, 1861, from the Financial Prosecution (filed under no. 10615/861) to Sándor Nagy, a prosecutor in Eger, requested that it be informed about the main points of this decree. Sándor Nagy's answer was as follows:

542

11006, November 19, 861

November 15, 1861

To the much-respected Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution!

Complying with your request of November 8 of the present year, filed under no. 10615, I hereby append under ·/. my petition for the re-institution of proceedings against Menyhért Elek, in accordance with the decree issued by the County Court on October 2 of the present year, of which a copy is appended under ·/..

According to this appended decree ... pending lawsuits must be taken before the new authoritative law-court ..., but since the law-court authoritative in this matter, the independent Court of Szolnok, is yet to be organised ... I would suggest that the proceedings against Menyhért Elek be postponed until the counties have been reorganised ...

Eger, November 15, 1861.

Sándor Nagy royal prosecutor In two letters dated to December 29, 1861, and January 30, 1862, the Financial Prosecution urged Sándor Nagy to inform it as soon as the new judicial organisation had been established (filed under nos 12556/861 and 965/862). On February 2, 1862, Sándor Nagy sent a letter that the personnel of the counties of Heves-Szolnok had been appointed on January 16, 1862, and that their active service had begun on February 1. However, he calls attention to the fact that "no separate law-court has been established in county Heves-Szolnok, and thus the lawsuits of county Szolnok must be taken before the law-court of Eger" (filed under no. 61, and under no. 1288 in Pest).

On February 13, 1862, the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution addressed a petition to the new county court of county Heves:

"... The Financial Prosecution has appealed to the former Imperial and Royal law-court of Tiszafüred ... that the pending lawsuit against Menyhért Elek concerning either the surrender of the treasure of $10\frac{5}{16}$ lats* of gold or the payment of its counter-value, determined as 245 Forints and 11 krajcárs, be effectuated ... which appeal, however, has still not been settled.

Consequently, the Financial Prosecution is necessarily obliged to appeal to the ... County Court ... as the authoritative court that the settlement ... of this lawsuit ... be seen to most urgently. Pest, February 13, 1862.

illegible signature

*1 lat = 15.5517 gr

The appendix to this draft mentions that "should the records of the lawsuit not be available in Eger, the Financial Prosecution is requested to forward them ..." (filed under no. 1288/862).

According to yet another document dated to March 17, 1862 (filed under no. 2754/862) from the Financial Prosecution in Pest to Sándor Nagy, the county court of county Heves-Szolnok scheduled the court hearing for April 8, 1862. The Financial Prosecution forwarded the necessary statement of case, together with 6 appendices, to Sándor Nagy. However, according to a document dated to May 8, 1862 (filed under no. 1736/862), Sándor Nagy had still not informed the Financial Prosecution of the outcome of that hearing, His letter (filed under no. 273/862), written upon insistent urgings, reads as follows (May 17, 1862, filed under no. 5218):

Much-respected Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution!

It is my duty to inform you that ... the court session concerning the lawsuit against Menyhért Elek has been postponed, since the defendant has died.

I have delayed in reporting this matter since I awaited the notification ... of the district administrator ...

The widow and heir of Menyhért Elek is Mária Csoma, . . . she is the person to be summonned for the continuation of the proceedings . . .

Eger, May 15, 1862.

Sándor Nagy prosecutor

On October 9, 1862, the Financial Prosecution of Pest again mailed a letter to Sándor Nagy (filed under no. 8267/862):

"The death certificate proving the demise of Menyhért Elek is hereby appended under /. . . . and your lordship is requested to appeal to the County Court of county Heves Szolnok for the continuation of the proceedings against the widow, née Mária Csoma, in possession of the bequest . . .

Pest, October 9, 1862.

illegible signature"

Following the submittal of the appeal, the county court of county Heves-Szolnok summonned the counsel for the defendant, Károly Vassváry, to present his counter-statement. Vassváry requested an extension of time on two occasions, the second time in a petition dated to March 29, 1864.

Much-respected County Court!

I again request that since Mrs Menyhért Elek, née Mária Csoma, shall only return to T. Szőllős from Pest, where she is spending the winter-time, in May, and I am thus unable to gain access to the evidence from the archives of Pest concerning the proceedings instituted by the Imperial and Royal Financial Prosecution against the late Menyhért Elek, and later against his widow, concerning the matter of the treasure . . . that the deadline for the presentation . . . of the counter-statement . . . be again extended for 30 days.

Eger, March 29, 1864.

Károly Vassváry

The deputy sheriff of county Heves-Szolnok granted Vassváry's request on April 19, 1864 (filed under no. 947/864). This is the last presently-known document of the 25 years long lawsuit over the Tiszaszőlős treasure.

I,61

dato 25. Aprilii 792

Circa thesauros in fundis civicis inventos dato 25. Aprilii 792

5935. Sacratissimae Regiae Apostolicae Majestatis Regiae Camerae Hungarico-Aulicae nomine Regalium Directoratus officio intimandum: Sua Majestas Sacratissima in ordine ad thesauris in civicis terrenis repertos summam 150 fls. haud adaequantes eam Benignam normalem resolutionem clementer elargiri dignata est: ut casum in eum, si thesaurus in fundis civilibus privatorum civium hereditate civili affectis, repertus fuerit, una rata ipsi Civi, qua proprietario fundi possessori altera vero Fisco civitatis et tertia demum inventori, quodsi autem in communi civitatis territorio ad civem quempiam privative non spectante inveniatur, duae rata Fisco Civitatis, et tertia rata inventori cedat, rata tertialitate Fisci Regii relate ad thesauros summam 150 fls adaequantes et respective superantes porro etiam iuxta praevigentes altissimas normales dispositiones regias in salvo permanente.

Quae altissima normalis benigna dispositio Regia antelato causarum regalium directoratus Officio ad effectum relationis et opinionis suae hoc in merito sub 9ª Januarii a.c. et No. 2882 horsum prostitae pro requisito notitiae statu et directione praesentibus intimatur. Ex consilio R. Camerae H. Aulicae Budae die 25ª Aprilii 1792. celebrato. Jacobus Szecsamak manu propria, B. Ladislaus Orczy manu propria.

II

1845

J. G. Seidl: Chronik der archäologischen Funde in der österreichischen Monarchie 1, 1840–1845. Veröffentlicht in Schmidl's Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang III, Nr. 19, Wien, 12. Februar 1846, pp. 146–148, VIII. Ungarn mit seinen Nebenländern. A. Königreich Ungarn.

p. 147: "Tisza-Söllös (Heveser Komitat). 1840. — Zehn verschiedene Schmuckgegenstände aus spiralförmigen Golddrähten, Goldkörnern und einer runden durchlöcherten Goldplatte bestehend, in Gewichte von 131 4/16 Dukaten;"

Joseph Arneth: Die antiken Gold- und Silber-Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien. Mit XLI Tafeln. Wien (1850).

- p. 10: "Zu welch untergeordnete Geräthen häufig Gold verwendet wurde, zeigen die Funde zu Tisza Szöllős 1845 aus spiralförmigen Drähten (G. VII.) einer durchlöcherten Platte, zu 131 Ducaten, bestehend, im k.k. Cabinette; ...²
- ² J. G. Seidl: Chronik der archäolog. Funde 1840–45 in Schmidl's: 'Österr. Blätter für Literatur und Kunst.''
- p. 40: "Nr. 267 bis 276. Zehn verschiedene Schmuckgegenstände aus spiralförmigen Drähten, Goldkörnern und einer runden durchlöcherten Platte bestehend $131\frac{4}{16}$ Ducaten in Gold.

Gefunden zu Tisza-Szöllös in Heveser Komitate 1840. Mit 480 fl. C. M. ersetzt."

Pl. G VII, bottom centre, shows a drawing of the gold spiral with 10 twists.

József Hampel's manuscript (Archives of the National Széchényi Library, FOL. HUNG. 1698. I., p. 513) quotes Arneth's description with the remark that here Arneth mentions ten different jewels, gold drops and a gold plate, having a gold weight of $131\frac{4}{16}$ half ounces.

IV

1854

Joseph Arneth: Das kaiserlich-königliche Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Wien (1854).

p. 98: "No. 267–271. Schmuckgegenstände, als: spiralförmige Drähte, Goldkörner, eine Platte u.s.w. Gef. theils 1822 im Biharer Comitate, theils zu Tisza Szóllős."

V

1855

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Leltára (Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum). No. 5. 1855.

Date of entry: January 10, 1855.

"Necklace of 65 links of various colours. A gift from Menyhért Elek. Found at Szőlős, on the bank of the Tisza." [Pl. 7. 8]

VI

1855

Bemondási tábla az országos jövedelmekből kármentesítendő úrbéri jobbágy- és úrbéri zsellértelkekről (Register of the tenements held in socage by serfs and cotters to be recompensated from the national income). Tiszaszőlős, January 31, 1855. State Archives, Eger VII–1a, Tiszaszőlős 229, sheaf 2.

The register lists the following members of the Elek family: Salamon Elek's orphans: Menyhért, Mihály, Gábor, Pál and János; furthermore Mrs Salamon Elek, Antónia Elek = Mrs István Dévay, and

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Mrs István Kovács, Klára Elek. The register of tenements held in socage for the year 1836 reveals that Menyhért Elek's residence was registered under the name of János M. Nagy, whose daughter, Julianna Nagy was Mrs Salamon Elek.

VII

1858-1866

Átnézeti térképe Tisza Szöllős helység határának helyheztetet jelenlegi úrbéri állományainak (General map of the community of Tisza Szöllős and of the tenements held in socage). Prepared in 1858 by Gergely Horváth, a military engineer. State Archives, Eger, VII–1a. 232, Tiszaszőlős 5–16, sheaf 16.

Lot 1727 in the Nagyaszó, marked on the map, was in the possession of (Mrs) Salamon Elek. [Pl. 2]

Kivonat Tiszaszőlős község határának 1865. évi térképéről (Detail of the 1865 map of the community of Tiszaszőlős). The original is now kept in the State Archives, Eger, no. U 394. [Pl. 3. 2]

Részlet Tiszaszőlős község határának 1866. november 13-án hitelesített térképéről (Detail of the map of the community of Tiszaszőlős authenticated on November 13, 1866). The original is now kept in the State Archives, Eger, no. U 396. [Pl. 3. 1]

VIII

1859

Tisza-Szőllős község határának telek könyve 1859 (Cadastral register of the community of Tisza-Szőllős from 1859). State Archives, Eger, VII–1a, 232, sheaf 16, document 6. Survey carried out by Gergely Horváth in 1858.

According to the file in the cadastral register, the following members of the Elek family had holdings in Nagyaszó:

according to entry 32, Salamon Elek possessed 5800 négyszögöls*, 4100 of which was ploughland, in lot 1727;

according to entries 137–142, Menyhért Elek possessed 6 smaller holdings in the Nagyaszó, lots 1680, 1686, 1686a, 1693, 1693a and 1694, totalling 20 030 négyszögöls. [Pl. 2]

* 1 $n\acute{e}gysz\ddot{o}g\ddot{o}l = 3.57 \text{ m}^2$

IX

1861

A. Ipolyi: Magyar régészeti krónika (Hungarian archaeological chronicle). AK 2 (1861) 293.

"417. Gold jewellery has been unearthed at Szőllős. . . . The investigation and description of these latter sites and antiquities and the publishing of their drawings can be awaited from Ferencz Kubinyi, a member of the Society."

X

1862

A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Archaeologiai Bizottmányának Ülése Január 7^{én} 1862 (Meeting of the Archaeological Society of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on January 7, 1862). The minutes of the meetings of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I. 1858–1870. Archive of Manuscripts, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K. 1580, 55–58.

pp. 56-57: "Ferencz Kubinyi, a member of the Society, has reported sites of exceptional archaeological interest. . . . These are the following . . .

r. Gold jewellery has come to light at Szöllös. ...

He also showed the drawings of the items described in point r., and offered to investigate personally the above sites. This offer has been graciously received and the Society has commissioned him to investigate these sites and to report upon his findings.

taken down by Ipolyi secretary."

XI

1862

A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Archaeologiai Bizottmányának Ülése Június 17 1862 (Meeting of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on June 17, 1862). *Minutes of the meetings of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. *1.* 1858–1870. Archive of Manuscripts, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K 1580, 69–72.

pp 71–72: "Flóris Rómer, a member of the Committee, hereby notifies the Committee that curious finds, namely gold, an alabaster tablet and a stone ball have come to light at Tiszaszölös, in a part called Oszti, that can be purchased from Capt. Dévay's widow or her son-in-law, János Hosszúfalusi. This he was told by Mihály Elek, an inhabitant of Pason in county Szabolcs, a Member of Parliament and a holder of landed property in Tiszaszölös. It has been decided that Ferencz Kubinyi, a member of the Committee, should investigate more thoroughly these finds, as he has been the one commissioned to investigate the other archaeological finds from Szölős.

taken down by Ipolyi secretary.''

XII

1862

A. Ipolyi: Magyar régészeti krónika (Hungarian archaeological chronicle). AK 3 (1862) 171.

"567. It has been reported to the Society from Tisza-Szőlős that in the part called Aszti there have been brought to light gold objects, an alabaster tablet and ball, which the Society will investigate more thoroughly in due time."

XIII

1863

Tisza-Szőllős község határának telek könyve 1863. június 18-án (Cadastral register of the community of Tisza-Szőllős, June 18, 1863). State Archives, Eger, VII-la. 236, sheaf 16, document 7.

According to the file in the cadastral register, the following members of the Elek family possessed holdings in Nagyaszó:

lot 529: 6635 négyszögöls* by Salamon Elek's heirs;

lot 563: by Menyhért Elek and his wife, née Mária Csoma;

lot 717: 4442 négyszögöls by Mrs István Kovács, Klára Elek.

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According to the register, lot 559, 4098 négyszögöls, in Nagyaszó was in the possession of Bálint Sipos.

The following members of the Elek family are also listed among the landowners (but at that time, they had no holdings in Nagyaszó):

József Elek, Pál Elek, János Elek's heirs, Mihály Elek, Gábor Elek, Mrs István Dévay, née Antónia Elek.

* 1 $n\acute{e}gysz\ddot{o}g\ddot{o}l = 3.57 \text{ m}^2$

XIV

1864-1865

Pesty Frigyes kéziratos helységnévtárából II. Külső-Szolnok (The Gazeteer of Frigyes Pesty. Manuscript. II. Outer-Szolnok). Edited by András Bognár. Published by the Katona József County Library and the Verseghy Ferenc County Library. Kecskemét–Szolnok (1979) 134–135.

The conscription made in 1864-1865 mentions the following:

"Tiszaszőlős 31.1-31.14" on p. 352 of the manuscript:

"Nagyaszó, a ploughland to the south of the village, a high bank not touched by the waters, separated by the aszóér [Aszó creek] from the Kisaszó lying to the south-west, also a ploughland. It is said that a village stood at Nagyaszó in former times. At the time of the Serbian raids their leader was treacherously killed by a local, István Kovács and was buried here together with his treasures. His gold arm-ring, gold buttons and other gold ornaments were found by a local gipsy about twenty years ago, and dug out by many others, after first being washed out from under the bank by the water."

"To the east of the Nagyaszó lies the *tajbók*, an alkaline, stagnant lake, . . . to the west, under the Magyarhalom [Magyar mound] lies the *sósfertő* [salt marsh], an oft-inundiated, infertile plain."

conscribed by József Vári Szabó village notary

XV

1865

Tiszaszólós helység 1865-dik évben rendezett határának földesurasági birtokos telekkönyve (The cadastral register of manorial holdings in the community of Tiszaszólós in 1865). State Archives, Eger, VII–10, 236, sheaf 16, document 9. Dated to 1865 in Törökszentmiklós.

The following members of the Elek family are listed as landowners in the community: Gábor Elek, Salamon Elek's heirs on the male line: Mihály Elek, Mrs Menyhért Elek, Pál Elek and János Elek; furthermore, József Elek, Antónia Elek, Klára Elek.

XVI

1865

F. Rómer: A két hazában talált régi arany műemlékekről, különösen a szarvasszói—Mármaros-megyei—aranykincsről (The gold antiquities of the two countries, with special reference to the gold treasure from Szarvasszó, county Mármaros). AK 5 (1865) 31.

"Assorted ornaments from Tisza-Szőllős (county Heves), of twisted wire, perforated gold sheets, gold beads, etc., having a value of 131 $\frac{4}{16}$ #."

Eduard Freih. von Sacken-Friedrich Kenner: Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes. Wien (1866).

p. 349: "Toreutische Arbeiten, V. Zimmer. Kasten VIII. Schmuckgegenstände und Geräthe aus Gold, meist barbarischer Technik. 126. **Platte** aus starkem Goldblech, unten rund, oben fünfeckig, 4 Z.1., 3 ½ Z. br., im oberen Theil zu beiden Seiten zwei Nietlöcher, im unteren eine runde Oeffnung von 1 Z.D., neben dieser beiderseits Buckeln. Gef. zu Tisza-Szőllős, Heveser Comitat, Ungarn. 1840."

Archaeological Library of the Hungarian National Museum, 3151/1953, from the bequest of Dr. Flóris Rómer. On p. 349, giving the description of the piece, Rómer's pencil sketch on the margin.

XVIII

1866

Flóris Rómer: Műrégészeti Kalauz, különös tekintettel Magyarországra (A Guide to Archaeological Antiquities with special attention to Hungary). Pest (1866).

p. 120: The gold hoard from Tisza-Szőllős is mentioned among the Bronze Age sites of county Heves.

XIX

1868

A m. tud. Akadémia archaeologiai bizottmánya 1868. jan. 7. a m.n. múzeumban tartott I. rendes ülésének jegyzőkönyve (Minutes of the Ist plenary meeting of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on January 7, 1868, in the Hungarian National Museum). Minutes of the meetings of the Archaeological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I. 1858–1870. Archive of Manuscripts, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K 1580, 215–220.

p. 219, point 17: "... numerous precious relics have been discovered in our country that have been most cruelly destroyed by workmen, and even if they sufferred no harm, they came to be divided between the overseers and the workmen, who sent them to their homeland, or passed them into the hands of mediators lurking about everywhere.—We consider every man's possession to be holy, and wish that a law be enacted whereby any man finding any thing should undoubtedly keep it; but he should conscientiously notify us and allow the Committee to draw the more exciting finds."

XX

1868

A. Ipolyi: Egy hazai vidék (Heves és K.-Szolnok megyék) őskori régiségleletei és középkori műemlékei vázlata (The prehistoric finds and medieval monuments of counties Heves and Outer-Szolnok). First published in the description of counties Heves and Outer-Szolnok. On the occasion of the XIIIth assembly of Hungarian medics and scientists held in Eger in 1868. Republished by A. Ipolyi in his Magyar műtörténelmi tanulmányai (Studies in Hungarian antiquity). Budapest (1884).

p. 484: "Vessels have been reported from Tisza-Igar, and gold jewellery from Tisza-Szőllős . . . " (in chapter III: Copper Age finds).

Endre Tariczky: Vidéki helyzetünk (The provincial situation). Tariczky published a total of 21 articles under this title between May 2, 1872 and December 11, 1873, in the journal Eger, in the following numbers:

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I. Eger, vol. 11, no. 18 (May 2, 1872) 137-138, written on May 1, 1871 at Tiszafured.
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The series of articles was continued under a new title (Régészeti búvárlatok [Archaeological investigations]) in the journal Eger between April 2, 1874 and June 3, 1875. For the brief communication concerning the Tiszaszőlős hoard, see Doc. XXVII.

The Régészeti Búvárlatok (Archaeological investigations) is essentially a reiteration of Tariczky's data and views published in the series Vidéki helyzetünk (The provincial situation).

In the first article of his series Tariczky describes the events of the 1848–1849 revolution in the region of Tiszafüred; in parts II–III he writes about Attila and his burial. In part IV he suddenly turns to the Tiszaszólós hoard, its find circumstances, its composition and its dating. He compares it with various hoards and burial assemblages known from Hungary and elsewhere. I shall here quote only the passages dealing explicitly with the Tiszaszólós hoard.

IV. Eger 11, no. 28 (July 11, 1872) 219–220: "At a time when the Hungarian world is plunged deep in the strifes of political movements, we take the liberty of turning to archaeological finds in the Tisza region of our double county [counties Heves and Szolnok]. . . .

In our double county, after the universal regrouping of farm plots and all the more after the regulation of the Tisza, ... new grounds were broken and prehistoric settlements were transformed into ploughland; when reverence for the preserval and safeguarding of antiquities fell into a deep slumber; when valuable relics were surrendered to business-men for next to nothing, and were sometimes remoulded into fashionable luxury items or fell into the hands of foreign profiteers, or were thought to be valueless trinkets and cast into the maelstrom of destruction; if only a central county institute collecting, purchasing and safeguarding antiquities had opened its doors to shelter the prehistoric finds coming to light; why, the finds from the Tiszafüred region alone would have filled a smaller cabinet of antiquities—and even more so, if this safeguarding had begun a little earlier.

To furnish proof to our testimony we shall describe a large gold hoard that has come to light in the neighbourhood of Tisza-Füred, at Tisza-Szőllős, in an area called Nagy-Aszó-part, on June 13 and 30, 1839, most of which has been seized, secretly sold, for indeed, few finds could again be acquired.

The find was the burial of a gold-armoured knight and his war-horse.

Thirty-three years have passed since this find has come to light; after all this time I have been able to ascertain after numerous inquiries, the following: 1/ Two spirals of ten twists each. About a foot in

II. Eger, vol. 11, no. 22 (May 30, 1872) 171-172.

III. Eger, vol. 11, no. 23 (June 6, 1872) 179-180.

IV. Eger, vol. 11, no. 28 (July 11, 1872) 219-220.

V. Eger, vol. 11, no. 31 (August 1, 1872) 243-244.

V. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 11, no. 32 (August 8, 1872) 251–252. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 11, no. 34 (August 22, 1872) 266–267.

VI. Eger, vol. 12, no. 5 (January 30, 1873) 36-37

VI. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 12, no. 6 (February 6, 1873) 45-46.

VI. Eger, vol. 12, no. 7 (February 13, 1873) 49-50.

VI. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 12, no. 12 (March 20, 1873) 92–93.
(Unnumbered) Eger, vol. 12, no. 16 (April 17, 1873) 124.

VI. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 12, no. 20 (May 15, 1873) 155-156.

VI. (Cont'd) Eger, vol. 12, no. 50 (December 11, 1873) 396-397.

length, with a width about the thickness of an arm. 2/ A gold arm-ring and a gold armour-plate with a hole in the middle. I have been also told of a helmet-like gold plate, described as a gold cap by one of the finders. 3/ A gold-hilted, perhaps bronze, sword. The blade of the sword was straight and leaf-shaped. 4/ Various gold clasps, including some, the pair of the male, weighing 26 lats. 6–6 pairs of clasps from gold sheet in the form of figure-of-eights, their circular lower part was larger than the upper.—Six pairs were larger in size than the other six pairs;—and one of each pair was provided with a button for fastening, the other being perforated. 5/ Several hollow gold screws. 6/ Two gold handles, about an inch thick. 7/ At least 40 gold rings. 8/ At least as many smaller and larger round and elongated gold buttons. Some were ornamented with winding spirals, resembling gold acorns.—The locals called them hollow gold grains. There had also been found glass and bone buttons; found together with funerary urns,—and a gold ring.

As I was told, the gold finds betrayed no more craftsmanship than that attained by our gypsies in the forging of iron.

The find-spot of the treasure was for some time the California of the T.-Szőllős population, so that in those days day-labourers could barely be hired. Around 1842 the royal fisc sallyed forth and collected what he could, and deposited it in the Salt Office of Eger. We have described the finds at such length for the benefit of our archaeologists who have until now heard only vague rumours of this find and which in their chronicles is mentioned as the T.-Szőllős gold treasure. Finally, the finds also included a stone vessel, similar in form to a wooden bowl, that had been broken by the over-curious locals and its fragments thereafter used as flint-stones. The vessel was black as pitch and lustrous as glass. What else could this be than obsidian, that had in remoter times been carved into arrow-heads and knives. The interior of the vessel indicated that something had been burnt inside it.

As we have mentioned, the find-spot was T.-Szőllős, the high bank called Nagy-aszó-part, lying close to the south-western part of the village in the direction of Szent-Imre, and has a length of two thousand steps. This is none other than the bank of the formerly live, but now dead Tisza, that had until the regulation of the Tisza been always washed by its waters; until finally some of finds were spilled out and found by two gleaner-women taking a rest.

Before finishing this article I investigated the Aszópart with a guide and found that an ancient pagan cemetery lay along its entire length, except for its central section, as shown by the ancient debris covering its surface.

The gold-armoured knight had lain at the very beginning of this cemetery, without any indication of his burial mound.

Within the cemetery, in a south-easterly direction from its lower southern end and not far from it, lies the so-called Székhalom which, judging by its remains, I recognised to have been a pagan earthwork, a sacrificial or funerary place where the deceased ancestors had been cremated. . . .

... There has come to light at Tisza-Szőllős in the course of some digging or searching, a thick tablet of white marble (said to be a polished flint-stone by others) that is thought to have been a pagan sacrificial table. — But no man knows where it now lies.

Human and horse bones have sometimes been found in groups beside the T.-Szőllős vineyards, together with two-handled, field drinking-vessels and flint arrow-heads about a span in length; the simplest peasant will tell you that 'as many valiant warriors, as there are drinking bowls, fell in the heat of the battle here and were buried here'.—I have been lucky to acquire one of these drinking-vessels, or rather, pottery cups from the T.-Szőllős magistracy.

We should also mention the sites of Nagypáncélos-dűlő and Csákányszeg-dűlő in this area, where the earth is full of prehistoric remains, turned out by the plough."

V. Eger 11, no. 31 (August 1, 1872) 243–244; "We have promised in our previous article to return to the gold finds from T.-Szőllős; we shall now do so.

1. Each prehistoric find raises the question: to which period should it be assigned?—to which, indeed, should this gold find?"

In the following passages Tariczky quotes long sections from an article written by János Érdy: Kelenföldi pogánysírok (Pagan burials from Kelenföld). AK 2 (1861) 32, and then goes on to say that "the quoted passage clearly explains the Nagyaszópart find."

"The burial of the warrior and his horse was discovered beside a watercourse, on the bank of the dead Tisza, where the live Tisza had once flown; some parts came to light near the water, in the debris of the collapsed bank; on the former territory of Dacia, to which Tiszaszőllős and its ancient inhabitants had once belonged.

Accordingly, it could at first sight be dated to the Copper Age.

However, the love of truth compels us to publish what a learned friend wrote in his letter of April 30: 'I myself gazed upon the treasure before it had been taken from Eger and was amazed by the exceptional purity of its gold; and I remember that pieces of iron and pottery that had been broken most barbarously were kept in a small pouch.'

Therefore this find should be ordained not to the Bronze or the Copper Age, but to the Iron Age: and the burial itself, in which it had been found, should not be considered a Copper Age burial, but either one from the Transitional period, or from the pure Iron Age.

We would see more clearly had some traces of a burial mound been found, but not one single mound could be discovered within the entire pagan cemetery of Nagyaszópart; which is hardly to be wondered since even before the finds had come to light, it had been, and still is, plough-land.

- 2. The find from Nagyaszópart included funerary urns and vessels, unfortunately, barbarously broken.—However, these were not funerary urns, since the skeleton of the deceased showed no traces of burning; therefore these were vessels into which food had been placed that the deceased should not be famished on his long journey to the netherworld.
- 3. What were the rust-eaten (for such they were) iron fragments, also barbarously broken? there is no way to determine this without their inspection. They could perhaps be inspected in their final resting place for, together with the gold finds, they have been sent to the Royal Treasury of Hungary in Buda."

Tariczky again quotes the Vereb burials, and then continues his discourse:

"4. The knight of Aszópart was buried with his war-horse." But instead of coins, "he had been provided with a large number of closed gold rings, about an inch thick and of various sizes, which could also be worn on the arm.

We leave it ... to the reader to judge the gold rings of the knight of Nagyaszópart, with the remark that they had probably been luxury items and imply that their owner was a Scythian, — . . . "

V. Eger 11, no. 32 (August 8, 1872) 251–252: "An outstanding item of the Nagyaszópart find was the gold breast- or armour-plate, which was clandestinely sold to a Greek merchant of Gyöngyös by the finder on his way to Debrecen, on the Hortobágy, whom he neither saw, nor heard of later, for he could not even tell us,—when asked—the name of his lucky customer."

Tariczky then quotes historical sources describing the Scythians, the Parthians and Sakae in his discussion of the breastplate.

"6. The gold-hilted sword of the knight of Nagyaszópart had a leaf-shaped blade and was about three spans in length. Thus, it rather resembled a dagger. —

This sword was wrought of brown metal, and was thus a bronze sword.

7. The two gold spirals had been found beside the skull of the knight."

Tariczky then quotes spirals from other sites, including some that had been found together with beads.

"This shows that these wide spirals, together with the beads (for the knight of Aszópart also possessed beads which, to our best knowledge, have been sent to the Hungarian National Museum) were worn not only by women-folk, but also by warriors."

Eger 11, no. 34 (August 22, 1872) 267:

"8. The two gold handles, about an inch thick, appear to be no less ingenious ... which, when found, were thought to be the handles of a casket or a chest.

No matter what the function of the handle-like objects of the Aszópart find had been, we must judge these similarly to the gold rings, which, together with the hollow gold screws, have a rightful place in the find as jewels, even more so, being wrought of heavy beaten gold.

9. We have mentioned above that numerous pieces of iron had been found which could have been arrow-heads; and, having listed the various objects of the find in our previous article, we must now mention that there had also been various clasps among them:—some (we would now say) that had undoubtedly ornamented a battle-dress.

We now hasten to add that a gipsy, bathing where the finds had come to light, collected some gold buttons from the water which, according to Flóris Rómer, were of a type sometimes employed as belt ornaments.

If we now consider the other buttons and harness-ornament-like objects that abound in the Nagyaszópart find; and if we cannot imagine a Scythian without his quiver and arrows; first the image of a foot-soldier, then that of a Scythian horseman dressed in his battle-dress is conjured up before us.

- 10. The knight's skull and other parts of his skeleton indicated a stature greater than that of the average mortal.
- 11. Finally, the diligent reader might inquire how the black flintstone vessel resembling a wooden bowl had come to be among these finds? ... We think ... that the stone vessel ... had been substituted for a golden bowl.
- 12. When this find came to light in 1839 some of the more learned men of this region thought that the gold-armoured knight buried with his war-horse at Nagyaszópart could have been none other than a Gepidic chieftain or leader.

Nonetheless, we can state with greater certainty from the adduced proofs and arguments that the gold-armoured knight of T.-Szőllős was a horse-man from some Scythian tribe."

VI. Eger 12, no. 5 (January 30, 1873) 36-37.

This article had originally been a lecture delivered at the casino of Tiszaörvény on January 12, 1873. Tariczky here describes his excavations at Tiszaörvény, and he also mentions Tiszaszólós.

The Tiszaörvény highland "is at the same time an archaeological settlement ... that has been neglected, save by the avid treasure-hunters; and these latter started their searches only in 1839, when the finds from the burial of the gold-armoured knight of Tisza-Szőllős–Nagyaszópart were accidentally discovered on the bank of the dead Tisza; and some time later, rummaging in the debris, they found nothing but rust-eaten scraps of iron, occasionally a silver coin or a few charred clay pots, that had either fallen down of their own accord, or had been dislodged, and had then been left to their fate after being broken to pieces."

XXII

1872

J. Hampel: Magyar régiséggyűjtők, gyűjtemények. Régészek és Régészetkedvelők Jegyzéke (Collectors and collections of antiquities in Hungary. A register of archaeologists and lovers of archaeology). January, 1872. Manuscript in the Archive of Manuscripts of the National Széchényi Library, OCT. HUNG. 874.

p. 69: "County Heves: Tiszaszőllős gold treasure, 1839. Investigated in June, 1872, by Tariczky—certain items in the Central Archiepiscopal Office of Eger, the documents in my possession."

p. 148: "County Szabolcs: Pál Elek, collector."

XXIII

1872

J. Hampel: Notizbuch des Joseph Hampel. Pest (July 16, 1872). Manuscript in the Archive of Manuscripts of the National Széchényi Library, DUOD.HUNG. 54/18. Page 66 of the original is now p. 34, verso.

On December 30, 1872, he mentions that Endre Tariczky wrote him a letter. This letter, however, has either been lost, or lies undetected somewhere.

XXIV

1873

J. Hampel: A kincslelet kérdései. Jogi és régészeti oldalról vizsgálta H. J. Adatok. 1873. február 23 (The problem of treasure troves. Analysed from legal and archaeological viewpoint by J. H. Documents. February 23, 1873). Manuscript in the Archive of Manuscripts of the National Széchényi Library, QUART. HUNG. 2488.

On p. 24 Hampel quotes G. Wenczel's A magyar és erdélyi magánjog rendszere (The Hungarian and Transylvanian code of civil law). Vol. I. Buda (1863), § 320 on p. 685:

"Whosoever findeth any thing is obliged to hand it back to its owner; in the case of treasure troves (inventio thesauri) a special law based on a royal decree^a must be employed. Accordingly, the treasure trove thus found must be equally divided between the landowner and its finder; and should its value exceed 150 Forints, between the royal fiscal, the landowner and the finder.

However, if the finder purposely conceals the treasure, he loseth his compensation; and should he conceal it in verifiable ignorance of the law, he loseth but two-thirds of his compensation."

^aRoyal decrees of April 8, 1793; August 8, 1812, August 3, 1813; April 11, 1815; etc. Cf. Doc. I, 61

XXV

1873

Tariczky Endre levele Rómer Flórishoz (Endre Tariczky's letter to Flóris Rómer). Tiszafüred, July 19, 1873. Archive of Manuscripts of the Hungarian National Museum, sheaf of the year 1873, without inv. no.

"A stranger has taken the liberty of disturbing you in your daily work, but one who is a lover of archaeology and you will perhaps forgive him." Tariczky then describes sherds and pottery vessels that came into his possession and had been found in 1873, when "a trench was dug for the road leading to the village."

"I have become familiar with various pagan burial rites in Tiszaszőllős. This incense-burner-like vessel ... was found together with smaller and larger knobbed clay cups, at a depth of 2 feet. Two knobs are perforated ... on each.

Sometimes, the workmen found ... cups together with horse and human bones, and also flint arrow-heads, again at a depth of two feet."

XXVI

1874

Régészeti társulat megyénkben (An archaeological society in our county). Eger 13, no. 1 (January 1, 1874) 4.

"In the Tisza district of our double county, the foundation of an archaeological society has been proposed following E. Tariczky's insistent urgings. Miklós Borbély has been chosen as its first chairman." The treasures buried deep in the earth "are being destroyed most cruelly and are disappearing without trace, to the irreplaceable loss of our history; knowing that these traces and relics can be sought and found most confidently along the Tisza: and to salvage what can still be salvaged, we have held a meeting at Tisza-Szalók on June 16 of the present [sic!] year of 1873."

XXVII

1874

Endre Tariczky: Régészeti búvárlatok (Archaeological investigations). The series of articles was published in six installments; 13 parts were published in the periodical *Eger* between April 2, 1874, and June 3, 1875. Here I shall only quote a passage from the third part of installment IV, which appeared in *Eger* 13, no. 21 (May 21, 1874) 161–162.

"Moreover, the site at Nagy-Aszó is fairly well known in the archaeological world since 1839 for the lavish burial of the gold-armoured knight, whose well-preserved skull, bearing the mark of his heroic bravery (a surviving sword-blow) first became mine, and then passed into the possession of the Eger museum."

XXVIII

1874

E. Tariczky's letter to Flóris Rómer or József Hampel. Tiszafüred, October 13, 1874. Archive of Manuscripts, Hungarian National Museum, sheaf of the year 1874, without inv. no. The letter bears a note that it had been answered on October 28, 1874 (no. 260.874); there is no signature on the draft.

"After a long silence I again take the liberty of disturbing your lordship. I have hereby enclosed 13 ancient coins and a miniature portrait applied onto a snail-shell, most having been found . . . in the environs of Tiszaörvény."

XXIX

1875

Endre Tariczky's letter to Flóris Rómer. Tiszafüred, October 23, 1875. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, Correspondence, no. 1930. 31. In the register of the letters written on the occasion of the International Prehistoric Congress held in 1876 in Budapest, this letter is entered under no. 119.

In this letter, Tariczky describes finds from the environs of Tiszafüred. Under point 4., he lists the following:

"There is yet a flint knife and a flint arrow-head. Both were found at Tiszaszőllős, where, in a pagan cemetery in the northern part of the village, such items were to be found under each skull.

While travelling in that area by chance, I alighted from my carriage and enquired from the workmen of the brickmaking factory active there for the third year, whether any antiquities had come to light. Whereupon they answered: No sir! only skeletons here and there, and such flint-stones under their skull.

Seeing indications of burial pits in the straight walls of the clay extraction pits, I investigated the floor of one such pit on the southern side; but owing to the hardness of the earth, it could only be cleared bit by bit, and after the clearing of the last section, a flint knife of the form [enclosed with this letter] came to light.

5. The pointed red copper plate is also from the same site; it was brought to me by a gipsy from the same pagan cemetery together with a funerary urn; both had been found at different places.

I would like both to be sent back to me after the Congress." [Pls 7. 5 and 6-7]

XXX

1875

Endre Tariczky's letter to Flóris Rómer. Tiszafüred, December 31, 1875. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, Correspondence, no. 1930. 31. In the register of the letters written on the occasion of the International Prehistoric Congress held in 1876 in Budapest, this letter is entered under no. 158.

In his letter, Tariczky invites Rómer to Tiszafüred. Should he come "we shall attempt an excavation in the pagan cemetery of T. Szóllós, where the skulls with the flints are to be found, and also elsewhere. In the former place I have seen about five burial pits in area of the brickmaking factory."

XXXI

1876

Endre Tariczky's letter to Flóris Rómer. Tiszafüred, March 14, 1876. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, Correspondence, no. 1950. 108. In the register of the letters written on the occasion of the International Prehistoric Congress held in 1876 in Budapest, this letter is entered under no. 1268.

Tariczky writes that he intends to publish his archaeological report written for the Congress in the periodical Karcag és Vidéke.

XXXII

1876

Flóris Rómer's list of the "Letters received for the Congress", i.e. of the Hungarian and foreign letters written to the Organizing Committee of the International Prehistoric Congress held in 1876. Archive of Manuscripts, Hungarian National Museum in the file of the year 1876, without reference number. Of the 1371 registered letters, the following were sent by Endre Tariczky (surviving letters are italicized):

118-119 "Tariczky's report of his excavations and the sending of the finds".

158: "Endre Tariczky's invitation to his excavations".

369: "Endre Tariczky's new discovery".

- 428: "Tariczky's letter".
- 471: "Tariczky promises a parcel".
- 476: "Tariczky's Csörsz ditch".*
- 516: "Tariczky's letter".
- 521: "Tariczky's excavation report".
- 524: "Tariczky sends a drawing of the Ásotthalom".
- 533: "Tariczky's letter".
- 584: "Tariczky promises a map and a paper".
- 710: "Tariczky promises his drawings".
- 824: "Tariczky's letter and his paper on the Ásotthalom".
- 867: "Tariczky"
- 882: "Tariczky sends 6 Ft".
- 920: "Tariczky sells his collection".
- 975: "Endre Tariczky's map".
- 1095: "Tariczky".
- 1252: "Endre Tariczky and the society".
- 1268: "Tariczky's paper, drawings ...".

Letters "sent subsequently", i.e. after the Congress, are also listed:

1338: "Tariczky's letter".

XXXIII

1876

Joseph Hampel: Catalogue de l'exposition préhistorique des musées de province et des collections particulières de la Hongrie, arrangée à l'occasion de la VIII es session du Congrès International d'Archéologie et d'Anthropologie Préhistoriques à Budapest. Budapest (1876).

- p. 39: "25. Collection du musée archiépiscopal à Eger, dans le comté de Heves ... H. Crâne humain, trouvé à Tisza-Szőllős en 1839 sur le 'Nagy-Aszópart', comté de Külső Szolnok, avec des ornaments en or, qui ont disparu."
- p. 44: "30. Collection de M. TARICZKY ENDRE à Tisza-Füred, dans le comté de Heves. Trouvaille de Tisza-Szőllős. G. Vase en argile à long cou. 2 Vases de forme cylindrique avec des trous. 4 Vases en argile avec deux anses pointues, trouées et trois boutons pointues. 2 Petit vases et têts. Ossements et fragments de Crânes humains."

XXXIV

1976

E. Tariczky: Tisza-Szőllős régiségi lelőhelyeinek térképe. A budapesti ősrégészeti és nemzetközi VIII. Congressus alkalmára 1876 (A map of the archaeological sites around Tisza-Szőllős. Drawn for the VIIIth International Prehistoric Congress held in Budapest in 1876). Archives of the Hungarian National Museum, 34. Sz.I.

Tariczky lists five sites on his map. These are the following:

- "A. Find spot of ten knobbed clay cups and as many flint-stones.
- B. Find spot of incense burning clay tubes and knobbed clay cups and flint-stones.

^{*} The Csörsz ditch (Devil's Dyke) is a fortification ditch of the Sarmatian period in the Great Hungarian Plain

- C. Find spot of pagan burials with layered burial pits in the form of grain pits.
- D. The Pernyéshát burials, where flint-stones were placed under the skulls.
- E. The find spot of the gold-armoured knight found in 1839 at Nagyaszópart." [Pl. 4]

XXXV

1877

F. F. Rómer: Megnyitó beszéd, a tiszafüred-vidéki régészeti egylet megalakítására tartott értekeztetés. Tiszafüreden 1877. április 22-én (Opening address, held on the occasion of the foundation of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred. Tiszafüred 1877, April 22). Karcag és Vidéke 2, no. 20 (May 13, 1877) 1–2.

It is clear from the article that Rómer had not been present at the meeting. In his opening address he does not mention the gold finds from Tiszaszőlős.

XXXVI

1877

E. Tariczky: A tisza-füredi Ásotthalom és vidéke régészeti tekintetben. (A budapesti nemzetközi ősrégészeti és embertani VIII. Congressus alkalmára 1876) (The archaeology of Tisza-Füred-Ásotthalom and its environs. Written on the occasion of the VIIIth International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology held in Budapest in 1876).

The series of at least seven articles was published in the periodical Karcag és Vidéke. Vol. 1. (1876) of this periodical can no longer be found in libraries, and various numbers of vol. 2 are missing from the Department of Newspapers and Periodicals of the National Széchényi Library. Part VII was published in vol 2, no. 29 (July 12, 1877) 2.

A detailed account of the Copper Age burials uncovered at Tiszaszőlős can be read in this part, and it is highly probable that a detailed description of the 'gold-armoured knight' of Tiszaszőlős had also been included in one of the articles.

XXXVII

1877-1880

A tiszafüredi Múzeum- és Könyvtáregylet, előbb ''Tiszafüredvidéki Régészeti egylet'' ajándékozott és vásárolt Múzeumi tárgyainak jegyzéke 1877-től kezdve (A register of the items donated to and purchased by the Museum and Library Society of Tiszafüred, formerly called 'Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred', starting with the year 1877). Handwritten diary in the Kiss Pál Museum of Tiszafüred, inv. no. 71.83.3.

"1877. 24. 16 assorted silver coins and 2 token coins. Donated by Mrs Menyhért Elek. T. Szőlős. 1880. 51. Coin commemorating the 1867 World Exhibition in Paris. Donated by Mrs Menyhért Elek. T. Szőlős."

XXXVIII

1878

Egyleti élet. A "Tiszafüred-vidéki régészeti egylet" választmányi ülésének jegyzőkönyve (Societal life. Minutes of the committee meeting of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred). Eger 17, no. 28 (July 11, 1878) 220–221.

"The widow of János Fekete donated a pretty clay chalice from the transitional Iron Age, from the grave of the famous gold-armoured knight found in the year 1839."

E. Tariczky: A tiszafüredvidéki ős agyagedény-ipar fejlődése a kőkortól a vaskorig (The development of the ancient pottery industry from the Stone Age to the Iron Age). Lecture held at the meeting of the 'Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred' on October 13, 1878.

Later published in the periodical Eger. Part I: Eger 18, no. 6 (February 6, 1879) 43; part II: Eger 18, no. 7 (February 13, 1879); 51–52; part III: Eger 18, no. 8 (February 20, 1879) 55–60.

p. 60: "But I would say that the [Stone Age, Copper Age and Bronze Age] traits had been replaced by a more simple type indicating different traditions in the developed Iron Age. We find far more slender, more dashing, but no less rounded forms. Incised ornamentation, which had formerly been executed with an artistic precision, is now replaced by mechanical decoration, with lesser and simpler outlines.

A black polished clay cup or chalice is to be seen in the exhibition. Nothing remotely similar is to be found among the vessels of the preceding periods of the Tisza region. It has a proportionately widening base, the calyx and the slender flower-stalk-like foot linking them are convex. It bears nothing reminiscent of Stone Age or Bronze Age ornamental motifs. How it differs from the knobbed cups from Tisza-Szőlős, some of which apparently rested on these knobs, two of which are perforated for suspension and carrying. How it differs from the plain Bronze Age cups from Egyek which, with their tiny foot-ring, or even without it, and rounded form, look like so many small bird-nests. The funnel-mouthed and funnel-based small one-handled dippers and cups, embellished with various ornaments and channelled designs from Ásotthalom and Aporhát are likewise entirely different. This chalice, in fact, belongs to the Tiszaszőlős find of 1839. It was found in the grave of the well-known gold-armoured knight, that contained also rust-eaten iron relics. His skull, bearing a sword-blow, the mark of heroic bravery, was deposited in the museum of Eger in 1873. Two necklaces strung of beads from the treasures of this knight were donated to our museum . . . around the end of the last year."

Part IV: Eger 18, no. 34 (August 21, 1879) 268; part IV (cont'd): Eger 18, no. 38 (September 18, 1879) 298.

In this part, Tariczky describes wheel-turned vessels. "We are exceptionally well informed by a pair of black jugs, extremely interesting, for they are so regular in form and execution that, though mute, they bear witness to the presence of the potter's wheel in that age. These originate from Tisza-Szőllős-Pemetéshát [sic!], from the former Tisza bank lying on the south-western side of the village."

Tariczky then goes on to describe the stone and copper blades found by him at Tiszaszőlős: "these stone blades had usually been placed beside the nape or the ears." He then gives the measurements of two skulls.

Part IV (cont'd): Eger 18, no. 44 (October 30, 1879) 347-348.

Tariczky here describes some yellow-coloured pottery, and his sixth category of pottery, which is wheel-turned and dates to the Iron Age.

"I myself know of three Iron Age find spots in this region. One of these lies at Tiszaszőlős, the burial ground of the gold-armoured knight, discovered in 1839, whence we acquired our clay cup, our black polished chalice. The Iron Age character of this site is indicated by a gold-hilted sword, otherwise Bronze Age in form, with an iron blade, and the fact that three years after the discovery of the find, the royal prosecutor collected some gold objects and rust-eaten iron relics.

I have described this chalice earlier. I now mention it again; for it is obvious that its polishing, its scouring with silex, is a tradition from earlier ages."

A "Tiszafüredvidéki régészeti egylet" választmányi ülésének jegyzőkönyve (Minutes of the committee meeting of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred). Eger 17, no. 41 (October 18, 1878) 324.

"New acquisitions since February 7, 1878. Two skulls from the Stone and Copper Age, several smaller and larger flint blades, two burial urns and an obsidian chip; from the prehistoric site at Tisza-Szőllős-Pernyéshát, dug out by brick-makers, and purchased for the museum on behalf of the Society by the secretary. . . . One antique carneol ring, carved from one piece, also found at T. Szőllős."

XLI

1878

F. F. Rómer: Résultats généraux du mouvement archéologique en Hongrie avant la VIII^e session du Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique à Budapest 1876. Compte-Rendu de la Huitième Session à Budapest 1876. Vol. II, part 1. Budapest (1878).

pp. 178–179: "De Tisza-Szőllős, M. le curé Tariczky nous raconte des choses extraordinaires concernant le chevalier à la cuirasse d'or, qui a été découvert en 1839 le 13. août au lieu dit: Nagy-Aszópart et dont la découverte a causé un grand émoi dans tout la voisinage, come si l'on avait trouvé une nouvelle Californie.

Les objets trouvés sont: deux spirales en fil d'or, un bracelet, le plastron de la cuirasse avec un trou au milieu, le casque que le peuple a appelé bonnet d'or; ces objets étaient en or battu. L'épée à poignée en or et à lame en forme de feuille était en bon état. Puis, plusieurs boucles en or dont l'une pesait 0,45 décagrammes, ainsi que cela a été constaté à Tisza-Füred; en outre, douze paires de boucles en forme de 8, dont six grandes et six petites; la partie épaisse des grandes était ornée d'une petit boule; puis, une vis en or, deux morceaux de bijoux avec des marques de la grandeur du pouce; des témoins disent que ces marques avaient la forme de la poignée d'une caisse, ce qui nous fait croire que c'étaient des fibules; à peu près 40 bagues en or et autant d'agrafes, une quantité de paillettes et des glands en or avec des lignes en spirales.

Tous ces objets, dit M. le curé, n'annonçaient pas un art plus avancé que celui du nos Tsiganes qui travaillent le fer. Ajoutons encore des perles en verre, des agrafes en or, puis une tasse en silex, dit-on, au milieu de laquelle on a observé des vetiges d'ustion. Les trouveurs l'ont cassée en deux et en ont pris une moitié qu'ils ont brisée en plusieurs morceaux, pour s'en servir en guise de pierre à feu.

Le chevalier avait été enseveli avec son cheval. M. le curé a donne le crâne du célèbre chevalier à l'archevêque d'Eger, pour le Musée du Lycée.

En 1842, l'avocat du trésor n'a obtenu que quelques pièces de fer rouillé et des morceaux de poteries qui ont été déposés à la trésorerie de Bude. Les pièces en fer démontrent que la trouvaille dont il est question, date d'une époque relativement récente.

*

Du reste, sur la berge, nommée Nagy-Aszó, de la Tisza morte, Holt-Tisza, il y a un grand cimetière païen dont l'étendue est d'à peu près 4000 mètres. C'est là que le peuple allait s'approvisionner de briquets.

*

A l'exposition des objets trouvés par M. le curé Tariczky étaient aussi représentées, par les ustensiles en pierre et en bronze qu'elles avaient fournis, les localités suivantes: Egyek, Õrs, Igar,

Eörvény, Tisza-Ders et Tisza-Roff; mais toutes ont été surpassées par Tisza-Szőllős, où l'on a trouvé une quantité de pots de formes variées, et, à un même endroit, dix gobelets en terre cuite avec autant de couteaux en obsidienne.

Sur la même territorire à Pernyés ou Temetéshát, au sud-ouest de la rive de la Holt-Tisza, il y a une tuilerie, où l'on a découvert des tombeaux dans lesquels, sous chaque crâne de squelette, il y avait un couteau en silex taillé. Au milieu de la tuilerie sont les tombeaux en forme de silos, dont les parois unies sont d'argile brûlée. A la profondeur de 0,63 m., il y avait 2, 3, 4 urnes placées sur des amas d'ossements près desquels était un crâne isolé, dans la direction de l'orient et recouvert.

C'est dans un tombeau semblable à ceux-ci que j'ai trouvé, au lieu du couteau en silex taillé, une petite lame de couteau en cuivre. Les dernières fouilles que j'ai faites n'ont rien produit; peut-être les tombeaux que j'ai fouillés étaient-ils des tombeaux de femmes ou d'enfants?''

XLII

1879

B. Milesz: Egyleti dolgok. A "t.-füredvidéki régészeti egylet" múzeumi tárlata. (Vége) (Societal affairs. Exhibition of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred. (The end)). Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 3 (January 9, 1879) 2.

"Group 10. Various items from the museum . . . two strings of coloured beads from the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' of T.-Szőlős."

B. Milesz: A "t.-füredvidéki régészeti egylet" Múzeumi tárlata. (Folytatás) (The exhibition of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred. (Cont'd)). Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 2 (January 5, 1879) 2.

"Group 5. Skulls: found together with flint blades ..."

XLIII

1879

E. Tariczky: Szóbeli és tárgyilagos előadás a t-füredvidéki ős-agyagedény-ipar előhaladásáról a kőkorszaktól a vaskorig (A verbal and factual report of the development of the ancient pottery industry from the Stone Age to the Iron Age in the region of Tiszafüred). Lecture held at the meeting of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred on October 13, 1878.

Later published in the periodical Nagy-Kunság. Part I: Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 4 (January 12, 1879) 1–2; part II: Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 7 (January 23, 1879) 1–2; part II (cont'd): Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 9 (January 30, 1879) 1–2; part II (cont'd): Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 10 (February 2, 1879) 1–2; part III: Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 14 (February 16, 1879) 2; part IV: Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 14 (February 20, 1879) 1–2:

"There are several Copper Age and Bronze Age specimens from Ásotthalom, Szőllős and Egyek, of which several can be admired for their harmonious ornamentation and intrinsic box-like form, both traits being Stone Age in nature.

A black polished clay cup or chalice is also exhibited. Nothing remotely similar has yet been encountered among the vessels of preceeding epochs in the Tisza region. It has a proportionately widening base, the calyx and the slender flower-stalk-like foot linking them are convex. It bears nothing reminiscent of Stone Age or Bronze Age ornamental motifs. How it differs from the knobbed cups from Tiszaszólós, some of which apparently rested on these knobs."

"This chalice, in fact, belongs to the Tiszaszőllős find of 1839. It was found in the grave of the well-known gold-armoured knight, that contained also rust-eaten iron relics. His skull, bearing a sword-blow, was deposited in the museum of Eger in 1873. Two necklaces strung of beads from the treasures of this knight were donated to our museum . . . around the end of last year."

Part IV (cont'd): Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 43 (July 13, 1879) 3; part IV (cont'd): Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 44 (July 20, 1879) 3:

"The origins of these incisions can be traced to the close of the Stone Age or the dawn of the Copper Age; for on one occasion, albeit the single one to that date, a knife blade fashioned from copper plate was discovered in the graves uncovered by the brick-makers, and kindly donated to us. Since only flint blades were usually to be found there. Our museum can boast the possession of some five flint blades from that site, including one specimen which, in terms of its size, is indeed unmatched by any other found in Hungary.

There is yet another peculiar circumstance, that the flint blades are mostly laid beside the nape or the ears. I can also show two of the skulls, that can be assigned to the long-headed, dol[i]cho category."

Part IV (cont'd): Nagy Kunság 4, no. 45 (July 27, 1879) 2:

Tariczky gives the measurements of the two skulls, and then goes on to describe his sixth category of pottery, which is wheel-turned.

"I myself know of three Iron Age find spots in this region. One of these lies at Tiszaszöllős–Nagyaszópart, on the banks of the dead Tisza, the burial ground of the gold-armoured knight discovered in 1839, whence we acquired our clay cup, our black polished chalice.

The Iron Age character of this site is indicated by a gold-hilted sword, otherwise Bronze Age in form, with an iron blade, and the fact that three years after the discovery of the find, the royal prosecutor collected some gold objects and rust-eaten iron relics."

XLIV

1879

Jegyzőkönyv a "Tiszafüredvidéki régészeti egylet" választmányi üléséről. Felvétetett Tiszafüreden 1879-ik jul. 20-án (Minutes of the committee meeting of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred. Tiszafüred, July 20, 1879). Eger 18, no. 42 (October 16, 1879) 331.

"New acquisitions: Two strings of beads from the grave of the gold-armoured knight found at Tiszaszőllős."

I. Balogh–E. Tariczky: Jegyzőkönyv a "Tiszafüredvidéki régészeti egylet" választmányi üléséről. II. közlemény = vége (Minutes of the committee meeting of the Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred. Part II = the end). Nagy-Kunság 4, no. 51 (September 7, 1879) 1.

"New acquisitions since September 13, 1878: Two strings of beads from the grave of the gold-armoured knight found at Tisza-Szőlős."

F. Rómer: Magyarország őskorának archeologiája (The archaeology of prehistoric Hungary). Ms. Orig. Hung. Saec. XIX. fol. 472. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, FOL. HUNG. 1110, vol. II, 402-403.

The large-size drawing-paper shows illustrations probably commissioned by Endre Tariczky, of the archaeological finds from the environs of Tiszafüred, including two flint blades and a copper knife from Tiszaszőlős; according to the caption, the latter was of red copper with pitted green patina. According to Rómer's note it accompanied the letter sent by Tariczky to the International Prehistoric Congress of 1876, which was registered as no. 119. 1875. The letter is to be found in the Archive of Manuscripts, Correspondence, National Széchényi Library (see Doc. XXIX). [Pl. 7. 5–7]

XLVI

before 1880(?)

F. Rómer: Magyarország őskorának archeologiája (The archaeology of prehistoric Hungary). Ms. Orig. Hung. Saec. XIX. fol. 472. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, FOL. HUNG. 1110, vol. II. 12 (without dating).

"Flint knives. From Tiszaszőllős, where a pagan cemetery lies in the western part . . . one was placed under the skull in each grave.

Endre Tariczky parish priest''

XLVII

around 1880

J. Hampel: Vegyes jegyzetek (Various notes). A simple sketch, with a brief description of the Tiszaszőlős pendant in Vienna, made at an unknown date. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, FOL. HUNG. 1698. I., 515.

The following remark was jotted down beside the sketch: "Sheet gold. Tiszaszőlős Heves N. 126. The holes are punched, the sheet is beaten. To be drawn."

XLVIII

around 1880

J. Hampel: Vegyes jegyzetek (Various notes). Note made at an unknown date, together with a drawing of the gold pendant from Tiszaszőlős in Vienna, cut out from a publication. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, FOL. HUNG. 1698, I., 517.

"Gold plate of unknown function. Tiszaszőllős. No. 126.

Sacken und Kenner: Die Sammlungen des k.k. Münz und Antikencabinets. Wien 1866, p. 349, no. 126.

Thick gold plate, upper part rounded, lower part pentagonal, in the upper part two pairs of holes for rivets, in the lower part a large round perforation with a boss on both sides. Found at Tisza-Szőllős in county Heves in 1840.

Tariczky on the Tiszaszőllős gold finds."

Acquisitions register of the Hungarian National Museum.

Entry 36. 1882.

- "1. Prehistoric buckle of sheet gold, with three rows of repoussé dots in the centre, two holes punched along one edge. Length 6 cm, width 4.6 cm, weight 11 gr.
 - 2. Fragment of the same buckle, flat sheet gold, length 5.3 cm, weight 6 gr.
- 3. Fragment of the same gold buckle, flat sheet gold, length 3.5 cm, weight 3 gr, with three rows of repoussé dots.
 - 4. Fragment of the same gold buckle, flat sheet gold, length 3 cm, weight 2 gr.
- 5. Thin sheet gold, with decoration of repoussé dots along one edge, and tiny rectangular holes along the other, three fragments, a. length 5.2 cm, b. length 4 cm, c. length 3.3 cm, width of all three fragments 1.2 cm.
 - 6. Bone beads and a pelvic bone. 3 items.

These prehistoric gold finds were acquired from the Central Assay Office for 31 Forints. See L.N. 59.1882."

The provenance of the finds was given as Ercsi, county Fejér.

The items inventorised under no. 36.1882, 1–4 were reinventorised under no. 68.24.149, their gold inv. no. is Ö. 715. Weight 23.66 gr. [Fettich (1953) Pl. LV, 1]

The three fragments inventorised under no. 36.1882.5 were not reinventorised, their gold inv. no. is Ö. 1041, weight 3.79 gr. Items 1–4, i.e. the pendant is shown in Pl. 12. 1–2. [Fettich (1953) Pl. LV. 2]

L

1884

A magyar történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás lajstroma (Catalogue of the exhibition of historic goldsmiths' work in Hungary). Exhibition opened on February 17, 1884. Budapest (?1884).

p. 12: "13. Ornament. Gold. Beaten. Round disc, perforated in the middle, with a small boss on each side, a wide tab with four rivet holes on top. Find spot: Tisza-Szöllős."

Exhibited by the Imperial and Royal Cabinet of Antiquities

LI

1889

B. Milesz: A tisza-füredi régiségmúzeum keletkezése és mai állapota (The foundation and present condition of the museum of antiquities of Tisza-Füred). *Tisza-Füred és Vidéke* 2, no. 47 (November 20, 1889) 1–2.

He recounts the reorganisation of the Society, then goes on to describe the activities of Endre Tariczky, its founder, who had been a priest in Tiszafüred since 1862.

"His interest towards archaeology was aroused in the fifties, when he was chaplain. . . . He began the collection of the antiquities from this region . . . in 1872."

B Milesz: A tisza-füredi régiségmúzeum keletkezése és mai állapota. Folytatás (The foundation and present condition of the museum of antiquities of Tisza-Füred. Cont'd). *Tisza-Füred és Vidéke* 2, no. 48 (November 27, 1889) 1.

We are told that in May, 1878, the Archaeological Society of county Bihar organised an exhibition in Nagyvárad, to which the Tiszafüred Society sent 80 items.

"On the occasion of this exhibition, items in the personal possession of the secretary [Tariczky] were passed on to the archaeological museum of county Bihar upon the request of Mr. Rómer . . . "

LIII

1891

J. Hampel's notebooks. XLVIII. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, DUOD. HUNG. 54/48.

Various notes, beginning with June 13, 1891. On p. 57 verso, notes on the material kept in the Imperial and Royal Cabinet of Antiquities in Vienna, on numbered p. 434. This shows an upside down drawing of the large pendant of the Tiszaszőlős treasure kept in Vienna, with the following remark: "434. Tiszaszöllős (1840)."

LIV

1892

E. Tariczky: A hun sírok (The Hunnic graves). Egyetértés 26, no. 240 (August 31, 1892) 1.

In this article Tariczky describes his excavations at Tiszaörvény, Bura and Karcag, and remarks that

"A flint knife or flint arrowhead was found under the skulls in the graves of the pagan cemetery of Tiszaszőlős."

LV

1892

E. Tariczky: Tiszafüred vidéke a népvándorlástól kezdve. Történelmi és hadászati szempontból vonatkozással az ezredéves honfoglalás közelgő nagy nemzeti ünnepére (The history of Tiszafüred since the Migration period. With special reference to historical and military events relevant to the national festivities on the occasion of the millennial conquest). Eger (1892) note 23 on p. 17.

"Prehistoric relics came to light at Tisza-Szőlős in 1839: the so-called Aszópart grave from the Migration period, containing the burial of a gold-armoured knight and his possessions. Some were procured by landowners, some by poor men, some by merchants. Some items came to be confiscated by the Treasury in Vienna, that were subsequently presented at the goldsmiths' exhibition. A black polished chalice was donated to the Tiszafüred museum by Mr. István Elek. The late Mrs Menyhért Elek, née Maria Csoma, a most noble lady, kindly presented me with the tarnished skull of the knight, bearing the marks of a battle-wound, which I duly deposited in the Archiepiscopal Museum of Eger,

whence it was taken to the International Archaeological Exhibition staged in 1876 in B.-Pest, and together with other antiquities, this same skull was also exhibited, but without indication of its provenance."

LVI

1893

Fülöp Brüll's answer to the Royal Prosecution in Eger on November 25, 1893, concerning the institution of proceedings against István Elek. State Archives, Eger, VII-la, 231, Tiszaszőlős, sheaf 4/2.

After Menyhért Elek's death, "the so-called 'upper field' . . . lying in Pánczélos entered in the cadastral register of Tiszaszőlős under no. 302, passed into the possession of his three offspring, Mrs László Bónis, née Katalin Elek, Mrs László Lónyai, née Terézia Elek and Mihály Elek jr., being their tenancy in common and charged with the jointure of their mother, Mrs Menyhért Elek, née Mária Csoma. However, after Mrs Menyhért Elek died on January 19, 1885, . . . "

LVII

1898-1912

The receipts of László Mauthner, the antiquities dealer, of the items sold to the Hungarian National Museum, after the account books in the Department of Coins and Antiquities of the Hungarian National Museum. The account books are presently kept in the Department of Medieval Archaeology of the Hungarian National Museum.

The following entries were made between 1898 and 1912.

Sept. 20, 1902, no. 25	guild relics	
Febr. 22, 1906, no. 48	bronze antiquities	
Jan. 14, 1908, no. 14	two Serbian coins	
Febr. 4, 1908, no. 45	3 Árpádian period coins	
Febr. 20, 1910, no. 20	antiquities	368 crowns
May 6, 1910, no. 165	Árpádian period coins	200 crowns
July 8, 1910, no. 256	prehistoric bronzes	15 crowns
Oct. 1, 1910, no. 351	La Tène find from Szob	1000 crowns
Nov. 28, 1910, no. 408	antiquities and weapons	200 crowns
Dec. 7, 1910, no. 416	18th-century spoon	10 crowns
Dec. 27, 1910, no. 451	La Tène fragment from Szob	15 crowns
Jan. 3, 1911, no. 4	two coins	80 crowns
Jan. 7, 1911, no. 5	1 gun	200 crowns
Jan. 18, 1911, no. 13	spur, pistol	100 crowns
Febr. 9, 1911, no. 34	coin	60 crowns
Apr. 13, 1911, no. 72	finds from Aggtelek, excavations of	
	baron Jenő Nyáry	170 crowns
Sept. 22, 1911, no. 268	6 prehistoric bronzes	55 crowns
Dec. 20, 1911, nos. 360–361	prehistoric gold find from Temes-	
	rékás	800 crowns
	gun	120 crowns
Febr. 8, 1912, no. 34	pistol	65 crowns
Febr. 8, 1912, no. 35	prehistoric (?) necklace	152 crowns

a Roman gold ring and two prehistoric gold plates from the so-called Moigrad hoard; inv. no. RN 106/1912

140 crowns

LVIII

1898

J. Hampel: Ókori emlékek Magyarhonban (Ancient finds in Hungary). Budapest (1908). Vol. I, chapter 6: Ancient finds from the Great Hungarian Plain. 1–4th centuries A.D. (1898). Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, QUART. HUNG. 2481.

On pp. 863–869, he describes the finds in the Tiszafüred museum. A sketch of the chalice from the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight' and of the beads then in the Tiszafüred museum can be seen on the margin of p. 869. A description of the finds from Tiszaszólós can be read on p. 869.

"Tiszaszőllős. I. The museum of county Bihar [sic!] possesses 14 beads from the grave of the goldarmoured knight discovered at Tiszaszöllős in 1839. These include white cylindrical beads, green spherical and green hexahedral prismatic glass beads.

II. From this same find the Tiszafüred museum possesses a black-coloured vessel (no. 65). The vessel is executed in classical taste, the grooved foot rises from the flat, disc-shaped base and narrows towards the pear-shaped body to which it is joined by a ring; the body walls flare gently (no. 65). The grave was found on the property of the Elek family, having been washed out by the water.

III. The skull found in the grave, bearing the marks of a blow, is housed in the Archiepiscopal Lyceum of Eger.

V. [There is no point IV. in the original manuscript either] 65 beads, probably from the same grave, donated to the National Museum by Menyhért Elek in 1855 [inv. no. 5.1855; see Doc. V] which, according to the entry in the acquisitions register, were found 'on the banks of the Tisza'.

These include spherical white opal beads, similar bright brownish-red short cylindrical opals, brick-red longish beads, hexahedral prismatic green beads, spherical green beads, some oxydised and discoloured; liver-coloured garnets of thinner and thicker prismatic form with flat ends, carneol? Prismatic bead with two wider and four narrower planes." [Pl. 7. 3–4]

LIX

1898

J. Hampel's notebooks, LII. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, DUOD. HUNG. 54/52.

Notes made between June 18, 1898, to around the close of 1898. Pp. 41 recto-44 recto contain the notes written during Hampel's visit to Tiszafüred on June 27, 1898. P. 42 verso shows a drawing with the following remark:

"Elek estate, Nagyaszói part. No. 65. 1839. Black, with smooth surface from the Tisza Szöllős gold find, washed out by the water. A part of the finds is in Vienna. The skull of the gold-armoured knight, bearing a sword-cut, is in the archiepiscopal museum." [Pl. 7. 2]

LX

before 1900

Acquisitions register of the Kiss Pál museum of Tiszafüred. The handwritten original copy is housed in the Archives of the museum, inv. no. 103–69.

This register was probably compiled at the close of the 19th century by Béla Milesz; it has survived almost completely; only the first six entries and the cover are missing.

The following items were acquired from Tiszaszőlős:

- p. 4, entry 58: "Black chalice. T.-Szőlős, Aszópart. From the grave of the gold-armoured knight, 1839. Donated by Mrs József Elek."
- p. 4, recto, nos 1–5: "Fragments from knob- or boss-decorated vessels. T. Szőlős, pasture-land, 1872, E. Tariczky."
- p. 7, verso, no. 72: "Fragment from a knob- or boss-decorated vessel. Szőlős, Pemetéshát. 1876. E.T."
- pp. 79–80: "Rim fragment from a large, one-handled vessel. Szőlős, Pemetéshát, 1876. E. T." and "Rim fragment with handle. Same provenance."
- p. 9, recto, no. 48: "String of stone and glass paste beads, from the Nagy-Aszópart at Tiszaszőlős, from the grave of the gold-armoured knight discovered in 1839. 30 beads. Donated by Mrs Menyhért Elek."
 - no. 49: "The same, 37 beads. Same provenance."
 - p. 14, recto, nos 9–10: "Fragments from pedestalled vessels. T. Szőlős. 1876. Kálmán Kovács." nos 11–13: "Jugs with handles and suspension holes. T.-Szőlős, Pemetéshát. 1879."

According to another acquisitions register of the Tiszafüred museum, A tiszafüredi Múzeum- és Könyvtáregylet, később Tiszafüredvidéki Régészeti egylet ajándékozott és vásárolt Múzeumi tárgyainak jegyzéke beérkezési rend szerint 1877-től kezdve. B. Régiségtár (Register of the purchased and donated items of the Museum and Library Society of Tiszafüred, the subsequent Archaeological Society of Tiszafüred, according to the order of their acquisition beginning with 1877. B. Department of Antiquities).

1877, no. 13: "Black clay pot from the transitional Iron Age, from the grave of the gold-armoured knight, unearthed in 1839, at T. Szőlős. Donated by Mrs János Fekete."

1878, no. 1: "Two strings of beads, from the grave of the gold-armoured knight at T. Szőlős. Donated by Mrs Menyhért Elek, T. Szőlős."

LXI

1900-1908

József Hampel: Szilágyság. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, QUART. HUNG. 2481, pp. 1183–1190, written between 1900–1908.

The so-called Mojgrád treasure is not listed among the antiquities from county Szilágy.

LXII

1900-1910

Contemporary blow-up of a photograph made at the beginning of the 20th century, showing a group of objects from the Tiszafüred museum. Made by Lipót Záhor, a photographer and painter working in Eger. Kiss Pál Museum, Tiszafüred, inv. no. 71.64.47.

The vessel marked with an arrow shows the chalice from the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' unearthed in 1839. [Pl. 6]

Contemporary blow-up of a photograph made at the beginning of the 20th century, showing the vessels of the Tiszafüred museum in a case. The photographer is unknown. Kiss Pál Museum, Tiszafüred, inv. no. 78.84.17.

The vessel marked by an arrow shows the chalice from the grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' unearthed in 1839. [Pl. 5]

The Acquisitions Register of the Hungarian National Museum.

Entry 3.1902:

- "1. Prehistoric gold arm-ring, an open ring, rectangular cross-section, of twisted wire. Weight 27.5 gr.
- 2. Prehistoric gold plate, three-pronged, with two close-set perforations. Length 16 cm, width 11 cm. Weight 47.5 gr.

Purchased from Zsigmond Réti for 240 crowns. Account book entry 14/1902. Unknown provenance."

The Account Book of the Department of Coins and Antiquities of the Hungarian National Museum.

Entry 11, 1902:

"Prehistoric arm-ring and prehistoric gold plate, for a silk cap woven with gold thread, Zsigmond Réti's receipt, R. N. 3.1902. 280 Ft."

The item inventorised under 3.1902.1 was reinventorised under 68.24.147, gold inv. no. is Ö. 710. Present weight 37.42 gr. [Pl. 18. 6]

The item inventorised under 3.1902.2 was reinventorised under 68.24.148, gold inv. no. Ö. 714. Present weight 32.36 gr. [Pl. 13. 1–2]

LXIV

1902

J. Hampel: A Nemzeti Múzeumi Régiségtár gyarapodása 1902-ben (New acquisitions of the Cabinet of Antiquities of the Hungarian National Museum in 1902). Arch. Ért. 36 (1902) 421.

"A gold treasure of unknown provenance, but definitely from Hungary, was purchased by the Museum. Only two items could be saved. A plain gold open arm-ring, weighing 27.5 gr, and a four-armed gold plate, whose pointed arms are set at right-angles to each other; three arms are longer, and one is shorter; two holes at the tip of the shorter arm enabled the plate to be fastened onto some sort of base. One of the longer arms is broken. The weight of this ornament is 17.5 gr [the correct weight is 32.36 gr], its greatest diameter is 16 cm." [The arm-ring is shown in Pl. 18. 6, the anthropomorphic pendant in Pl. 13. 1–2]

LXV

1903

- E. Tariczky: A tiszavidéki halmokra vonatkozó felvilágosító ismeretek, visszaemlékezéssel néhai Szabó József, volt egyetemi tanárra, hírneves geológusra (What should be known about the mounds of the Tisza region, with remembrance of József Szabó, former university professor, and renowned geologist). Handwritten manuscript. Tiszafüred (September 28, 1903). Archive of Manuscripts, Hungarian National Museum, no. 56. T.I.
- p. 1: "By the grace of God I have lived to see the 60th anniversary of my activities in the literary world and the 30th in the realm of archaeology . . . "

pp. 6–8: "In 1839, the annually recurring floods of the Tisza began to wash away the high banks at Tiszaszőlős (county Heves) at a spot called Nagyaszó (Nagyvölgy), without anyone taking heed, until the lavish finds contained therein did not make themselves visible in the water, and some women, returning from their daily work, noticed some golden objects while washing their feet. A most selfish goldhunt began thereupon, and some of the finds were secretly sold.

All and sundry benefitted from these finds. Most were purchased by the local landowners for sums around 10 Forints (20 crowns): István Dévay, a Captain of the Hussars, Menyhért Elek, Mrs Salamon Elek, and the inn-keeper. Even the police officer of Tiszafüred received some. There were gold buttons, figure-of-eight clasps, and a gold armour-plate, which one of the peasants sold to a Greek merchant for 400 crowns at the Hortobágy coach inn.

News of this find reached the royal prosecutor of Eger, Ferencz Nagy, who, making his appearance at Tiszaszőlős, first confiscated the objects purchased by Mrs Salamon Elek and sent them to the Royal Treasury in Vienna.—These were later exhibited in Budapest as the 'Tiszaszőlős find' at the Exhibition of Goldsmiths' Art.

However, he was unable to exact anything from the others. Menyhért Elek's widow was for a long time afterwards prosecuted unsuccessfully by the Treasury.

In the seventies I was lucky enough to be presented with the knight's skull, on whose forehead one could see a healed sword-blow, a witness of heroic deeds. I kept this ancient relic of infinite value by myself, safeguarding it as had the genteel lady donating it, and then deposited it in the archiepiscopal museum of Eger. Let it now testify the heroic bravery of the gold-armoured knight of Tiszaszőllős and be a tribute to the memory of the burial mounds of the Tisza region. This skull was shown on the '76 Archaeological Exhibition in Budapest.

I also acquired a string of beads and a beautiful black clay chalice that had belonged to the knight. These came into the possession of the Tiszafüred museum."

pp. 10–11: "I must incidentally mention that in 1876 a cemetery site came to light in the outskirts of Tiszaszőlős, in the floodplain on the south-western part of the village, in the course of brick-making; several graves were uncovered, with a skull in each, accompanied by a flint knife or a flint arrow-head, and in one case, a copper blade. Which shows that in Hungary, the Bronze Age was preceded by the Copper Age. This has already been suggested by Pulszky as an archaeological fact,"

LXVI

1903-1908

Four letters from Endre Tariczky to Gyula Bartalos. Archive of Manuscripts, National Széchényi Library, Correspondence, no. 1954/57, 4 items,7 folio.

There is no mention of archaeological matters in the letters dated to March 9 and May 30, 1903, August 31 and [illegible month] 13, 1908.

LXVII

1906

E. Tariczky: A tiszavidéki hun földpyramis-halmok ismertetése, és két függelék, vonatkozólag először egy tiszaörvényi pogánytemető sírjának kőpyramisára, másodszor Attila . . . hun király utolsó két hadjáratára (Description of the Hunnish earth-pyramid mounds in the Tisza region, and two appendices, firstly concerning the stonework pyramid of a pagan cemetery in Tiszaörvény, and secondly the last two campaigns of Attila . . . King of the Huns). Eger (1906).

p. 12: "In 1839, the annually recurring floods of the Tisza began to wash away the high bank at Tiszaszőlős called 'Nagyaszó' (Nagyvölgy) by the locals. No attention was paid, however, until a minor

landslip occurred and some women, returning from their daily work, noticed various gold objects while washing their feet. A most selfish gold-hunt began thereafter, and some of the finds were secretly sold.

All and sundry benefitted from the finds, a gold ring was even taken to Tiszafüred, to be used as a wedding ring. After news of this had spread, Ferencz Nagy, the royal fiscal came to Szőllős from Eger, to confiscate what had remained. However, he could only retrieve objects from one single person, and these were duly sent to the Treasury in Vienna and subsequently displayed as the Tiszaszőllős gold find at the Exhibition of Goldsmiths' Art.

In the seventies I was lucky enough to acquire . . . from Mrs Menyhért Elek, a most noble lady, the happy owner of these treasures, the skull, exhibiting a sword-blow, of the gold-armoured knight (his gold mail was sold to a Greek merchant by one of the locals on his way to Debrecen), who had for centuries rested under the Nagyaszó mound at Tiszaszőllős. Since there was no museum in Tiszafüred at that time, I gave it to the archiepiscopal museum in Eger; it was later displayed at the Congress exhibition in 1876, where it was one of the most outstanding pieces, and would have been even more outstanding, had it been possible to display also some of his golden treasures. A beautiful black chalice is in the possession of the Tiszafüred museum."

LXVIII

1908-1910

B. Pósta: Jelentés az Érem-és Régiségtárról (Annual report of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities). Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Évkönyve (1908) 38.

Porolissum [= Moigrad]: "Most insignificant are the finds that have been donated to our museum by Mr. György Szabó, the tenant, and Mr. József Sebestyén from the territory of Porolissum. These are fragmentary bronze and glass objects . . . "

B. Pósta: Jelentés az Érem- és Régiségtárról (Annual report of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities). Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Évkönyve (1909) 36–37.

"The government board of county Szilágy has promised to give us not only moral, but also financial support to begin our limes investigations and excavations planned on Mt Pomet, lying between Mojgrád and Zsákfalva, where, according to Károly Torma, Roman Porolissum once lay. The county has most assuredly kept its promise regarding financial matters since the general assembly held on February 27, 1908, decided to contribute 2000 crowns to the cost of these excavations (resolution 5–1908 in the minutes of the assembly)."

p. 38. "Moral support has been offered by György Kaisler, the lord-lieutenant, dr. István Török, the deputy lieutenant, and Miklós Tarpay, the royal prefect of Zilah. His lordship, Baron Miklós Wesselényi, a keeper of the Holy Crown, the landowner of the territory in question, contributed no less to the success of the excavations which proceed with his permission and assured us of the proprietary rights of the museum over the finds."

B. Pósta: Jelentés az Érem- és Régiségtárról (Annual report of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities). Az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület Évkönyve (1910) 39–40.

"The government board of county Szilágy has erected to itself an unforgettable monument in the scholarly world when it made the excavations at Porolissum possible.

At the beginning of the 1909 season our Institute sadly noted that the ignorant Vlah population destroyed the walls uncovered in the year 1908. We have hired a guard that this should not occur again in 1909.

The patron county of the Porolissum excavations absolutely rose to the occasion. We experienced the greatest courtesy from the landowner of the territory in question, Baron Miklós Wesselényi, a

keeper of the Holy Crown, the deputy president of our Society. We can hardly express our gratitude for the invaluable services granted to our Institute by the tenant of the excavation territory, Mr. György Szabó."

LXIX

1909

Gy. Bartalos: Heves vármegye őskora. Tariczky Endre adataival kiegészítette a szerkesztőség (The prehistory of royal county Heves. Complemented with the data of Endre Tariczky by the editorial board). Heves vármegye. *Magyarország Vármegyéi és Városai*. Edited by S. Borovszky. Budapest (1909).

p. 444: "The reign of the Avars lasted from 569 to 800. Their richness is amply illustrated by the Tiszaszőlős gold find. In 1839, a part of the Nagyaszó (Nagyvölgy) high bank collapsed, and the floodwaters washed out numerous gold buttons and gold clasps, duly found by certain women returning from their work, who later sold them. Menyhért Elek, István Dévay and Mrs Sámuel Elek, local landowners, bought the objects of the gold find for 10 Forints apiece. One of the finders sold the gold armour-plate to a Greek merchant for 200 Forints on his way to Debrecen. When the bank was investigated, the skeleton of the gold-armoured knight was found too, whose skull bore the mark of a sword-blow."

E. Reiszig jr.: Heves vármegye községei (The towns of county Heves), an article in the same volume.

p. 85: The finds unearthed at Tiszaszőlős "included a gold armour-plate, which was taken to the Hungarian National Museum."

LXX

1911

A brief hand-written letter from Baron Albert Nyári to József Hampel in 1911. Archive of Manuscripts, Hungarian National Museum, no. 305/1911.

"Milord. I lie in bed and cannot personally attend to matters at Aggtelek. I tired myself on the last occasion that I visited the Museum when I was sick with fever. I ask you to settle the deal with Mr. Mauthner, whom I asked to act on my behalf, and that in case of purchase, he be able to collect the money and give a receipt in his own name. Your devoted friend."

LXXI

1912

Acquisitions Register of the Hungarian National Museum. Document no. 360/912, mentioned in the entry, can no longer be found in the Archive of Manuscripts of the Hungarian National Museum.

Entry 106.1912.2: "Fragments of a gold band (prehistoric?). The gold band, broken in two, is longitudinally fluted, and perforated in several places at both ends. One end is bent back. Weight 3.2 gr. Found at Moigrad (county Szilágy).

Purchased from László Mauthner."

It was acquired, together with another item or lot, for 140 crowns. [Pl. 21. 10]

B. Pósta: Az érem- és régiségtár jelentése (Annual report of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities). Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyve (1913) 32–39.

p. 35: "The Migration period collection was greatly augmented this year. This is hardly surprising since it was to be expected that the area which hid the Apahida gold treasure, would sooner or later yield others; a most impressive gold find numbering about 150 items has now reached our museum from county Szilágy. The purchase of this assemblage involved a considerable financial sacrifice on our part and we shall undoubtedly experience countless difficulties in eliminating the consequences of this sacrifice, but we could in no way refuse it."

Kimutatás az E.N.M. Régiségtárának 1912. évi gyarapodásáról (Report on the acquisitions of the Cabinet of Antiquities of the Transylvanian National Museum in the year 1912). Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyve (1913) 40.

"Gold items, purchased: 4 prehistoric, 467 Migration period, 3 goldsmiths' work".

LXXIII

1942

M. Roska: Erdély Régészeti Repertóriuma, I. Őskor (Repertory of the archaeological finds from Transylvania, I. Prehistory). Kolozsvár (1942).

pp. 184–185: "252. Mojgrád (Moigrad). . . . Gold treasure in the EMER [Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities of the National Museum of Transylvania], inv. no. II. 6804–7731, comprising also items from the First Iron Age (e.g. armour-plate, arm-rings). . . . Fragment of a gold band in the MNM [Hungarian National Museum], weight 3.2 gr, ornamented with grooves and ribs. Hungarian National Museum 1912, no. 106."

LXXIV

1943

N. Fettich: A népi és kulturális kontinuitás a Kárpátmedencében a régészeti adatok alapján (Ethnic and cultural continuity in the Carpathian Basin as reflected by the archaeological evidence). A Kis Akadémia Könyvtára LV. Budapest (1943).

pp. 12–13: "The Transylvanian Museum in Kolozsvár possesses a lavish gold treasure weighing about two and a half kilogrammes, that had allegedly been found at Mojgrád in county Szilágy. Were there not characteristic products of the Hunnish metallurgy of Southern Russia [Pl. 12] and finds comparable to the gold objects of the royal burial unearthed at Szeged–Nagyszéksós, the occurrence of Copper Age, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age forms in this assemblage would be undoubtedly confusing. The gold amulet weighing about 750 gr shown in Pl. 13 [here Pl. 9] appears to be a late reappearance of the small-size gold objects of the Copper Age. It bears a round perforation with two hemispherical bosses above it, and two pairs of suspension holes. It matches the specimens found in Copper Age burials. The recent excavations conducted by Sándor Gallus in Jászladány brought to light numerous similar gold finds from contracted inhumation burials."

pp. 13-14: "The archaeological and historical analysis of this assemblage displaying the characteristic traits of Dacian gold metallurgy, however, suggests that it should be considered the

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treasure of a Gepidic king of the Hunnish realm. . . . Hungarian and Romanian archaeology has since long neglected this royal gold treasure, one of the most extravagant and outstanding of its kind in South-East Europe, because it proved impossible to assign it to any known category. What we now witness is the discovery of a vanished and long-forgotten civilisation. The ancient traditions of the Carpathian Basin were again brought to life in the Hunnish period, and gold finds comparable to the Mojgrád objects made their appearance all over the country, not only in Transylvania and the Great Hungarian Plain, but also in Transdanubia. The most important sites beside Mojgrád are Ercsi (county Fejér), Hatvan-Újtelep, Marosvásárhely and Gyulafehérvár. These sites yielded considerable gold finds whose associations remained unrecognised until now. The [Ercsi] find contained a gold figurine reminiscent of a duck with spread wings and a gold ornament with dots running along its edge."[Pl. 12. 1–2]

LXXV

1944 1945

P. Patay: Néhány őskori tárgy kormeghatározása (The dating of certain prehistoric finds). Arch. Ért. 71–72 (1944–1945) 23–25.

"The 'assemblage' in question that according to Fettich had allegedly been found at Mojgrád was purchased by the Transylvanian National Museum from Mauthner, an antiquities dealer. This purchase was made not on one, but on two different occasions. We know fair well that even though Mauthner presented various collections with numerous valuable finds, his data were not always reliable. And he sometimes also sold gold objects that later turned out to be forgeries. Thus, for instance, a forged torques and solid gold arm-rings had been purchased from him by the Szombathely museum; the latter are similar to the specimens of the 'Mojgrád find' (Pl. IX. 2).

Fettich mentions that one of the objects of the 'assemblage', a 'gold amulet weighing almost three-quarters of a kilogram' (Pl. IX.1), is in fact 'a late reappearance of the similar small-size gold objects of the Copper Age'. He notes that similar gold objects had been recovered from Copper Age burials: 'The recent excavations conducted by Sándor Gallus brought to light numerous similar gold finds from contracted inhumation burials'. It must here be recalled that only one such 'amulet' had been excavated scientifically in the course of Gallus' excavations at Jászladány—the specimen in grave 16 (Pl. V. 18), while it can be assumed that another specimen also originates from this cemetery (Pl. VIII. 15). However, specimens exactly matching the one published by Fettich from Mojgrád, even if considerably smaller in size, have hitherto only come to light from grave 4 of the Copper Age cemetery of Magyartés excavated by Gábor Csallány (Pl. IX. 7–8). I have published the Magyartés specimens in the preceding volume of the Értesítő, and shall publish the Jászladány one in this volume.

Beside the large gold amulet published by Fettich, another smaller specimen, corresponding to the Jászladány one in size, is also to be found in the 'Mojgrád find' (Pl. IX. 6).

This 'assemblage' also includes various other objects, such as the gold sheets incorrectly described as 'flying geese or ducks' by Fettich (Pl. IX. 4), which can in no way be interpreted as one of the most characteristic Bronze Age motifs of Dacian art. Even Fettich concedes that the duck is an Iron Age motif; and he is assuredly mistaken in tracing the spirals ornamenting the gold sheets to Bronze Age cultures. The spirals appearing on metallurgical products are also of the Early Iron Age, and thus the 'ducks' in question should be dated to this period insofar as they are indeed prehistoric. But even in this case they are 1000–1500 years younger than the above-mentioned Copper Age pendants.

Migration period jewellery and other gold finds are likewise to be found in the 'Mojgrád assemblage' (Pl. IX. 3). There are several gold items of undefiniable function and form, and also a gold medal with figural decoration (Pl. IX. 5). Thus, the relics of at least four distinct periods, separated by spans of 1000 to 1500 years, can be distinguished in this alleged 'assemblage'. In view of the above, I am convinced that the 'Mojgrád find' cannot be considered authentic, and I also maintain my opinion

that atavistic phenomena do not occur in the realm of spiritual creativity. . . . But one cannot even speak of convergence in the case of the 'Mojgrád find'. The various objects in this assemblage have demonstrably different origins, and on the basis of the Jászladány and Magyartés specimens, the two gold 'amulets' are Copper Age in date and thus entirely independent of the Migration period and other finds.''

LXXVI

1953

N. Fettich: A szeged-nagyszéksősi hun fejedelmi sírlelet (La trouvaille des tombe princière hunnique à Szeged-Nagyszéksős). Arch. Hung. 32. Budapest (1953).

Only the passages relevant to the 'find spot' and to Mauthner's dealings with the 'Moigrad hoard' are here quoted—translated from the Hungarian version—. All other parts of this book are dealt with in the main text and the notes (see also the concordance list of the finds published here and the items published by Fettich).

pp. 56–57: "An impressive gold hoard was found, allegedly at Mojgrád (county Szilágy, Transylvania) at the beginning of this century, which soon passed into the hands of an antiquities dealer. The find made a bad impression in most museums: the gold objects of unusual form could not be assigned to any known culture; moreover, the assemblage also included some forgeries, and this circumstance acted unfavourably in the evaluation of the find. This lavish gold treasure thus wandered from museum to museum, until Béla Pósta finally purchased it for the National Museum of Transylvania in Kolozsvár in 1912 (inv. no. II. 7551–7736, 6805–7077). Exactly 40 years have passed since the treasure, mixed up with fakes and gold items from other periods, reached the museum, but no archaeologist has yet undertaken the evaluation of this treasure, or the separation of the original items from the forgeries and the pieces belonging to other periods. In 1941 I was permitted to publish the hoard, and thus broke the silence surrounding it. I have published most of the finds, 85 items in all, in my study Népi és kulturális kontinuitás a Kárpát-medencében (Ethnic and cultural continuity in the Carpathian Basin). [see Doc. LXXIV] ... Pál Patay and Sándor Gallus have since then offered their comments on certain finds and have also published some photos of this assemblage.

[For Patay's comments, see Doc. LXXV; however, I was unable to locate Gallus' comments in the study quoted by Fettich: B. Szász: A hunok története (The history of the Huns). Budapest (1943)]

I was unable to find out more about the exact find circumstances, seeing that over forty years have elapsed since its discovery. Mojgrád is one of the most important archaeological sites in Transylvania. Curiously enough, both József Hampel, who refused to buy the finds, and Béla Pósta, who finally purchased them, neglected to investigate the alleged find spot. . . . In 1941 I tried to gather information about the hoard, but Lajos Kelemen, the then director of the museum, was the only one to offer any details. A dealer called Wallerstein, whom Kelemen regarded as a truthful man, complained to him that the museum had treated him most unfairly in one specific matter, even though he could have deceived the museum: Mauthner had added 5 gold objects to the Mojgrád hoard that he himself had faked; this he was told by Mauthner himself, who promised him a percentage if he managed to sell all the gold; he, however, dared not to do this himself, for fear of losing his business connections if he sold fakes. The Mauthner-material is shown in Pls XLI–LIV, in their original size; I must add that a hat-pin like fake, of which Lajos Kelemen had spoken, can no longer be found among the items. The following technical remarks are based on my personal examination of the finds in the Kolozsvár museum."

p. 60: "... five forgeries can be distinguished in the assemblage known as the Mojgrád find: a hammer (Pl. XLIV. 3) [here Pl. 17. 2], a cast gold ingot (Pl. XLIX. 12) [here Pl. 19. 5], a pressed gold disc pendant (Pl. LI. 12) [here Pl. 19. 1], a hat-pin like gold object (that I was unable to find) and 204 rings (Pl. LIV. 1–204) [here Pl. 20]. ... Around 1910 László Mauthner was still an unexperienced antiquities dealer and forger. In this respect his activity flourished between 1920 and 1940, when it

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gained European importance. I knew him personally from my museum practice and followed his dealings most closely. I photographed all his fakes I could lay my hand on from the front and back. Mauthner's forgeries ensnared most European museums. His fakes were even purchased by the large museums. Even though he was unable to sell one single forgery to the Hungarian National Museum, he still presented his new fakes there in order to test them. In this way, the gifted forger trained himself. Nonetheless, the forgeries added to the Mojgrád find date to the beginning of Mauthner's activities in this field; he no longer tried his luck with such crude articles during my museum service. Wallerstein's remark clearly shows that, for a long time, he had difficulties in marketing his goods. Béla Pósta finally purchased the find for the museum in view of its Transylvanian origin.

We have distinguished the forgeries in the find, five in number (both Wallerstein and Mauthner regarded the rings as one lot). I am confident that all other items are original antiquities. Two problems must now be considered: the authenticity of the find spot and how Aeneolithic finds came to be mixed up with the Migration period objects (Pl. XLIX 9–10, 11). Let us first turn to the former."

p. 61: "Before World War I, most Hungarian museums did not bother with controlling the authenticity of a site, and only rarely was the find spot of a find offered for purchase investigated. . . . On the other hand, the dealer who had acquired this lavish gold treasure could afford to comb the site with his men, for there was nothing to prevent him from doing so. The numerous small fragments would suggest that Mauthner exhausted the site. Nothing remained there. It is also certain that various items of the treasure had been dispersed when it had first come to light, such as the gold rivets of the scabbard ornament shown in Pl. XLI. 2-2a-b [here Pl. 29. 2], the gold hoop of the earring shown in Pl. XLI. 4-4a [here Pl. 29. 5], the head of the duck-like figure shown in Pl. XLII. 1 [here Pl. 11. 2] since the fractured surface is not smoothed away, and various other small finds. All the same, there is no doubt that Mauthner collected what he could, down to the tiniest fragment. Thus, he need have had no apprehensions that the museum would investigate the find spot and discover other finds. Similarly, there was no reason to name a false find spot at that time and especially in this case. If the museum nonetheless doubted the find spot and perhaps other details given by the dealers, the reason for this should not be sought in the cryptic stories told by some dealers (an uncommon practice at that time), but rather in the fact that the dealers did not concern themselves in the least with recording the provenance of their antiquities, and they frequently offered for sale items from diverse find spots, whose relation to each other and grouping no longer proved possible. And the dealer himself—no matter how well-meaning and helpful—was often unable to state the provenance of his antiquities. Mauthner told me once that he had made a list of his 'finds'. He always carried his pocket notebook with him and often showed it to me, but he never allowed anyone even a glimpse into its contents. I find it extremely unlikely that Mauthner would have made a mistake in the case of such a lavish gold treasure as the one in question. Moreover, he had nothing to gain from falsifying the find spot at that time and under those circumstances. It shall later be shown that this hoard has strong affinities with the Dacian and Gepidic antiquities of Transylvania; Béla Pósta, who was working in Kolozsvár at that time, found nothing suspicious in Mojgrád as a find spot, and moreover purchased the find in view of its Transylvanian origins. Consequently, I too shall refer to this assemblage as the 'Mojgrád find'. I must again emphasize that in view of the dealer's shady role in this matter, I can only accept this find spot with reservations and in no way do I consider it absolutely certain. Consequently, this site cannot be used in statistical analyses, and we should thus only employ the term 'Mojgrád find' to ease the definition and quotation of the assemblage. No far-reaching conclusions can be based on it.

I had to speak of these circumstances at somewhat greater length since the Mojgrád treasure will undoubtedly be often discussed in the archaeological literature, and since future generations will judge this find on the basis of their own museum experiences in spite of the fact that its evaluation should be based on contemporary circumstances. I have no intention of rehabilitating Mauthner, who is no longer alive. . . . However, scientific principles demand that the truth be established and it happens to be my lengthy museum career that by and large coincided with Mauthner's activities, which compelled me to state the above. Should some new evidence about the find present itself, I am most willing to modify my opinion insofar as that is necessary. I doubt, however, whether there is any hope for this."

P. Patay: A tiszaszőlősi kincs (The Tiszaszőlős treasure). Jászkunság 2, no. 5 (October, 1955) 38-41.

Patay describes the find circumstances of the hoard on the basis of Tariczky's accounts and Rómer's list, and the path of the surviving finds to Vienna. Then—probably on the basis of his own fieldwork—he states that

"the memory of the fabulous gold treasure found over 120 years ago is still vivid in Tiszaszőlős.... Imre Boros, a junior clerk working in the local council, was told by his father (who would be 90 years old were he still alive) that the treasure had been found by a man called Herczeg, who sported the gold arm-ring on his staff... until another man saw him, snatched it away and ran off with it.

70-years-old Sándor Balogh had also heard of the Nagyaszópart treasure, but he recounted it as having been found in a large pot. The memory of the gold treasure had apparently slowly merged with tales of other spectacular gold finds.

When the gates of the Vienna treasury closed behind the Tiszaszőlős treasure, Hungarian archaeologists gradually lost sight of it. Even though one item-perhaps the most significant-was exhibited at the Exhibition of Goldsmiths' Art in 1884 in Budapest [here Pl. 9], the eminent scholars of that period had no way of recognising the importance of the unparalleled find. They nonetheless correctly assigned it to the prehistoric period on the basis of its execution. Austrian archaeologists similarly neglected the find, and it was thus slowly forgotten. . . . In 1878 Flóris Rómer made a list of the objects belonging to the assemblage on the basis of Tariczky's reports. Obviously, his description of these finds could not have been accurate, knowing that various rumours had begun to circulate about the fabulous find. All the same, the pieces kept in Vienna can be recognised from Rómer's account, and thus his list can still prove a starting point for further investigations." . . . Various analogies to this assemblage "most definitely imply that the Tiszaszőlős treasure had come to light from a grave, or several graves, of the Copper Age. ... The Tiszaszőlős treasure, which must have been an extraordinary jewellery hoard also by Copper Age standards, represented an immense wealth; its owner was in no way a file-and-rank member of his community, but one of its privileged leaders. The importance of the Tiszaszőlős treasure thus lies not only in the fact that it is one of the most impressive hoards of early gold jewellery, but also in that it is an early indication of the accumulation of wealth."

LXXVIII

1961

P. Patay: A bodrogkeresztúri kultúra temetői (Cemeteries of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture). *Rég. Füz.* II. 10 (1961) 83–84.

"48. Tiszaszöllős-Nagyaszópart.... The burial containing impressive gold finds came to light on August 13, 1839 at Tiszaszöllős-Nagyaszópart. A part of the gold finds perished, another part found its way into the Royal Treasury of Vienna in 1841. Even though mention of this assemblage can be found in the archaeological literature and one of its objects was also displayed at the Exhibition of Goldsmiths' Art in 1884 in Budapest [here Pl. 9], its real significance escaped scholarly attention until recently, when Milojčić published the surviving finds: a large gold pendant, two gold arm spirals and six gold beads.

The assemblage had originally contained considerably more finds; and according to Tariczky, who recorded the recollections of the finders, it had come to light from a grave. In view of its typological traits, its Copper Age dating is undeniable. We know that the grave also contained a large 'silex' and a metal knife-like artefact whose 'dagger blade was . . . in good condition' according to a contemporary report. The latter two were possibly a stone blade and a copper knife, not at all unusual in male burials of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The vessels from the burial had first passed into Tariczky,'s hands, and

then into the possession of the Tiszafüred museum. The museum has several Copper Age vessels in its collection; the ones inventorised under nos 52.5.1, 52.6.1 and 52.7.1 had been found at Tiszaszöllős-Legelőrét, and are part of the collection since 1874. Even though these apparently belong to the Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture, there are other vessels, clearly belonging to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, whose provenance is unknown. . . .

The Tiszaszöllős burial undoubtedly yielded one of the most outstanding finds of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture."

With a few exceptions, Fettich only published the front view of the various items of the Moigrad hoard in his 1953 study (e.g. the bird figurine shown in Pl. 14.1, which he published from three views, and the shaft mounts shown in Pl. 21.11). I have tried to compile and group the illustrations to this volume so as to give two views of each item. The gold sheets shown in Pl. 21.1–2, 3, 6, 9 are based on photos from the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum, which also include the back views that I have omitted, similarly as in the case of the Gepidic grave goods shown in Pl. 29. The respective inventory numbers could be sometimes established from the photos in the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum.

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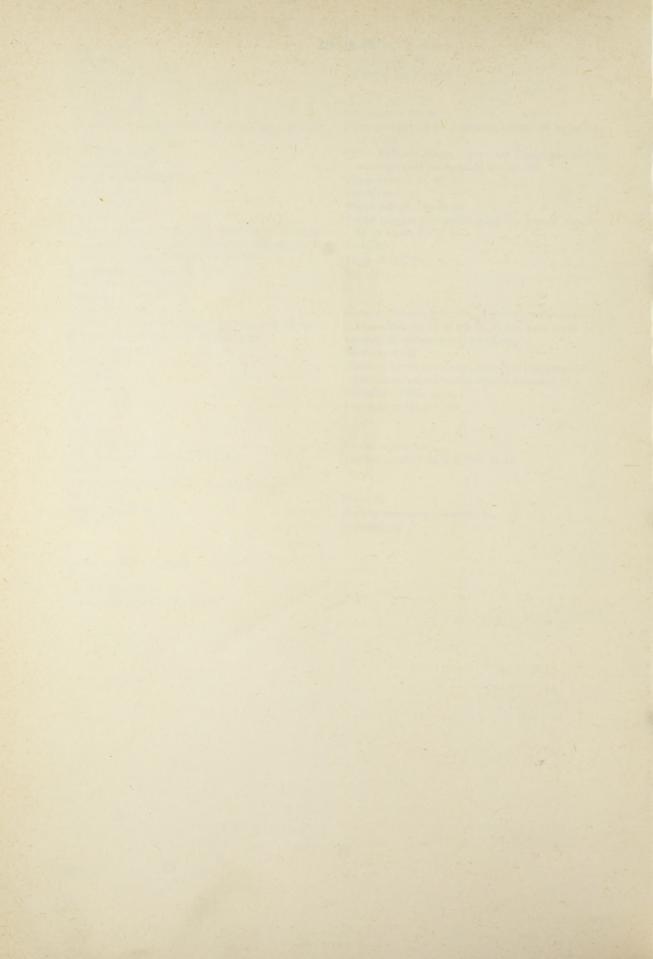
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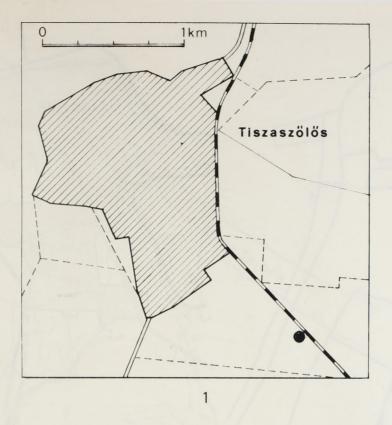
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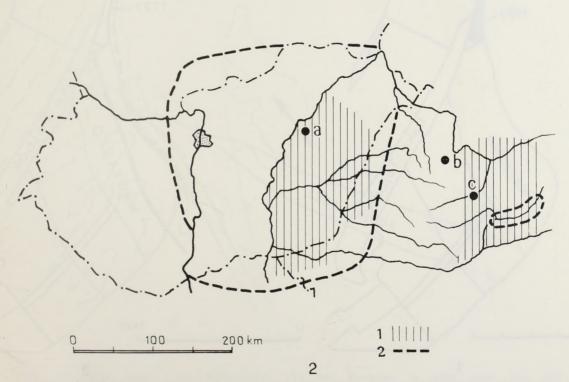
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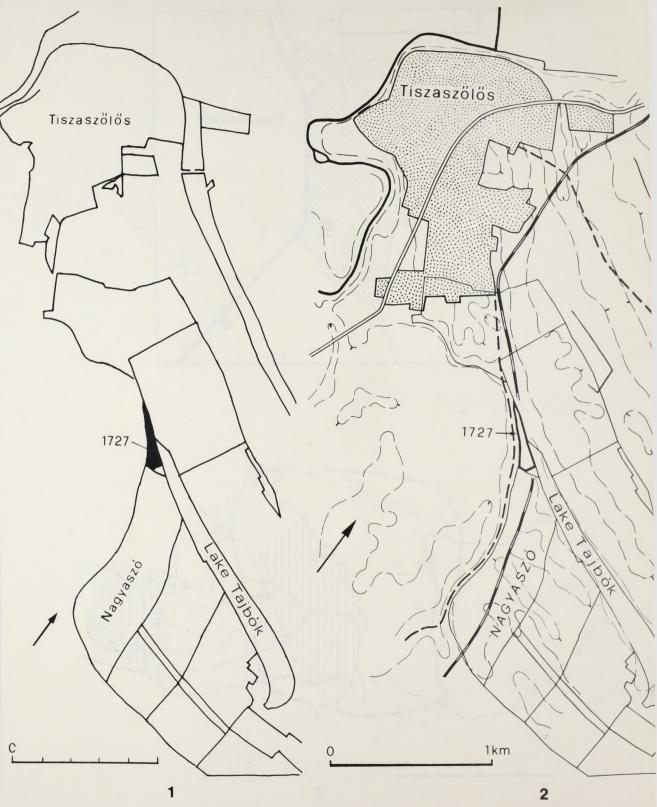
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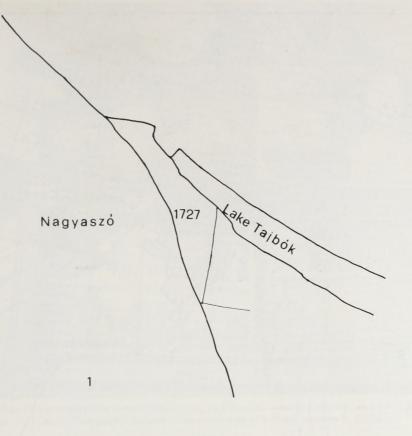


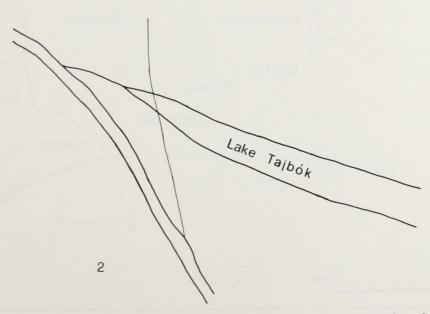


Pl. 1.1. Sketch of Tiszaszólós and its environs in 1969; 2. map of a part of Hungary and Transylvania. a. Tiszaszólós: b. Moigrad; c. Kolozsvár; 1. the tribal territory of the Gepids (after Bóna 1974)); 2. the boundary of the distribution territory of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture in the Great Hungarian Plain, and its 'Maros' group (after Patay (1975) supplement 1).

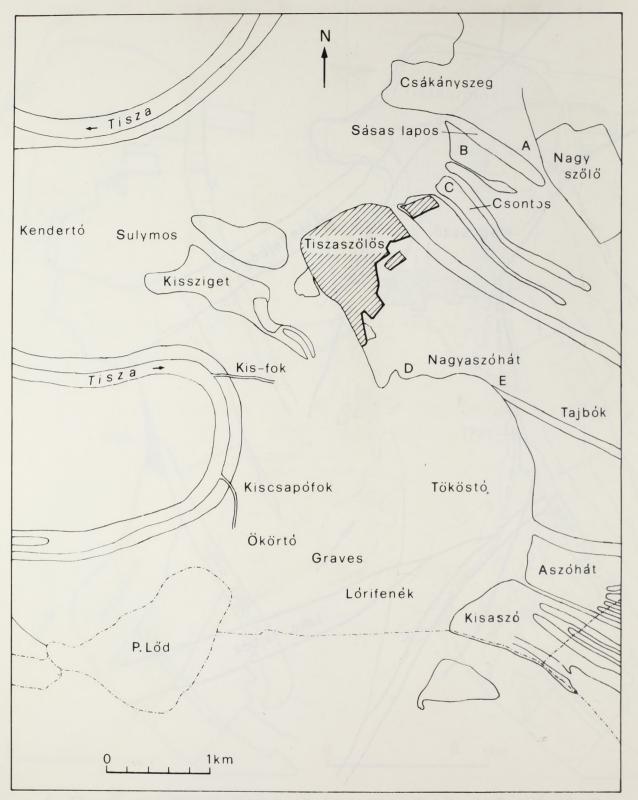


Pl.~2.1. Sketch of Tiszaszólós in 1858, showing Nagyaszó dúló and lot 1727 in the possession of Mrs Salamon Elek (after Doc. VII). The scale is in Vienna $\ddot{o}ls$ (1 $\ddot{o}l=1.83$ m); 2. The above sketch projected onto the 1969 map.





Pl. 3.1. Lake Tajbók, the Nagyaszópart and the floodplain in 1886 (after Doc. VII, U 396); 2. The same, in 1865 (after Doc. VII, U 394).



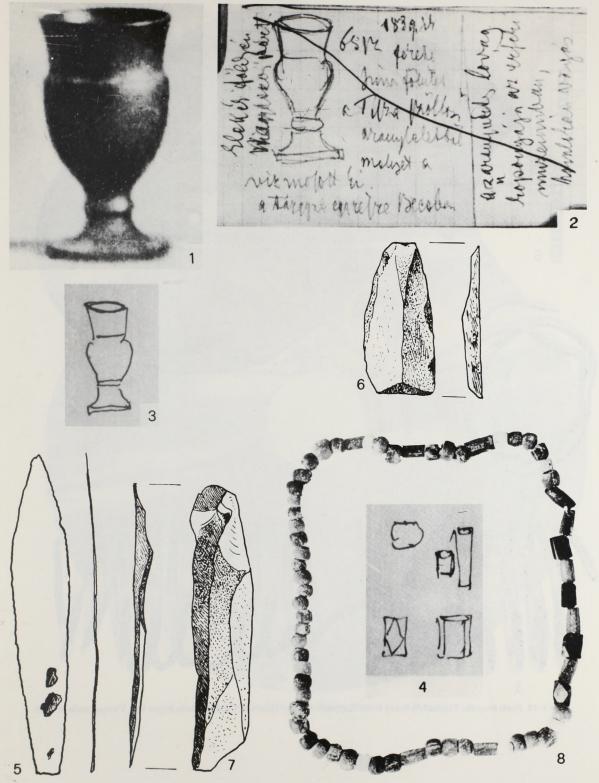
Pl. 4. Archaeological sites in the environs of Tiszaszólós as shown on E. Tariczky's map. A, B, D. Copper Age sites; E. the find spot of the burial of the 'gold-armoured knight'; graves (sírok): burials of unknown date; the other inscriptions are toponyms.



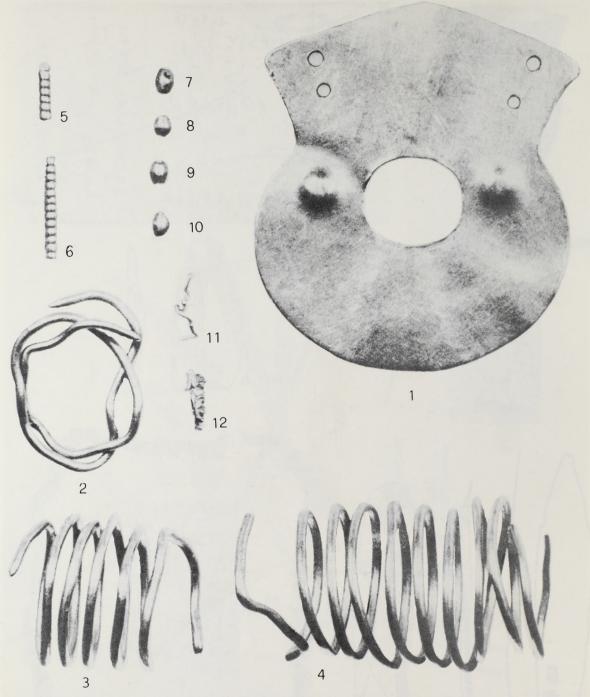
Pl. 5. The chalice found in 1839 in an archive photo showing finds from the Tiszafüred museum (after Doc. LXII, Tiszafüred museum, inv. no. 71.84.17; Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Institute, negative R. 55.718).



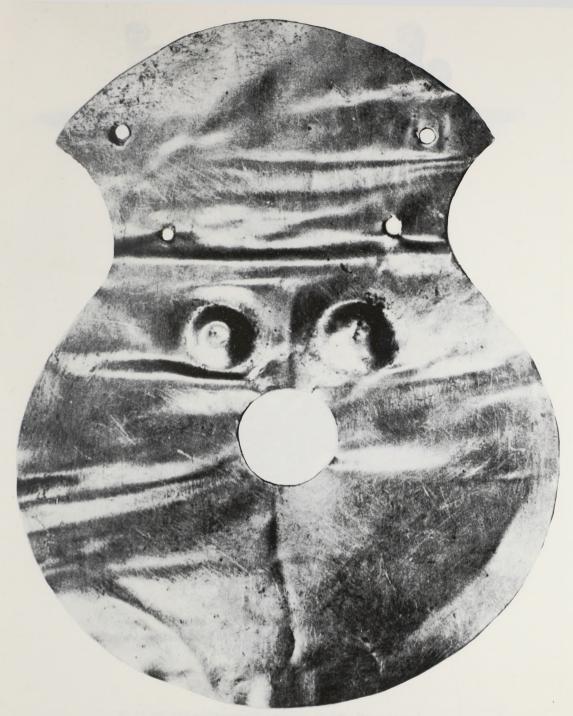
Pl.~6. The chalice found in 1839 on an archive photo showing finds from the Tiszafüred museum (after Doc. LXII, Tiszafüred museum, inv. no. 71.64.47; Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Institute, negative R. 55.717).



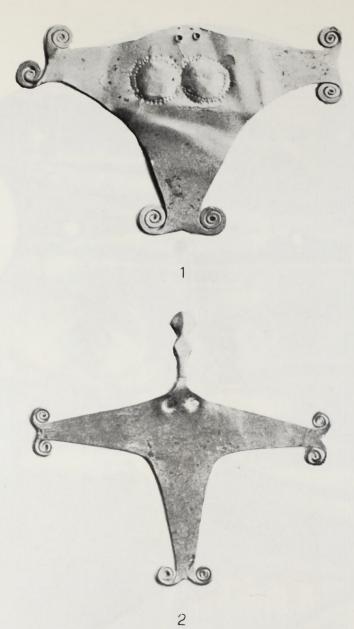
Pt. 7.1. The chalice found in 1839 (blow-up from Pl. 6); 2. sketch of the chalice in J. Hampel's manuscript (after Doc. LIX); 3. sketch of the chalice in J. Hampel's manuscript (after Doc. LVIII); 4. sketch of the beads found in 1839 in J. Hampel's manuscript (after Doc. LVIII); 5. copper blade from Tiszaszőlős, from the Copper Age burial uncovered in the brick-making factory (this site is not shown on the map reproduced in Pl. 4) (after Doc. XLV and XXIX); 6-7. flint blades from a Copper Age cemetery in the environs of Tiszaszőlős (after Doc. XLV); 8. beads from the Aszópart find donated to the Hungarian National Museum by Menyhért Elek (see Doc. V) (photograph courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum).



 $Pl.\,8.1-12.\ Finds\ from\ the\ Tiszasz\'ol\'os\ hoard\ in\ the\ Naturhistorisches\ Museum,\ Vienna\ (Photo\ Meyer\ KG,\ Vienna,\ made\ in\ 1982).$



Pl. 9. The large pendant of the Moigrad hoard (after Fettich).



 $Pl.\ 10.1\text{--}2.$ Two anthropomorphic pendants from the Moigrad hoard (courtesy of Gy. László).

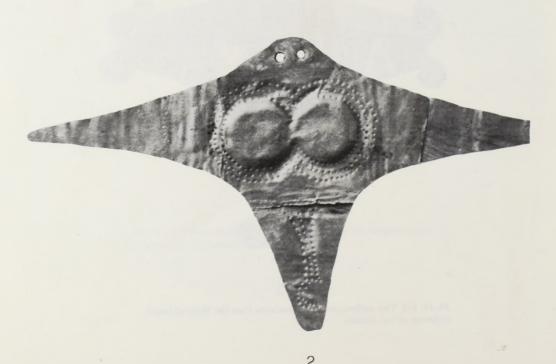




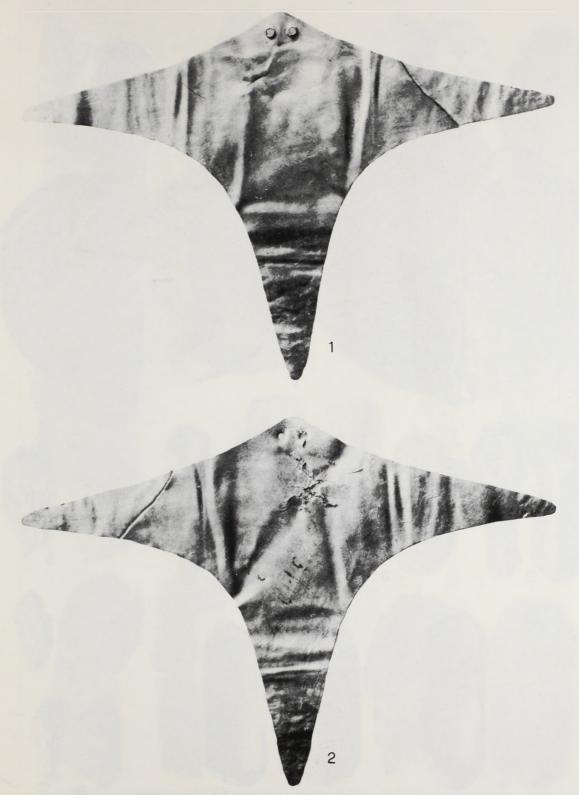
 $Pl.\ 11.\ 1-2.$ Two anthropomorphic pendants from the Moigrad hoard (courtesy of Gy. László).

2





 ${\it Pl.\,12.} \ {\it The\, anthropomorphic\, pendant\, from\, `Ercsi'.\, 1.\, Front\, view; 2.\, back\, view\, (see\, Doc.\, XLIX)\, (photo\, made\, in\, 1981,\, courtesy\, of\, the\, Hungarian\, National\, Museum).}$



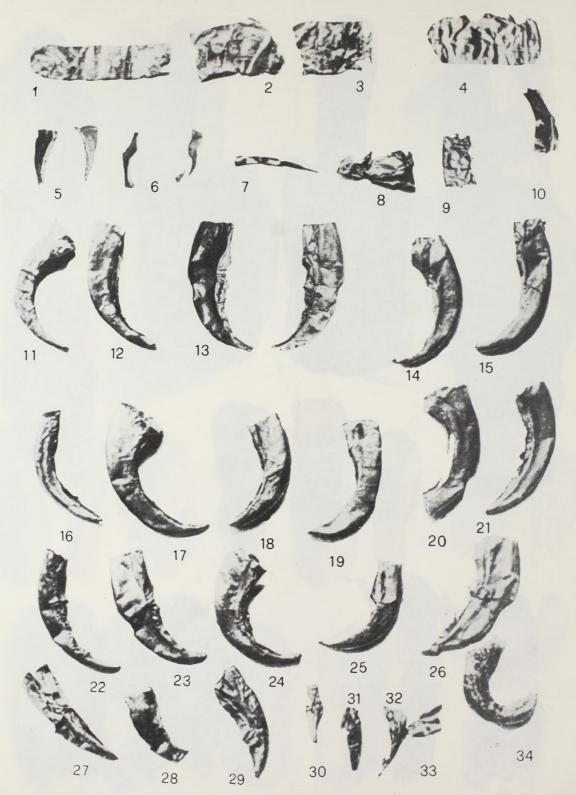
Pl. 13. Anthropomorphic pendant of unknown provenance in the Hungarian National Museum. 1. Front view; 2. back view (see Doc. LXIII and LXIV) (photo made in 1981, courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum).



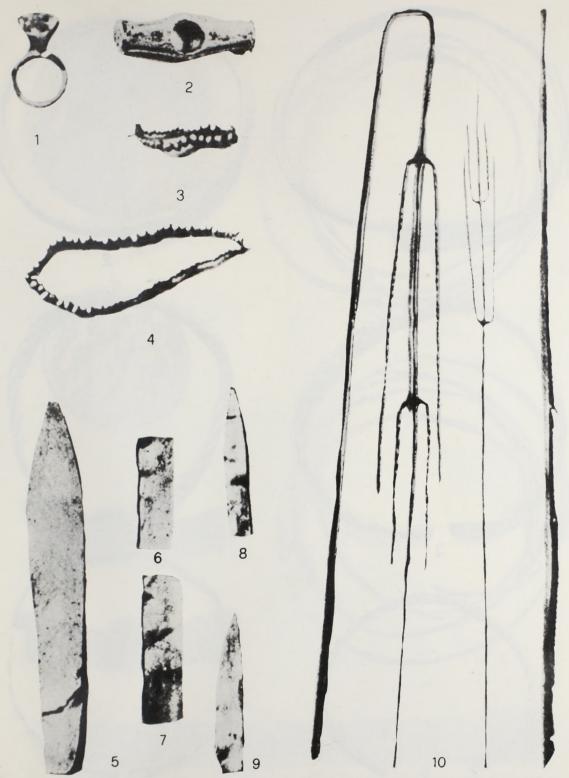
Pl. 14. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1. Bird-shaped figurine, front and back view; 2–9. duck's head shaped objects, front, back and side view (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



Pl. 15. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–8. A human bust and similar fragments of sheet gold, front and back view (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



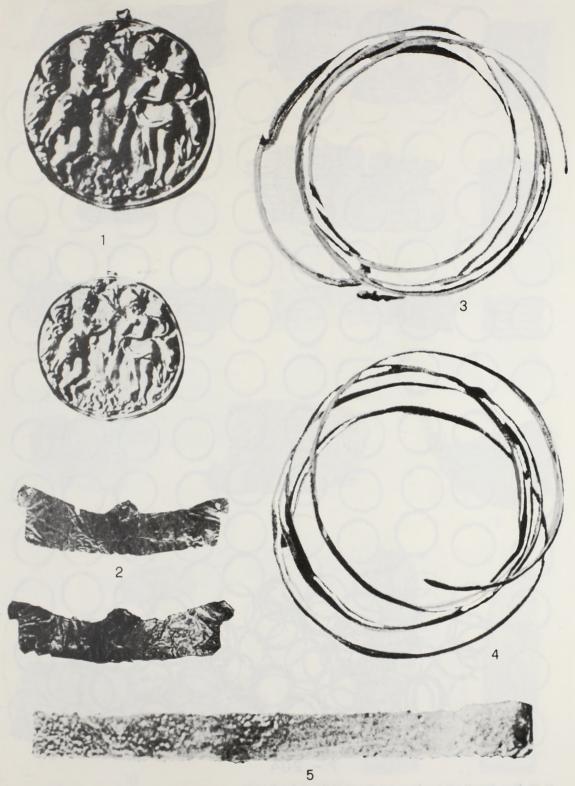
Pt. 16. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–4, 8–9. Ribbon fragments; 5–7, 11–34, the so-called 'claws' and their fragments, some shown from two views (5–6 and 13) — nos 13 and 23, 6 and 30, 5 and 32 are possibly identical items; 10. curved band of unknown function (nos 5–7, 10 and 13 are courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum, the rest are after Fettich).



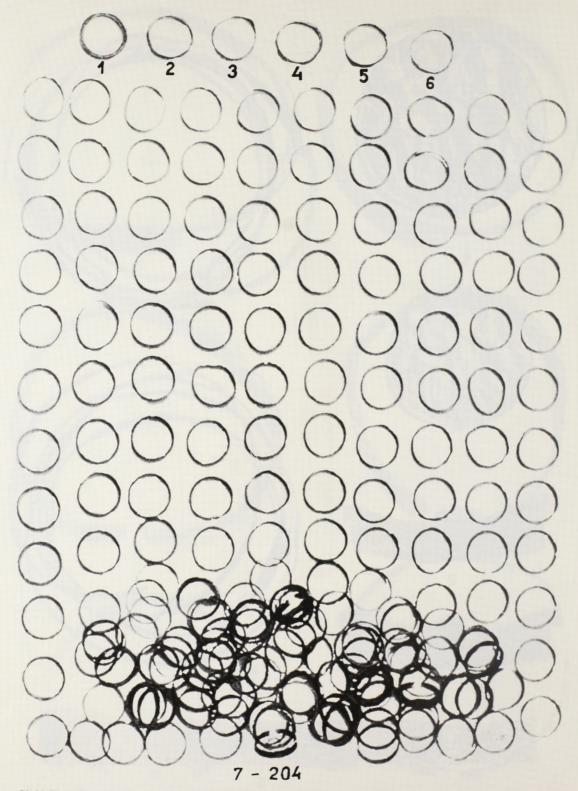
Pl. 17. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1. The small pendant; 2. the gold hammer; 3–4. beads; 5–9. flat knife-blade like artefacts; 10. the gold fork, bent, straightened, and detail of the fork (after Fettich).



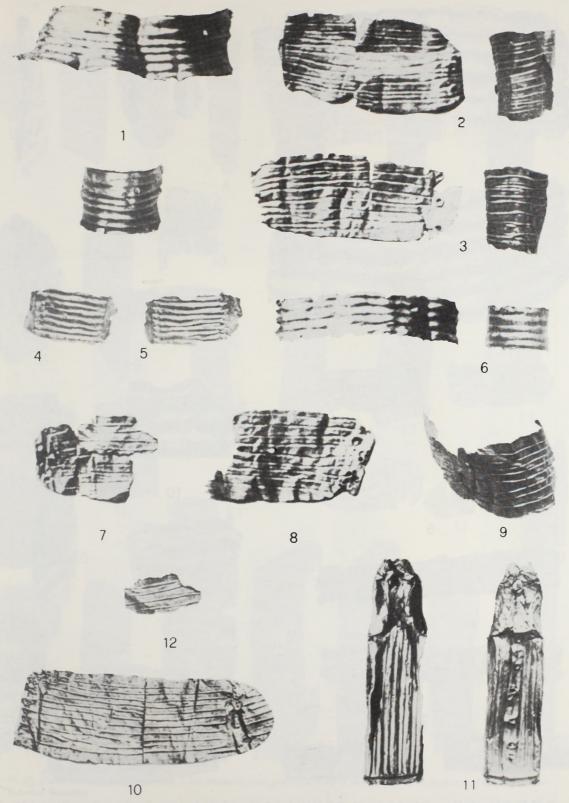
Pl. 18. 1–4. Arm-rings from the Moigrad hoard (after Fettich); 5. arm-ring from Gyulafehérvár in the Hungarian National Museum (Fettich (1953) Pl. LV. 3, and photograph made in 1981, courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum); 6. arm-ring of unknown provenance in the Hungarian National Museum (together with the pendant shown in Pl. 13. 1–2) (Doc. LXIII and LXIV; photograph made in 1981, courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



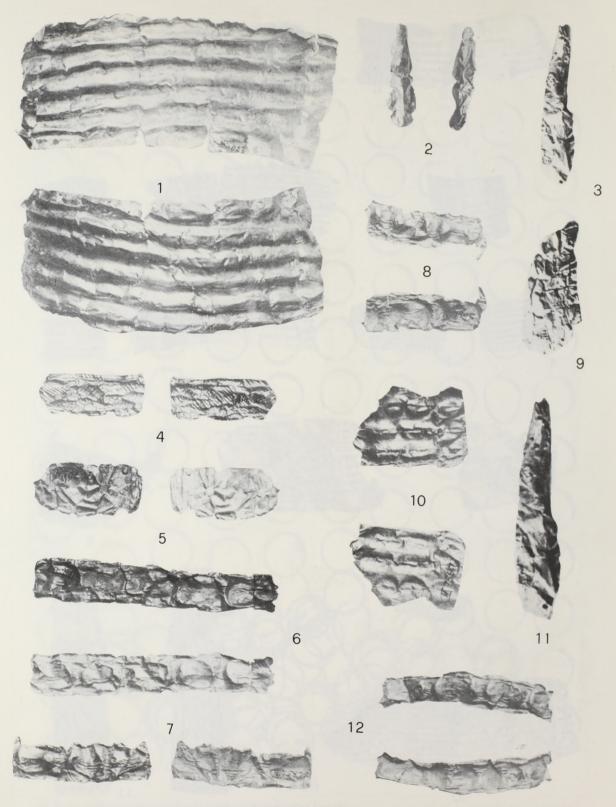
Pl. 19. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1. Disc ornamented with two putti (after Fettich, and courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum); 2. diadem-like ribbon (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum); 3–4. two fragments of an arm-spiral of ten twists; 5. gold bar (after Fettich).



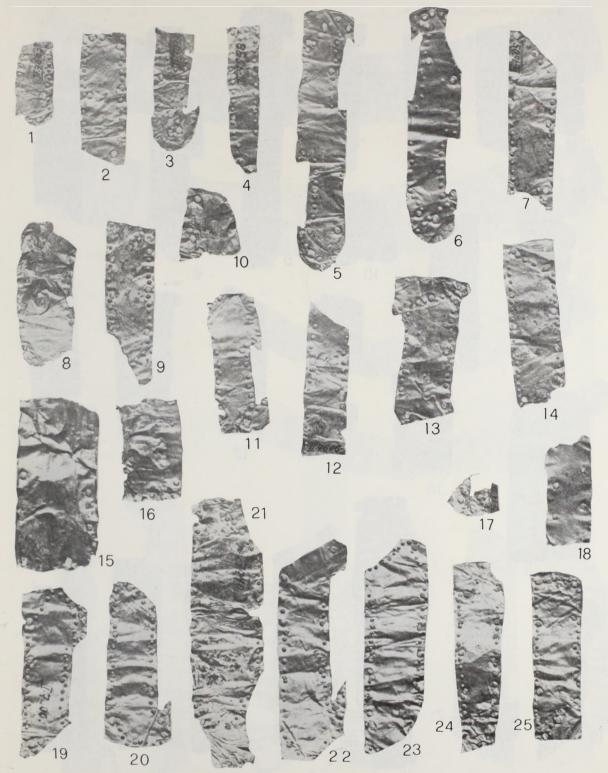
 $Pl.~2\theta.$ Finds from the Moigrad hoard, 1–204, Gold rings (after Fettich).



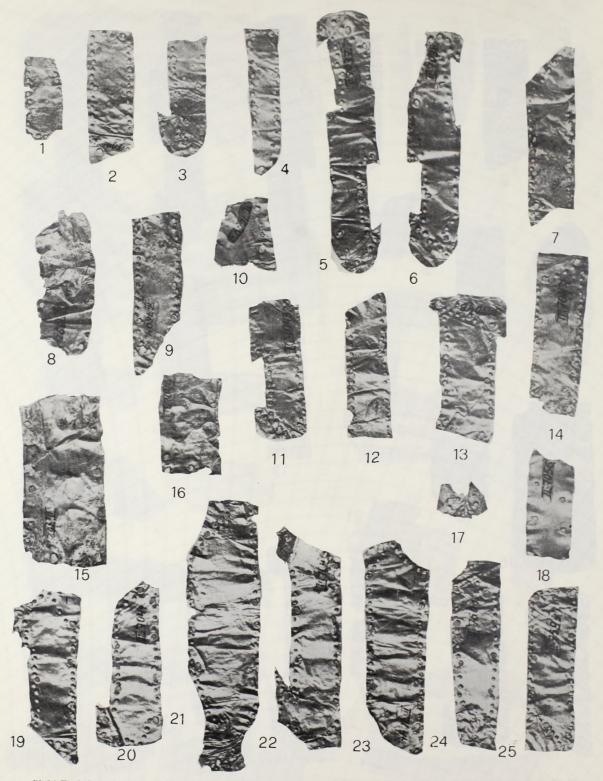
Pl. 21. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–9. Ribbons and bands—the cylinder jacket shaped pieces are probably shown in their original form (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum), while the flattened pieces probably reflect Fettich's activity (after Fettich); 10. similar flattened band in the Hungarian National Museum (Doc. LXXI) (photograph made in 1981, courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum); 11. the mounts of the assumed sceptre, two views (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum); 12. ribbon fragment, perhaps similar to nos 2–3, 7–8 and 10 (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



Pl.~22. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1, 4–8, 10, 12. Gold bands; 2–3, 11. artefacts of unknown function, perhaps claws; 9. gold band (nos 1–2, 4, 10 and 12 are shown from the front and the back view; nos 3 and 11 are identical) (nos 1–10 are courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum, no. 11 is after Fettich).



Pl. 23. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1-25. Strips of sheet gold (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



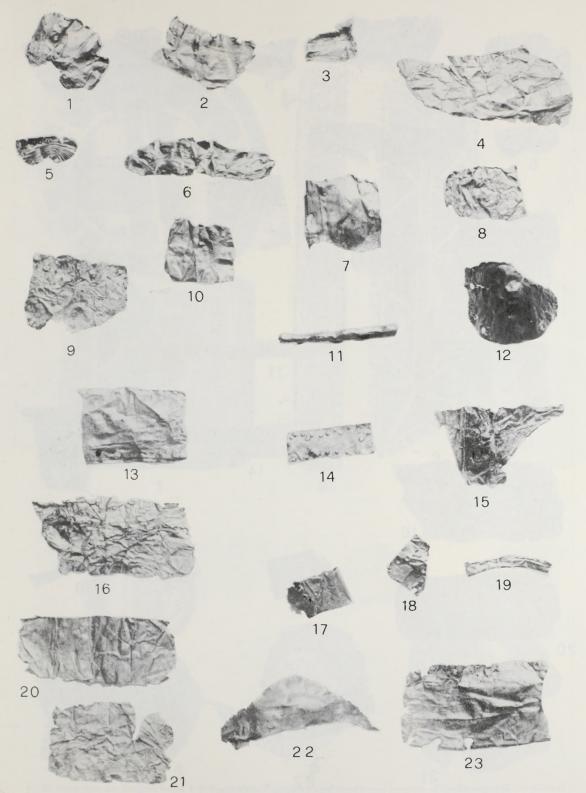
 $Pl.\,24$. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–25. Back view of the strips shown in Pl. 23 (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



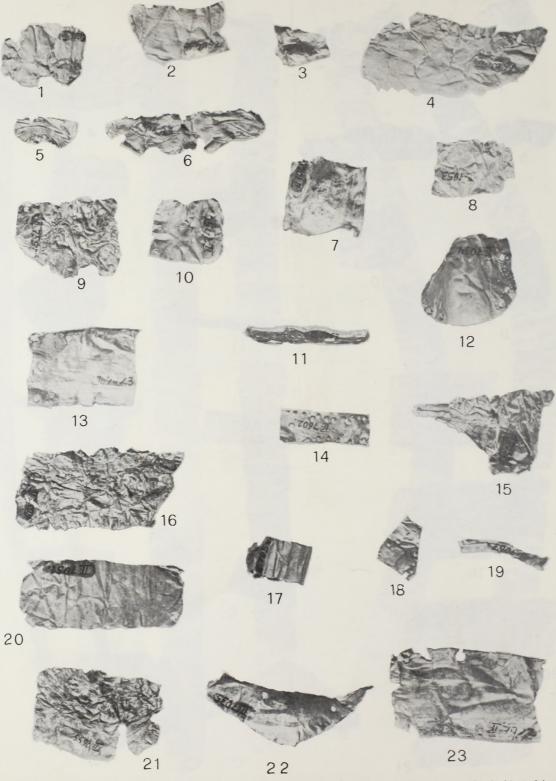
Pl. 25. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–2. Curved bands of sheet gold; 3. straight band of sheet gold; 4–5. ornaments of sheet gold (front and back view, courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



Pl. 26. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–6. Narrow strips of sheet gold (nos 1–2, 5–6 after Fettich, nos 3–4, courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



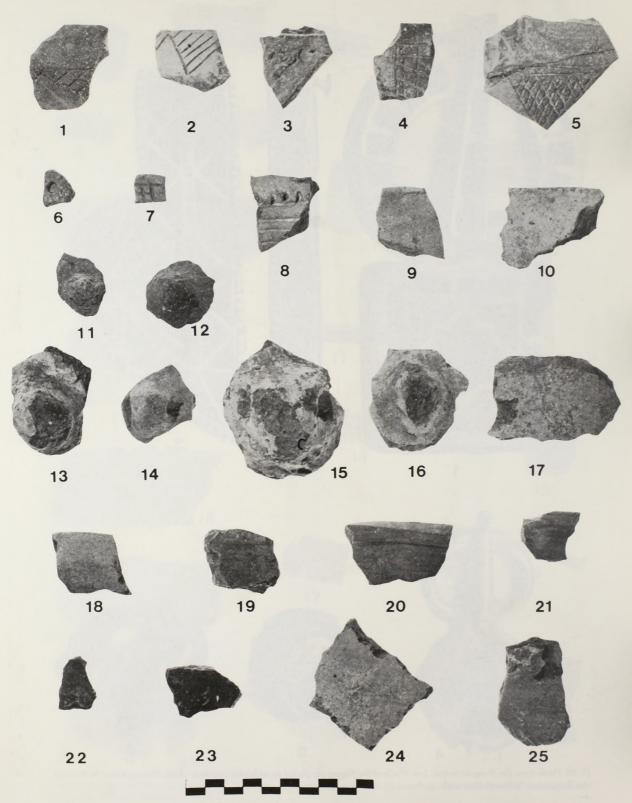
Pl. 27. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–23. Fragments of sheet gold, and artefacts of unknown function (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



 $Pl.\,28$. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–23. Back view of the items shown in Pl. 27 (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



 $Pl.\,29$. Finds from the Moigrad hoard. 1–6. Finds of the Migration period royal burial (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Hungarian National Museum).



Pl. 30. Tiszaszőlős-Aszópart, sherds collected from the area east of the railway line in 1981–1983. 1–17. Bodrogkeresztúr culture; 18–19. Late Bronze Age; 20–25. Late Bronze Age or Migration period (courtesy of the Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Institute).



Pl. 31. Tiszaszőlős-Aszópart, the area east of the railway line in winter, 1981–1982. 1. The railway embankment cutting across the northeastern end of Lake Tajbók, from the southeast (the area most thickly covered with snow is the basin of Lake Tajbók); 2. the basin of Lake Tajbók from the northwest, viewed from the railway embankment, with the deep ditch of the embankment in the foreground, and the bank of the canal dug in the 1960s in the background; 3. the basin of Lake Tajbók, viewed from the northwest, from the canal bank (photographs of the author, Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Institute, inv. no. 117.765, 117.769, 117.771 and 117.774; the sherds shown in Pl. 30. 1–17 were collected in the area between the basin of Lake Tajbók and the ditch alongside the railway embankment, between the basin, the embankment and the canal).



Pl. 32. Tiszaszőlős-Aszópart, from the west-south-west, viewed from the former floodplain, in November 1983. The two photos, made from a distance of ca. 300 m, show a 300 m long section of the Aszópart. To the left, the area where the railway line cuts across the former outlet Lake Tajbók to the floodplain. The grave of the 'gold-armoured knight' probably lay in the section of the Aszópart shown in the centre (photographs of the author, Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Institute).





