

FORGOTTEN ARTIFACTS. CELTIC OBJECTS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE GHERLA HISTORY MUSEUM

Abstract: The present paper wants to bring to the attention of researchers, who have as subject of study the material remains of the Iron Age communities from Transylvania, some objects kept in the collections of the Gherla History Museum (Cluj County). Therefore, in the centre of this paper are three objects – a bent sword, a slashing knife and a horse bit – that were part of the museum's permanent exhibition, but they did not attract so far the attention of any researcher. In the present state of research, no details are known regarding the date, the exact location and the context of discovery. The Register of Inventory only records the fact that the pieces were discovered in the area of the city of Gherla. The biggest concern about these objects is whether they were discovered together or are coming from two or three different contexts.

Keywords: *Iron Age, La Tène period, Celts, Eastern Carpathian Basin, Transylvania.*

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Both older, as well as some more recent works of the Romanian archaeological literature operate under rigid and outdated schemas, that divide the Late Iron Age period from Transylvania based on ethnic criteria. Therefore, *Celtic* period covers the chronological span dated between the 4th and the 2nd century BC, while the *Dacian* period stretches from the 2nd century BC until the beginning of the Roman administration in Dacia in 106AD. Before 1989, the majority of the studies regarding the Late Iron Age period were dedicated to the *Dacian* past or to contacts between the 'local *Dacians*' and the 'foreign *Celts*', as well as to the presumed assimilation of the later ones, a situation that can be explained by the progonoplexia developed by the National-Communist regime¹. The situation changed radically after the fall of the aforementioned political regime, or more precisely after the 2000s, when we can observe an exponential growth of studies regarding the *Celtic* materiality from the Eastern Carpathian Basin.

Today, it is a well-known fact that the archaeological practice is influenced by different contexts – historical, political, social or even ideological – that leave their marks to a lesser or greater extent on the activity of researchers or on their theories and hypotheses. In the present, we could say that the Iron Age *Celts* from Transylvania are bringing us closer to Europe, or rather that Europe is more interested in the archaeology from Romania, precisely because of the *Celtic* discoveries from Transylvania. A proof in this aspect is offered by several artifacts that speak about some pan-

¹ BOIA 2001.

European connections in the Late Iron Age period², but also the international colloquia and symposia who deal especially with the *Celtic* presence from Central and Eastern Europe.

The present paper can be included in the same line of studies related to *Celtic* discoveries from the Eastern Carpathian Basin and wishes to present three objects kept in the collections of the Gherla History Museum (Cluj County). The three objects – a bent iron sword (inventory no. 2435), a slashing knife (inventory no. 2346) and a horse bit (inventory no. 706) –, were part of the museum's permanent exhibition, but they did not receive the well-deserved attention from scholars and researchers. Unfortunately, in the present state of research, no information is known regarding the date, the exact location and the context of discovery. Moreover, the Register of Inventory offers few details in this aspect, the only useful information is that the objects were discovered in the area of the city of Gherla. The biggest concern about these objects is whether they were discovered together or come from two or three different funeral contexts. However, some information offered by scholars from the late 19th century and early 20th century could be important for a possible contextualization of the discoveries.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS AND COMMENTS:

1. The bent sword (Fig. 1/2)

The sword is made out of iron and is preserved in two fragments. The first fragment that is composed of the hilt and a large part of the blade has a length of 48, 2 cm, while the second fragment has only 31, 2 cm. Thus, the sword had an initial length of 79, 4 cm. The sword's point is V-shaped, has 68, 4 cm in length and presents a lenticular cross-section. The maximum width of the blade is 4 cm. The tang of the sword has a total length of 11 cm and for the greater part presents a rectangular profile, while to the ends it transforms to a squarish profile. The tang is surmounted by an ornamented double knob or pommel, 1 cm in height and 0, 8 cm in diameter.

Swords are frequently found among the discoveries from the Eastern Carpathian Basin in the Middle La Tène period. Besides their symbolic role – the majority of scholars see them as an insignia of power – swords are a good chronological indicator. In the earlier phases of the La Tène period, swords were in general short and had sharp points, while in the latter phases they became longer with rounded points. This functional evolution shows the way in which the swords were used – those from the Late Iron Age period ceased to be stabbing weapons and began to be used as slashing weapons³.

According to the last repertoire made in 2008, around 30 swords were known in the Eastern Carpathian Basin, dated between LTB2A – LTC1 phases⁴. The repertoire I made lead me to the identification of 26 localities from Transylvania, where swords were discovered (see Map 1 and List 1). However, taking into account the current state of research and especially the scarce publication of archaeological

information, it is rather difficult to give an exact number of swords discovered in the Eastern Carpathian Basin.

In some cases we know with certainty that more swords have been discovered in one place. Thus, from the necropolises of Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County), *Dâmbu Popii*⁵ and *Dealul Iușului / La Gâță*⁶ six swords are known. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century three swords were recovered from the two necropolises of Aiud⁷ (Alba County), among which there was a sword with its scabbard decorated with a pair of confronted dragons⁸. More recently, other four swords were discovered at Gâmbaș⁹ (Alba County), an archaeological site situated near the city of Aiud.

Three swords were mentioned at Apahida¹⁰ (Cluj County), one of them – nowadays lost – comes from a chieftain's grave¹¹ recorded on 27th of March 1900. Also three swords were discovered at Dipșa (Bistrița-Năsăud County), in two different points, two swords from *Totenberg*¹² and one in the topographical point known as *Belitoarea*¹³. Finally, at Heria¹⁴ (Alba County) two other accidentally discovered swords were mentioned in the archaeological literature.

In other cases, just like the ones from Archiud¹⁵, Cepari¹⁶ (both in Bistrița-Năsăud County) and Viștea¹⁷ (Cluj County), due to brief mentions or unpublished archaeological research, the exact number of swords cannot be identified. However, around 50 swords were documented in the Eastern Carpathian Basin, dated in the middle phases of the La Tène period.

Two things are worth mentioning about the sword kept in the collections of the Gherla History Museum. First, the fact that both the tang and the blade were bent; actually, the blade was bent twice. The practice of intentional destruction or voluntary deformation of weapons, especially swords, either before they were put in burials as grave goods or in special places as votive deposits, has often attracted the attention of different generations of scholars and researchers. Until quite recent, it was believed that this practice is characteristic to the *Celtic* world. However, the

⁵ Burials no. 1, 2, 17, 28 and 41: DĂNILĂ 1971, 59-60; CRIȘAN 1975, 185; DĂNILĂ 1978, 259, Fig. 2/1; BERECKI 2015, 23, Fig. 20, 119-121.

⁶ Burial no. 15 – VAIDA 2006a, 302, no. 5/c; VAIDA 2008, 240, Photo 3; BERECKI 2015, 125.

⁷ HERPEY 1901, 75-76, 97-98, XX Tábla/219-221; ROSKA 1929, 82-86, Fig. 2. Kép/1a-1b; ROSKA 1942, 188-191, 228. Kép/1a-1b; POPESCU 1944, 655; ROSKA 1944, 65, no. 88, Fig. 34. Kép/1a-1b, Fig. 35. Kép/1-3; ZIRRA 1971, Abb. 3/24a; CRIȘAN 1973a, 50-51, no. 1; CRIȘAN 1974, 74-76, 81, Fig. 1/, Pl. 1/1, Pl. 3/1-2; FERENCZ 2007a, 124-125, Pl. 11, 12/3, 17; FERENCZ 2007b; BERECKI 2015, 95.

⁸ FERENCZ 2007b.

⁹ BĂLAN *et alii* 2015, 143, Pl. 13/6.

¹⁰ KOVÁCS 1911, 37, 41/4. Kép, 43/1. Kép; POPESCU 1944, 650; CRIȘAN 1973a, 39, Pl. 14/7, 15/9; ZIRRA 1976, 135, Fig. 6/2; 144, 145, Fig. 14/1; BERECKI 2015, 107-109.

¹¹ The more recent re-examination of the chieftain's grave from Apahida in RUSTOIU/BERECKI 2019.

¹² NESTOR 1937-1940, 181; HOREDȚ 1941-1944, 198, Abb. 5/3, 8; POPESCU 1944, 648; ROSKA 1944, 56, no. 25; ZIRRA 1971a, 203, note 139, Abb. 18/14, 16, VAIDA 2006a, 300-301, no. 4, Fig. 5/7-8; BERECKI 2015, 129.

¹³ ZIRRA 1974, 141-142, Fig. 3/1; VAIDA 2006a, 300-301, no. 4, Fig. 6/1; BERECKI 2015, 141.

¹⁴ ROSKA 1942, 104, no. 11; POPESCU 1944, 648; ROSKA 1944, 59, no. 39; CRIȘAN 1973, 57-58, no. 31; BERECKI 2015, 141.

¹⁵ MARINESCU, GAIU 1983, 131; BERECKI 2015, 117.

¹⁶ ROSKA 1944, 55, no. 20; BERECKI 2015, 131.

¹⁷ BERECKI 2015, 103.

² GINOUX *et alii* 2014.

³ RAPIN 1999.

⁴ BERECKI 2008, 54.

most recent re-evaluations made in this aspect, have shown that weapons were bent or deformed as part of different funerary practices both in pre- and post-Celtic horizons until Early Medieval Period¹⁸. This ritual is documented for other regions too, namely Africa and Oceania¹⁹.

Returning to the Iron Age period, in some cases, like the one at Gournay-sur-Aronde (France), the intentional destruction of weapons has been successfully demonstrated²⁰, but in many other cases several questions have been raised regarding this funerary custom. In the present state of research it is rather difficult to give a univocal answer because the opinions expressed in the archaeological literature are mostly divergent. In the first category, practical reasons can be mentioned: the weapons were destroyed to prevent a possible robbery, or because long weapons like swords, were too big to fit in the cremation burials²¹. But, a close insight into the incineration funeral contexts shows that the burial pits were in general oval and rectangular in shape, sufficiently large in size, allowing the deposition of a long sword without being bent. Moreover, the practice was applied in some cases to inhumation burials as well²². We could also add the fact that swords were personal items and were not transmitted to successors. However, an example from the necropolis of Pişcolt (Satu Mare County) seems to contradict the aforementioned idea. More precisely, the scabbard of the sword discovered in the burial no. 40²³ seems to have been decorated in three successive stages, without any connection between them, which might suggest that the sword was transmitted from an individual to another²⁴. Also here it could be added the famous sword from Kirkburn burial (United Kingdom), redecorated and repaired several times²⁵.

In the second category, corresponding to symbolic reasons, the explanations offered in the archaeological literature will take us to the realm of mystical and religious motivations, or even superstitions. Some scholars considered that some of the weapons were invested with magical and supernatural powers or that they even had their own soul which was 'killed' together with the owner²⁶.

However, present-day archaeology has shown that in different communities, from different periods of time, the funerary practices were accompanied by a detailed scenario played by the livings for the livings, implying grave goods, certain types of behaviour, mourners, feasts etc.²⁷ Taking into account these constant re-evaluations in the domain of funerary archaeology, it is possible that the voluntary destruction or deformation of weapons performed in front of an audience was part of this type of scenario. Besides the fact that this practice offered a visual representation, it was also a public display of power, prestige and status for those who carried out the burial. Regarding the same practice, more recent papers are using forensics methods, namely

traceology, in order to differentiate between traces that can be attributed to fighting (hurting or killing an opponent that would have resulted in the deformation of weapons) and those caused by deliberate destruction²⁸.

Returning to the eastern Carpathian Basin in the Middle La Tène period, bent or destroyed iron swords were discovered at Aiud²⁹ (Alba County), Band³⁰ (Mureş County), Dipşa – Totenberg³¹, Orosfaia – Dealul Gropilor³² (both in Bistriţa-Năsăud County), Gâmbaş³³ (Alba County) and also from the well-known burial at Silivaş³⁴ (Alba County). The majority of these swords were discovered accidentally, therefore any information regarding the rite, ritual and the associate inventory are basically missing. The only exceptions are offered by the swords archaeologically discovered at Orosfaia and Gâmbaş. In the burial no. 2 from Orosfaia – Dealul Gropilor, dated in LTC1 based on the inventory, the sword and its scabbard were actually rolled over four times³⁵. At Gâmbaş – site 2, in the burial no. 20, the sword was bent together with its scabbard decorated with two stylised affronted dragons³⁶.

Moreover, intentionally deformed or destroyed swords were also included in the funerary inventory of the so-called chariot burials from Transylvania: Cristuru Secuiesc – Csűrösolda³⁷ (Harghita County) and Toarcia – Kuhbüchel³⁸ (Braşov County). The relevant archaeological details are missing in the case of the burial from Toarcia that was accidentally discovered at the end of the 19th century. Unfortunately, the burial from Cristuru Secuiesc was recovered in similar conditions, at the beginning of the 20th century. However, published data indicates that the sword was deposited over the big vessel (urn) in which the cremated bones and the grave goods were discovered³⁹.

The second aspect that deserves to be mentioned regarding the sword from Gherla refers to the pommel. As it has been already stated the pommel looks like a circular double knob separated by an embossed nervure. Moreover, both the upper and lower parts were decorated. The upper part present S motifs winding into tight spirals and exaggerated swellings (two on each part), while the edges of the inferior part are delimitedated through incised lines. This

²⁸ REICH 2017.

²⁹ Three swords: HEREPEY 1901, 98, XX. Tábla/220-221; ROSKA 1929, 82-86, Fig. 2. Kép/1a-1b; ROSKA 1942, 188-191, 228. Kép/1a-1b; ROSKA 1944, 65, no. 88, Fig. 34. Kép/1a-1b, Fig. 35. Kép/2-3; CRIŞAN 1974, Fig. 1/, Pl. 1/1, Pl. 3/1; FERENCZ 2007a, 124-125, Pl. 11, 12/3, 17; FERENCZ 2007b, 74, Fig. 2.

³⁰ KOVÁCS 1913, 278, 7. Kép.

³¹ Two swords: HOREDT 1941-1944, 198, Abb. 5/3, 8; ZIRRA 1971a, 203, note 139, Abb. 18/14.

³² VAIDA 2000, 136, Fig. 6/9; VAIDA 2006a, 303, Fig. 14/7.

³³ BĂLAN et alii 2015, 143.

³⁴ ROSKA 1925, 210, Abb. 1; PÂRVAN 1926, Pl. 26, Fig. 1; MÁRTON 1933-1934, 161, Taf. 57; ROSKA 1942, 210, no. 33, 249. Kép; ROSKA 1944, 66, no. 96, Fig. 38. Kép; FERENCZ 2007a, 45, no. 21, Pl. 61. For the entire history of the so-called burial from Silivaş, see RUSTOIU 2013.

³⁵ VAIDA 2000, 136, Fig. 6/9; VAIDA 2006a, 303, no. 8, Fig. 14/7.

³⁶ BĂLAN et alii 2015, 143.

³⁷ ROSKA 1927-1932, 359, Fig. 1/1-1a; NESTOR 1932, 154; MÁRTON 1933-1944, 161-162, Taf. 57/1-1a; ROSKA 1942, 269, no. 178, 322. Kép/1-1a; POPESCU 1944, 645; ROSKA 1944, 70, no. 128, Fig. 47. Kép/1-1a; FERENCZ 1997, 5, Pl. 1/1-2; BERECKI 2015, 91.

³⁸ HOREDT 1941-1944, 189-194, Abb. 1/2-3; ROSKA 1942, 128, no. 189; ROSKA 1944, 60, no. 54; BERECKI 2015, 89.

³⁹ ROSKA 1927-1932, 359.

¹⁸ See especially MÂNDESCU 2012.

¹⁹ BERECKI 2006, 64, note 71 with further bibliography.

²⁰ BRUNAU/RAPIN 1988; LEJARS 1994.

²¹ A discussion in RAPIN 1993.

²² RUSTOIU 2008, 91.

²³ NÉMETI 1992, 62-65, Fig. 3/5, 5a-b.

²⁴ RUSTOIU 2008, 93-94.

²⁵ GILLES 2008.

²⁶ BERECKI 2006, 64; RUSTOIU 2008, 91; MÂNDESCU 2012, 347.

²⁷ See especially PARKER PEARSON 1999.

work of art has a baroque appearance, flamboyant and even grotesque, the spirals and the buttons are evoking a bird head – probably an owl. (Fig. 2/1)

In the Carpathian Basin, several swords with decorated pommel are known. The first category includes pommels decorated with simple or more complex lines, geometric or vegetal motifs like those from Bölske – Madocsahegy⁴⁰, Budapest – Csepel Island⁴¹, Kosd⁴² (all in Hungary), Detva⁴³ and Drňa / Darnya-Birinyi Part⁴⁴ (both in Slovakia). The second category can be attributed to pommels that feature anthropomorphic representations. The most suggestive examples are coming from Szob⁴⁵, Tapolca – Szentkut⁴⁶ (Hungary) and Kupinovo⁴⁷ (Serbia) (Fig. 2/2-4). The majority of scholars invested them with apotropaic meanings, but their symbolism could be more complex and different from one community to another⁴⁸.

Returning to our piece, stylistically speaking this pommel resembles the Plastic Style first defined by Paul Jacobsthal⁴⁹. As the name implies, Plastic Style is characterised by three-dimensional and relief forms. Moreover, as Jacobsthal observed, there is 'no clear borderline between decoration and what it decorates ... cut off the spirals and you cut into the flesh'⁵⁰. Scholars did not reach a common opinion regarding the origins and the evolution of this style, it owed a debt to the previous styles, the Early Style and to the Waldalgesheim Style, but also to the Mediterranean world. From the first one, it acquired a distinctive treatment of animal and human heads, from the second one, it borrowed a disregard for symmetry, while from the Mediterranean world, especially the Hellenistic art, owes its three-dimensional character. However, the majority of them considered that the Plastic Style represents an almost 'baroque' phase of the *Celtic Art*⁵¹. But Plastic Style also brought forward a cartoon-like technique in rendering animal and bird's heads that J. V. S. Megaw referred to as 'Disney Style'⁵². In a more recent paper, Laurent Olivier and Phillippe Charlier⁵³ presented an alternative reading. Discussing the group of mounts discovered near Paris, decorated in Plastic Style, the authors considered that the contortions display characteristic signs of medical conditions known in the medical literature as Parry-Romberg and Goldenhar syndromes. 'Disney Style' does not simply represent a cartoonist-like technique of abstraction, but rather a more meaningful approach to represent the human and the inhuman condition.

⁴⁰ SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 86, cat. 6, Pl. 8.

⁴¹ HORVÁRTH M. 2016, 149, Pl. 12/2.

⁴² SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 100, cat. 67, Pl. 70.

⁴³ SANKOT 2005, 139, Fig. 2/1.

⁴⁴ SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 103-104, cat. 82, Pl. 84-85.

⁴⁵ SZABÓ 1989, 120-121, Fig. 2/1; SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 100, cat. 68, Pl. 71-72, Ill. 8.

⁴⁶ SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 101, cat. 72, Pl. 75/1.

⁴⁷ SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 113, cat. 126, Pl. 118/3; DRNIĆ 2015, 8, 23, Fig. 4/3.

⁴⁸ See especially DRNIĆ 2015, 23 with further bibliography.

⁴⁹ JACOBSTAHL 1944, 97-103.

⁵⁰ JACOBSTAHL 1944, 97.

⁵¹ BUCHSENSCHUTZ 2007, 155: 'Les motifs se développent largement dans les trois dimensions de l'espace, la complexité des symétries donne une impression de déséquilibre ou de mouvement rotatif, la multiplicité des détails est exubérante, baroque.'

⁵² MEGAW 1970.

⁵³ OLIVIER/CHARLIER 2008.

The Plastic Style is found both in East and West, but reaches its most extravagant forms in central and eastern Europe. The importance of the Plastic Style in the central regions of Europe, Bohemia and Moravia, has been largely established through the analysis of Venceslas Kruta⁵⁴, whose chronology and division have been widely accepted by other scholars⁵⁵. According to Kruta, the first phase of the Bohemian Plastic Style originated from types associated with the Duchcov-Münsingen horizon, in the later 4th century BC, while the second phase, characterised by a wider range of types, started around the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. In the analysis proposed by the aforementioned author, the Bohemian Plastic Style comes to an end before the apparition of the late La Tène oppida.

In the Carpathian Basin this style is closely related to the LT B2 and LT C1 phases⁵⁶. Because Plastic Style is expressed in everyday personal objects or dress accessories, such as brooches or bracelets, Miklós Szabó was talking about a 'democratisation' of ornaments within the *Celtic communities*⁵⁷. Some examples from the Eastern Carpathian Basin seem to confirm the remark of the Hungarian scholar. Significant in this aspect are the brooches, bracelets or finger rings from Ațel-Brateiu⁵⁸ (Sibiu County), Curtuișeni⁵⁹, Săcueni⁶⁰ (both in Bihor County) and Pișcolt⁶¹ (Satu Mare County). Instead, other pieces worked in the Plastic Style were discovered in contexts that illustrate a special identity of the deceased. First of all, there should be mentioned two bronze casting appliques from the chain mail discovered in the warrior burial from Ciumești⁶² (Satu Mare County). Secondly, a stylistically similar button was mentioned in the chariot-burial from Cristuru Secuiesc⁶³. Interpreted initially as a decorative lynch pin from a wagon, according to the last re-evaluation the piece belongs more probably to a harness mount⁶⁴. In addition to these, we could also mention two bronze discs kept in the collections of Mureș County Museum⁶⁵. Even if the discs do not have a clear context of discovery they seem to reflect a superior social status.

In the absence of a clear context of discovery, as well as other inventory items, it is difficult to establish the chronology of the sword kept in the collections of Gherla History Museum. Moreover, the decoration of the pommel does not help us in this aspect, because this artistic style is widely generalized in space and time. However, as Sándor Berecki remarked, discussing the bronze discs from Târgu Mureș, such type of objects are the creation of artisans accustomed with the technologies of the Plastic Style from

⁵⁴ KRUTA 1973.

⁵⁵ See especially SZABÓ 1989.

⁵⁶ SZABÓ 1989, 19.

⁵⁷ SZABÓ 1989, 19; SZABÓ/PETRES 1992, 57.

⁵⁸ TELEAGĂ 2015, 259, cat. Z 2.2, Taf. 4/ Z 2.2; 261, cat. AB 2, Taf. 8/2-3; 261, cat. AB 4-5, Taf. 8/7-13.

⁵⁹ TELEAGĂ 2008, 130, cat. 2.10, Taf. 2/2.10, 17/6; 133, cat. 6.16, Taf. 5/6.16, 17/4; 134, cat. 8.5, Taf. 7/8.5, 17/9.

⁶⁰ NÁNASI 1973, 31, no. 6, Pl. 5/7; TELEAGĂ 2008, 137, cat. 15.7, Taf. 11/15.7, 17/23.

⁶¹ NÉMETHI 1993, 122, 128, Fig. 2/7.

⁶² RUSU 1969, 276, Abb. 5; RUSU/BANDULA 1970, 7-8, Pl. 8, 14.

⁶³ ROSKA 1927-1932, 359, Fig. 1/8-8a; MÁRTON 1933-1944, 161-162, Taf. 57/8-8a; ROSKA 1942, 269, no. 178, 322. Kép/8-8a; ROSKA 1944, 70, no. 128, Fig. 47. Kép/8-8a; FERENCZ 1997, 5, Pl. 1/10.

⁶⁴ BERECKI 2010, 71.

⁶⁵ BERECKI 2010.

the La Tène B2 period (approximately the 3rd century BC)⁶⁶. Therefore, our sword can be dated in the LTB2 and LTC1 phases.

2. The slashing knife (*Hiebmesser*) (Fig. 1/1)

The knife is forged in iron and has a good state of preservation, only a small part of the tip and a little part of the cutting edge are missing. The total length of the objects is 24, 2 cm, of which the blade has 16 cm and a maximum width of 2, 7 cm. The handle has a total length of 8, 2 cm and ends in a flattened knob with a maximum diameter of 1, 2 cm.

The object has the well-known form of knives that are met in the Celtic cultural milieu – the so-called knives of *Hiebmesser* type. The German scholar Udo Osterhaus made a typological classification and established that the type no. 4 of the Dürrenberg variant is encountered in central and eastern European regions⁶⁷. Until quite recently, it was believed that the iron knives of the *Hiebmesser* type were used as battle knives. The constant revaluations from contemporary archaeology have shown that this explanation is no longer satisfying. Nowadays, some researchers associate this type of knives with the consumption of meat products; basically they were used for portioning and serving the meat⁶⁸. An argument in respect of this is offered by the fact that the knives are often found in burials together with animal remains, deposited as meat offerings. This idea is also reinforced by the fact that these types of knives are practically missing from sites with ritually deposited weapons.

I. H. Crișan considered that these knives are encountered in funerary contexts dated in the Early La Tène period⁶⁹, but they are frequently encountered in later discoveries. In the eastern Carpathian Basin slashing knives of the *Hiebmesser* type are known from burials and stray finds that most probably come from destroyed or not properly recorded funerary inventories. The only exception that I know of, is the slashing knife recovered during some rescue excavations conducted at Cluj-Napoca, on *Câmpului Street*. Even if the knife was discovered together with meat remains, according to the author of publication no complex was recorded, thus in his opinion, the knife was 'ritually' deposited⁷⁰ (?).

Based on the repertoire I made, 24 localities are known in the Eastern Carpathian Basin where iron knives were discovered (See Map 2 and List 2). Unfortunately, due to the lack of relevant archaeological publications, it is hard to say if all the iron knives discovered fall in this category (Dürrenberg type 4).

3. The horse bit (Fig. 3/1)

The horse bit was casted in bronze and has a total length of 30 cm, consisting of two parts: the mouthpiece and the cheeks. The piece was also very well preserved, thus all its component parts and their role were easily to establish. To best of my knowledge this horse bit is one of the most

carefully worked examples from the Eastern Carpathian Basin, dating from the middle La Tène period.

The mouth piece is made up of two jointed segments provided with an embossed nervure. The length of each segment is 7 cm. The outer rings of the segments are provided with two bigger rings (3, 5 cm, respective 3 cm) that have reins attached, through which a rider communicates directional commands to the horse's head. The cheeks were attached to the mouthpiece with the help of a rectangular frame. The cheeks were forged in iron and have the form of the rings with open ends. On the body of the cheeks there is one and respectively two smaller rings, which serve for the hanging of the pieces through which the noseband was caught. The maximum diameter of the cheeks is 9 cm.

The closest analogies for the horse bit kept in the collections of the Gherla History Museum come from the second necropolis of Aiud (Fig. 3/2), where two almost identical cheek pieces were discovered⁷¹. Another similar example was recovered at the beginning of the 20th century at Méra⁷² (Hungary) (Fig. 3/3). The German scholar Wolfgang M. Werner⁷³, who studied horse bits from South-Eastern Europe, including the Carpathian Basin, placed such objects in type XV – variant A – *Trensen mit Zügelringen und Seitenteile: hufeisenförmig*. A variant of this type of horse bits was documented in one burial from Galații Bistriței⁷⁴ (Fig. 3/4), as well as burial no. 15 from Fântânele – Dealul Iușului/La Gâță⁷⁵, the latter being dated in the LTB2 period.

AN ATTEMPT FOR CONTEXTUALIZATION

The material remains of *Celts* from the eastern Carpathian Basin have attracted the attention of scholars and researchers, starting from the end of the 19th century. They were used in works regarding the Iron Age chronology, monographic studies, archaeological syntheses or repertoires. A close insight over both older *Celtic* repertoires from eastern Carpathian Basin⁷⁶ and more recent ones⁷⁷, shows that although the locality of Gherla is missing from the list, some short archaeological notes from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century are mentioning some *Celtic* finds in the area. An exception is offered by the work of Laura and Olivier Dietrich⁷⁸. This paper gathers information from *The Archaeological Repertoire of Cluj County*⁷⁹ (1992) which in turn collects the information from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Different scholars have provided valuable information regarding the archaeological discoveries from the area of city of Gherla which could help us to contextualize the pieces that make the main topic of this work.

Thus, a first topographical point with discoveries that

⁶⁶ BERECKI 2010, 74.

⁶⁷ OSTERHAUS 1981.

⁶⁸ SCHÖNFELDER 2010.

⁶⁹ CRIȘAN 1974, 87.

⁷⁰ DIMA 2008, 83.

⁷¹ ROSKA 1942, 188-191, 226. Kép/6-7; ROSKA 1944, 65, no. 88, Fig. 32. Kép/6-7, CRIȘAN 1974, 83, Pl. 4/1; ZIRRA 1981, 134, Taf. 9/1-2; WERNER 1988, 77, no. 260, Taf. 35/260; FERENCZ 2007a, 132, Pl. 15/5-6.

⁷² MIHALIK 1905, 265, Fig. 2/2; WERNER 1988, 77, no. 261, Taf. 35/261.

⁷³ WERNER 1988, 77.

⁷⁴ ZIRRA 1981, 134-135, Taf. 9/3; VAIDA 2003, 223, Pl. 3/2.

⁷⁵ VAIDA 2003, 222-223, Pl. 3/1, 5; VAIDA 2008, 240, Pl. 3/5.

⁷⁶ ZIRRA 1971a; CRIȘAN 1973a, 50-65.

⁷⁷ BERECKI 2015.

⁷⁸ DIETRICH, DIETRICH 2006, 40, no. 131-132.

⁷⁹ CRIȘAN *et alii* 1992, 210-218.

can be included in the *Celtic* horizon are the ones found at north of Gherla, on the terrace of the Someșul Mic River, called *Lunca*. In this area, ceramic fragments were discovered by the Hungarian scholar and antiquarian Endre Orosz, who even supposed the existence of a settlement dating from La Tène period⁸⁰. Another point is the place called *Digul Morii*, in the close vicinity of the *Lunca* terrace, where an iron spearhead, probably of La Tène period, was accidentally discovered⁸¹ (Fig. 4). Regarding the landscape use in the middle La Tène period, the settlements were located on fertile meadows and river terraces, while the cemeteries were usually located on heights in the close vicinity: slopes or hilltops, high terraces or riverside ridges. Therefore, these two presumed places of Celtic discoveries from Gherla, seem to fit the occupation patterns of the communities from Middle La Tène period⁸².

Considering the aforementioned ideas, it should not be excluded that in the Middle La Tène period, at Gherla existed both a settlement and a cemetery. The latest maps of the *Celtic* discoveries from the eastern Carpathian Basin show a huge empty space between the discoveries on the Someșul Mic River valley, e.g. Cluj-Napoca, Dezmir, Apahida or Jucu de Sus⁸³ and those from Bistrița Plateau – the only known discoveries in this area are those from Dăbâca⁸⁴ (Cluj County) and the bronze bracelet with three hollow knobs from Sântioana⁸⁵ (Cluj County). As the Gherla discoveries show, this situation must be explained by the present state of research rather than by realities of the Iron Age period.

Only one aspect needs to be clarified, if the pieces were discovered together or are part of two or even three contexts of discovery. The fact that the three pieces have different inventory numbers seems to show that the three pieces come from different discovery contexts. However, it cannot be excluded that the pieces were recorded in the museums Register of inventory in different stages of time and thus to be part of a single funerary context discovered within the radius of Gherla. Until further details regarding the three pieces kept in the collection of Gherla History Museum come forward, the present paper has tried to enrich the map of the *Celtic* discoveries from the eastern Carpathian Basin.

Map 1 and List 1. La Tène (B2-C1) swords discovered in the Eastern Carpathian Basin.

1. Aiud (Alba County) – Three swords were mentioned as having been discovered in different points from Aiud: HEREPEY 1901, 75-76, 97-98, XX Tábla/219-221; ROSKA 1929, 82-86, Fig. 2. Kép/1a-1b; ROSKA 1942, 188-191, 228. Kép/1a-1b; POPESCU 1944, 655; ROSKA 1944, 65, no. 88, Fig. 34. Kép/1a-1b, Fig. 35. Kép/1-3; ZIRRA 1971, Abb. 3/24a; CRIȘAN 1973a, 50-51, no. 1; CRIȘAN 1974, 74-76, 81, Fig. 1/, Pl. 1/1, Pl. 3/1-2; FERENCZ 2007a, 124-125, Pl. 11, 12/3, 17; FERENCZ 2007b; BERECKI 2015, 95.
2. Apahida (Cluj County), *Râtul Satului* – Two swords were recorded on 27th March 1900 (ZIRRA 1976, 144; BERECKI 2015, 107) and 15th May 1900 (CRIȘAN 1973a, 39, Pl. 14/7,

- 15/9; ZIRRA 1976, 145, Fig. 14/1; BERECKI 2015, 107) while a third one was discovered in Burial no. 7 (KOVÁCS 1911, 37, 41/4. Kép, 43/1. Kép; POPESCU 1944, 650; ZIRRA 1976, 135, Fig. 6/2; BERECKI 2015, 109).
3. Archiud (Bistrița-Năsăud County), *Hânsuri* – Several iron swords are signalled in the archaeological literature: MARINESCU, GAIU 1983, 131; BERECKI 2015, 117.
4. Band (Mureș County), *Omláshegy* – Burial no. 7: KOVÁCS 1913, 278, 7. Kép; ROSKA 1942, 174-175, no. 174; POPESCU 1944, 652; ROSKA 1944, 64, no. 80; CRIȘAN 1973a, 53, no. 7, BERECKI 2015, 99.
5. Cepari - (Bistrița-Năsăud County), *Hohe Plesch*: ROSKA 1944, 55, no. 20; BERECKI 2015, 131.
6. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj County), *Râtul Bivolilor*: ROSKA 1944, 60-61, no. 57, Fig. 24. Kép; CRIȘAN 1973a, 54, no. 13; CRIȘAN 1973b, 41, Fig. 1a-b; CRIȘAN *et alii* 1992, 139, no. 66, BERECKI 2015, 103.
7. Cristuru Secuiesc (Harghita County), *Csűrösoldal*: ROSKA 1927-1932, 359, Fig. 1/1-1a; NESTOR 1932, 154; MÁRTON 1933-1944, 161-162, Taf. 57/1-1a; ROSKA 1942, 269, no. 178, 322. Kép/1-1a; POPESCU 1944, 645; ROSKA 1944, 70, no. 128, Fig. 47. Kép/ 1-1a; FERENCZ 1997, 5, Pl. 1/1-2: BERECKI 2015, 91.
8. Dăbâca (Cluj County): ZIRRA 1971a, 200; BERECKI 2015, 111.
9. Dezmir (Cluj County), *Atelierele CFR* – Burial no. 3: CRIȘAN 1964, 99, Pl. 2/17-18, 3/17; ZIRRA 1971a, 1999, Abb. 16/12-12a; CRIȘAN 1973b, 49, Fig. 4a-b; CRIȘAN *et alii* 1992, 185, no. 5; BERECKI 2015, 107.
10. Dipșa (Bistrița-Năsăud County) – Two swords are mentioned at the point *Totenberg*: NESTOR 1937-1940, 181; HOREDIT 1941-1944, 198, Abb. 5/3, 8; POPESCU 1944, 648; ROSKA 1944, 56, no.25; ZIRRA 1971a, 203, note 139, Abb. 18/14, 16, VAIDA 2006a, 300-301, no. 4, Fig.5/7-8; BERECKI 2015, 129. Another sword comes from point *Belitoarea*: ZIRRA 1974, 141-142, Fig. 3/1; VAIDA 2006a, 300-301, no. 4, Fig. 6/1; BERECKI 2015, 141.
11. Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County) – Iron swords were discovered in Burials no. 1, 2, 17, 28, 41 from *Dâmbu Popii* (DĂNILĂ 1971, 59-60; CRIȘAN 1975, 185; DĂNILĂ 1978, 259, Fig. 2/1; BERECKI 2015, 23, Fig. 20, 119-121) and Burial no. 15 from *Dealul Iușului / La Gâță* (VAIDA 2006a, 302, no. 5/c; VAIDA 2008, 240, Photo 3; BERECKI 2015, 125).
12. Gâmbaș (Alba County), *Site 2*: Swords were discovered in Complex no. 54, Complex no. 45, Burials no. 20 and 26 – BĂLAN *et alii* 2015, 143, Pl. 13/6.
13. Gherla (Cluj County) – Stray find most probably from a funerary context.
14. Heria (Alba County) – Two swords were mentioned: ROSKA 1942, 104, no. 11; POPESCU 1944, 648; ROSKA 1944, 59, no. 39; CRIȘAN 1973a, 57-58, no. 31; BERECKI 2015, 141.
15. Herina (Bistrița-Năsăud County) – Stray find: DĂNILĂ 1971, 64, Fig. 4/2, 5/2; ZIRRA 1971, 204; CRIȘAN 1973a, 58, no. 32; VAIDA 2006a, 303, no. 7; BERECKI 201, 152.
16. Laslea (Sibiu County), *Spätzer Nach*: LUCA, PINTER, GEORGESCU 2003, 122, no. 7; BERECKI 2015, 87.
17. Mediaș (Sibiu County), *Podeiu*: NESTOR 1937-1940, 172-173; POPESCU 1944, 647; ROSKA 1944, 64, no. 79; BERECKI 2015, 85.
18. Moșna (Sibiu County), *Burgweg*: NESTOR 1937-1940, 173; POPESCU 1944, 647; ROSKA 1944, 65, no. 86; CRIȘAN 1973, 59, no. 38; BERECKI 2015, 83.
19. Orosfaia (Bistrița-Năsăud County), *Dealul Gropilor*, sometimes mentioned as Comlod, Burial no. 2: VAIDA 2000, 136, Fig. 6/9; VAIDA 2006a, 303, no. 8, Fig. 14/7; BERECKI 2015, 115.
20. Papiu Ilarian (Mureș County), *Stăunie*: CRIȘAN, MILEA 1970, 70, Pl. 1/6, 2/3; BERECKI 2015, 101.

⁸⁰ OROSZ 1905, 311; also ROSKA 1942, 254-255, no. 28.

⁸¹ ROSKA 1942, 254-255, no. 28; ROSKA 1944, 68-69, no. 117.

⁸² BERECKI 2015; RUSTOIU/BERECKI/FERENCZ 2017, 249, 255.

⁸³ OROSZ 1912, 171-172.

⁸⁴ ZIRRA 1971a, 199-200.

⁸⁵ TEMESVÁRY 1897, 106-107, 61-62. Ábra.

21. Silivaş (Alba County): ROSKA 1925, 210, Abb. 1; PÂRVAN 1926, Pl. 26, Fig. 1; MÁRTON 1933-1934, 161, Taf. 57; ROSKA 1942, 210, no. 33, 249. Kép; ROSKA 1944, 66, no. 96, Fig. 38. Kép; CRIŞAN 1973a, 45-48, 61; FERENCZ 2007a, 45, no. 21, Pl. 61; BERECKI 2015, 9.
22. Sebiş (Bistriţa-Năsăud County) – Stray find: DĂNILĂ 1971, 64, Fig. 4/1, 5/1; CRIŞAN 1973a, 61, no. 55; VAIDA 2006, 304, no. 10; BERECKI 2015, 152.
23. Şopteriu (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *La Curmătură* or sometimes mentioned as Delureni, Burial no. 3: MARINESCU, DĂNILĂ 1976, 34, Pl. 12/6-10; VAIDA 2006a, 304-305, no. 12; BERECKI 2015, 113.
24. Toarcă (Preşmer, Braşov County), *Kuhbüchel*: HORED T 1941-1944, 189-194, Abb. 1/2-3; ROSKA 1942, 128, no. 189; ROSKA 1944, 60, no. 54; BERECKI 2015, 89.
25. Viştea (Cluj County) – Several iron swords were discovered in the cemetery at Viştea–Gerecse: BERECKI 2015, 103.
26. Zoreni (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *Butuci* – Stray find: DĂNILĂ 1971, 66, Fig. 4/3, 5/3; CRIŞAN 1973a, 65, no. 83; VAIDA 2006a, 305, no. 14; BERECKI 2015, 151.

Map 2 and List 2. Slashing knives (*Hiebmesser*) discovered in the Eastern Carpathian Basin.

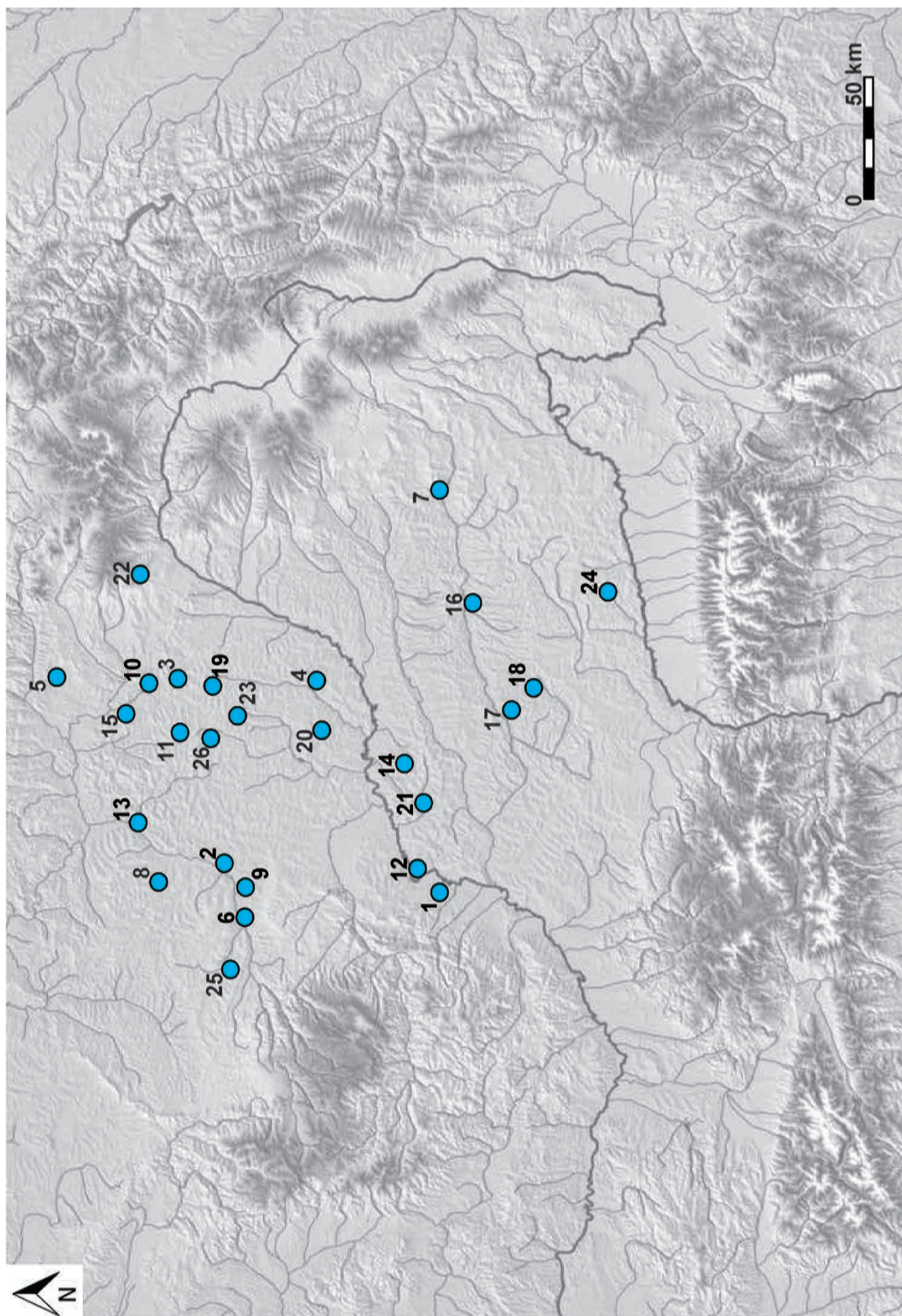
1. Aiud (Alba County) – Several iron knives are recorded in different points from Aiud: HERPEY 1901, 76, 98, 21 Tábla/222; ROSKA 1929, 82-86, Fig. 1. Kép/2, 4, 7; NESTOR 1933, 154; ROSKA 1942, 188-191, 217. Kép/2, 4, 7; POPESCU 1944, 656; ROSKA 1944, 65-66, Fig. 33/2, 4, 7, 35/4; CRIŞAN 1973a, 50-51, no. 1; CRIŞAN 1974, 84, Pl. 4/3; FERENCZ 2007a, 126-127, Pl. 18/5; BERECKI 2015, 95; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 2.
2. Apahida (Cluj-County) – Five iron knives were discovered at Apahida–Râtuşului in 1900: 23rd March (CRIŞAN 1971, 39, Pl. 14/15, 15/18; ZIRRA 1976, 141, Fig. 10/6; BERECKI 2015, 107); 27th March (CRIŞAN 1971, 39; ZIRRA 1976, 144, Fig. 11/3; BERECKI 2015, 107); 29th March (CRIŞAN 1971, 39, Pl. 14/14, 15/7; ZIRRA 1976, 144, Fig. 13/1; BERECKI 2015, 2015, 107); 15th May (ZIRRA 1976, 145, Fig. 14/3; BERECKI 2015); and 20th December (CRIŞAN 1971, 39; ZIRRA 1976, 148, Fig. 15/4; BERECKI 2015, 107). For a sixth knife the additional information are missing (BERECKI 2015, 107). It is possible that some iron fragments, archaeologically discovered by I. Kovács, to belong also to slashing knives: Burial no. 3 (KOVÁCS 1911, 31, Fig. 31,4; POPESCU 1944, 649; ZIRRA 1976, 131, Fig. 4/6; BERECKI 2015, 107); Burial no. 5 (KOVÁCS 1911, 34-35, Fig. 38/1-4; POPESCU 1944, 649-650; ZIRRA 1976, 135, Fig. 5/5-7A; BERECKI 2015, 109); Burial no. 13 (KOVÁCS 1911, 45, Fig. 60; POPESCU 1944, 650; ZIRRA 1976, 137, Fig. 7/4; BERECKI 2015, 109); Another iron knife was found on the funeral pyre between Burial no. 10 and burial no. 11 – (KOVÁCS 1911, 22, Fig. 22; ZIRRA 1976, 140; BERECKI 2015, 109).
3. Archiud (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *Hânsuri* – Burial no. 1: CRIŞAN 1973a, 43, no. 5; DĂNILĂ 1974, 479, Fig. 4/4, 5/4; BERECKI 2015, 117.
4. Aţel/Brateiu (Sibiu County) – From Aţel or Brateiu four iron knives are mentioned. The first one appears in CRIŞAN 1973a, 53, no. 6, Fig. 5/3, while the second one is an isolated discovery (TELEAGĂ 2015, 260, no. B5, Taf. 6/B5). Another two knives were discovered in Burial no. 2 (TELEAGĂ 2015, 258, no. 2.6, Taf. 2/2.9) and Burial no. 4 (ZIRRA 1971a, 185; TELEAGĂ 2015, 259, no. 4.3, Taf. 4/4.3).
5. Cepari (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *Hohe Plesch* – Fragmentary iron knives, probably of the *Hiebmesser* type are signalled in Burials no. 5 and no. 6 – (BERECKI 2015, 131; TELEAGĂ 2015, 247, no. 14).
6. Cluj-Napoca (Cluj County), *Street Câmpului* – deposition?: DIMA 2008, 81-82, Pl. 2.
7. Dezmir (Cluj County), *Atelierele CFR* – Most probably, three iron knives are coming from Burial no. 3: CRIŞAN 1964, 98-99, Pl. 3/18, 22-23; CRIŞAN 1973b, 49; CRIŞAN *et alii* 1992, 185, no. 5; BERECKI 2015, 105; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 9.
8. Dipşa (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), close to the place called *Livadă*, stray find – BERECKI 2015, 129.
9. Fântânele (Bistriţa-Năsăud County). Iron knives are mentioned in the point *Dâmbul Popii* in Burials no. 2, 9, 10, 17, 62, 79 (DĂNILĂ 1971, 59-60; CRIŞAN 1975, 185; DĂNILĂ 1978, 259, Fig. 3/1; BERECKI 2015, 119-121, 23, Fig. 20). In the point called *Dealul Luşului / La Gâţă* knives were discovered in Burials no. 4, 5, 7, 9, 15, 19, 20, 23, 44, 49 (VAIDA 2006a, 302, no. 5/c; VAIDA 2008, 240; BERECKI 2015, 123-125).
10. Galaţii Bistriţei (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *La Hrube* – several iron knives are mentioned (VAIDA 2006a, 302-303, no. 6).
11. Gâmbaş (Alba County) – Several knives forged in iron are mentioned at Gâmbaş – site 2, near the municipality of Aiud – BĂLAN *et alii* 2015, 143, Pl. 13/1).
12. Gherla (Cluj County) – Stray find, most probably from a funerary context.
13. Oroşfaia (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), *Dealul Gropilor* – Burial no. 10: VAIDA 2000, 139, Fig.10/6; BERECKI 2015, 115).
14. Mediaş (Sibiu County), stray find: NESTOR 1937-1940, 13, Abb. 7/3; POPESCU 1944, 645; ROSKA 1944, 64, no. 79; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 6 who incorrectly localize it at Mediaş – *Podeiu*.
15. Papiu Ilarian (Mureş County), *Stăunie*: CRIŞAN, MILEA 1970, 68, Pl. 1/4, 2/10; ZIRRA 1971a, 199, Abb. 16/22; BERECKI 2015, 101; TELEAGĂ 2015, 247, no. 13.
16. Peţelca (Alba County) – CRIŞAN 1973a, 60, no. 46; CRIŞAN 1973b, 52, Fig. 6/3, 7/3; FERENCZ 2007a, 44, no. 18, Pl. 56/2; BERECKI 2015, 141; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 3.
17. Rupea (in older literature Cohalm, Braşov County), stray find: PÂRVAN 1926, 492, Fig. 336; HORED T 1941-1944 196, Abb. 4/6; ROSKA 1942, 138, 138, no. 267; POPESCU 1944, 647; ROSKA 1944, 62, no. 62; CRIŞAN 1973a, 60, no. 50; BERECKI 2015, 144; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no.1.
18. Sânduleşti (Cluj County): NESTOR 1933, 154, note 635; ROSKA 1942, 275, no. 232, 331 Kép; POPESCU 1944, 646; ROSKA 1944, 71, no. 132, Fig. 50. Kép; CRIŞAN 1973a, 61, no. 54; ZIRRA 1974, 145; BERECKI 2015, 103; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 10.
19. Sic (Cluj County): ROSKA 1942, 267, no. 168; ROSKA 1944, 70, no. 126; CRIŞAN 1973a, 61, no. 58; CRIŞAN *et alii* 1992, 351, no. 40/d; BERECKI 2015, 151; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 11.
20. Silivaş (Alba County): ROSKA 1925, 210, Abb. 1; PÂRVAN 1926, Pl. 26, Fig. 1; MÁRTON 1933-1934, 161, Taf. 57; ROSKA 1942, 210, no. 33, 249. Kép; ROSKA 1944, 66, no. 96, Fig. 38. Kép; CRIŞAN 1973a, 45-48, 61; FERENCZa 2007, Pl. 61; BERECKI 2015, 97; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 4.
21. Şoimuş (or Bălata, Hunedoara County): FERENCZa 2007, 46, Pl. 91/2; FERENCZ, FERENCZ 2001, 46, no. 23, Pl. 2; BERECKI 2015, 139.
22. Şeica Mică (Sibiu County), *Goldberg*: CRIŞAN 1973a, 63, no. 66b; ZIRRA 1975, Pl. 8/2; BERECKI 2015, 83; TELEAGĂ 2015, 246, no. 7.
23. Turda (Cluj County): CRIŞAN 1973a, 64, no. 75; CRIŞAN *et alii* 1992, 403-4004, no. 60/f; BERECKI 2015, 103; TELEAGĂ 2015, 247, no. 1.
24. Viştea (Cluj County) – In the cemetery at Viştea–Gerecse are mentioned several iron knives: BERECKI 2015, 103.

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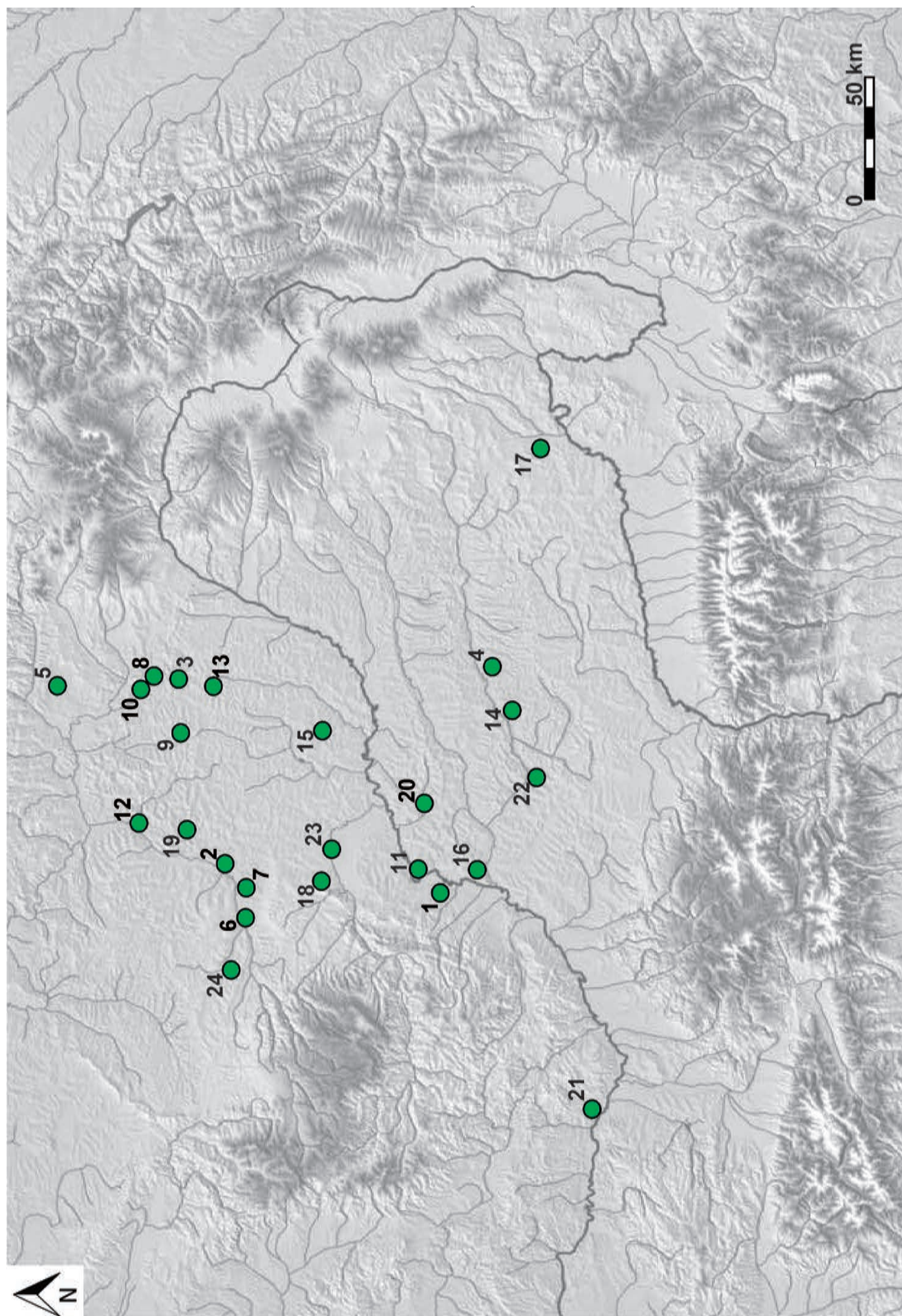
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Map 1. La Tène (B2-C1) swords discovered in the Eastern Carpathian Basin.



Map 2. Slashing knives (*Hiebmesser*) discovered in the Eastern Carpathian Basin.

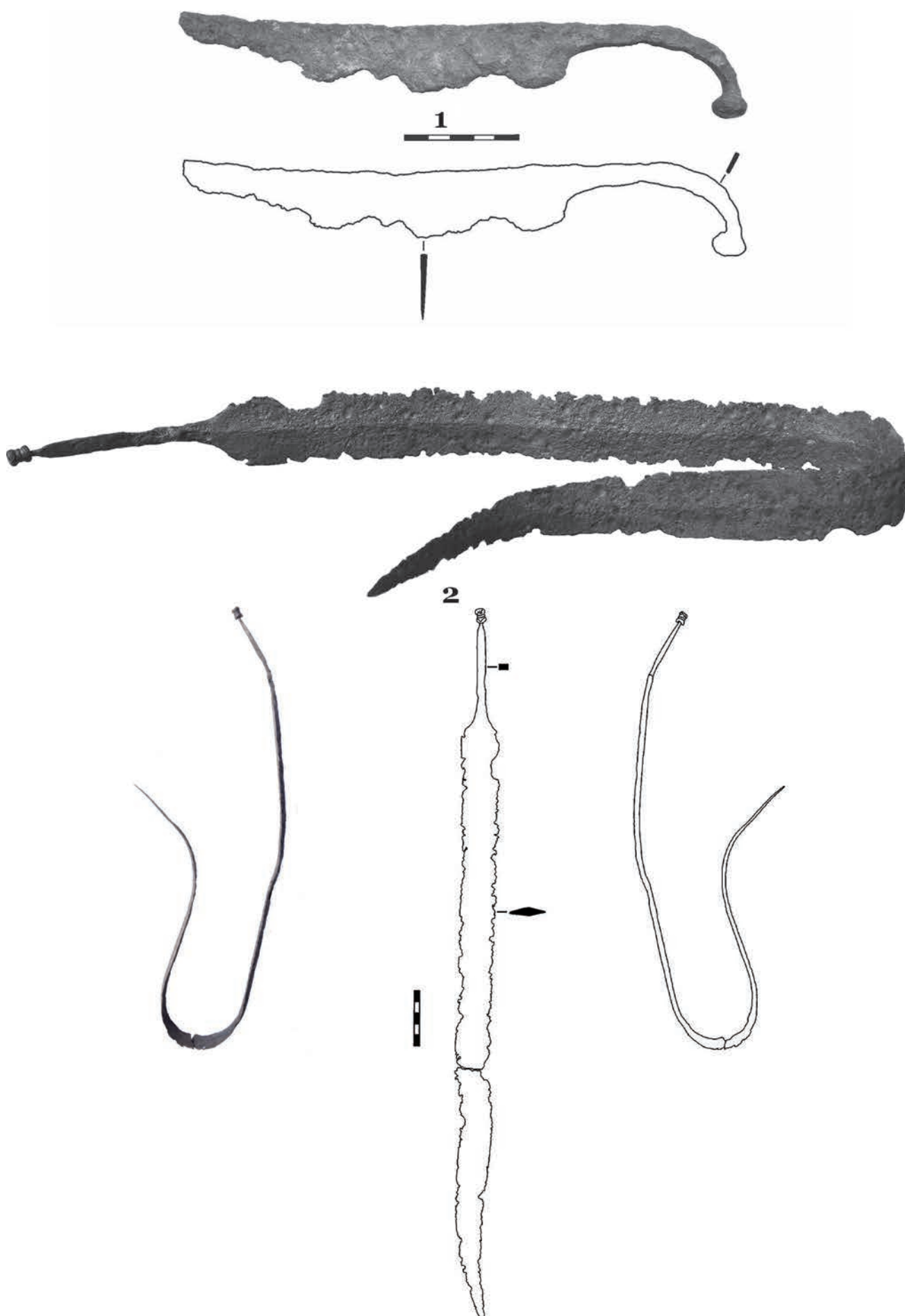


Fig. 1. 1. Slashing knife (*Hiebmesser*); 2. Iron sword.



1



2



3



4

Fig. 2. Sword pommels with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representations:
1. Gherla; 2. Szob; 3. Tapolca – Szentkut; 4. Kupinovo (after DRNIĆ 2015).

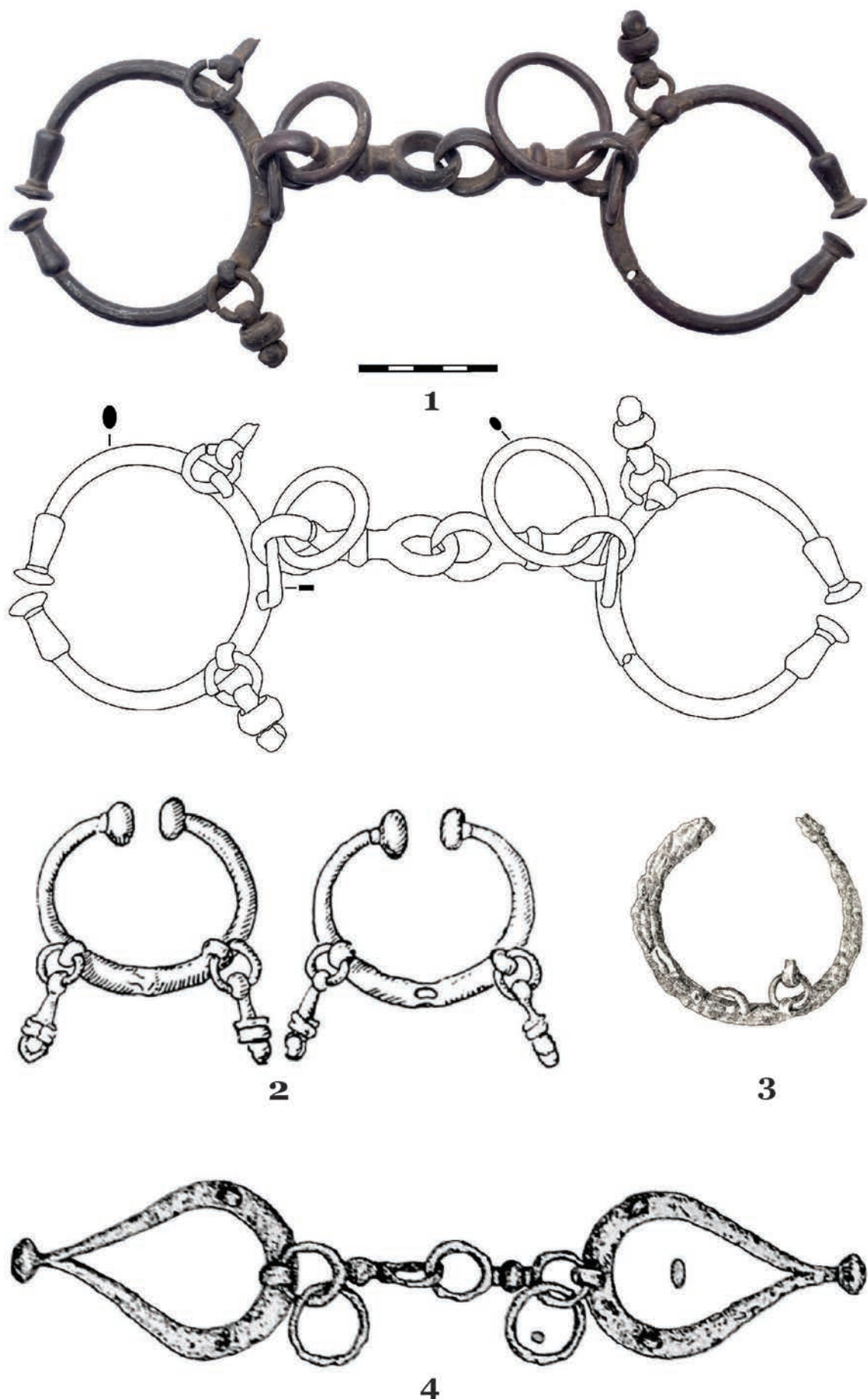


Fig. 3. Iron horse bits – Werner type XV – variant A: 1. Gherla; 2. Aiud (after ROSKA 1942); 3. Méra (after MICHALIK 1905); 4. Galații Bistriței (after VAIDA 2006b).



Fig. 4. The presumed places of discovery (Google Earth).