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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LXII-LXIII
2018-2019

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

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WEAPON FINDS FROM KING'S ROCK CASTLE*

ANDRÁS SÓFALVI**

Keywords: King's Rock, border castle, arrowheads, Teutonic Order

Abstract: King's Rock castle known by the locals as 'Oratea', is situated under the Piatra Craiului (h. Királykő) Mountains near the exit of the road that leads from the Bran Pass to Wallachia (Muntenia) in the outskirts of Podu Dâmboviței village (Argeș County).

The fortification's dimensions are very modest. It has an irregular rhomboidal layout with a semicircular tower on the eastern side and is defended by a ditch on the same side. The entrance of the castle was identified on the southern side; furthermore, two structures dug into the rock were discovered inside the castle.

The castle was mentioned for the first time at the beginning of the 15th century as a royal fortification, and after several decades it came into the possession of Szekler Count (*Comes Siculorum*). According to the historical documents it was used until the 16th century, a supposition corroborated by the results of the archaeological investigations carried out between 1968 and 1969 as well as in 1971. The archaeological finds discovered there in secondary context and kept today in the collection of the Argeș County Museum in Pitești are composed of iron items, with a significant number of weapons (*i.e.* 40 arrowheads), hinting at the sieges suffered by the castle during the 14-15th centuries.

Based on the analysis of the topographical position of the castle we can put forward the hypothesis whereby King's Rock castle is the only fortification outside the arc of the Carpathian Mountains known today, which corresponds with the contemporary descriptions referring to the fortifications built by the Teutonic Order. This theory is not excluded from an archaeological point of view either; as certain early types of arrowheads (rhomboidal, pyramidal as well as some barbed forms) can potentially corroborate this assertion.

Cuvinte-cheie: Piatra Craiului, cetate de graniță, vârfuri de săgeată, Ordinul Teutonic

Rezumat: Cetatea Piatra Craiului (cunoscută de localnici sub numele de Oratea) se află la poalele muntelui cu același nume, lângă ieșirea drumului din pasul Bran spre Muntenia, în hotarul satului Podu Dâmboviței (jud. Argeș).

Fortificația are dimensiuni destul de modeste, plan romboidal neregulat, cu un turn semicircular pe partea estică și este înconjurată dinspre est de un șanț săpat în stâncă. Accesul în cetate era posibil pe latura dinspre sud. În interiorul cetății au fost observate două încăperi săpate în stâncă, respectiv o cisternă.

Menționată în izvoarele istorice de la începutul secolului al XV-lea ca cetate regală, după câteva decenii ajunge în posesiunea comitelui secuilor. Conform mărturiei documentelor istorice cetatea a fost folosită până în secolul al XVI-lea, fapt relevat și de rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice efectuate între anii 1968-1969 și în 1971. Materialul arheologic, provenit din poziții secundare și păstrat în colecția Muzeului Județean Argeș din Pitești, este format din obiecte de fier, printre care un număr însemnat de arme (de exemplu 40 de vârfuri de săgeată), care oferă mărturie cu privire la asediile suferite în cursul secolelor XIV-XV.

Analiza amplasării și topografiei cetății susține ipoteza că cetatea Piatra Craiului este singura fortificație din exteriorul Arcului Carpatic cunoscută în zilele noastre care corespunde descrierii referitoare la cetățile Ordinului Teutonic. Această ipoteză nu este exclusă nici din punct de vedere arheologic, unele vârfuri de săgeți aparținând unor tipuri timpurii (cele de formă romboidală, piramidală și câteva dintre cele cu barbă) venind în sprijinul ipotezei autorului.

* For the preliminary publication of the results, see Sófalvi 2018.

** Haáz Rezső Museum, Odorheiu Secuiesc; e-mail: sofalvi@hotmail.com.

INTRODUCTION: THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF THE FORT AND THE ORIGIN OF ITS NAME

King's Rock castle was situated on the Wallachian side of the Bran Pass, approximately 1.5 km south of the border between the Hungarian Kingdom and Wallachia, on the rock towering above the Oratea Valley (r. Valea Orății, h. Vár-patak). The castle ruins are found just outside the village of Podu Dâmboviței (Argeș County), the monument being known by the name of Cetatea Oratea ('Oratea Castle') or Cetatea Neamțului ('the German's Castle') (fig. 1-2).

The correlation between the name of the castle and that of the Piatra Craiului (h. Királykő) Mountain situated to the west of the Bran Pass is clear, the identity of the medieval Hungarian king who inspired the name is however unknown at this time. At any rate, it is a well-known fact that for centuries the Bran Pass was known as the 'King's way', the name being preserved by 16-17th century literary sources¹. The toponym Oratea derived from the Hungarian common noun 'várad', a version of 'vár' meaning castle or fort, can be found in a 15th century letter written by the Wallachian voivode Alexandru Aldea (1431-1436) to the city of Brașov requesting that an escort be assigned to the boyar Petru Man on his journey to 'Orade'². Later, during the transition between the 15th and 16th centuries, voivode Radu cel Mare's letter to the magistrates of the same city requested that his men captured by the 'Orății' bridge be set free³. It is quite likely, albeit not certain that the name refers to King's Rock, given the frequent occurrence of the toponym in question beyond the Carpathians. Indeed, László Mikecs documented over half a dozen cases of the 'vár' toponym in the former Szekler County (Județul Săcuieni or *Saak* in the Slavonic documents, name given after its inhabitants coming from southeastern Transylvania), which existed in Wallachia up until 1845⁴. It is important to note that the road crossing Orății Stream, a left affluent of the Prahova River flowing on the Wallachian side of the Predeal Pass (h. Tömösi Pass) above the village of Posada, was also an important road connecting Transylvania and Wallachia.

KING'S ROCK CASTLE IN THE MEDIEVAL LITERARY SOURCES

The earliest direct references to King's Rock in the Hungarian chancellery and Transylvanian documents can be dated to the early 15th century, displaying the name of the fort in Hungarian ('Királykő'), but also in German ('Königstein') and Latin ('Lapis Regis'). During the revolt which broke out against King Sigismund of Luxemburg, King's Rock castle was held by the rebellious castellan Miklós Tuzsoni Bolgár until he surrendered it in 22 March 1404⁵. In 1427 King Sigismund issued a charter 'under the castle'⁶. The earliest data indicating that this remote fortification was an integral part of the Szekler Count's dominion comes from a letter written by Mihály Kusalyi Jakcs in 1435 to the city of Brașov, in which the Szekler Count was requesting that gunpowder be provided to the castellans of Bran (h. Törösvár) and King's Rock castle⁷. In 1443 the fortification is listed among the domains of Szekler Counts János Hunyadi (John Hunyadi) and Miklós Újlaki, who renewed the trade privileges held by the merchants of Brașov and Burzenland with regard to their dealings with Wallachia. Furthermore, they regulated the tariffs and instructed the castellans of Bran and King's Rock to abide by these privileges ('*vobis castellanis nostris castrorum Therch et Keralkew*')⁸. In 1457 the fortification is listed as a royal castle held by the Hunyadi family⁹. On 3 June 1460 King Matthias instructed the city of Brașov to deliver

¹ 1533: "*via publica ac regia Terch*" (SzO V, p. 52); 1611: "*a Király-után Rakat felől*" (Hidvégi, *Históriája*, p. 198-199).

² Coman 2013, p. 234-235.

³ Bogdan 1905, p. 228.

⁴ Mikecs 1943, p. 455.

⁵ Engel 1996, p. 341.

⁶ "*Datum sub castello nostro Kiralku vocato*". See Kordé 2003, p. 29.

⁷ Ub. IV, p. 579; Kordé 2003, p. 29.

⁸ Ub. V, p. 106-107; Kordé 2003, p. 35.

⁹ Engel 1996, p. 341.

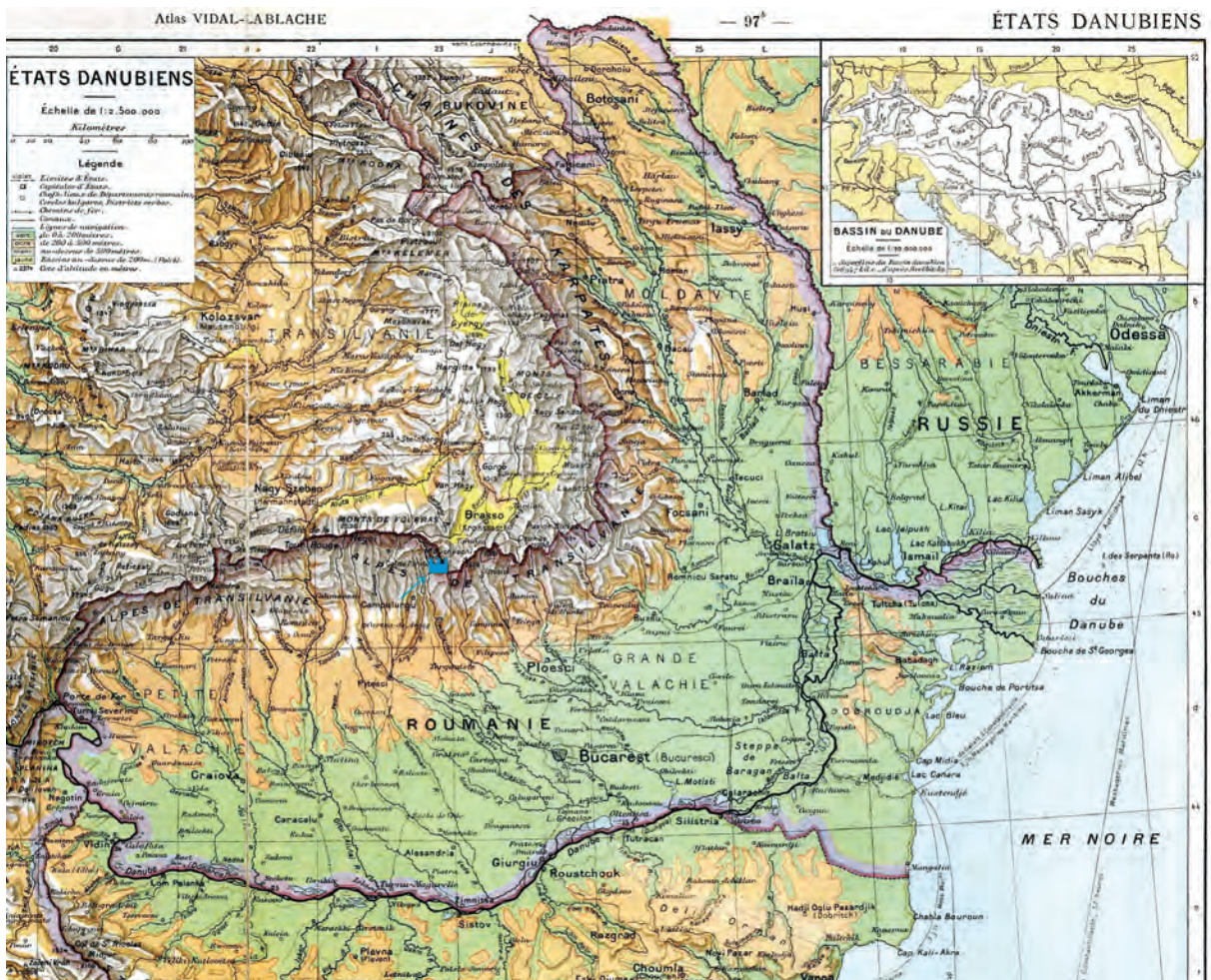


Fig. 1. The geographical location of King's Rock Castle within the Carpathian region
https://pangea.blog.hu/2016/07/20/vasutepitesek_az_egyesult_fejedelemsegtol_az_erdelyi_betoresig.



Fig. 2. King's Rock Castle on the I. Austrian Military Survey (I. katonai felmérés). Erdély. Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Térképtára. Budapest. Jelz.: B IXa 1123. Lépték: 1:28.800.

one hundred gold florins worth of food to the castles of Bran, King's Rock and Hălchiu, as the earlier Szekler Counts failed to ensure their necessary provisions¹⁰. The present enumeration comprises only the documents published in the charter corpora, in the comprehensive secular archontology published by Pál Engel, as well as in the dissertation of Zoltán Kordé dealing with the history of the institution of Szekler Count. The aforementioned sources allow two important assertions. Firstly, King's Rock castle, one of southern- and southeastern Transylvania's most important frontier fortifications was held by the Szekler Counts starting with 1435. Secondly, the literary evidence in nearly every case mentions Bran and King's Rock together, moreover one document from 1535 places King's Rock castle 'above' the other one in geographical terms, thus locates it beyond the well-known frontier fort ('*Lapidis Regis dictae in Alpibus, supra castrum Thewrcz existentam*')¹¹. This information in conjunction with the fact that the two fortifications can be found at the opposite ends of the Bran Pass compelled Pál Engel to identify the ruins situated at the base of Piatra Craiului (King's Rock) Mountain with the castle mentioned in the above-cited document. It is worth noting that Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, one of the participants to the archaeological investigation of the fort ruins reached the same conclusion based on the earlier assertions of local Saxon historian Walter Horwath¹².

THE ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CASTLE

Based on the ruins visible above ground as well as the data provided by the archaeological investigations carried out earlier, the plan and other parameters of the castle can be fairly well assessed. The fort facing the valley (Valea Orății – fig. 3) to the south has an irregular rhomboidal plan (fig. 4), its length measured along a north–south axis is approximately 30 m, while its width on the east–west axis is circa 20 m. The 2.6 m thick walls consisting of roughly worked limestone blocks held together by yellowish brown coarse mortar with pebble- and lime chunk inclusions are to this day preserved at a height of 4–5 m on the southern and eastern sides (fig. 5/a–c). The extremely steep and rocky western side shows no traces of wall, the northwestern and southwestern corners are rounded. A 3.6 m wide semicircular tower, open towards the castle courtyard, is projecting outward directly from the eastern curtain wall (fig. 6/b). The masonry structure of the tower ruin reveals a walled-up window or loophole on the southeastern side with an interior height in excess of 1 m and a width of 70–80 cm (fig. 6/a). On the southern side of the castle at about one third of its length from the southeastern corner the wall was additionally fortified (*i.e.* thickened) by approximately 0.8 m (fig. 5/d).

Two rectangular structures cut into the rock can be observed inside the perimeter of the fort (fig. 5/e), although no traces of stone masonry buildings can be identified. The fort is enclosed by a 7–8 m wide and 1.5–2 m deep dry moat (ditch) cut into the rock starting from the northeast and arching along the eastern side (fig. 7). From the southeastern corner of the fort the ditch continues until reaching the edge of the rock; in all probability access to the castle gate was provided by a drawbridge crossing over the moat onto the road cut into the rock and running along the southern side of the castle. In terms of its plan, no direct analogies can be found neither in Transylvania nor in Wallachia. The main reason for this lies in the nature of the military architecture of the time, whereby the castle plans were adapted to the needs determined by the terrain and the surroundings. Furthermore, the medieval fortifications most often were constantly enlarged leading to more and more complex plans, albeit this is not the case of King's Rock, where no signs of later reconstructions or the addition of further defensive architectural elements could be observed¹³. The employment of wall towers in the case of castles with simple plans is quite rare, the closest analogy in geographic terms can be found in southern Transylvania at Rășinari, where a semicircular tower was built on the southern shorter side of the castle, which was dated based on the results of the archaeological investigations to the 13–14th centuries¹⁴.

¹⁰ Kordé 2003, p. 43.

¹¹ *Quellen...* p. 323.

¹² Cantacuzino 1981, p. 120–131.

¹³ Cantacuzino's book regarding Wallachian castles presents briefly the results of the archaeological excavations of King's Rock castle: based on their formal characteristics, the early construction phases of the following castles of the period can be cited as off-lying analogies for King's Rock castle: Cuiști Castle (h. Kövesd vára) from Bocșa in the Caraș-Severin County as well as Grădeț Castle (h. Görényvár) from Schitu Topolniței, both royal castles in Banat and Wallachia, while in Transylvania one can mention Almás Castle from Mereni, Bálványos Castle from Turia, and Szentmihálykő Castle from Tăuți, each of them nobiliar castles. See Karczag, Szabó 2012, p. 122, 252, 386, 461, 468.

¹⁴ Năgler, Beșliu-Munteanu 1998, p. 18.



Fig. 3. The valley of the Orății Stream with the peak of the rock on the right (photo taken by the author).

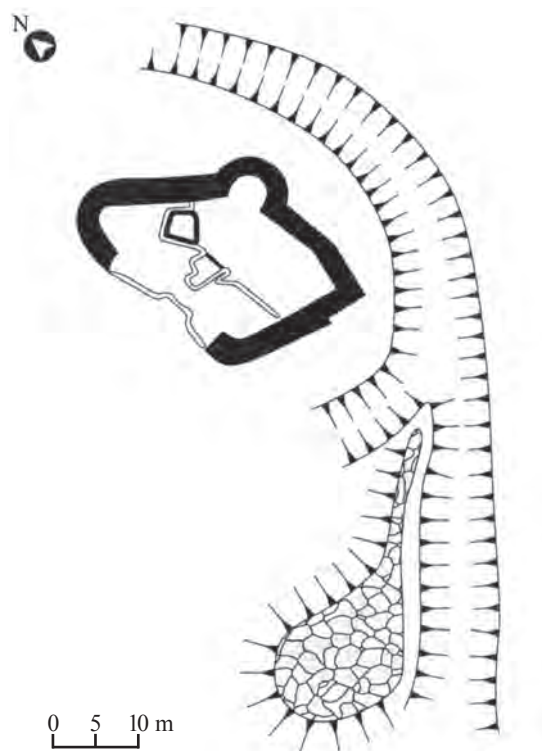


Fig. 4. The plan of King's Rock Castle (based on Karczag, Szabó 2012).



a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 5. a. The ruins of King's Rock Castle from the southeast; b. The northeastern portion of the defensive wall; c. The southeastern corner of the castle interior; d. The southern portion of the defensive wall from outside; e. Structure cut into the rock inside the castle (photos taken by the author; the measuring-rod length in the photos is 1 m).

**a****b**

Fig. 6. a. The walled-up opening on the southeastern side of the tower; b. The ruins of the tower from the inside (photos taken by the author).



Fig. 7. The fort ditch cut into the rock on the eastern side (photo taken by the author).



Fig. 8. The trace of the road running along the western side of the castle (photo taken by the author).

The road between Wallachia and Transylvania between Câmpulung and Bran ran along the western side of the castle some 30-35 m below the rock, and its traces are still visible today on the ground (fig. 8). The wheel traces deeply sunken into the rock surface (the distance between the lines is 1.8 m) indicate that we are dealing with heavy carriage traffic. In order to ease the traffic, the gullies in the surface of the road were covered with planks. In all probability the aforementioned incident involving the men of the Wallachian voivode Radu cel Mare, who were imprisoned by the authorities of the city of Braşov, was caused by the destruction of the road's woodwork, essential for the commercial interests of the Saxon city¹⁵. Based on the late 16th century accounts of French traveller Jacques Bongars and of Italian military engineer Filippo Pigafetta certain sectors of the road were so steep that the carriages and cannons had to be towed with the help of pulleys and ropes¹⁶. The medieval customs station supervised by the castle must have been located somewhere in the vicinity. The interpretation of the accounts of Pierre Lescalopier from 1574, often cited in the historical literature, according to which the Wallachian voivode deployed a small military unit at the border of the country, whose soldiers were stationed in a tower to which they retreated using a long ladder and controlled the road using a barrier, is subject to some inconsistencies¹⁷. In my view due to its topographical position, King's Rock castle was hardly suited for controlling the commercial and military movements from Transylvania. Indeed, the abovementioned description could refer to several other border forts, as the passage in question subsequently follows the description of Târgovişte.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT KING'S ROCK CASTLE

The first archaeological investigations at the site were carried out in 1905 under the supervision of Grigore Tocilescu. Alas the investigations can hardly be described as professional, as they were limited to disturbing the interior of the fortification together with its stratigraphy, while the finds brought to light were collected without any documentation¹⁸. These included a large quantity of metal objects, such as iron arrowheads (partly from a charred beam discovered in the southeastern area of the castle), iron dowels, sword fragments, horse shoes, spurs, buckles, nails, knives, as well as a couple of stone cannonballs, pottery vessel- and stove tile (?) fragments. On the northeastern side a round water cistern cut into the rock with sandstone walls and clay floor was discovered. It had a diameter of 3.4 m and a depth of 5.35 m, with a narrow-vaulted mouth opening. By the time of the 1970s the structure was largely destroyed, as was the wall portion erected on the rock plateau just outside of the castle on the southern side, most likely to provide a shelter for the gate.

Further archaeological investigations were carried out in 1968-1969 and 1971 as a result of the collaboration between various institutions from Bucharest and Piteşti, under the coordination of archaeologist Alexandrina D. Alexandrescu¹⁹. These investigations resulted in observations regarding the masonry structure and building technique of the walls, the location of the gate as well as various archaeological phenomena documented inside the fort. Accordingly, it was noted that the wall with embleton was built directly on the levelled and cleaned rock surface. Furthermore, it was observed that the entrance into the fort was placed on the southern section, at a distance of 4 m from the inner side of the southeastern corner, in the area where the wall was additionally fortified. The traces of the said structure were documented at a height of 1 m from the rock surface, according to the description its width was 2 m. The finds were mostly recovered in secondary context inside the fort as well as in the ditch. Among these, the high quantity of metal items must be noted,

¹⁵ See note no. 3.

¹⁶ Coman 2013, p. 235; *Călători...* III, p. 160, 545, 562.

¹⁷ *Călători...* II, p. 428; Cantacuzino 1981, p. 175; Coman 2013, p. 235.

¹⁸ For information concerning the unpublished excavation, see Ms. 5137 in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, and also Cantacuzino 1981, p. 120-124.

¹⁹ The field investigations were a result of the collaboration between several institutions based in Bucharest, *i.e.* the Institute of Archaeology (Institutul de Arheologie), the History Museum (Muzeul de Istorie), the Military Museum (Muzeul Militar Central), the Commission on Historical Monuments (Direcția Monumentelor Istorice), and the Argeş County Museum in Piteşti (Muzeul Judeţean Argeş). Besides the supervisor of the excavations, the team also included archaeologists Anca Păunescu, Gh. I. Cantacuzino, Lucian Chişescu, and Spiridon Cristocea.

given that the short preliminary report indicates that the number of discovered arrowheads was in excess of 200²⁰. Furthermore, medieval pottery fragments dated from the second half of the 14th century as well as two Wallachian coins issued by voivode Mircea cel Bătrân were also recovered from the deposits formed on the rock surface²¹. In addition to these, the archaeological repertory of the Argeş County mentions further four 14-15th century Wallachian coins²².

The comprehensive and detailed, *i.e.* scientific, publication of the excavation results is yet to be done. Consequently, without the subchapter of the aforementioned book which deals in brief with the results of the investigations, the archaeological literature would effectively be one medieval castle short. It must be noted however, that this is by no means a singular situation, as the failure to publish the excavation result, *i.e.* the drawings, photographs and the finds, is unfortunately quite common in the east and southeast European archaeology. Furthermore, the whereabouts of the documentation and pottery finds are to this day unknown, as these could not be located in the archives and collections of the institutions involved in the research, in fact only the metal objects kept in the custody of the Piteşti Museum were available for first hand examination by the author²³. The documentation resulted in the identification of more than two hundred metal objects discovered at King's Rock castle during the 1968-1969 excavations. Apart from a few exceptions, the assemblage consists mostly of forged iron weapons and various other items²⁴.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE ARROWHEADS

My research in the collections of the Argeş County Museum in Piteşti has led to the identification of 206 metal objects discovered at King's Rock castle, albeit the inventory register contained a total of 249 finds coming from the respective site. Some of these are connected to the architectural structure and construction of the castle (nails, dowels, and locks), to household and agricultural activities (knives, pins/leather punches, scissors, adzes, and sickles), and last but not least to the daily routine of life in the castle (razors, buckles, fire steels, axes, and horseshoes).

A considerable share of the metal items consists of weapons, especially arrowheads, including variants for bows and crossbows alike. Overall a number of 40 arrowheads was identified and examined in the collection, however it must be noted that 86 items are recorded in the inventory register, among which 79 made for bows and only 7 for crossbows. In addition to these, two chapes for either dagger- or sword scabbards must also be mentioned.

The following section will be dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the bow and crossbow arrowheads made of iron, including a bronze armour-piercing projectile.

According to the traditional classification, the projectiles are grouped into two large categories, *i.e.* 1) tanged- and 2) socketed arrowheads, based on their attachment method to the shaft. The present assemblage includes 12 instances belonging to the first category. Several variants can be distinguished within this group based on the shape of the blade, which can either be rhomboidal, leaf-shaped, triangular, or pyramidal.

There are two instances of *rhomboidal* arrowheads in the assemblage (fig. 9/1-2), both displaying blades of elongated rhomboidal shape, although some morphological differences can be noted. The first one displays a prominent stopper on its tang, while the second one has a slightly concave shoulder, which continues into the tang with no transition. In terms of analogies, according to Adrian Ioniţă the first type was mainly used by the Hungarians during the Arpadian period, although they can also be found in on the territory of the First Bulgarian Tsardom as well as in other regions too during the aforementioned period,

²⁰ Popescu 1970, p. 516, no. 144. Cf. Cantacuzino 1981, p. 124.

²¹ Popescu 1969, p. 497, no. 150.

²² Măndescu, Dumitrescu, Păduraru 2014, p. 146.

²³ I wish to express my gratitude to fellow archaeologist Dragoş Măndescu for readily providing unrestricted access to the finds from King's Rock castle in the custody of Argeş County Museum and for consenting to their publication.

²⁴ The inventory numbers of the finds are: 570-612, 1290-1486.

such as Copăceni²⁵ in Wallachia. The second variant can also be found in Copăceni²⁶ as well as in Movilița and in the vicinity of King's Rock castle by the Dâmbovița River at Cetățeni²⁷, the finds from the latter site being dated to the 13-14th centuries. Furthermore, a number of fragmentary elongated rhomboidal arrowheads dated to the 14-15th centuries were published from the fort at Păcuiul lui Soare²⁸. Analogies dated to the 11-12th centuries are known from Pavlovca in Moldavia²⁹, however similar finds from Dănești in the Vaslui County were discovered in contexts dated to the 15-16th centuries (?)³⁰. With regard to Transylvania, several arrowheads belonging to this type were published from the castle at Dăbâca³¹, but they were also reported in the Szeklerland, e.g. at Polonița in early Arpadian contexts³². The *leaf-shaped* arrows make up the largest variant within the category of tanged arrowheads. The flat blades continue usually with the tang, the transition being hardly perceptible (fig. 9/4-6). Analogies can be found in Wallachia at Movilița³³, in Moldavia at Bâta Doamnei near Piatra Neamț³⁴, but also in Transylvania at Dăbâca in Arpadian contexts³⁵. The type with a narrow-crested blade displaying a rhomboidal cross-section, concave shoulder, and prominent stopper towards the tang (fig. 9/3) has 14th century analogies at Orheiul Vechi³⁶, but also from several sites in Transylvania, such as the neighbourhood of the cathedral in Alba Iulia³⁷, the castle of Codlea³⁸, as well as from Satu Mare – *Botos-dülő*³⁹, all from Arpadian contexts. A somewhat rare type is represented by the narrow leaf-shaped arrowhead with crested rhomboidal section thickening towards the tip and flattened at the base (fig. 9/7), with analogies from the Bâta Doamnei earth-and-timber fort⁴⁰. Similar arrowheads dated to the 10th century (!) were published by Aleksandr Medvedev from the territory of the former USSR⁴¹. Within the present assemblage there is only one single tanged arrowhead with a *triangular* blade (fig. 9/8). A closer observation reveals the fact that the blade is rhomboidal and has a central crest. A similar piece was discovered in Wallachia at Bucov, and was dated to the 9-10th centuries⁴². The series of tanged arrowheads is closed by three *pyramidal* triple bladed pieces (fig. 9/10-12). This type of so-called armour-piercing arrowhead can be found in the archaeological record of the Carpathian Basin already from the 10th century⁴³, and due to its high efficiency, it remains in use throughout Europe until the emergence of firearms⁴⁴. Their occurrence in Wallachia is rare, however several finds are mentioned by Tudor Mandache from sites across Moldavia, such as Suceava, Târgu Trotuș, Baia, and Bacău from Late Medieval contexts⁴⁵. In Transylvania this type is known from Cernatu de Jos – *Damokos-kert* and dated to the reign of Louis the Great⁴⁶.

²⁵ Ioniță 2005, p. 95, fig. 51.12.

²⁶ Ioniță 2005, fig. 18.7, fig. 51.11.

²⁷ Chițescu 1976, fig. 14.5.

²⁸ Diaconu 1959, p. 663, fig. 12.6.

²⁹ Spinei 1982, fig. 30.4, 11.

³⁰ Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Zaharia 1962, p. 58, fig. 15.5. It must be noted that 15-16th century finds were discovered in conjunction with earlier *i.e.* 'early feudal (medieval)' artefacts, consequently it is possible that the arrowheads were found in fact in secondary context.

³¹ Iambor 2005, pl. LII. 1-2, 4, 11, 17-19, 22.

³² Sófalvi 2017, p. 106, fig. 47.1.

³³ Ioniță 2005, fig. 18.5-6.

³⁴ Spinei 1982, fig. 7.13.

³⁵ Iambor 2005, pl. LII. 2, 7, 28.

³⁶ Spinei 1982, fig. 40.10.

³⁷ Marcu-Istrate 2009, nr. cat. 132.

³⁸ Costea 1968, fig. 2.2-3.

³⁹ Sófalvi 2017, p. 106, fig. 47.2.

⁴⁰ Spinei 1982, fig. 40.11.

⁴¹ Medvedev 1966, pl. 17. 7-11.

⁴² Chișvasi-Comșa 1959, p. 568, fig. 1.2.

⁴³ Petkes, Sudár 2015, p. 116-117; Ruttkay 1976, p. 331.

⁴⁴ Zimmermann 2000, p. 73. Recently, in Ocna Sibiului at Calvinist Church a similar piece was discovered in the filling of a medieval grave (author's research).

⁴⁵ Mandache 2013, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Székely 1990, pl. III.11.

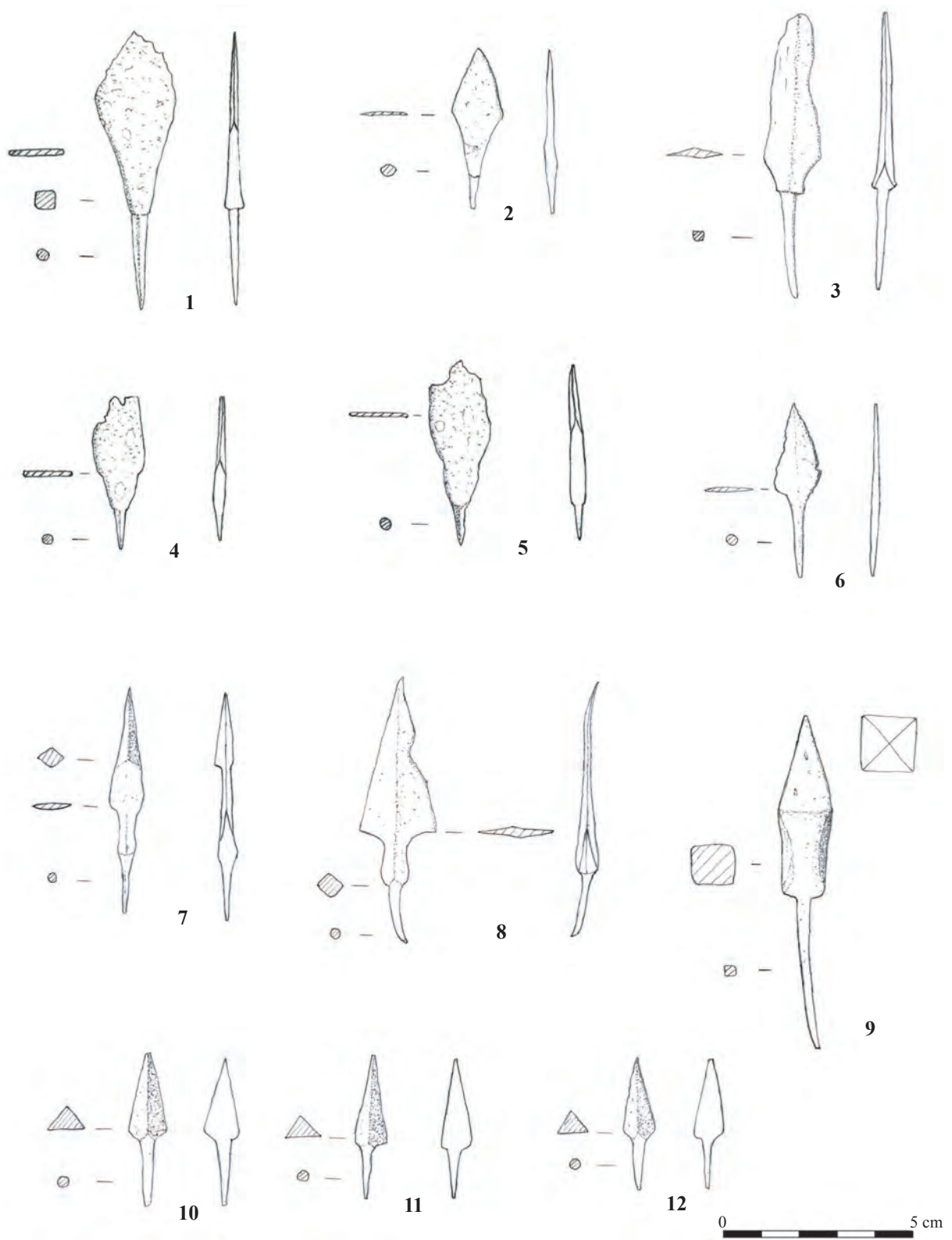


Fig. 9. Tanged arrowheads and cross-bow projectiles from King's Rock Castle (Argeş County Museum – the drawings were made by the author).

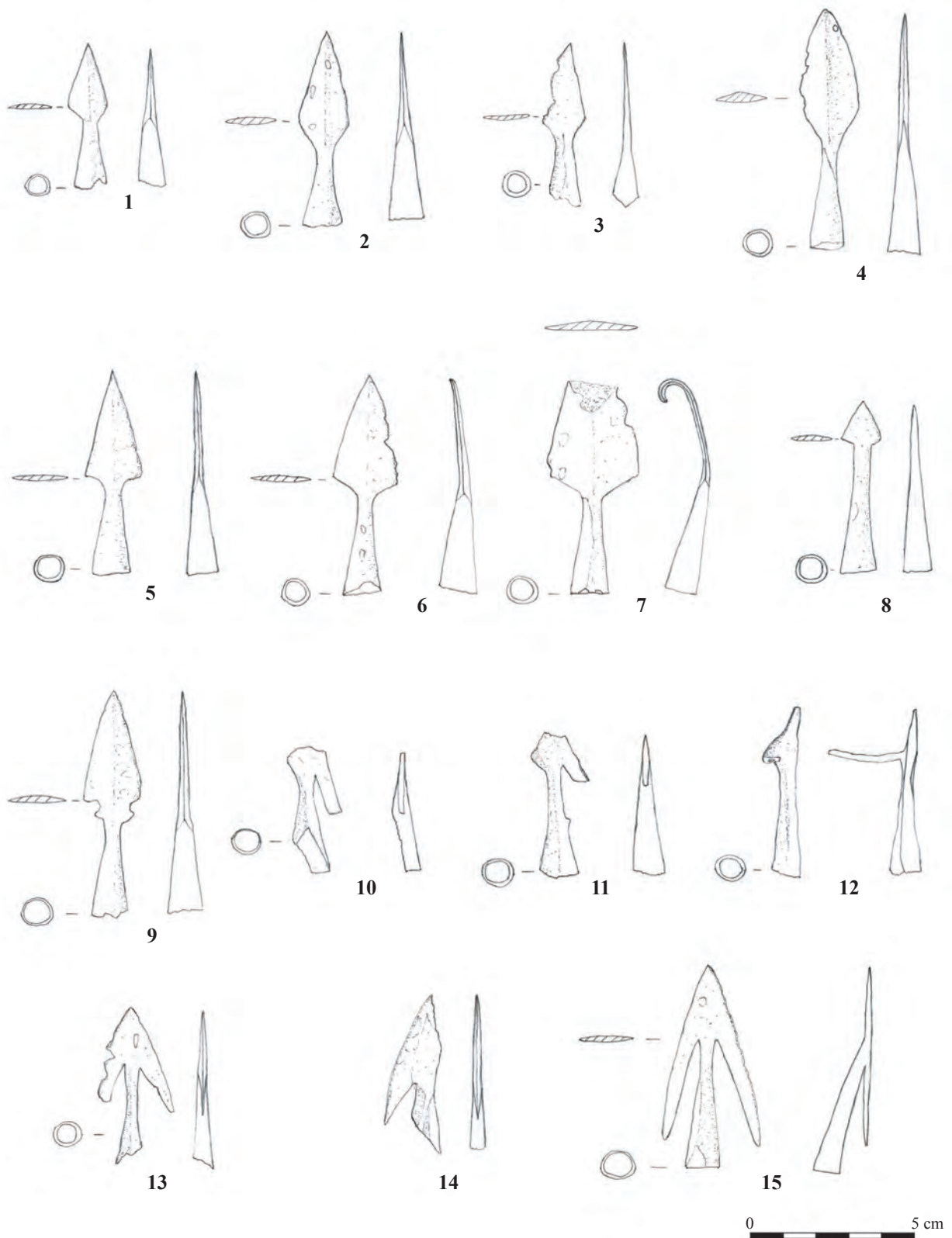


Fig. 10. Socketed arrowheads from King's Rock Castle (Argeş County Museum – the drawings were made by the author).

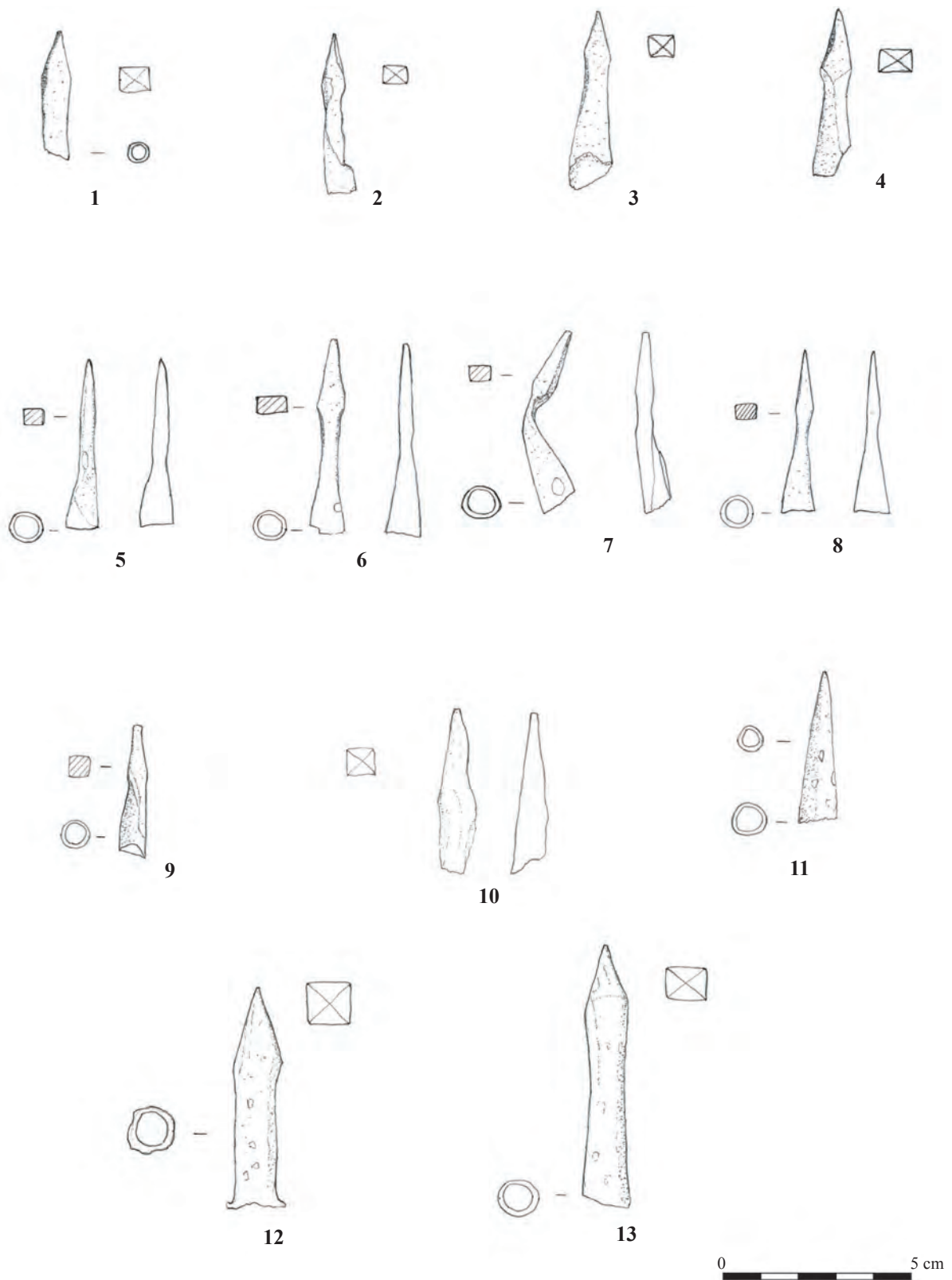


Fig. 11. Socketed arrowheads and cross-bow projectiles from King's Rock Castle (Argeş County Museum – the drawings were made by the author).

Among the tanged projectiles in the present assemblage, only one arrowhead can be included with certainty into the category of cross-bow projectiles based on its weight of almost 50 g (fig. 9/9). The projectile in question has a square section with a pyramidal end, its closest analogy coming from the castle at Codlea and is dated to the 13-14th centuries⁴⁷.

The category of socketed arrowheads within the present assemblage comprises leaf- and triangular shaped pieces, barbed arrowheads, as well as projectiles with pyramidal and conical tips. The leaf-shaped arrowheads display a high degree of morphological uniformity, in terms of size however the variety is rather significant (fig. 10/1-4). Analogies can be found at Cetățeni⁴⁸ in Wallachia discovered in 13-14th century contexts, while in Transylvania this type was reported at the earth-and-timber fort at Hărman – *Lempes*⁴⁹ dated to the 12-13th centuries and Bistra Mureșului with a somewhat later dating⁵⁰. Analogies for the large-sized bay leaf-shaped types (fig. 10/4) can be found at Dridu – *La Metereze*⁵¹ in Wallachia, and at Dăbâca in Transylvania, dated to the Arpadian period⁵². The particularity of the arrowheads from King's Rock castle is represented by the flaring sockets, widened towards the shaft. A further type within the category of socketed projectiles is represented by the flat triangular bladed arrowheads (fig. 10/5-9). Their Arpadian period analogies are known from the earth-and-timber fort at Orlat – *Winsberg*⁵³, as well as the site of Bistra Mureșului⁵⁴. This type also includes a piece with a small tip (fig. 10/8) presumably used mainly for hunting. Analogies for this variant come from Cetățeni⁵⁵ and Dăbâca⁵⁶. No direct analogies could be identified for the flat triangular arrowheads with a prominent protrusion below the blade (fig. 10/9), probably used for fastening incendiary material (?)⁵⁷.

One of the most significant types within the category of socketed projectiles is that of the so-called *barbed* arrowheads (fig. 10/10-15) which in the case of the present assemblage have gradually widening sockets. Their blades are either straight or arched, furthermore the assemblage features both variants with long and short barbs. This morphological difference may have chronological implications as according to the literature on the subject the longer barbs are characteristic to the latter pieces⁵⁸. The analogies are abundant on both sides of the Carpathians. The short barb variant has analogies from the earth-and-timber fort at Ungra in Transylvania discovered in 12th century contexts⁵⁹, from Dridu – *La Metereze* in Wallachia discovered in 12-13th century contexts⁶⁰, as well as from numerous sites across Moldavia such as Gura Idrici from 8-9th century contexts⁶¹, the earth-and-timber fort at Bâta Doamnei from 12-13th century contexts⁶², and from Dănești discovered in 15-16th century (?) contexts⁶³. The long barb variant is known from numerous sites in Transylvania, such as the outskirts of Joseni dated to the 13-14th centuries⁶⁴, Avrămești – *Templomföld* dated to the Late Medieval period⁶⁵, Cernatu de Jos – *Damokos-kert* from the period of Louis the Great⁶⁶, Bistra Mureșului from the Late Medieval period⁶⁷,

⁴⁷ Costea 1968, fig. 6.1.

⁴⁸ Chițescu 1976, fig. 14.11.

⁴⁹ Alexandrescu, Pop, Marcu 1973, p. 232-233, fig. 4; p. 234, 242, fig. 6.

⁵⁰ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 123, fig. 4.9.

⁵¹ Ioniță 2005, fig. 51.7.

⁵² Iambor 2005, pl. LIII. 38.

⁵³ Nägler 1977, pl. VI.5.

⁵⁴ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 123, fig. 4.6.

⁵⁵ Rosetti 1962, fig. 4.15.

⁵⁶ Iambor 2005, pl. LIII. 39.

⁵⁷ Far-off analogies: Serdon 2005, p. 12, 306, 307. I owe thanks to the amending hand of the anonymous peer-reviewer for drawing my attention to this literature.

⁵⁸ Mandache 2013, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Popa, Ștefănescu 1980, p. 501, fig. 4.d.

⁶⁰ Mihai 1983, p. 442, fig. 2.9.

⁶¹ Teodor, Maxim-Alaiba 1983, p. 465, fig. 1.10.

⁶² Spinei 1982, fig. 7.10.

⁶³ Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Zaharia 1962, p. 58, fig. 15.3. With regard to the chronology see footnote no. 30.

⁶⁴ Sófalvi 2017, p. 126, fig. 53.8.

⁶⁵ Benkő 1992, pl. 79.4.

⁶⁶ Székely 1990, pl. III. 10.

⁶⁷ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 123, fig. 4.11.

from the castle at Breaza in Făgăraş dated to the 14th century⁶⁸, as well as the castle from Tilişca, also dated to the 14th century⁶⁹. Analogies for this variant are also found on the other side of the Carpathians in Wallachia at Dridu – *La Metereze* dated post 14th century⁷⁰, and Cetăţeni from the 13-14th centuries⁷¹, but also in Moldavia in the earth-and-timber fort at Bâtca Doamnei dated to the 12-13th centuries⁷². Pieces with massive barbs are known in Transylvania from the castles at Codlea⁷³, and Cernatu de Sus – *Ikavár* dated to the 13-14th centuries⁷⁴, and the settlement at Târgşor in Wallachia, discovered in 15th century contexts⁷⁵.

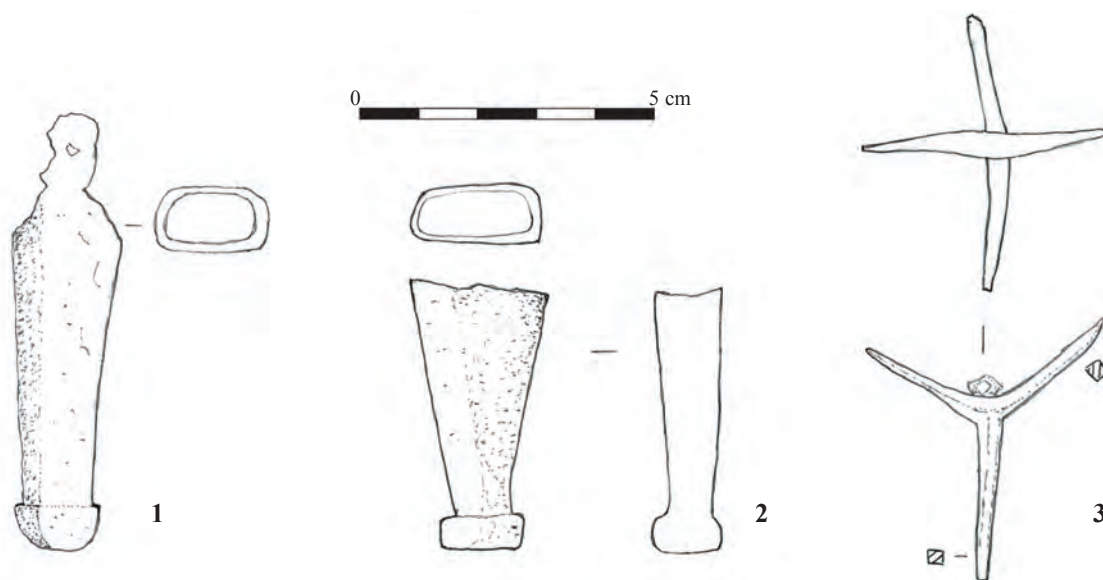


Fig. 12. Dagger scabbard chapes from King's Rock Castle (Argeş County Museum – the drawings were made by the author).

The largest share of socketed arrowheads is represented by the pyramidal four-bladed types. In morphological terms they are quite uniform, while regarding their size it can be noted that some of the pieces were fitted with shorter tips, and these generally have larger overall dimensions (fig. 11/1-4, 10). Their analogies are known from Cetăţeni⁷⁶, from the castle at Tălmăciu⁷⁷, from Alba Iulia⁷⁸, as well as from Bistra Mureşului discovered in 13-14th century contexts⁷⁹. The long and narrow arrowheads are smaller and lighter (fig. 11/5-8), one of them was exceptionally cast from bronze (fig. 11/8). This type is generally considered to be an armour-piercing projectile effective against chain mail. The analogies are scarce in the Carpathian region and can be found at Cetăţeni⁸⁰, and Bistra Mureşului⁸¹, where a single blunt tipped piece was discovered (fig. 11/9). The series is closed by a fragmentary cone-shaped piece

⁶⁸ Năgler 1969, p. 101, fig. 6.1, p. 114.

⁶⁹ Năgler 1967, Taf. III. 4.

⁷⁰ Ioniţă 2005, fig. 51.6.

⁷¹ Chiţescu 1976, fig. 14.10.

⁷² Spinei 1982, fig. 7.9, 11.

⁷³ Costea 1968, fig. 3.1-3.

⁷⁴ Székely 1976-1977, p. 93, fig. 16.2.

⁷⁵ Popescu 1959, p. 738, fig. 11.2; p. 741, fig. 13.6.

⁷⁶ Chiţescu 1976, fig. 14.14-15.

⁷⁷ Beşliu-Munteanu 1999, p. 51, foto 3, 5.

⁷⁸ Marcu-Istrate 2009, nr. cat. 133.

⁷⁹ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 123, fig. 4.14-16.

⁸⁰ Chiţescu 1976, fig. 14.9, 12.

⁸¹ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 123, fig. 4.17.

(fig. 11/11), which has analogies at Cetățeni⁸², and Codlea castle⁸³. Based on their weight (more than 25 g)⁸⁴, two pieces can be identified as being cross-bow projectiles (fig. 11/12-13) fitted with short pyramidal tips and narrow necks. Their analogies are known from Bistra Mureșului⁸⁵, and Cetățeni in the vicinity of King's Rock castle⁸⁶.

The weapon's assemblage also includes two fragmentary dagger scabbard chapes made from iron. The chapes display rectangular cross-sections with rounded corners, one of them slightly widening upwards, while the other one shows a more marked flaring (fig. 12/1-2). Furthermore, one chape has a hemispherical ending, while the other one is flat. This type of artefact is quite rare among the medieval finds, and only two pieces are known from Wallachia, published by A. Ioniță from Dridu – *La Metereze* and dated to the 14th century⁸⁷. The row of armature is closed by a calthrop (fig. 12/3), used against assailers or pursuers.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AND THE ISSUES REGARDING THE CONSTRUCTION HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

The historical interpretation of the weapons' assemblage from King's Rock castle presented above is problematical in many regards. The precise chronological attribution of the various arrowhead types, as shown above, is in many cases impossible to achieve, as several types have maintained their popularity for many centuries and thus their production extended to long periods. It goes without saying that a relative chronological sequence is impossible to put forward with no stratigraphic data available. The only contextual information refers to the arrowheads discovered in the charred remains of a beam. Unfortunately, however the context was not documented even though its informational potential would have been quite significant, as the entire assemblage must have belonged to the same chronological horizon. Furthermore, the opportunity to pinpoint with certainty the types of projectiles used in battle was also missed.

The considerable amount of weapon finds in itself also reflects the important defensive role of this strategically placed fort. The location of the castle at the Wallachian side of the Bran pass indicates with a high degree of certainty that its main task was to supervise the military and commercial traffic coming into Transylvania. Based on the topographical situation of the castle it can be argued that this fort was in fact an outpost of the Hungarian Kingdom constructed beyond the mountains and thus was not built by the Wallachian voivodes. The construction of King's Rock castle may be linked with the emergence of Transylvanian colonist in Wallachia at the end of the Arpadian period, e.g. at Câmpulung and Curtea de Argeș, for which the most meaningful evidence is represented by the gravestone of Count Laurențiu ('*comes Laurentius de Longo Campo*') from Câmpulung, dated to around 1300⁸⁸. According to the diploma issued by King Louis the Great on 19 November 1377 the Saxons from the Brașov region started the construction of a 'new' castle at the Transylvanian side of the Bran Pass, probably as a result of the fact that the founding and consolidation of the Wallachian state has exposed King's Rock castle to the attacks of the Wallachian voivodes seated nearby at Câmpulung. The king who authorised the construction of the new castle also instructed that the customs station beyond the mountains ('*tributum iuxta Ruffam*') be relocated to Bran castle⁸⁹. The aforementioned source is basically an indirect attestation of King's Rock castle, given that the respective customs station due to its exposure could only carry out its activity under the protection of a nearby fortification. Furthermore, the distance between the two castles is in excess of 20 km. From the chronicle of János Küküllei we learn that the king 'has built the powerful fortress of Bran (h. Töröcsvár) at the Wallachian border and has enforced

⁸² Chițescu 1976, fig. 14.8.

⁸³ Costea 1968, fig. 4.1-2.

⁸⁴ According to a consensus in the literature the projectiles which weighed more than 25 g could not be shot from a bow. See Dzembasz 1999, p. 274. Naturally this does not mean that lighter arrowheads could not be used with cross-bows. Cf. Zimmermann 2000, p. 98.

⁸⁵ Györfi 2014-2015, p. 125, fig. 5.4, 9.

⁸⁶ Rosetti 1962, fig. 4.1-5; Chițescu 1976, fig. 14.16.

⁸⁷ Ioniță 2005, fig. 52.7-8.

⁸⁸ See Lăzărescu 1975.

⁸⁹ Ub. II, p. 479-781. Most researchers identify the toponym featured in the source with present day's Rucăr (Argeș County). During the following century this was the place of the customs station. Cf. Cantacuzino 1981, p. 126.

its garrison with troops carrying light “English” arms and archers equipped with cross-bows⁹⁰. According to the evidence of the archaeological records, the castle placed in a highly important strategic location was the scene of intense sieges and it is likely that for a brief period it was captured by the Wallachians at the beginning of the 15th century during the rule of Mircea cel Bătrân⁹¹.

Given the aforementioned methodological problems, the existing weapon finds are not suitable for the elucidation of questions related to the construction of the fort, but still do help in defining a chronological interval, albeit a loose one, for the functioning of the castle (*i.e.* between the 13th and 16th centuries). No construction phases, reconstructions or additions of new elements can be outlined based on the analysis of the castle’s ruins, apart from the walled-up opening on the southeastern side of the semicircular tower. It seems that the emergence and spread of firearms during the 15th and 16th centuries did not seriously impact the architecture of King’s Rock castle’s defences. This assertion is seemingly in contradiction with Filippo Pigafetta’s short account written in the fall of 1598, in which the Florentine military engineer travelling on behalf of the Grand Duke to Transylvania and then to Wallachia mentions the presence of artillery in the castle featured under the name of *Chiral Petra*⁹². Furthermore, numerous data from the 16th century account books of Braşov indicate that the bridges leading to King’s Rock had to be repaired by the residence of Râşnov⁹³.

The historical interpretation is straightforward. The appearance of the Ottoman Empire and its oppressive military presence in the region during the 15th century has not spared Transylvania, furthermore, the aftermath of the battle of Mohács (1526) rendered the use and maintenance of such a distant outpost impossible, and presumably no attempts were made to modernize the defences of the castle during the 16th century. The commissioners of Ferdinand I tasked with assessing the state of the castles and towns along the border in 1551-1552 as a preparatory measure for transforming Transylvania into a Habsburg province did not deal with King’s Rock castle⁹⁴. During the decades marked by the birth of the Transylvanian Principality, the castle was presumably abandoned by the political and military leadership of the new state, and its defensive role was transferred to Bran castle.

KING’S ROCK, THE CASTLE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER?

In 1211 King Andrew II of Hungary offered the region of Burzenland in the southeastern corner of the Carpathian Arc to the knights of the Order of Saint Mary’s Hospital based in the Holy Land with the aim to protect the Kingdom against the Cumans. The Teutonic Order, which enjoyed a wide range of political, administrative, economic and religious privileges, erected a network of earth-and-timber forts followed shortly by stone castles on its new territory. Due to breach of their accord with the King, Andrew II took back the offered land in 1222, but shortly retracted the measure and in addition to the Transylvanian domains, entrusted the knights with further lands beyond the Carpathian Arc up until the land of the *Brodnic*s, where they built further castles (*‘castrum munitissimum ultra montes nivium’*), that successfully fought off the attack of the Cumans⁹⁵. In 1225 the king personally led a military campaign against the Order, seized their castle beyond the mountains and permanently expelled them from the Kingdom of Hungary⁹⁶.

While analysing the topography of the castle ruins located on the exterior of the Carpathian Arc, I have come to the conclusion that King’s Rock is the only such fortification that fits the profile of the castles built by the Order in this region. My assertion is not without precedents⁹⁷, although at first sight it seems that it is not corroborated by the archaeological evidence and the majority of researchers reject this hypothesis. Thorough study of the research history of the castle miscredits former conclusions concerning its foundation

⁹⁰ The text is cited from the chronicle-variant preserved in the Thuróczy chronicle. Thuróczy, *Krónikája*, p. 262.

⁹¹ See Coman 2013, p. 234. This assertion is corroborated by the presence on the territory of the castle of coins minted during the reign of voivode Mircea.

⁹² *Călători...* III, p. 561. Pigafetta’s journey is dated to the year 1595. See p. 540-559.

⁹³ 1533: *Quellen...* II, p. 323; 1542: *Quellen...* III, p. 124.

⁹⁴ Oborní 2002; Barabás 1891a, p. 432; Barabás 1891b, p. 645-659; Barabás 1892, p. 143-158.

⁹⁵ EO I, p. 173.

⁹⁶ EO I, p. 163.

⁹⁷ Among the first proponents of this hypothesis we find the Transylvanian Saxon historian Walter Horwath. See Horwath 1929.

and construction. This is due to the fact that the investigations carried out in 1968 were effectively limited to collecting the finds scattered during the 1905 excavations as the archaeological contexts were already compromised during this first stage of research. In all probability, a large share of the finds was discarded at that time (1968-1971), while the collected ceramic assemblage is still unlocated, which is all the more regrettable considering that the early finds could shed light on the issues regarding the construction of the castle. Based on the typological analysis of the large arrowhead assemblage we can note that certain types, such as the tanged rhomboidal and pyramidal projectiles, as well as the socketed short barbed arrowheads, can be dated before the 14th century and could even be contemporary with the presence of the Teutonic Order in the region. Even so, the semicircular tower erected on the eastern side could have originally fulfilled the role of chapel in my view. Furthermore, the plan of the castle is not revelatory in this regard, as the particularities of the Order's fort architecture developed only later in the Baltic region.

CONCLUSIONS

King's Rock castle (r. Orateea, h. Királykő, g. Königstein, l. Lapis Regis, Chiral Petra) is highly interesting in many regards, even though it belongs to the series of unjustly forgotten medieval castles. Even though it captured the attention of researchers as early as the beginning of the 20th century, the results of the archaeological investigations carried out on its territory remained mostly unpublished, as were the discovered finds. This has effectively hindered the historical interpretation of the castle. The present paper aimed at addressing this deficiency; however, in the absence of the archaeological documentation its scope can only be limited.

Based on the historical sources, the weapon finds, as well as the topographic observations, the paper attempts to offer a critical assessment of the castle's construction history. King's Rock castle is one of the outposts built on the other side of the Carpathians during the expansion of the Hungarian Kingdom. The medieval diplomas starting with the 15th century mention the castle as belonging to the dominion of the Szekler Count, but references to King's Rock castle are also made with regard to the commercial links of the Saxons of Braşov with the Wallachians. In addition to these data, the sources generally concentrate on the military role of the castle. The typological and comparative analysis of the arrowheads, in addition to the Late Medieval types, also outlined an earlier, *i.e.* Arpadian horizon. In light of the historical and archaeological analysis, the possibility that King's Rock castle was in fact built by the Teutonic Order at the beginning of the 13th century is quite plausible.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS

1. Fig. 9/1

Elongated rhomboidal arrowhead with a flat blade ending in a stopper; tang with a circular section; full length = 8 cm; blade length = 5.1 cm; blade width = 2.1 cm; weight = 8.8 g; inv. no.: F133.

2. Fig. 9/2

Elongated rhomboidal arrowhead with a flat blade, concave shoulder which continues into the tang with no transition; full length = 4.6 cm; maximum width = 1.3 cm; weight = 2.13 g; inv. no.: F1333.

3. Fig. 9/3

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with a long, crested blade, concave shoulder, rhomboidal cross-section, stopper and a tang with a square cross-section; length = 8.2 cm; blade length = 4 cm; maximum width = 1.6 cm; weight = 8.07 g; inv. no.: F1298.

4. Fig. 9/4

Leaf-shaped fragmentary arrowhead, its blade is gradually thinner towards the tip; the tang has a round cross-section; length = 4.1 cm; blade width = 1.4 cm; tang length = 2.1 cm; weight = 2.93 g; inv. no.: F1515.

5. Fig. 9/5

Leaf-shaped fragmentary arrowhead, its blade is gradually thinner towards the tip; the tang has a round cross-section; length = 5.2 cm; blade width = 1.5 cm; weight = 5.65 g; inv. no.: F498 (741).

6. Fig. 9/6

Leaf-shaped fragmentary arrowhead, its blade is gradually thinner towards the tip; the tang has a round cross-section; full length = 4.9 cm; blade length = 2.5 cm; maximum width = 1.3 cm; weight = 1.74 g; inv. no.: F1300.

7. Fig. 9/7

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with a narrow blade, its tip is thickened and has a rhomboidal cross-section, and a prominent crest; the lower part of the blade is flat, and the tang has a circular cross-section; full length = 6.9 cm; blade length = 3.3 cm, maximum width = 1.1 cm; weight = 4.97 g; inv. no.: F1339.

8. Fig. 9/8

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a prominent crest, deformed tip; the neck has a protrusion and its cross-section is rhomboidal; the tang has a round cross-section; full length = 7.4 cm; blade length = 4.3 cm; maximum width = 2 cm; weight = 6.13 g; inv. no.: F1290.

9. Fig. 9/9

Cross-bow projectile, it has a prismatic body ending in a pyramidal tip, the tang is deformed and has a square cross-section; full length = 9.6 cm; blade length = 5 cm; maximum width = 1.5×1.5 cm; weight = 48.24 g; inv. no.: F1358.

10. Fig. 9/10

Pyramidal arrowhead with three blades, its tang has a round cross-section; full length = 4.5 cm; blade length = 2.5 cm; maximum width = 1 cm; weight = 4.37 g; inv. no.: F1347.

11. Fig. 9/11

Pyramidal arrowhead with three blades, its tang has a round cross-section; full length = 4.2 cm; blade length = 2.5 cm; maximum width = 0.8 cm; weight = 2.82 g; inv. no.: F1345.

12. Fig. 9/12

Pyramidal three bladed arrowhead, its tang has a round cross-section; full length = 3.6 cm; blade length = 2.3 cm; maximum width = 0.8 cm; weight = 2.77 g; inv. no.: F1344.

13. Fig. 10/1

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with a long flat blade and flaring socket; full length = 4.5 cm; blade length = 2.3 cm; socket diameter = 0.8 cm; maximum width = 1.3 cm; weight = 2.47 g; inv. no.: F1308.

14. Fig. 10/2

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with wide and flat blade and flaring socket; full length = 5.9 cm; blade length = 3 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 1.4 cm; weight = 3.59 g; inv. no.: F1314.

15. Fig. 10/3

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with a long fragmentary blade and socket; length = 5.1 cm; blade length = 2.5 cm; maximum width = 1.2 cm; weight = 2.57 g; inv. no.: F576.

16. Fig. 10/4

Leaf-shaped arrowhead with a wide chipped blade having a triangular cross-section; full length = 7.4 cm; blade length = 3 cm; socket diameter = 0.8 cm; maximum width = 1.8 cm; weight = 7.12 g; inv. no.: F1330.

17. Fig. 10/5

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a flat blade and gradually widening socket; full length = 5.9 cm; blade length = 3.2 cm; socket diameter = 1.1 cm; maximum width = 1.8 cm; weight = 4.67 g; inv. no.: F1325.

18. Fig. 10/6

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a flat, wide, crested and bent blade; full length = 6.6 cm; blade length = 3.5 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 1.8 cm; weight = 5.70 g; inv. no.: F1680.

19. Fig. 10/7

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a flat, wide, crested and bent blade; full length = 6.3 cm; socket length = 3.3 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 2.7 cm; weight = 8.43 g; inv. no.: F1676.

20. Fig. 10/8

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a small flat blade, long neck and flaring socket; full length = 5.3 cm; blade length = 1.3 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 1.3 cm; weight = 5.43 g; inv. no.: F1334.

21. Fig. 10/9

Triangular-shaped arrowhead with a flat crested blade and a prominent shoulder; full length = 6.9 cm; blade length = 3.5 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 1.7 cm; weight = 6.65 g; inv. no.: F1316.

22. Fig. 10/10

Barbed arrowhead with a fragmentary and deformed blade and flaring socket; one of barbs ending is intact; length = 4 cm; socket diameter = 0.9 cm; weight = 3.45 g; inv. no.: F 1508.

23. Fig. 10/11

Barbed fragmentary arrowhead with flaring socket; length = 4.5 cm; socket diameter = 1.1 cm; weight = 4.12 g; inv. no.: F1506.

24. Fig. 10/12

Barbed arrowhead fitted with a socket, one of its barbs is broken, the other one is deformed; length = 5.2 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; weight = 6.53 g; inv. no.: F 1515.

25. Fig. 10/13

Barbed arrowhead, its blade and socket are fragmentary, one of barbs ending is intact; length = 5.3 cm; barb length = 3.2 cm; width = 2.4 cm; weight = 3.46 g; inv. no.: F581.

26. Fig. 10/14

Barbed arrowhead, its blade and socket are fragmentary, one of barbs ending is intact; weight = 3.77 g; inv. no.: F580.

27. Fig. 10/15

Barbed arrowhead with flaring and bent socket; full length = 6.1 cm; barb length = 5.3 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 3 cm; weight = 5.38 g; inv. no.: F1504.

28. Fig. 11/1

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead, the socket is fragmentary and is not separated from the blade by additional elements; length = 3.4 cm; blade length = 1.7 cm; width = 0.6 × 0.8 cm; weight = 4.77 g; inv. no.: F643 (886).

29. Fig. 11/2

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a narrow neck and a deformed socket; full length = 4.5 cm; blade length = 2 cm; width = 0.5 × 0.6 cm; weight = 2.6 g; inv. no.: F642 (885).

30. Fig. 11/3

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a slightly narrowed neck and fragmentary socket; length = 4.8 cm; blade length = 2 cm; width = 0.6 × 0.7 cm; weight = 8.26 g; inv. no.: F640 (883).

31. Fig. 11/4

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a prominent neck under the blade and fragmentary socket; full length = 4.4 cm; blade length = 2 cm; socket diameter = 0.9 cm; width = 0.5 × 0.8 cm; weight = 6.8 g; inv. no.: F641 (884).

32. Fig. 11/5

Thin four-bladed arrowhead with a flaring socket; full length = 4.8 cm; blade length = 2.7 cm; socket diameter = 0.9 cm; width = 0.4 × 0.45 cm; weight = 3.27 g; inv. no.: F1295.

33. Fig. 11/6

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a thin tip, neck and socket; full length = 5.3 cm; blade length = 2.8 cm; socket diameter = 1 cm; maximum width = 0.7 × 0.7 cm; weight = 4.22 g; inv. no.: F1332.

34. Fig. 11/7

Pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a thin tip, its neck is thin and deformed; full length = 4.3 cm; blade length = 2 cm; socket diameter = 1.3 cm; maximum width = 0.5 × 0.4 cm; weight = 3.06 g; inv. no.: F1297.

35. Fig. 11/8

Bronze pyramidal four-bladed arrowhead with a thin tip, narrowing neck and socket; full length = 4.3 cm; blade length = 1.7 cm; socket diameter = 0.9 cm; maximum width = 0.5 × 0.3 cm; weight = 3.21 g; inv. no.: F1292.

36. Fig. 11/9

Irregular pyramidal arrowhead, with a blunt tip and fragmentary socket; length = 3.7 cm; maximum width = 0.5 × 0.5 cm; weight = 3.25 g; inv. no.: F579.

37. Fig. 11/10

Irregular pyramidal arrowhead, with a blunt tip and fragmentary socket; length = 4.5 cm; maximum width = 0.7 × 0.8 cm; weight = 7.53 g; inv. no.: F573.

38. Fig. 11/11

Cone-shaped arrowhead with fragmentary socket; length: 4 cm; maximum diameter = 1.1 cm; weight = 2.75 g; inv. no.: F574.

39. Fig. 11/12

Pyramidal cross-bow projectile with a socket and cylindrical neck; full length: 6.1 cm; maximum width = 1.1 × 1.2 cm; socket diameter = 1.1 cm; weight = 26.1 g; inv. no.: F1360.

40. Fig. 11/13

Pyramidal cross-bow projectile with a socket and slightly narrowing neck; full length = 7 cm; socket diameter = 1.2 cm; maximum width = 1 × 1.1 cm; weight = 29.47 g; inv. no.: F1359.

41. Fig. 12/1

Dagger scabbard chape, it has a rectangular cross-section with rounded corners, its lower end is profiled and rounded, its upper part is fragmentary; length = 7.5 cm; maximum width = 2 × 1.1 cm; inv. no.: F530 (773).

42. Fig. 12/2

Dagger scabbard chape, it has a rectangular cross-section with rounded corners, its lower end is profiled and cuboid-shaped, its upper part is missing; length = 4.6 cm; maximum width = 2.1 × 1.1 cm; inv. no.: F1677.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

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AAR – *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia*. Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów
ACSS – *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Leiden
ActaAntHung – *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
ActaArch – *Acta Archaeologica*, København
ActaArchCarp – *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*. Polish Academy of Sciences – Cracow Branch, Kraków
ActaArchHung – *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
Acta Hargitensia – *Acta Hargitensia*, Anuarul Muzeelor din județul Harghita, Miercurea Ciuc
ActaMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMT – *Acta Musei Tutovensis. Istorie Veche și Arheologie*. Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
Aegyptus – *Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia*. Scuola di Papirologia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano
AfO – *Archiv für Orientforschung*. Institut für Orientalistik, Wien
AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston
AJAH – *American Journal of Ancient History*. Harvard University
Aluta – *Aluta*. Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
AM – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*, Athen
AMI(T) – *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung, Außenstelle Teheran, Berlin.
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ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
ArhVestnik – *Arheološki vestnik*. Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana
Arheologija SSSR – *Arheologija SSSR: Svod arheologičeskikh istočnikov*. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
Archaeometry – *Archaeometry*. University of Oxford
ArchBulg – *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, Sofia
ArchÉrt – *Archeológiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata*, Budapest
ArchJug – *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Beograd
ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
Argesis – *Argesis*. Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești
Arta – *Arta: Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology*
AS – *Anatolian Studies*. Journal of the British Institute at Ankara, Cambridge University Press
ASAE – *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire
AȘUI – *Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași*
AW – *Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*, Darmstadt
Banatica – *Banatica*. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BARBrSer – *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, Oxford
BARIntSer – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, Oxford
BARSupSer – *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series*, Oxford
BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, The University of Chicago Press
BCMI – *Buletinul Comisiunii/Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, București
BerRGK – *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main
BiblIstrPont-SA – *Biblioteca Istro-Pontică. Seria Arheologie*. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea

- BiblMusAp – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
 BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
 BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
 BSS – Black Sea Studies, Aarhus
 București.MIM – București. Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului București
 CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
 CAH – Cambridge Ancient History, 14 volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1970-2005
 CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge
 Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău
 CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
 CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași
 CEFR – Collection de l'École Française de Rome
 CercIst – Cercetări Istorice. Complexul Național Muzeal „Moldova”, Iași, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
 Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
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 CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 volumes, Berlin, 1853-
 Classical Review – The Classical Review. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
 CIQ – The Classical Quaterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
 CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
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 Drevnosti Bospora – Drevnosti Bospora. Institut Arheologii, Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
 Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
 Electrum – Electrum. Journal of Ancient History. Department of Ancient History at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow
 ESA – Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua. Bulletin et mémoires consacrés à l'archéologie et l'ethnographie de l'Europe orientale et de l'Asie du Nord, Helsinki
 EO I – *Erdélyi Okmánytár I (1023-1301)*. Bevezető tanulmánnyal és jegyzetekkel regesztákban közzéteszi Zs. Jakó, Budapest, 1997
 FGtH – F. Jacoby (hg.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin (und Leiden) 1923-
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 GM – Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
 Godišnjak – Godišnjak. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
 Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani
 Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
 Historia Urbana – Historia Urbana. Comisia de Istorie a Orașelor din România, Academia Română, Sibiu
 Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua. Institute društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb
 Hrvatska revija – Hrvatska revija. Matica hrvatska, Zagreb
 HS – Historische Sprachforschung. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, Göttingen
 HSCP – Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Harvard University Press
 IDR – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane*, Editura Academiei, București, 1975-

- IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903-
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, I (2005), II (2016)
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II.1 (1902), II.2 (1906), III (1914/1916)
- Iran – Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaHaskovo – Izvestija na Istoričeski Muzej Haskovo. Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej - Haskovo
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- JAMÉ – A Nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
- JEA – European Journal of Archaeology (continues Journal of European Archaeology). European Association of Archaeologists, Cambridge University Press
- JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
- JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Kêmi – Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Cambridge University Press
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- KRI I – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1975
- KRI II – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume II. *Ramesses II, royal inscriptions*, Oxford, 1979
- KRI IV – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume IV. *Merenptah and the late 19th dynasty*, Oxford, 1982
- KRI V – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume V. *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1983
- KSIAMoskva – Kratkie soobščeniija Instituta arheologii, Moskva
- KSIIMK – Kratkie soobščeniija o dokladah i polevyh issledovanijah Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury, Moskva
- LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498*; part I. *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324-346* (P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent) ; part II. *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346-498* (R.A.G. Carson, J.P.C. Kent), London, 1965
- MAA – Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica. Makedonsko Arheološko Naučno Društvo, Skopje
- MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
- Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș
- Meander – Meander. Rocznik wydawany przez Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis. Complexul Muzeal Național Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva
- MIBE – W. Hahn, M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I – Iustinian I, 491-565)*, Vienna, 2000
- Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal of Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden
- MonAnt – Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura delle Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma
- MonHungHist – *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 2, Scriptorum 1-38, Pest-Budapest, 1857-1906.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- NABU – Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien
- Nature – Nature, scientific journal, London
- OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
- Opuscula archaeologica – Opuscula archaeologica. Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb

- OREA – Oriental and European Archaeology. Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- PAS – Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie Berlin
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și note de istorie veche și arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea
- Philologus – Philologus. Zeitschrift für Antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption, Berlin
- Phoenix – Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto
- PIFK – Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury. Magnitogorsk
- PMMB – Publicațiile Muzeului Municipiului București
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Praehistorica – Praehistorica. Univerzita Karlova, Praha
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- Radiocarbon – Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research, Cambridge University Press
- RAnt – Res Antiquae, Bruxelles
- RBN(S) – Revue Belge de Numismatique (et de Sigillographie). Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique, Bruxelles.
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques. L'associations pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France, Paris
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică. Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Chișinău
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- RIC V.2 – P.H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V.2. Probus – Amandus*, London, 1933 (reprinted 1968)
- RIC VI – C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VI. From Diocletian's reform (A.D. 294) to the death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)*, London, 1967
- RIC VII – P.M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VII. Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313-337*, London, 1966
- RIC VIII – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VIII. The Family of Constantine I A.D. 337-364*, London, 1981
- RIC X – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, X. The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395-491*, London, 1994
- RMI – Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor - Monumente istorice și de artă, București
- RossArh – Rossijskaja Arheologija. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Institut arheologii, Moskva
- RPRP – Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects. Prehistory Foundation, Sofia
- SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași
- SAAC – Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation. Jagiellonian University Institute of Archaeology, Kraków
- Saeculum – Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte. Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice din România, București
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva

- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Situla – Situla Journal: Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Sloveniae, Ljubljana
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia. Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
- Sovetskaja Etnografija – Sovetskaja Etnografija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut etnografii, Moskva
- SSH – Social Science History. Social Science History Association, Cambridge University Press
- Starinar – Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, Beograd
- StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu
- Stratum plus – Stratum plus. Arheologija i kulturnaja antropologija, Vysšaja Antropologičeskaja Škola, St. Peterburg-Chișinău-Odessa-București
- Studia Hercynia – Studia Hercynia. Ústav pro klasickou archeologii, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, Praha
- Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava
- SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica
- SzO V – L. Szádeczky Kardoss (ed.), *Székely Oklevéltár V*, Kolozsvár, 1896
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thrac-Dacica – Thrac-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
- TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara
- Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
- Ub. II – F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II*, Hermannstadt, 1897
- Ub. IV – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen IV*, Hermannstadt, 1937
- Ub. V – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen V*, București, 1975
- UF – Ugarit Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Institut für Altorientalistik und die Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Münster
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Arheološki muzej Split
- Valachica – Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii. Complexul Național Muzeal Curtea Domnească, Târgoviște
- VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskikh nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
- VHAD – Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb
- Vizantijskij vremennik – Vizantijskij vremennik. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
- WPZ – Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift. Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft, Wien
- ŽA – Živa Antika / Antiquité Vivante. Društvo za antički studii na SRM, Seminar na klasična filologija, Filozofski fakultet, Skopje
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Complexul Muzeal Arad
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn