

TRANSYLVANIA IN THE GEPIDIC PERIOD Results and Perspectives

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According to the written sources, in the period between 454 and 567/568 the Transylvanian Basin was part of the Kingdom of the Gepids. The archaeological research into the discoveries dated to this era had begun by the end of the 19th century, but the emphasis of the interpretation has been primarily placed on chronological and ethnic issues up to the present day. This paper is not intended to be a synthesis of the issues, but instead it aims to draw attention to some aspects which have been neglected up to the present. As a result of the recent archaeological excavations, the extent of the territory where so-called row-grave cemeteries characteristic of the Gepidic Period occurred in the Transylvanian Basin needs to be reinterpreted. In addition to this, we would like to call attention to neglected areas of the research, such as social analyses, the more intensive study of the incidence of the disturbance of graves and the comparison of results from cemetery and settlement research. Unfortunately, this type of research is hindered to a great extent by the fact that a great deal of important and irreplaceable information is missing, so analysis in greater detail can only take place following new excavations performed professionally.

EARLY GEPIDS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN TRANSYLVANIA

“...the Gepidae by their own might won for themselves the territory of the Huns and ruled as victors over the extent of all Dacia...”, wrote Jordanes about the aftermath of the Battle of Nedao.¹ This battle in 454 brought about the full transformation of the Carpathian Basin from a political perspective. The military alliance made up mostly of Germanic tribes led by king of the Gepids, Ardarich, was victorious over the sons of Attila, and at the same time this victory spelled the end of the Hunnic Empire. The Gepids took control of the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin. The above passage by the Goth historian is one of the most commonly cited sources in connection with the Transylvanian Gepids. On the basis of this it seems that the Gepids occupied the Transylvanian Basin shortly after the middle of the 5th century. Of course, this historical event has played a central role in archaeological research, mainly in the ethnic and chronological interpretation of the discoveries, so in most cases only finds dated to after the middle of the 5th century have been linked to the Gepids.

Despite the data known from the written sources, the process of the Gepids' appearance and settlement in Transylvania and the Carpathian Basin in general remains a controversial and unresolved issue in the research, with numerous contradictions in its analysis. This is due to two main problems:

1. The historical and archaeological data are inconsistent with one another. While the written sources already mention the presence of the Gepids in the area of the Carpathian Basin by the end of the 3rd century, precisely where this early area of settlement was located is still disputed. At the same time it has not been possible to isolate archaeological material which could be clearly connected to the early Gepids.² The attempts at solving this contradiction have often led to so-called “circular reasoning”, i.e. the archaeological data were interpreted in accordance with the information provided by the written sources and vice versa.

¹ Jordanes: *Getica*, L, 264 (Jordanes: *Getica. The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, translated by Charles C. Mierow, <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~vandersp/Courses/texts/jordgeti.html#L>)

² Bierbrauer, Volker: Gepiden im 5. Jahrhundert. Eine Spurensuche. In: *Miscellanea romano-barbarica. In honorem septagenarii magistri Ion Ioniță oblata*, eds Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Virgil – Hriban, Cătălin – Munteanu, Lucian (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2006), 167–216.

2. The ethnic interpretation of the archaeological material has been intensely disputed in the last two decades. It has become one of the central topics of the research, but there is still no consensus in the literature regarding this subject.³

From an archaeological perspective, it is clear that the discoveries belonging to the period following the Hunnic Period (D3 phase in the Central European chronology) unearthed in the territory of the Kingdom of the Gepids – the Tisza region, the Transylvanian Basin and Sarmia – can be integrated in the so-called Middle-Danubian material culture.⁴ However, the ethnic interpretation of these finds was based purely on their geographical location, since it is not possible to isolate different groups merely on archaeological grounds. At the end of the 5th century, the so-called “row-grave cemeteries” (*Reihengräberfelder*)⁵ appear in Transylvania as well, a phenomenon which connects the region to the European Merovingian culture. Over the years these finds have been primarily interpreted from an ethnic perspective and have primarily been linked to the Gepids, while at the same time the research remains in debt to the analysis of the conditions under which row-grave cemeteries developed as a new archaeological phenomenon. The type itself has Western European origins⁶ and it spread from this area to the rest of Merovingian era Europe. Up to the present it has not been possible to determine more precisely when the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries appeared within the second half of the 5th century and what kind of factors influenced this process. What role the earlier, non-Gepidic communities (for example, the Huns and other Germanic groups) played in the development process of row-grave cemeteries has also remained an open question.

THE GEPIDIC PERIOD CENTER OF POWER IN TRANSYLVANIA

It is widely accepted that the early Gepidic center of power emerged in the valley of Someșul Mic River, more precisely around the ruins of the ancient city *Napoca* (present-day Cluj-Napoca), or that this was the first region occupied by the Gepids who entered the Transylvanian Basin through the Meseș Gate.⁷ The existence of this center is proved by the graves in Apahida and the hoard from Cluj-Someșeni, even if several different

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- ³ Of course, the bibliography on the topic is too large, thus only the most important studies, which represent different viewpoints, will be mentioned: Jones, Siân: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing identities in the past and present* (London – New York: Routledge, 1997); Brather, Sebastian: *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 2004); Bierbrauer, Volker: Zur ethnischen Interpretation in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. In: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Hrsg. Pohl, Walter (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 45–84; Siegmund, Frank: Ethnische und kulturelle Gruppen im frühen Mittelalter aus archäologischer Sicht. In: *Kulturraum und Territorialität: Archäologische Theorien, Methoden und Fallbeispiele. Kolloquium des DFG-SPP 1171, Esslingen 17.–18. Januar 2007*, Hrsg. Krause, Dirk – Nakoinz, Oliver (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2009), 143–157; Curta, Florin: Medieval Archaeology and Ethnicity: Where are We? *History Compass* 9/7 (2011), 537–548; Halsall, Guy: Ethnicity and early medieval cemeteries. *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 18 (2011), 15–27.
- ⁴ For a general overview see: Tejral, Jaroslav: Zur Unterscheidung des vorlangobardischen und elbgermanisch-langobardischen Nachlasses. In: *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, Hrsg. Pohl, Walter – Erhart, Peter (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 104–137; Tejral, Jaroslav: Cultural or Ethnic Changes? Continuity and Discontinuity on the Middle Danube ca A.D. 500. In: *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration*, eds Ivanišević, Vujadin – Kazanski, Michel (Paris – Beograd, 2012), 115–188.
- ⁵ For their characteristics and for the origin of the term see: Ament, Hermann: Reihengräberfriedhöfe. *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 24 (2003), 362–365.
- ⁶ Regarding their origins and the circumstances of their emergence, different theories have been elaborated depending on whether the scholars gave priority to ethnological or to social factors. See Werner, Joachim: Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation. *Archaeologia Geographica* 1 (1950), 23–32; Halsall, Guy: The origins of the Reihengräberzivilisation: forty years on. In: *Fifth-century Gaul: a crisis of identity?*, eds Drinkwater, John – Elton, Hugh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 196–363; Fehr, Hubert: Germanische Einwanderung oder kulturelle Neuorientierung? Zu den Anfängen des Reihengräberhorizontes. In: *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert im Westen*, Hrsg. Brather, Sebastian (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 67–102.
- ⁷ Horedt, Kurt: *Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens* (Bukarest: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1958), 80–81; Bóna, István: From Dacia to Erdöelve: Transylvania in the Period of the Great Migrations (272–896). In: *History of Transylvania*, volume I, ed. Köpeczi, Béla (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 197–198.

opinions regarding their ethnological interpretation have arisen.⁸ Although, unfortunately, the goods from both graves in Apahida are only known in part, the prestige objects coming from them (Byzantine gold brooches, gold name and signet rings, gold objects inlaid with precious stones, etc.) indicate that without any doubt they were very high ranking individuals. These two graves, as well as the treasure hoard from Cluj-Someșeni containing a similar style of objects can clearly be linked to the contemporary European elite. According to the generally accepted view, a few cemeteries with a small number of graves can be linked to the settlement area of the Someșul Mic Valley that developed in the second half of the 5th century, but by the 6th century, the Gepidic center in the Transylvanian Basin moved to the valley of the Mureș River, where there are more cemeteries with greater numbers of graves from this period.⁹ In the light of the new field research, this hypothesis needs to be reconsidered for two reasons. Regarding the cemeteries with a small number of graves, the research made the methodological error of not taking into consideration that none of the graveyards was fully excavated and, therefore, it is highly probable that in the majority of the cases these were parts of larger necropolises, with only a few of their graves having been excavated. The recently identified cemeteries in the area of Cluj-Napoca (Vlaha¹⁰, Florești – Polus Center¹¹) show that the valley of the Someșul Mic River did not lose its importance during the first half of the 6th century. This observation is not contradicted by the fact that no grave from this period is as rich as the ones from Apahida, taking into account that such burials are also unknown in the Tisza region and in the Mureș Valley at that time. In our opinion this may be explained instead by changes that occurred within the society or in the funeral ceremonies of the elite, not by the fact that the Transylvanian center of power had shifted to the Mureș region.

GEPIDIC AND EARLY AVAR PERIOD ROW-GRAVE CEMETERIES IN TRANSYLVANIA

As has been mentioned, the row-grave cemeteries that had emerged by the second half of the 5th century were one of the typical archaeological phenomena of the Gepidic Period. Their most important characteristics were that the graves were for the most part organized into rows, these graves were oriented in a west-east direction and grave goods were placed in them.

Examining the distribution pattern of the row-grave cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin dating from the Kingdom of the Gepids (*Fig. 1*), one can observe that they are – not surprisingly – situated mainly in the valleys of the important rivers and their tributaries. One of the future tasks of the research should be the investigation of the settlement area not only as a whole, but also on a micro-regional level. In addition to the areas of the Someșul Mic and Mureș rivers already mentioned, a high concentration can be also observed in the valley of the Târnava Mare River. At the same time, finds are also known to a lesser extent from the north-eastern part of Transylvania, from the area of the Someșul Mare River. On the other hand, the south-western and south-eastern regions are blank, a situation which can scarcely be blamed on a lack of research. It has not yet been fully explained why the horizon of row-grave cemeteries did not extend to these areas.

⁸ Ostrogothic: Horedt, Kurt – Protase, Dumitru: Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida (Siebenbürgen). *Germania* 50 (1972), 216–220; Gepidic: From Dacia to Erdölve: Transylvania in the Period of the Great Migrations (272–896). In: *History of Transylvania*, volume I, ed. Köpeczi, Béla (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 198–203. Besides the hypotheses mentioned above the possibility of an Alanic interpretation has also been considered: Horedt, Kurt: *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1986), 21.

⁹ Horedt, Kurt: *Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens* (Bukarest: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1958), 83; Csallány, Dezső: *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken (454–568 u. Z.)* (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1961), 313.

¹⁰ Stanciu, Ioan et alii: Vlaha, com. Săvădisla, jud. Cluj. Punct: Pad (Autostrada Brașov-Borș, tronson 2B, km. 43+000-44+000). In: *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 2006* (Chronicles of the Research in Romania, 2006 Season) (<http://cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2007/cd/index.htm>).

¹¹ Rotea, Mihai et alii: Florești – Polus Center. Preliminary observations. *Acta Musei Napocensis* 43–44/1 (2006–2007 [2008]), 59–64; Ferencz, Szabolcs – Nagy, Szabolcs – Lăzărescu, Vlad-Andrei: Necropola din secolul al VI-lea p. Chr / The sixth century A.D. necropolis. In: *Cercetări arheologice preventive la Florești–Polus Center, jud. Cluj (2007) / Rescue excavations at Florești–Polus Center, Cluj County (2007)*, ed. Mustață, Silvia – Gogâltan, Florin – Cociș, Sorin – Ursuțiu, Adrian (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2009), 419–474.

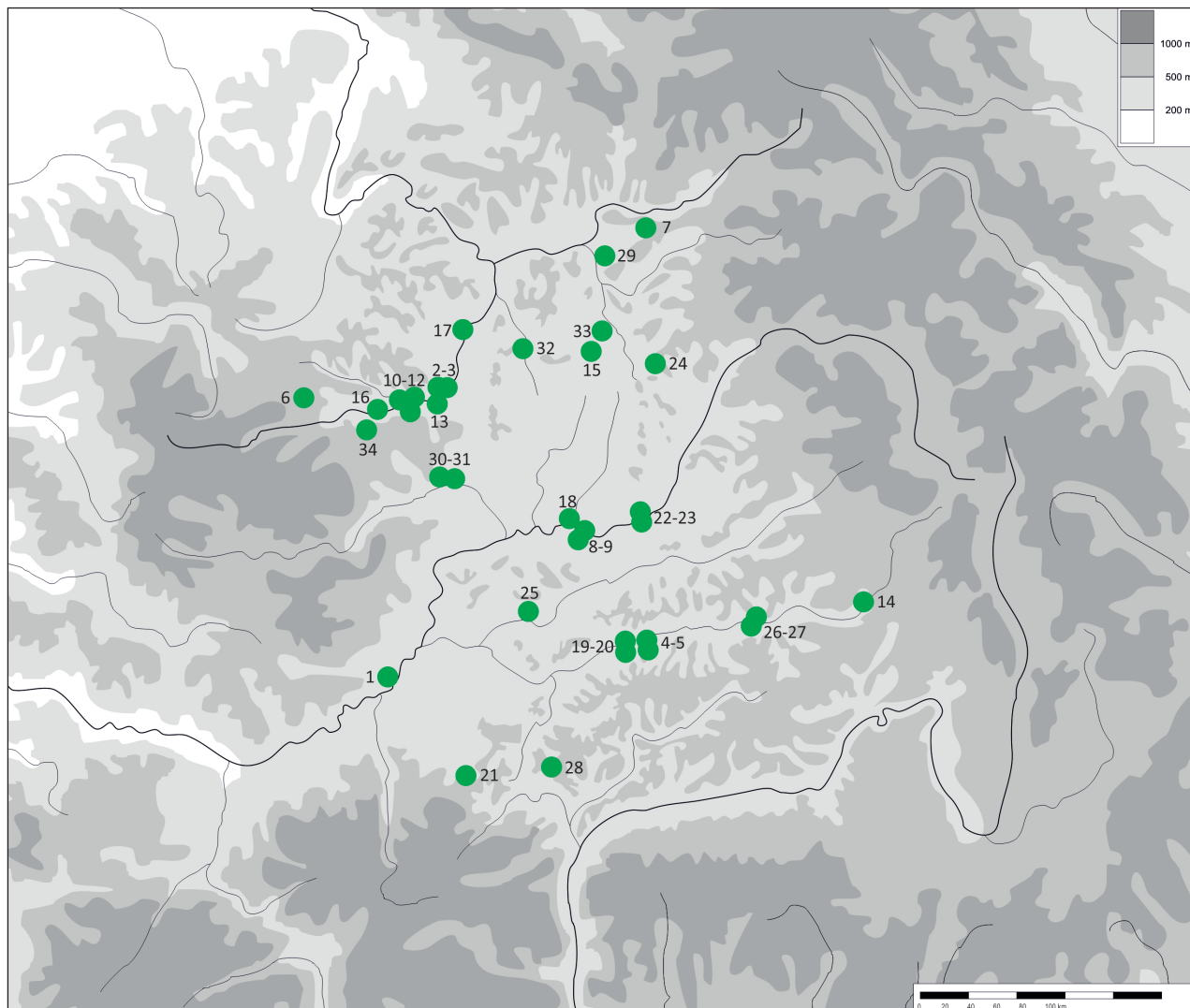


Fig. 1: Cemeteries and burials in the Transylvanian Basin dated in the Gepidic Age (background made by Daniel Spânu): 1. Alba Iulia (Alba County); 2–3. Apahida (Cluj County); 4. Bratei – edge of cemetery no. 2 (Sibiu County); 5. Bratei – edge of cemetery no. 3; 6. Căpușu Mare (Cluj County); 7. Cepari (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 8. Cipău – Gârle (Mureș County); 9. Cipău – Îngrășătoria de porci; 10. Cluj Napoca – C. Coposu street (Cluj County); 11. Cluj-Napoca – Memorandumului street; 12. Cluj-Cordoș (Cluj County); 13. Cluj-Someșeni, (Cluj County); 14. Cristuru Secuiesc (Harghita County); 15. Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 16. Florești (Cluj County); 17. Iclod (Cluj County); 18. Maroscapó Lechința de Mureș (Mureș County); 19. Mediaș – Dumbravă (Sibiu County); 20. Mediaș – Teba; 21. Miercurea Sibiului (Sibiu County); 22. Morești – Podei (Mureș County); 23. Morești – Hulă; 24. Ocnîța (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 25. Sânmiclăuș (Alba County); 26. Sighișoara – Bajendorf (Mureș County); 27. Sighișoara – Hertesz; 28. Slimnic (Sibiu County); 29. Șintereag (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 30. Turda – Castrum (Cluj County); 31. Turda – Râtul Sânmihăienilor; 32. Țaga (Cluj County); 33. Vermeș (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 34. Vlaha (Cluj County)

The phenomenon of the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries did not disappear with the fall of the Kingdom of the Gepids, but continued in the Early Avar Period. The chronological and ethnological interpretation of these graveyards has provoked several scholarly debates.¹² Two main hypotheses can be distinguished: one has placed emphasis on the differences between the cemeteries from the Gepidic and Avar periods, while

¹² For the history of research see: Dobos, Alpár: Gepidák vagy avarok? Az erdélyi kora avar kori soros temetők kutatásának kérdéseiről (Gepids or Avars? Questions from the Research into the Row-Grave Cemeteries of the Early Avar Period in Transylvania). *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* (Essays from the Collection of Coins and Antiquities of the Transylvanian Museum), Új Sorozat 6–7 (16–17) (2011–2012 [2013]), 93–98.

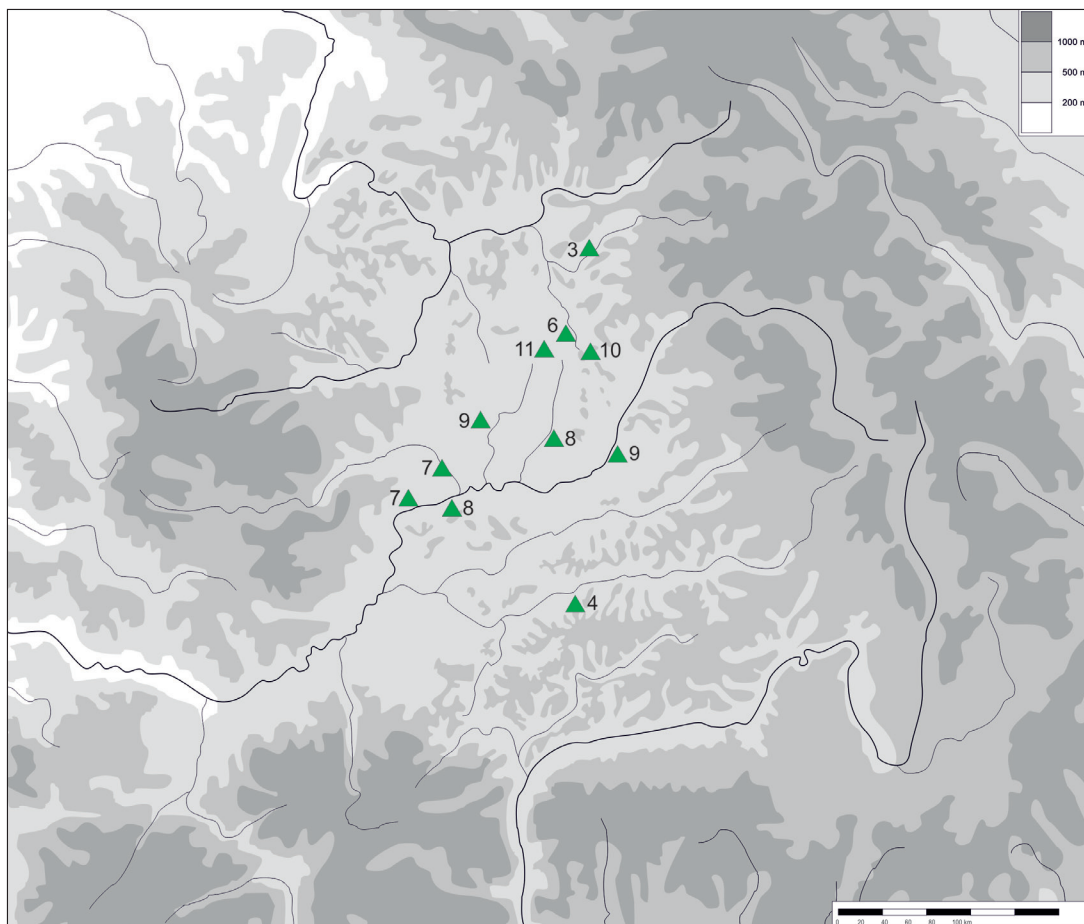


Fig. 2: Row-grave cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin dated in the Early Avar Period (background made by Daniel Spânu): 1. Archiud (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 2. Band (Bandu de Câmpie, Mureș County); 3. Bistrița (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 4. Bratei – cemetery no. 3 (Sibiu County); 5. Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 6. Galații Bistriței (Bistrița-Năsăud County); 7. Luna (Cluj County); 8. Noșlac (Alba County); 9. Târgu Mureș (Mureș County); 10. Unirea-Vereșmort (Alba County); 11. Valea Largă (Mureș County)

the other has been built upon the similarities between the two groups. According to the first theory, there is no continuity between the row-grave cemeteries from the Gepidic and Avar periods, the earlier ones can be ascribed to the Gepids and they ended at the moment of the Avar conquest (568), while the later ones are dated exclusively to the 7th century and can be connected to an immigrant “late Germanic” community.¹³ In contrast, the adherents to the second theory have emphasized the continuity between the two groups; and therefore they interpreted the row-grave cemeteries from the Early Avar Period as belonging to the late Gepidic population.¹⁴ Based on the analogies, from a chronological point of view, it is clear that the development of the late Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries began in the 6th century, however, this cannot be traced back with certainty to the Gepidic Period, even though this possibility cannot be excluded either.¹⁵

In any case, it is worth paying attention to the regional differences and comparing the distribution pattern of the Avar Period row-grave cemeteries (Fig. 2) with that of the previous period. It quickly becomes

¹³ Horedt, Kurt: Der östliche Reihengräberkreis in Siebenbürgen. *Dacia N.S.* 21 (1977), 261–265; Horedt, Kurt: Das Fortleben der Gepiden in der frühen Awarenzeit. *Germania* 63 (1985), 168.

¹⁴ Bóna, István: Gepiden in Siebenbürgen – Gepiden an der Theiß (Probleme der Forschungsmethode und Fundinterpretation). *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1979), 37–50; Harhoiu, Radu: Quellenlage und Forschungsstand der Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens im 6.–7. Jahrhundert. *Dacia N.S.* 43–45 (1999–2001), 127–130, 145; Harhoiu, Radu: Where Did All the Gepids Go? A Sixth- to Seventh-century Cemetery in Bratei (Romania). In: *Neglected Barbarians*, ed. Curta, Florin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 209–244.

¹⁵ Dobos, Alpár: The Reihengräberfelder in Transylvania after 100 Years of Archaeological Research. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 46 (2011), 196–197.



Fig. 4: Three-part belt-set from Noșlac, grave 17 (photo taken by the author)

Fig. 3: Bow-brooches from Morești, grave 42 (photo taken by the author)

apparent in this comparison that on the one hand the distribution area of row-grave cemeteries becomes smaller in the Early Avar Period, and on the other hand the main concentration of the cemeteries is situated in the valley of the Mureș River and the Transylvanian Plain. Only one necropolis is known of in the Târnava Mare valley at the moment (Bratei), and instead it seems that the north-eastern area of the Transylvanian Basin played a more important role than in the Gepidic Period. On the other hand, it is conspicuous that no cemetery has been identified until now in the valley of the Someșul Mic. At the present the causes of this sharp cultural change in this region are still unclear, as well as to what extent this may be explained by the Gepids possibly moving away.

Taking a closer look to the grave goods coming from the row-grave cemeteries dated to the Avar Period, one can observe some regional differences. All the cemeteries contain artifacts of the “Merovingian” type that has analogies in the Western and Central European archaeological material, as well as objects having local roots from the Gepidic Period. In a few cemeteries some new elements have appeared that are not characteristic of either of the two aforementioned traditions, but instead are typical of the material coming from the Carpathian Basin in the Early Avar Period (e.g. equestrian burials, harness pieces, different types of dress accessories, jewelry, weapons, etc.). Usually these elements appear in the latest phase of the cemeteries (Figs 3–4) and were generally connected by research to a community of horsemen (Avars, Cutrigurs, Bulgars) who settled later. According to another theory these graves belonged to the late Gepids, as well, who had gone through an acculturation process and had undergone “Avarization”.¹⁶ It is worth mentioning that these elements are almost completely absent from the cemeteries in north-eastern Transylvania. The causes of this phenomenon require further investigation. A possible explanation might be the peripheral geographical location of this region, particularly if one

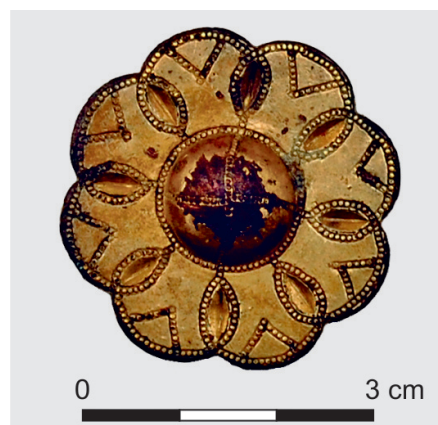


Fig. 5: Disc-shaped brooch from Noșlac, grave 114 (photo taken by the author)



Fig. 6: Pottery with stamped decoration from Band, grave 180 (photo taken by the author)

¹⁶ This theory is maintained mainly by Radu Harhoiu (see note 13).

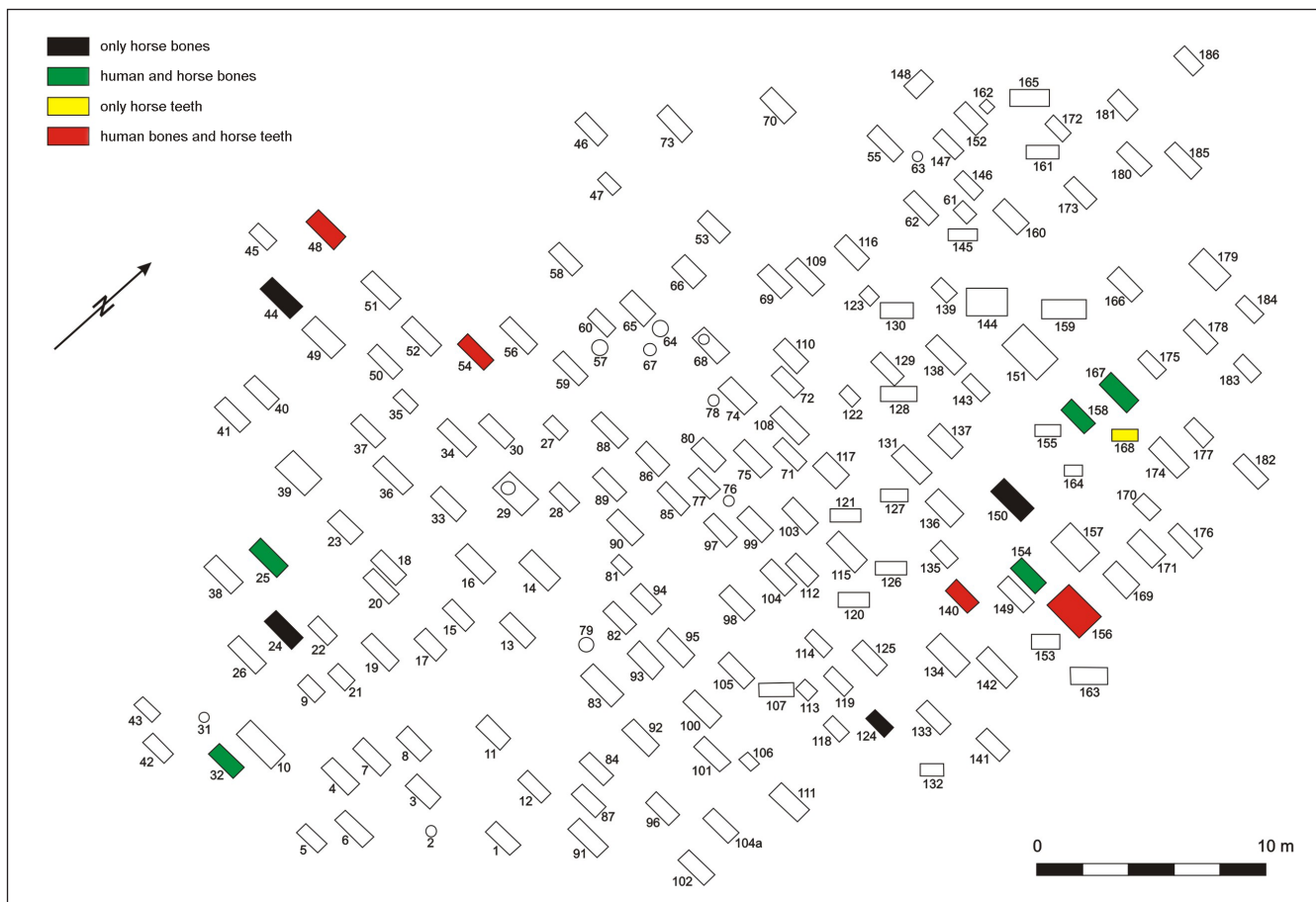


Fig. 7: Distribution of the horse burials in the cemetery at Band (redrawn after Kovács, István: *A mezőbándi ásatások. Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiséggyűjteményéből* 4 (1913), Fig. 2)

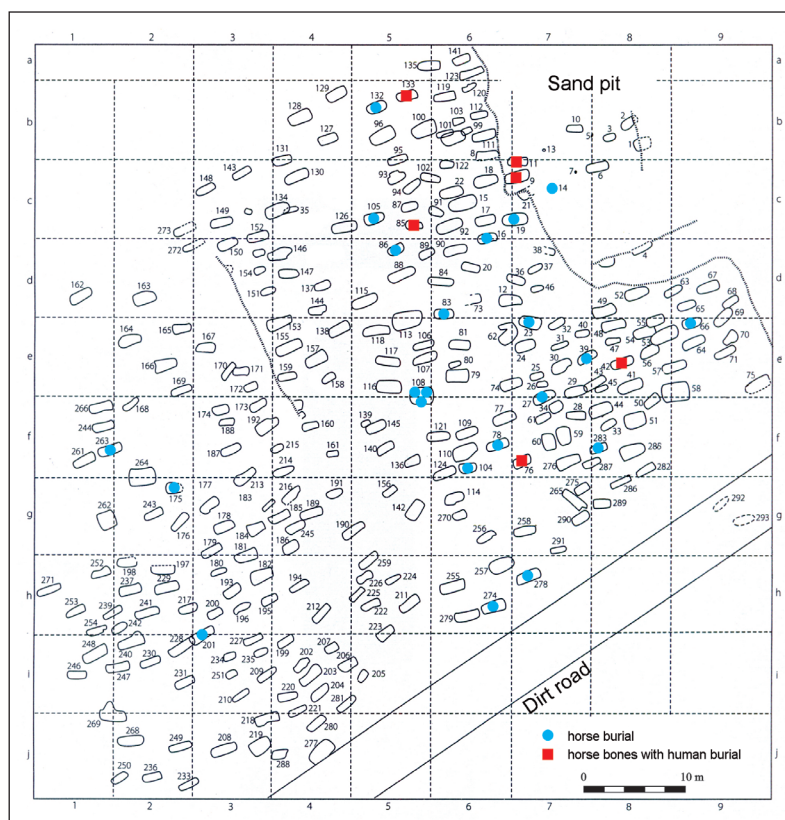


Fig. 8: Distribution of the horse burials in the cemetery no 3 at Bratei (redrawn after Bârzu, Ligia: *Ein gepidisches Denkmal aus Siebenbürgen. Das Gräberfeld von Bratei (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2010), Verbreitungskarte 2)*

takes into account that, except for the row-grave cemeteries in question, no other discoveries dated to the Early Avar Period have been identified in the area. On the basis of the grave goods, the cemetery at Bratei shows some peculiarities as well, since in addition to the “Merovingian” style elements mentioned above there are a relatively high number of Byzantine import pieces. These belong mainly to types known from the Lower Danube area and therefore it seems likely that they attest to a relationship between the community at Bratei and the fortresses of the Lower Danube and their surrounding areas.

In the past only a small number of studies were dedicated to social analysis of the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries and, generally, these were strongly linked to ethnic issues.¹⁷ Recent studies have demonstrated that the gender and age of the deceased had a significant impact on the method and selection of grave goods in the burials showing Merovingian cultural influence.¹⁸ This kind of analysis has not been performed on the Transylvanian cemeteries,¹⁹ nor will it be possible in the near future either, since the majority of the burials have been disturbed and in only a very few cases was an anthropological analysis performed. For this, newly excavated, well documented cemeteries investigated in an interdisciplinary manner would be necessary.

The majority of the known burials have shown evidence of subsequent disturbances. Despite this fact, archaeology in Romania has not yet investigated this phenomenon, even though the analysis of this problem has a rather long tradition internationally.²⁰ Due to the insufficient documentation of a significant portion of the Transylvanian excavations, an analysis of this type would meet with serious difficulties at the present. Valuable information about the time of the disturbance of the graves, how it was performed and – indirectly – who did it would be provided by the examination of the phenomenon. Despite the fact that typological and chronological analyses have been performed for the most part on the grave goods, no scientific analysis related to their technical aspects has been carried out. This work would also contribute a great deal to the surveying of the handicrafts and technical skills of the period.

GEPIDIC PERIOD SETTLEMENTS

Finally, the topic of research into the settlements that were contemporary with the row-grave cemeteries should be mentioned. Even though a rather large number of settlements have been identified,²¹ only a few of these have been systematically excavated and, therefore, the conditions surrounding the finds are in many cases uncertain. Because of this situation, the research on the settlements has lagged behind that on the cemeteries. Just as with the cemeteries, the overwhelming majority of the settlements have unfortunately only been partially excavated. Another significant obstacle is that there are very few sites where both a settlement and its related cemetery have been identified. Only after overcoming this problem will there be an opportunity to investigate the cemeteries and settlements together. Yet another intriguing direction for

¹⁷ E.g.: Bakó, Géza: A mezőbándi temető népének és anyagi kultúrájának eredetéről (On the Origins of the People and Material Culture of the Cemetery in Band). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 87 (1960), 22–31; Horedt, Kurt: Das Fortleben der Gepiden in der frühen Awarenzeit. *Germania* 63 (1985), 164–168.

¹⁸ Brather, Sebastian: Alter und Geschlecht zur Merowingerzeit. Soziale Strukturen und frühmittelalterliche Reihengräberfelder. In: *Alter und Geschlecht in ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Gesellschaften. Tagung Bamberg 20.–21. Februar 2004*, Hrsg. Müller, Johannes (Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2005), 157–178 (with further bibliography).

¹⁹ For an analysis of the warrior graves in the Tisza region see: Kiss, P. Attila: „Nem a hadnak sokasága...” Megjegyzések a Tisza-vidéki gepida fegyveres réteg összetételéhez (“Twas Not the Abundance of War...” Observations on the Composition of the Gepidic Warrior Class in the Tisza Region). In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 7. A VII. Medieviztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2011. június 1–3.) előadásai* (Essays in Medieval History 7. Presentations of the 7th Medieval Studies PhD conference [Szeged, 1–3 June 2011]), ed. Kiss, P. Attila – Piti, Ferenc – Szabados, György (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012), 145–148.

²⁰ For a general overview see: Aspöck, Edeltraud: Graböffnungen im Frühmittelalter und das Fallbeispiel der langobardenzeitlichen Gräber von Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz, Niederösterreich. *Archaeologia Austriaca* 87 (2003), 225–264 (with the former bibliography).

²¹ For the settlements see: Rustoiu, Gabriel T.: Habitatul în Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al V-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al VI-lea (The Population in Transylvania in the Second Half of the 5th and the First Half of the 6th Century). In: *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI–XIII)* (Interethnic Relations in Transylvania [6th–13th Centuries]), eds Pinter, Karl Zeno – Țiplic, Ioan Marian – Țiplic, Maria Emilia (București: Editura Economică, 2005), 39–83.

future research is how the remains of the Roman infrastructure were used during the development of the network of settlements. It is probably no coincidence that the 6th–7th century finds have come from the areas and environs of the important Roman cities (*Napoca/Cluj-Napoca*, *Potaissa/Turda*, *Apulum/Alba Iulia*).

RECOMMENDED LITERATURE

BÓNA, ISTVÁN

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