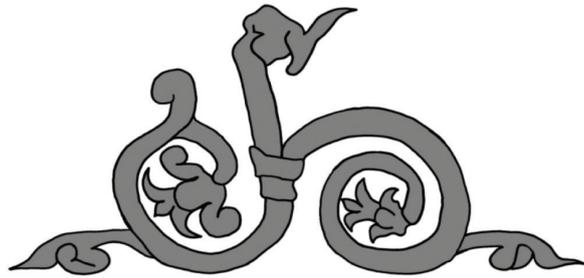


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Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Arad County. Turkish Strongholds in the Second Half of the 16th Century between Mureş and Crişul Alb (The Beginning of a thematic Approach)*

Florin Mărginean

Abstract: The article aims at bringing into the attention of those interested several aspects connected to the history of research of certain sites from the Ottoman Period on the territory of the present-day county of Arad, discoveries possibly too unfairly and disinterestedly approached by Romanian archaeology. The main goal is to present the situation of certain fortified points, strongholds where small garrisons are attested by the written sources. Their location was most often in former medieval objectives (generally fortifications, castles or churches), spots that ensured protection in the frontier region between the Empire and Principality in a small segment between rivers Mureş and Criş during the second half of the 16th century. The limited character of the study is rendered by the approach of the topic through three case studies, of sites where small garrisons can be located. To this end I have attempted to correlate the documentary sources with the archaeological evidence. The article thus focuses on the discoveries made in Chelmac, Vărădia de Mureş and Tauţ that describe part of that mobile frontier, not very well set, that has led to the conclusion of a *condominium* between the Ottoman rule and the Principality.

Keywords: Ottoman-Turkish archaeology, border-defense system, strongholds, garrison, material culture.

One can say that for the largest part of the current territory of the county of Arad the end of the Middle Ages corresponds in fact to the disappearance of the administrative and economical structures of the Kingdom of Hungary and the conquest of these territories by the Turks in the middle of the 16th century. The more than 150 years of Ottoman occupation have been a transition period towards modernity for a large part of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Despite the fact that the impact on people must have been a major one, considering the antagonism of the two worlds, we shall see that at least in the first part of the Ottoman occupation many of the realities of the medieval world were transformed according to the new forms of organization set by the new masters¹. The written sources and more recently the archaeological ones as well confirm the fact that after the whirlwind of the fights for the conquest of this area during the sixth decade of the 16th century, things somewhat returned to a normal course. The new forms of administrative and military organization imposed by the Turks covered a network of preexisting settlements around power centers that have maintained their role; such is the case of Timișoara, Cenad, Lipova, Ineu, Gyula etc. Nevertheless, the new administrative units created by the Turks no longer corresponded to the borders of the medieval counties². Timișoara became the center of a vilayet that included several administrative and military sub-units such as the sanjaks and the nahiyle. During this interval one also notes the disappearance of certain institutions that had been representative for the medieval world, such as the ecclesiastic ones (bishoprics, monasteries, parish churches), but also those that pertained to the social order (fortifications, noble residences, settlements etc.). Some were occupied and reused part of the new political and administrative structures, others were abandoned or destroyed forever. One can thus note that during a relatively short period the Turks have managed to organize and assert themselves in a “hostile” territory that was completely different from the Balkan-oriental area from where they came.

* English translation: Ana M. Gruia. The present article is the slightly modified and completed variant of a presentation delivered during the conference *Interethnic Relations in Transylvania. Militaria Mediaevalia in Central and South Eastern Europe*. Sibiu, 17–20 October 2013.

¹ Hațegan 2005, 14–15; Feneșan 2014, 132–139.

² Feneșan 2014, 230–232.

The present approach only wishes to bring into discussion aspects related to a small segment of the defensive system of the Ottoman Empire, in the present case part of the strongholds occupied by the Turks on the border with the Principality of Transylvania in the second half of the 16th century. Even if some might lightly state that this historical period can only be analyzed on the basis of the written records, I shall attempt to demonstrate the opposite. I state this in the conditions in which the level of knowledge of the subsequent historical period in the micro-region of the Carpathian Basin, after the disaster from Mohács (1526), is very low from a strictly archaeological perspective, apparently almost unknown. More on a theoretical than on a practical level, there was a certain interest in the “Turkish” discoveries made in the area under discussion, but it is currently very low or almost completely missing. The lack of a school and implicitly of specialists prepared for Ottoman archaeology does not help in surpassing the drawback. Still, one must appreciate some colleagues’ effort in valorizing, at least to a minimal level, the results of certain discoveries from the Ottoman period, just like I am attempting here. From a historical perspective things are somewhat better, as studies published over the last decades try to clarify the political, social-economic and military aspects of the Ottoman rule in Banat (1552–1716)³.

Historiography regarding this period has always turned to a series of Turkish-Ottoman written sources. These still represent an un-exhausted source that awaits analysis and publication. But exhausting the written sources on the topic remains an ideal and, just like the archaeology of this era and region, it involves several factors⁴ that shall not be discussed here. Nevertheless, the case is much better than that of the archaeological record, as the ledgers of fiscal census (*tahrir-i vilayet*), the financial rolls (*maliyedeftterleri*) and the law books (*kanunname*), published in various forms, allow at least for the reconstruction of the most important events and the knowledge of the manner in which the territories integrated into the Ottoman state functioned⁵.

Other sources of interest are chronicles, diplomatic reports, coin hoards⁶ and epigraphic monuments⁷. An important source, mainly connected to the landscape and the realities in the area between rivers Mureş, Crişul Alb and Tisa are the impressions recorded by a series of travelers who reached these parts during the period of the Ottoman rule. Of particular use in this case are the writings of Evlyia Çelebi, Turkish chronicler traveling with the sultan’s army in this area after the middle of the 17th century⁸.

The analysis of maps, prints and various ground plans created both during the Turkish rule and after the Habsburg conquest of the region is useful in locating certain objectives and the surrounding landscape.

Toponyms can also be a useful primary source in the repertory of certain objectives, especially those with a military character during the Ottoman period. One knows that the names of many places have been preserved in the collective memory as sites related to the period of the Ottoman rule, even if they were often of medieval origin, such as *Cetatea turcească* [The Turkish Fortification] (in Tauţ and Pâncota) or *Fântâna Turcului* [The Turk’s Water Well] (in Frumuşeni and Lipova) etc.

Archeology started to bring its contribution to the topic but the results obtained so far are far from the potential that this field of research can provide. The topic most attractive to the historiographic discourse has been the systems of fortification and this has led to the creation of certain repertories that can indeed become the starting point of focused analyses⁹. Specialists have also started, though timidly, to approach the topic of material culture, mainly special or luxury pottery, weapons and horse tack elements etc., but this array is still far from the multitude of material categories that could be

³ Fodor 1996, 25–44; Hegyi 2000, 163–193; Haţegan 2005; Feneşan 2006; Hegyi 2007; Feneşan 2014; Magina 2015.

⁴ Haţegan 2005, 9–10; Popescu 2013.

⁵ Feneşan 2004, 7–23.

⁶ Monetary discoveries and their analysis are important, but unfortunately, for the area under discussion, such topics have also been rarely approached in specialized literature and many of the discoveries have remained unpublished, mainly due to the lack of specialists dedicated to the cause. For the area of the Lower Mureş one should mention the hoards from Radna, Chesinţ, Groşii Noi, Toc, that cover the period of the 16th–17th centuries. I hereby thank my colleague Corina Toma for the data she has kindly provided.

⁷ Two funerary monuments from Lipova are preserved at the National Museum of Banat in Timişoara (No. Inv. 6336); the items entered the collection during the 19th century (See ArchÉrt 1914/1, 24–29). I thank my colleague Zsuzsanna Kopeczny for the provided data.

⁸ Çelebi 1967, 491–531.

⁹ Karczag, Szabó 2010; Tolnai 2011.

approached. In the absence of focused archaeological researches, field walks could at least allow for the location of certain sites dated to this period, envisaging here mainly the abandoned villages. This method, corroborated with aerial photography or even the analysis of certain satellite images might be a starting point for the future analysis of the network of settlements after the Ottoman conquest. The opportunity also resides in the fact that the documents (census) issued by the Ottoman administration have recorded such data.

Brief history of research

The archaeology of the Ottoman period in the area envisaged here but also in the rest of the territory once held by the Turks (in fact the entire western and south-western part of Romania, largely corresponding to the extent of the vilayet of Timișoara) only consists of conjunctural researches, determined by projects that envisage other historical periods¹⁰. More recent researches, determined by edilitary works in cities such as Timișoara, Lipova, Ciacova or Ineu have allowed for the uncovering of entire sectors with traces of habitation from the medieval period and especially from the time of the Ottoman occupation. A series of discoveries connected to defensive systems¹¹, funerary spaces¹², habitation complexes¹³ or material culture¹⁴ have already been valorized in specialized literature. To these one can add discoveries that can be attributed to the same period in other places that had been under Turkish rule, either strongholds/palankas or settlements (Pâncota, Tauț, Felnac, Șimand, Chelmac, Vărădia de Mureș, Căpâlnaș, Pecica, Nădlac etc.)¹⁵. This is apparently encouraging, but one must see how these results shall contribute to the better knowledge of the realities of the Ottoman period and especially how much these efforts will be able to demonstrate the usefulness of forming specialists dedicated to the period. The absence of a school of archaeology with well-defined interests connected to the above mentioned period allows me to state that not even the pioneering stage has been reached, but rather that of hazard or novelty in research. Due to the lack of specialists in the field, the archaeology of the Ottoman period is still approached through conjunctures alone and the formation of researchers interested in this segment cannot even be talked about. Only the simple comparison with the level reached in neighboring countries in the research of this period can be eloquent for the statement above¹⁶.

As for the present approach, I shall refer strictly to the situation encountered in the area delimited by the present-day administrative border of the county of Arad, that has not benefited from focused researches on the Ottoman-period sites either.

In relation to what we might call “the beginnings”, one can at most fool himself by considering the excavations performed in Pâncota during the 19th century as the first to belong / in theory should have belonged to the Turkish Era. Not much data is available, as the researches envisaged the ecclesiastic complex where the arch deanery of Pâncota functioned during the Middle Ages. The new excavations performed on the site in the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century confirm these realities that are also backed by already published written sources¹⁷.

Several decades passed until new discoveries that can be dated to the period of the Turkish occupation were brought to light. I shall enumerate them briefly.

In the middle of the 20th century Dorin Popescu performed researches in the area of Frumușeni where a former noble residence (*Szeudi*) seems to have existed, occupied and reused during the Turkish period. The case is not by chance, but probably similar to the situation in Chelmac, Arad-Ceala, Felnac, Pecica, Nădlac, Nădab, Ineu, Șimand, Pădureni¹⁸, Dezna etc.

One should note the fact that some of the monuments built during the Ottoman period remained

¹⁰ Rusu *et al.* 2002; Țeicu, Mărginean 2008; Mărginean, Rusu 2010.

¹¹ Szentmiklosi, Bălărie 2012, 205–226; Mare *et al.* 2014, 179–207; Diaconescu 2015, 16; Gindele, Gașpar 2015, 38; Gindele *et al.* 2015, 29.

¹² Gașpar 2014, 211–212.

¹³ Drașovean *et al.* 2007; Micle *et al.* 2015.

¹⁴ Kopeczny, Dincă 2012, 167–190; Flutur *et al.* 2014, 225–252; Tănase, Dinu 2015, 69–96.

¹⁵ Țeicu, Mărginean 2008, 243–270; Nițoi *et al.* 2012, 151–166; Micle 2015, 24.

¹⁶ Dávid 2003, 11–16; Gerő 2003, 17–22; Rogers 2003, 46; Kovács 2003, 257; Laszlovsky, Rasson 2003, 377–382.

¹⁷ Hegy 2007.

¹⁸ Today included in the town of Chișineu-Criș.

intact until the Inter-War period. Thus was the case of the mosque in Ineu, erected right after the reconquest of the fortification in 1658¹⁹. After 1702 the mosque was transformed and given over to the Roman-Catholic cult; the situation was maintained until 1858 when a new church was built on the left bank of River Crișul Alb. The minaret was demolished in 1945, left without a roof since 1920 despite the protests expressed by Nicolae Iorga and Mihai Cosma in the deputies' assembly in 1929. Unfortunately, in 1950 the ruins of the mosque complex were dismantled, despite the interventions and requests made by representatives of the authorities in Bucharest supporting the idea that they be conserved²⁰.

From the beginning of the 1970s one should also mention the discoveries made inside the fortifications of Șoimoș²¹ and Șiria²², partially published in specialized literature²³. Still, data thus obtained are far from clarifying things, either for the Turkish occupation or for the previous period.

Archaeological researches were also performed during this interval in Vârfurile, on the spot of "Curțescu", leading to the identification of a fortification almost rectangular in shape with rounded corners that the author of the excavation interpreted as a palank, presumably erected on the border with Principality of Transylvania²⁴.

The excavations performed in Vărădia de Mureș during the same period²⁵ have revealed materials that can be dated during the 16th–17th centuries. Unfortunately, the authors of the excavation have paid little attention to these discoveries that in correlation to written data allow us to localize a palank-looking stronghold where a military garrison was billeted in the second half of the 16th century to control the Mureș Corridor and, naturally, to defend the border with the Principality.

A four-page typed report preserved in the archive of the museum in Arad, signed by Prof. Nicolae Roșuț, at that time director of the institution, indicates that several test excavations were performed in the area of the Sugar Fabric and of Special School no. 6 with the declared purpose of identifying and rescuing archaeological data related to the old fortification/palank of Arad. After the test trenches performed in the area of the Sugar Fabric, the authors of the research²⁶ did not discover elements allowing for the location of the fortification on that spot. The discovered material culture, consisting especially of pottery fragments with yellow, greenish, orange, brown and reddish glaze but also of unglazed pottery fragments, smoking pipes or glass items has been dated to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Today one knows that the traces of the old fortification were leveled after the Habsburg conquest of these territories and this caused problems for historians attempting to localize the feature. In the absence of archaeological proof, the written and cartographic sources have allowed for the localization of the fortification/palank in the present-day neighborhood of Drăgășani. After occupying Arad in 1552 the Turks have initiated works for the construction of a new fortification on that spot, with ditches, earthen ramparts and palisade, rectangular in shape, that subsequently became the center of a sanjak with three nahiyies (Arad, Zarand and Békés)²⁷.

The discoveries from Special School no. 6 consisted of pottery fragments similar to the ones from the Sugar Fabric, but archaeologists also discovered a household refuse pit with numerous cattle bones and wooden beams attributed by the authors of the excavation to a dwelling. It was very likely a dwelling from the settlement located in the vicinity of the fortification²⁸.

Turkish-era materials were also found in Vladimirescu "Bisericuța", that was in fact the residence of the former medieval chapter of Arad. In this case as well the interest for discoveries that can be dated to the Ottoman period was minimal²⁹. The case is also similar to other sites attributed to the

¹⁹ Lanevschi 2003, 185–186; Szabó 2010, 53–82.

²⁰ Opriș 1988, 241.

²¹ Greffner 1984. The only archaeological excavations were performed inside the fortification in the end of the 1970s under the coordination of Radu Heitel, Nicolae Pușcașu and Florin Medeleț.

²² Greffner 1976.

²³ Kopeczny, Mărginean 2014.

²⁴ Căpățână 1976, 78.

²⁵ The site was archaeologically researched during 1971–1974 by Mircea Zdroba and Mircea Barbu, employees of the Arad County Museum. Through the researches they were able to identify elements of stratigraphy, planimetry and material culture from four distinct historical periods, namely Hallstatt, the Dacian Era, the medieval period (13th–16th centuries) and the first phase of the Ottoman occupation (16th–17th centuries).

²⁶ Three archaeologists were active at that time at the museum: Egon Dörner, Mircea Zdroba and Mircea Barbu.

²⁷ Medeleanu 2010, 25–26.

²⁸ Medeleanu 2010, 30–32.

²⁹ Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 181–193.

medieval period alone, though the elements of material culture clearly indicate the fact that they were (re)used during the Ottoman period (Bulci, Hodoş-Bodrog, Bezdin etc).

One should also mention the more recently performed researches and implicitly the discoveries from Pâncota³⁰, Tauţ³¹, Şimand³², Chelmac³³, Pecica “Rovine”³⁴, Lipova³⁵, Ineu³⁶ and Nădlac “Situl 7” (on the city road belt). The results of the excavations are in various stages of processing and they will certainly contribute to the knowledge of the realities of the Ottoman period reflected by the contexts and the material culture discovered.

One should also note here a series of significant sites under Turkish rule where no archaeological excavations have been performed, such as Arad-Ceala, Zădăreni, Felnac, Dezna, Beliu etc., that had their role in the Ottoman administrative and military mechanism in the area of Arad.

Turkish strongholds between Mureş and Crişul Alb

In the fore math of the Ottoman conquest, the Hungarian Kingdom tried to consolidate its southern frontier with two lines of fortifications along the Danube. This system consisting of fortifications, small fortresses or castles proved insufficient against the Ottoman storm. Thus the poor organization of the Hungarian army was easily annihilated by the Turkish artillery and by the Turkish Janissaries at Mohács in 1526³⁷. Between 1526 and 1541 the entire defensive system of Hungary gave in and resistance was only met in very few cases³⁸. Thus, in 1541 Buda was conquered and turned into a vilayet, destabilizing the entire Hungarian Kingdom.

³⁰ See D. Marcu the 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005 archaeological campaigns at <http://cronica.cimec.ro/seljud.asp>.

³¹ Niţoi *et al.* 2012, 151–166.

³² A series of items dated to the end of the 16th century were found in the south-western corner of this settlement. The spot is likely the old center of a village that disappeared in the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, as indicated by the data provided by both documents and historiography and by cartographic sources, now corroborated with field discoveries. The village was called *Tovisegház* (a toponym that can be translated as the Church from/with thorns).

³³ Ţeicu, Mărginean 2008, 243–270.

³⁴ In 2014 a team coordinated by George P. Hurezan (scientific coordinator), Florin Mărginean, Victor Sava, Luminiţa Andrica (Arad Museum Complex), Norbert Kapcsos has also identified one part of the 16th–17th centuries settlement while performing a preventive archaeological excavation in Pecica on the spot called “Rovine” or “Căprăvanul Mic”.

³⁵ In 2012 a team of archaeologists from the museum in Arad (Florin Mărginean, George P. Hurezan and Victor Sava) have performed, for the first time, preventive archaeological researches in a small sector of the present day Unirii Square in Lipova, in front of the Turkish Bazaar. Even if restricted in surface, the researches have revealed an urban network and the planimetry of dwellings aligned completely differently than the current situation and differently than the only relic attributed to the Ottoman period, the Turkish Bazaar. As for the dating of this building in 1638 we wish to express our reservations. Besides these aspects, the team has recovered items of material culture that are typical to the Ottoman period. The entire material is currently under processing and, together with other discoveries made in other parts of the city, shall be the focus of another article.

Still in Lipova, in 2015, the archaeological investigations performed by a team of archaeologists from the Art and Archaeology Institute Cluj-Napoca (Adrian Ursuţiu, Sorin Cociş) and the Arad Museum Complex (Florin Mărginean, Victor Sava) aimed at fully researching the archaeological objectives discovered on N. Bălcescu St., on the route of a sewage and rain water drainagpipe. Part of the old medieval and modern urban grid was identified, with a side street made of rubble, stone and in some areas wood, traces of wooden structures, hearths, pits, profiled stones reused in secondary positions in buildings taken out of use, elements of material culture etc.

A series of other discoveries made throughout the city during various edilitary works have especially revealed elements of material culture. One notes those found on Miron Costin St. (where I have personally recovered several glazed pot-shaped stove tiles) and those found at the Economic High School, signaled by Dan Demşea whom I hereby thank.

³⁶ A mix team performed several test trenches in the area of the castle in 2016. The team consisted of archaeologists (Florin Mărginean, Victor Sava – Arad Museum Complex, Zsolt Csók – National History Museum of Transylvania Cluj-Napoca, Keve László – Mureş County Museum Târgu Mureş) and art historians (Attila Weisz – Babeş-Bolyai University, University of Art and Design Cluj-Napoca), Zsolt Kovács (Babeş-Bolyai University, University of Art and Design Cluj-Napoca) and has identified layers of filling, construction and rebuilding layers, foundation layers, defensive structures, an entry gate, the foundations and part of the elevation of some buildings, the 17th century pavement as several elements of material culture such as pottery (tableware, construction pottery), objects made of iron, glass, bone etc., animal bones. Much of the discovered archaeological material is chronologically included into the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, i.e. the period when the settlement and the fortification of Ineu, desired by both the Turks and the Transylvanians, reached a peak of significance.

³⁷ Ágoston 1998, 126–129.

³⁸ Pálffy 2000, 7–33.

The area of interest here was conquered subsequently, after the Principality of Transylvania entered the Habsburg sphere of interest. A series of fortified cities such as Timișoara and Lipova put up some resistance, but it was hopeless. Nevertheless, the area delimited by rivers Crișul Alb, Danube, Tisa and the hilly parts towards Transylvania was gradually conquered between 1552 and 1556. This led to the setting of a frontier between the new rulers (the Ottoman Empire) and the Principality of Transylvania in the eastern part of the current county of Arad, marked by fortified points / palankas³⁹ with military garrisons. Thus the frontier established between the Principality of Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire had a local character and thus it fluctuated over a century and a half. The inhabitants of such areas and those in charge with controlling the frontiers both gained and lost from all of these⁴⁰. As this was not a linear frontier, like state borders are today, there was eventually a true *condominium* imposed on these territories⁴¹. This *condominium* was explained in specialized literature through the division of administrative, fiscal and juridical duties between conquerors and those who had been conquered⁴².

The borders of the sanjaks were set two year after the creation of the vilayet of Timișoara. There was also an initial financial and cadastral census of these sanjaks⁴³. Ottoman authorities paid special attention to the frontier areas. Military garrisons were billeted in important points from the border system with the Principality, at relatively small distances apart, precisely in order for the soldiers to be able to intervene swiftly in case of danger.

For the area between rivers Mureș and Criș one can note that the majority of the garrisons mentioned in documents since the second half of the 16th century were quartered either in old fortifications or in former ecclesiastic edifices occupying strategic positions (Fig. 1). Except for the palank in Arad and possibly those in Radna⁴⁴ or Vârfulurile⁴⁵, the program of erecting fortified locations was limited to repairs and maybe the construction of minimal defensive systems consisting of ditches, ramparts and wooden walls part of pre-existing structures. Few cases of *palankas* or *parkan* built by the Ottomans are also known from other areas of the former kingdom⁴⁶. Such aspects might be clarified by corroborating the written sources with field researches (field walks combined with the analysis of aerial or satellite images) and with archaeological researches.

After the conquest of Gyula and Ineu (1566), the vilayet of Timișoara reached its maximum territorial and administrative extension. It was divided into six sanjaks: Timișoara, Lipova, Arad-Gyula, Cenad, Moldova and Ineu, preserved as such until the end of the 16th century. The area of interest here was included in the sanjak of Lipova⁴⁷ that also contained the city of Lipova, the fortifications of Șoimoș, Șiria and Chlemac and the stronghold of Vărădia de Mureș, strategically located on the spot of the former village church⁴⁸. The sanjak of Ineu was organized beyond the mountains, in the territory of the former county of Zarand; it subsequently also had a nahiyah with the garrison located in Tauț, on the place of the former parish church⁴⁹. In the case of the region under discussion, the most numerous troops, consisting of hundreds of soldiers were settled in sanjak centers, while in other places the garrisons held less than 100 soldiers. Fortifications, noble castles and even ecclesiastic edifices could take the aspect of palankas with up to one hundred soldiers by having wooden precincts doubled by ditches added to them. The number of these forts or strongholds on the territory of the former Hungarian Kingdom gradually rose from 29 in 1545, to 61 in 1569, and even to 130 in the 17th century⁵⁰.

The organization of the vilayet of Timișoara and implicitly of the border area to which the region

³⁹ From a terminological perspective, things are not clear and I shall not insist on the matter here; these sites were rather strongholds than fortifications in the proper sense of the term.

⁴⁰ Stein 2007, 13–28.

⁴¹ Popescu 2013, 13.

⁴² Ágoston 2012, 230–232; Feneșan 2014, 166–170.

⁴³ Feneșan 2014, 132.

⁴⁴ Csorján 2003, 192.

⁴⁵ Căpățână 1976, 76.

⁴⁶ Ágoston 2012, 227.

⁴⁷ Hegy 2007, 1447–1466.

⁴⁸ Mărginean *et al.* 2016.

⁴⁹ Mărginean, Rusu 2010, 898–914.

⁵⁰ Ágoston 2012, 227.

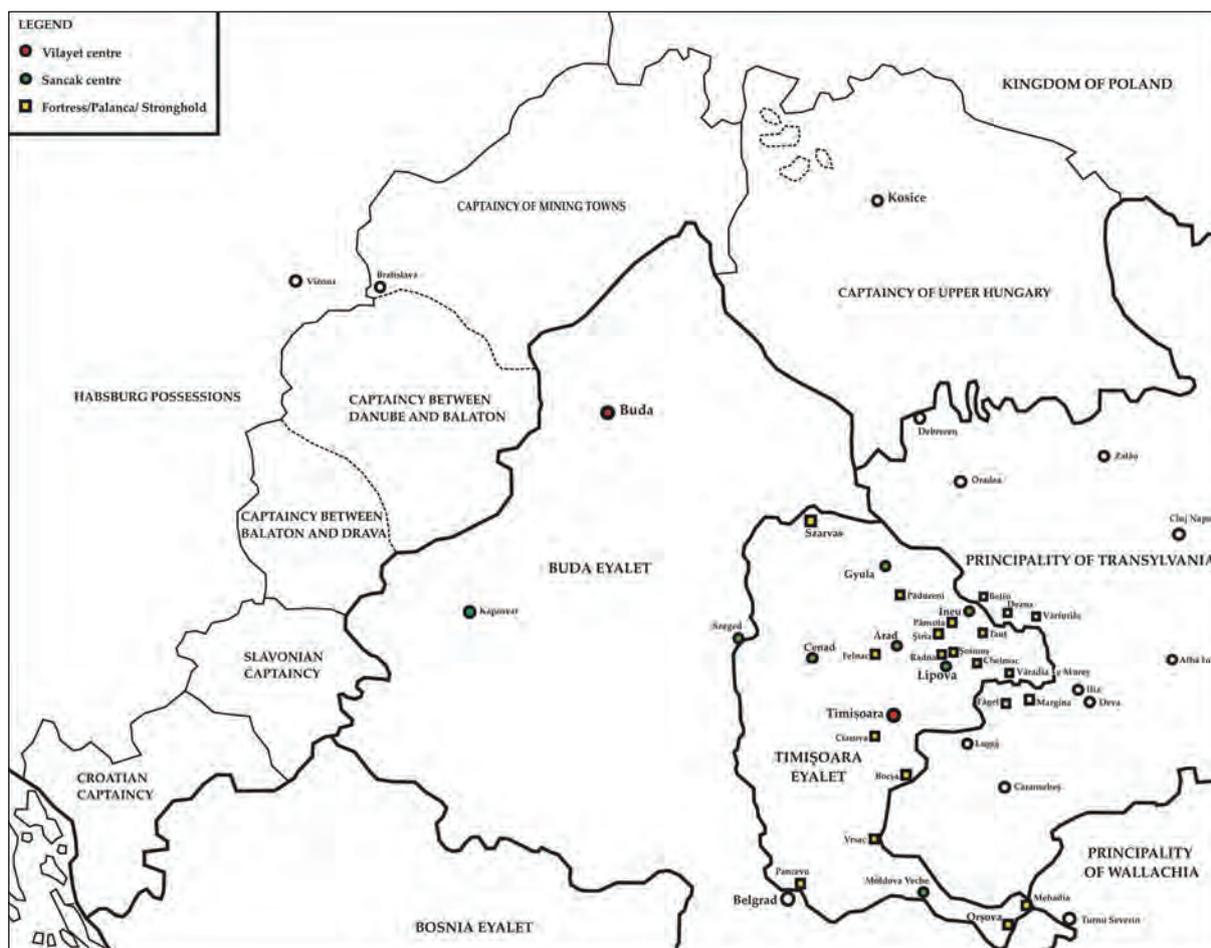


Fig. 1. Administrative-military map of the vilayet of Timișoara during the second half of the 16th century.

under discussion was integrated had different characteristics than the vilayet of Buda, due to its geographic location.

There are two causes for this difference:

1. the political and military conditions of the area: the territories part of the vilayet of Timișoara were located on the border with the Principality of Transylvania that was a vassal of the Porte and was not part of the conquest “corridor” of Western Europe;

2. the natural conditions of the area: to the east the vilayet was enclosed by mountains that could be crossed along rivers from east to west; the majority of spots where garrisons had been settled and formed the defensive system were built along river valleys and were not accompanied by major works for the erection of fortifications but rather, as mentioned above, became strengthened sites.

The present study shall take into consideration some of these strengthened sites with military garrisons from a small segment of this border region, such as those in Chelmac, Vărădia de Mureș and Tauț, where archaeological researches have revealed elements of fortification. Garrisons were installed in each of the sites taken into consideration and a dizdarwas appointed as leader of each of these fortified spots or strongholds, probably palanka-like looking.

One knows that the Turkish earthen and wooden fortifications were not very extended strongholds / palankas. Their construction required relatively little efforts and a brief period of time⁵¹. The archaeological contexts and the material culture discovered on such spots reflect aspects from the daily life of small and closed communities, that can sometimes suggest certain traits of the people who inhabited such sites. The remains of the dwellings and annexes built inside such strongholds provide an image of the domestic space of the inhabitants⁵². Even if they apparently led a military life, archaeological discoveries have brought to life evidence of both the military character of those who lived

⁵¹ Özgüven 1999, 1.

⁵² Geró 2003, 20.

inside them and aspects related to their spatial organization and habits. The descriptions noted by various travelers in these parts play an important role in the reconstruction of these aspects, besides the archaeological facts. In this case, the most important role is played by the Turkish scholar Evlyia Çelebi who describes the palanka as a fortification, as a small settlement surrounded by a wooden precinct or possible elements of masonry⁵³.

Chelmac (*Eperjes, Viziás/Vizais*)

As for the location of the small nahiyah from Viziás, where a small military garrison was billeted, those interested in this period have not yet reached a consensus. Documents mention the fact that the settlement was located south of the Mureş, though it does not feature in the list published by Pál Engel⁵⁴. This has led to the identification of this settlement with the medieval Eperjes, currently Chelmac, south of the Mureş. There are also some who are ready to locate the fortification in Odvoş, north of the Mureş. The presumable location of the fortification north of river Mureş seems tributary to Evlyia Çelebi's 1660 description. He talks of the fortification of Vefraş, who, according to the description, seems located somewhere between Radna and Vărădia de Mureş, closer to Radna⁵⁵. Still, these are descriptions of the area made more than 100 years after the Turkish conquest of these regions, a period when the ruling of these territories and implicitly the frontier between the Ottoman Empire and the Principality often fluctuated. One of the possible explanations is that the fortification in Chelmac was abandoned after the events during the end of the 16th century when the Turks suffered territorial losses in the area. Several decades later, probably sometime after the reconquest of Lipova (1616), the Turks have reconstructed a new outpost, but north of the Mureş and Evlyia Çelebi might have described this latter feature⁵⁶. Still, one certainly knows and can still locate on site the ruins of a stone fortification (noble residence) that are still visible north of Chelmac (Fig. 2/2)⁵⁷. Suzana Heitel even presumed that the fortification was built on the ruins of a former medieval monastery⁵⁸ or in their close proximity. The ground plan created in 1697 by Marsigli (Fig. 2/1) might rather depict the preserved ruins, the dating of which to the 13th century remains open for debate⁵⁹. One might state that the fortification had been long abandoned and became a ruin at the time the ground plan was created. In order to render things even more unclear, a previously unpublished and hilarious ground plan has been recently suggested, lacking scientific arguments. It depicts a precinct with a threefold loophole presumably facing inside of the fortification⁶⁰.

Only the documentary piece of information is certain, namely the fact that in 1405 the domain was owned by the Pathocsy family⁶¹. The first direct mention of the fortification is only dated 1511, when Ferenc Pathocsy was born there.

After the conquest of Lipova in 1552⁶², the fortification of Chelmac was occupied by the Turks and remained under their control until 1595, when it was probably included in the sanjak of Arad, then into that of Lipova⁶³. The defter of the sanjak of Lipova from 1554 shows that there were 21

⁵³ Özgüven 1999, 3.

⁵⁴ Hegy 2007, 1460, footnote 1.

⁵⁵ Çelebi VI, 1976, 509: "Leaving here we went eastwards, on the bank of River Mureş, for an hour and we reached the fortification of Vefraş.

The fortification of Vefraş.

It is a stone stronghold, located on a high hill on the bank towards Radna of River Mureş. It is currently the hass of the bey from Lipova; it is a sub-aşilic. It has a dizdar and seventy nefers and contains three hundred beautiful houses; there are numerous gardens and vineyards.

Then, continuing our route on the bank of River Mureş, upstream, after three hours of walking we reached the fortification of Vărădia".

⁵⁶ Unfortunately no data is as yet available on the existence of traces of fortifications orof discoveries from the 16th-17th centuries in Odvoş.

⁵⁷ Ţeicu, Mărginean 2008, 246-247.

⁵⁸ Heitel 2001, 271.

⁵⁹ Sebestyén 1984, 47, 49.

⁶⁰ Karczag, Szabó 2010, 237.

⁶¹ Roz, Géza 1997, 80.

⁶² Iambor 2002, 17-21; Magina 2015.

⁶³ Feneşan 2006, 39.

soldiers, 18 *mustahfiz* (soldiers standing guard, the watch garrison in a fortification) and 3 artillerymen (mostly cannon men)⁶⁴, thus including the officers there was a total of 23–24 persons inside the fortification. The 18 *mustahfiz* were under the command of two corporals and were divided into two units of 10 persons each⁶⁵. The situation remained almost unchanged until towards the end of that century when the documents also mention, probably in the context of the new threats facing the fortification, 19 *martolosan* (mercenaries, voluntary soldiers in the Ottoman army, especially consisting of Balkan elements, spies marauders)⁶⁶, the total thus reaching 40 persons.

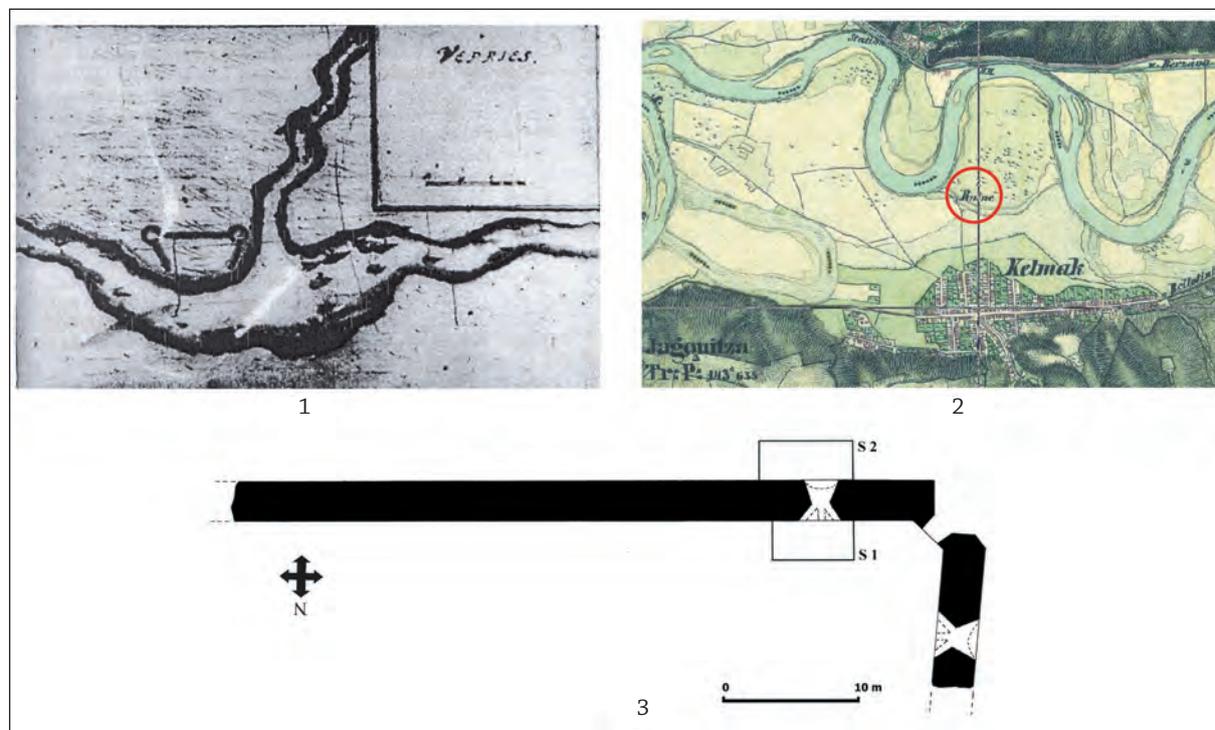


Fig. 2. 1. Ground plan of the fortification in Chelmac in 1697, noted by Marsigli (taken from G. Sebestyén); 2. Location of the site according to the second Habsburg topographic military survey (1763–1787) – Source: <http://mapire.eu/en/>; 3. General ground plan of the excavation from Chelmac (2004), with the wall lines preserved at ground level (taken from Țeicu, Mărginean 2008).

The 1594–1595 incursions of the Transylvania armies have led to major losses on the Turkish side, as an entire series of fortifications and strongholds with garrisons from the Mureș area were conquered. In 1615 the fortification was also mentioned in one of Gábor Bethlen's provisions to his messenger to the High Porte⁶⁷, but one does not know what its actual state of preservation was. In this context Evlia Çelebi's 1660 description of a stone stronghold called *Vefraș*, located somewhere between Radna and Vărădia de Mureș does not correspond to the current on site realities and either it refers to another stronghold or it is the result of an interpretative confusion of the landscape described by the Turkish traveller⁶⁸. Contrary to the *defterler* issued during the second half of the 16th century, he mentioned the fact that one captain and 70 soldiers resided inside the fortification.

The researches performed in Chelmac have led to the identification, in the area of the former precinct, but also on the outside, of traces of habitation that can be dated to the second half of the 16th century (Fig. 2/3). Such data completes the written sources. Section S 01, preserving a hearth and a layer of burning, has revealed pottery fragments, iron and bronze items and animal bones. Near the eastern profile of section S 01, at -4.15 m, archaeologists have identified half of the contour of a storage pit. Intense habitation there is also suggested by the provisions stored in a pit

⁶⁴ Nicolle, McBride 1983, 15; Hegy 2000, 174.

⁶⁵ Hegy 2007, 1460.

⁶⁶ Nicolle, McBride 1983, 15; Hegy 2000, 174.

⁶⁷ Suciu 1969, 225.

⁶⁸ Çelebi VI, 1976, 509.

doubled with wattle on the inside, with a diameter of 1.40 m; the bottom of the pit was at -4.45 m from the current ground level. From its filling archaeologists were able to recover three types of fruit seeds and stones (sour cherry/cherry, apricot, peach)⁶⁹. Also, three clay salver fragments were recovered from around the hearth (Fig. 3) and they might be an indicator for the ethnic origin of the soldiers dislocated in these border points⁷⁰. Such salvers are not found on medieval sites, as they were introduced along with the Balkan populations (Bosnians, Albanians etc.). Such salvers⁷¹, coarse and very friable, could be considered “imports” from the Balkan area⁷². In the case of the soldiers from Chlemac one knows that out of the 21 persons mentioned in 1554, eight had names of Balkan origin. Such salvers were also discovered in Vărădia de Mureș (Fig. 3), Tauț (Fig. 3) and Timișoara⁷³.

Despite the fact that the territory east of Lipova ended in the hands of the Turks after 1616 it seems that the fortification in Chelmac was not longer used, but abandoned⁷⁴.

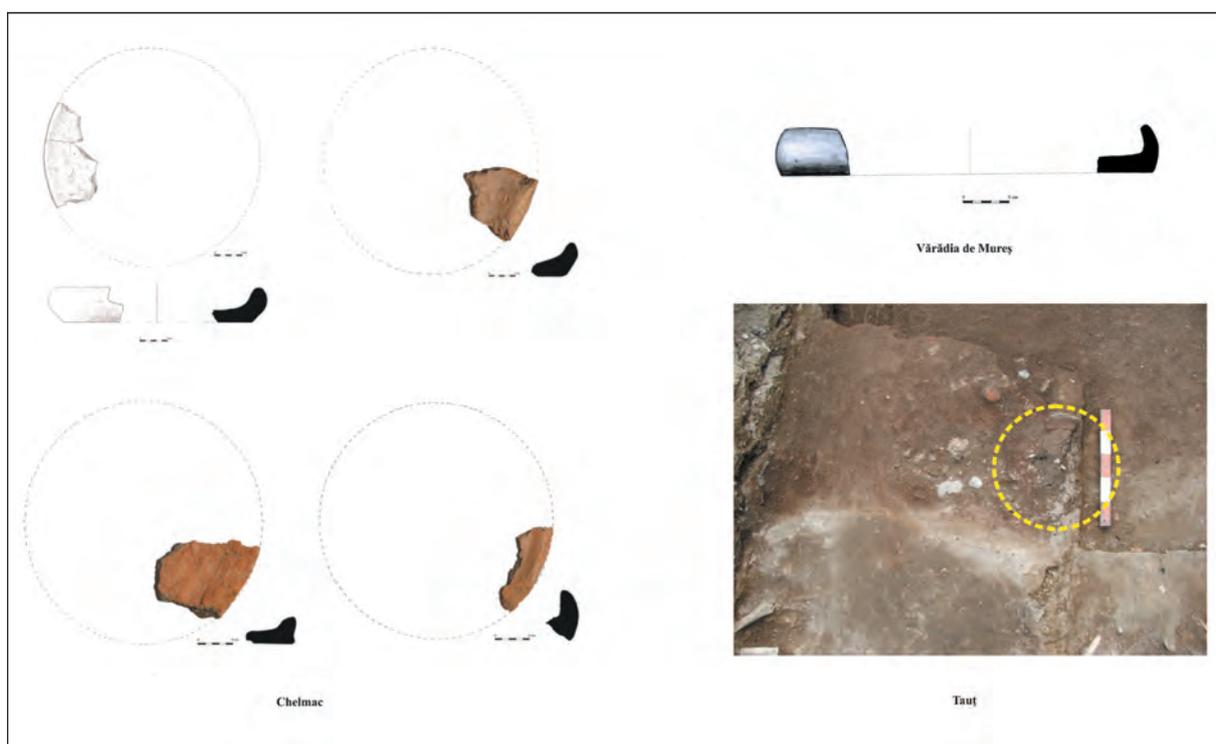


Fig. 3. Fragments of salvers from Chelmac, Vărădia de Mureș and Tauț.

Vărădia de Mureș (*Tótvárad, Váradja*)

Located on the southern slopes of Zărandului Mountains, the settlement had its significance during several historical periods, as it was located in the Lower Mureș Corridor, an important commercial artery towards and from Transylvania. The site is located on the south-eastern corner of the village, between national road 7 and the Arad – Deva railroad, on a hill end at the feet of Zărandului Mountains. Located at an altitude of 176.5 m, the selected site provides good visibility over this corridor of the Lower Mureș Valley, dominating by ca. 25 meters the lower surrounding areas towards the south-east and south-west (Fig. 4/1).

⁶⁹ Țicu, Mărginean 2008, 246–247.

⁷⁰ Dávid 2003, 13–14.

⁷¹ Kovács 1984, 42–43. Etymologically, the word *tepsi* originates from Turkish and was adopted by some of the peoples conquered by the Ottoman Empire, in Romanian as *tipsie* (v. <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/tipsie>).

⁷² Kovács 2003, 165.

⁷³ An entire salver was discovered during the excavations performed at the Huniade Castle in Timișoara. Data kindly provided by Zsuzsanna Kopeczny, to whom we hereby thank.

⁷⁴ Ciobanu 2002, 120.



Fig. 4. 1. Representation of the stronghold hill on a map from 1837 (Source: <http://maps.hungaricana.hu/en/MOLTerkeftar/2212/>); 2. Topographic survey (Zsolt Csók, Florin Mărginean).

A military garrison was billeted here under the Ottoman Empire, a fact attested by the written sources but also by the archaeological discoveries performed on the spot of “La Cetate”. The situation is somewhat similar to the one from Tauț, as the area of the former village church was transformed into a military outpost. The impact of occupying the former church is difficult to establish on the basis of preserved documentation. But, just like in Tauț, the old church probably became the central point of the stronghold (Fig. 4/2). Elements of material culture attest an intense habitation, as archaeologists mostly found fragments of pottery tableware, construction ceramics (stove tiles) and various iron items (dress accessories, metal fittings, tools or weapons – Fig. 5). The area around the church was enlarged by filling the old ditches of the Dacian fortifications and creating a system of terraces most probably occupied by houses, just like in Tauț. Still, one can hardly estimate how much this inhabited area actually extended and even more difficulty can one identify the forms of the defensive system, that was most probably limited to a palisade and possibly a ditch.

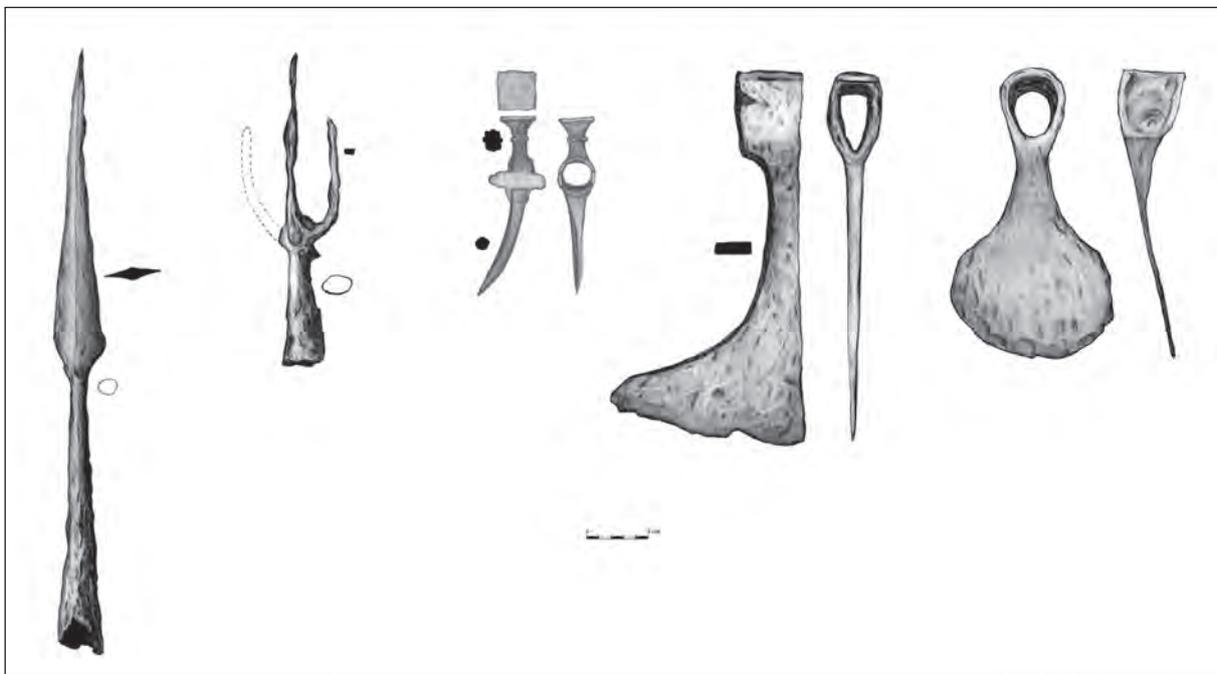


Fig. 5. Weapons and tools discovered in Vărădia de Mureș (drawings by Alexandru Berzovan).

Soldiers were permanently billeted there between 1551 and 1595. The sources only mention mercenaries, the great majority of which were from the Balkans (Bosnians). The number of soldiers is only attested in 1567 when there were 12 persons in Vărădia, 10 of which were *mustahfiz*. The situation was unchanged in 1579. Around 1590, together with the artillery, the *palanka* was being

defended by 50–60 persons. The situation changed radically in 1591, when the unit was completed with 42/43 riders⁷⁵.

In 1595 the Transylvanian troops led by György Borbély conquered Vărădia de Mureş among other fortifications. Unfortunately, the situation was maintained until 1616, when Gábor Bethlen yielded Vărădia together with Lipova to the Turks. The description noted by Evlyia Çelebi⁷⁶ perfectly corresponds to the situation from the spot of “La Cetate”, where the medieval church of the village of *Tótvárad* was discovered archaeologically⁷⁷. One can thus say that the palanka in Vărădia preserved its military role until towards the end of the 17th century⁷⁸.

Tauţ (Feltót, Totinc)

The settlement of Tauţ is located at the feet of Zarandului Mountains, in the sub-hilly plain of Cigher, in an area where the terraces meet the piedmont glacis that slowly descend westwards, towards the Tisa Plain⁷⁹. The main road of the settlement follows Cigherului Valley, an effluent of Crişul Alb, until the exit towards Dud. Access towards Tauţ is currently ensured along county roads 708 A from Arad and Ineu.

The site of *La Cetate / The Fortress* or *Cetatea turcească / Turkish fortress* is located on a hill end, a slow terrace that descends towards the east, located ca. 0.2 km west of Creek Cigher, at the south-western border of the municipality of Tauţ⁸⁰. The site selection of the Turkish garrison was made on practical considerations on the spot of the former parish church, in a protected point that dominated Cigherului Valley. Besides the practical reasons, as the church was located in a relatively well protected precinct, surrounded by earth ramparts, ditches and a stone wall (fence), the occupation of the site very likely has a symbolic value as well, of submitting a Christian community.

The archaeological researches on the spot of *La Cetate / The Fortress* or *Cetatea turcească / Turkish fortress* proved much more complex than initially thought. The sound of the toponym in local tradition has often led to the conviction that a Turkish fortification once stood there. After the seven archaeological campaigns (2002–2007, 2009) one can say that people were not wrong. From a chronological perspective, archaeology was able to establish several major stages in the site’s development. Thus, on the basis of archaeological discoveries, ever since the first campaign specialists were able to identify a layer of inhumation in a cemetery located inside the precinct of an earthen fortification. Excavations performed so far cannot confirm the contemporaneity of these first inhumations with a religious edifice, presumably built out of wood, as people have suggested on various occasions. I shall not insist on these aspects, as they are known from specialized literature and will be amply discussed in the site’s monograph. What one knows with certainty is the fact that the medieval parish church of the village of Tauţ (*Feltót*) was subsequently built on top of this cemetery. The church had two major stages, one Romanesque⁸¹ from which an ample Gothic church subsequently developed⁸². At some point the church and the cemetery precinct were surrounded with a stone wall that probably affected the first rampart line of the earthen fortification. The ramparts and ditches of this initial earthen fortification are still visible on site, doubled towards the south, west and north, and even tripled towards the east. These are better preserved in the northern half of the precinct, since the southern side has undergone ample modifications that led to the ditches being filled in and to the entire area being terraced. I shall subsequently attempt to detail who did these modifications and why on the basis of the archaeological discoveries made so far corroborated with documentary data. To the current state

⁷⁵ Hegy 2000, 1465–1466.

⁷⁶ Çelebi VI, 1976, 509: “Then, following our road along the bank of river Mureş, upstream, after six hours of walking we reached the fortification of Vărădia. It is also a solid palanka, rather rectangular in shape than square, and it is located on a high hill on the bank of river Mureş, in the sanjak of Lipova. Inside it there are one hundred and fifty houses, one dizdar and seventy nefers. There is a stone tower right in the middle of this well strengthened fortification. The dizdar lives there and all the ammunition is stored there” ...

⁷⁷ Barbu, Zdroba 1978, 22; Mărginean *et al.* 2016 (in press).

⁷⁸ Csorján 2003, 195.

⁷⁹ Posea 1997, 17, 268.

⁸⁰ *RepArh* 1999, 126.

⁸¹ Mărginean 2006, 95–105.

⁸² Mărginean, Rusu 2010, 895–913.

of research, all one can state with certainty is the fact that the earthen fortification is prior to everything else found on site so far. Ever since 1552 the settlement and the church implicitly suffered after the inclusion of these territories under Ottoman rule. If one can hardly talk of the members of this community, regarding the church and the area around it one can say, on the basis of the archaeological results, that it was occupied and the area around it was redesigned to fit other purposes. On the first Habsburg military survey one can note the fact that the village center was relocated eastwards from the location of the old medieval church marked on the map as *altes Schlofs* (Fig. 6/1). The settlement was only relocated back to the old coordinates after the Habsburg reconquest and systematization, as it has been preserved until today (see the second and the third Habsburg topographic military surveys – Fig. 6/2–3). Nevertheless, it is difficult to estimate the size and number of inhabitants who remained in place during the period of the Turkish rule as, as I shall show below, they had to suffer due to their location in a border area.



Fig. 6. Location of the site from Tauț according to the first (1763–1787), second (1806–1869) and third (1869–1887) Habsburg military topographic survey (Source: <http://mapire.eu/en/>).

The written sources place a Turkish garrison there during the period between 1552 and 1559 and the location can be identified on the basis of the archaeological discoveries on the spot of the old medieval church. No military troops are mentioned during the 17th century⁸³.

The 1554 defter of the sanjak of Lipova indicates that in Tauț there were 39 persons, without the officers, together with which the total unit was estimated at 42 people. Among them 33 were *mustahfizes* and six were artillerymen (mostly cannon men). The *mustahfizes* were divided into four platoons, the last only consisting of three persons. Among the *mustahfizes* eight had names of Balkan origin. During 1567 one does not note major changes in the number of soldiers billeted there. Thus, the documents mention 34 *mustahfizes* and five artillerymen (mostly cannon men). Among them, 18 soldiers had Balkan names⁸⁴.

After 1579 Tauț features as part of the sanjak of Ineu, with approximately the same effectives. The situation changed slightly one decade later, when 29 *martolosan* are mentioned there. Thus, towards the end of the 16th century, on the basis of analyses performed for a period of 12 years (1579–1591), the garrison is estimated at 70 soldiers, divided in three types of troops: *mustahfizes*, artillerymen and *martolosan*. The latter are attested during the period April–October 1591, and out of the 29 soldiers, 24 were Christian⁸⁵.

The state of uncertainty instituted in this region through abuse and violence, that accompanied the fights for the extension of the borders of the vilayet of Timișoara along the collection of taxes have brought great prejudices, especially to the population. To this end one can mention the cruel incursions of the sanjakbeg from Gyula, who in 1583 enslaved the peasants from Tauț⁸⁶. Even if the archaeological researches have mainly envisaged the area of the church as this was the goal of the initiative started by the research team⁸⁷, the methodically contextualized analysis of the discoveries has allowed us to generate a picture of the situation after the ecclesiastic edifice was abandoned (Fig. 7).

⁸³ Hegy 2000, 189; Hegy 2007, 1491.

⁸⁴ Hegy 2007, 1491–1492.

⁸⁵ Hegy 2007, 1492.

⁸⁶ Feneșan 2014, 195.

⁸⁷ The research team consisted of: George P. Hurezan (scientific coordinator), Peter Hügel, Florin Mărginean, Zsuzsanna Kopeczny, Victor Sava, Luminița Andreica, Adelina Stoenescu (Arad Museum Complex), Adrian A. Rusu (Archaeology and Art History Institute Cluj-Napoca), Vasile Mizgan.

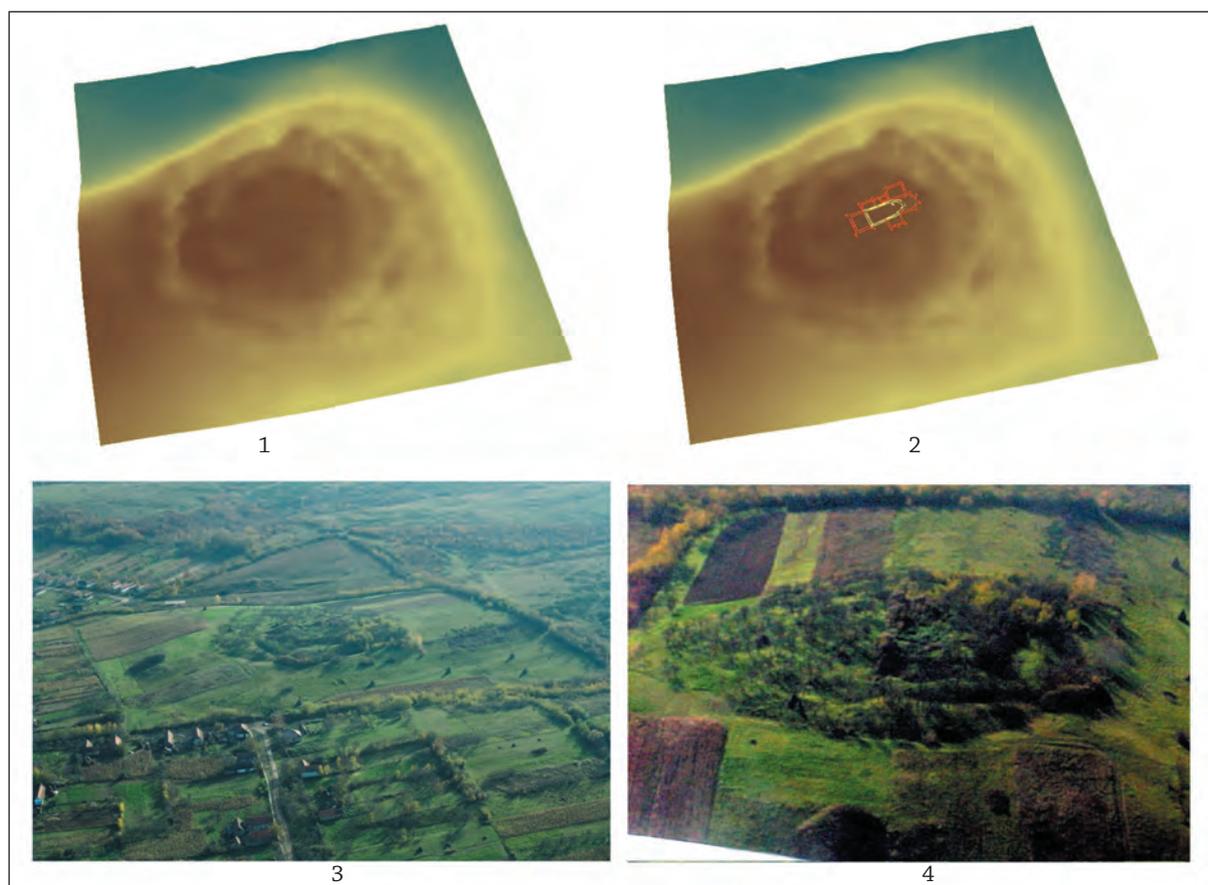


Fig. 7. 1–2. GIS processing and 3D model of the fortification from Tauț (created by Robert Ille, Florin Mărginean); 3–4. Aerial images (photo by Florin Hornoiu, Florin Mărginean).

We were thus able to note that the inside of church was occupied and divided into living quarters – parts of heating and cooking systems were identified (stove tiles, hearths), wooden floors but also elements of material culture (tableware, iron tools, even toys). The same thing happened outside, where dwellings were constructed on foundations of boulders, on wooden soles and with walls made of wattle and daub. One might say that the area was occupied systematically and structured – considering the fact that land design and terracing works were performed starting from the eastern side of the church, following its southern side, until towards the west. Such works were not needed in the area inside the stone precinct of the church, but the opposite is true outside this precinct. The earthen ramparts that surrounded the church precinct were practically leveled on this occasion and terraces were made on the south-eastern, southern and south-western sides. The northern part of the fortification remained intact. A dwelling located east of the church precinct was fully researched through archaeological test trenches over several campaigns. The dwelling was rectangular in shape, erected on a postament of boulders, with wooden soles. The walls were made of wattle and daub, likely covered in straw or reed. The entrance was identified and a brick floor designed on the outside. Inside, the dwelling had a stile stove in the middle and around it archaeologists have identified two storage pits turned into refuse pits and several grinding stones. Besides many other objects (tableware, items made of iron, bronze, bone etc.), household refuse (animal bones) etc., archaeologists also found two spurs. Besides the recorded archaeological evidence, the dispersion of elements of arms and armor and of accessories for cavalry and horse tack is another indication of the fact that the area was left in great haste by those who formed the garrison of Tauț in the end of the 16th century⁸⁸.

Conclusions

In the context of the events after the middle of the 16th century, the area between the gorge of the Lower Mureș and Crișul Alb became a frontier area between the Ottoman Empire and the

⁸⁸ Hegy 2007, 1491; Nițoi *et al.* 2012, 151–166.

Principality. Garrisons were thus billeted there in order to ensure control over this region between the vilayet of Timișoara, as a province of the Ottoman Empire, and the Principality of Transylvania. Unlike other frontier regions of the Ottoman Empire, in this case the Turkish authorities did not pay much attention to the matter, as the majority of garrisons were settled in old medieval edifices. The situation was also generated by the position of the Principality in connection to the Ottoman Empire. For this reason one cannot speak of a defensive system, but rather of one that ensured control and the collection of taxes in this border region. The selection of sites where such garrisons were billeted was made according to their geographic location, along the intensely circulated arteries, with a preference for water courses. There were few cases in which such strongholds were built a new. For the area under discussion, no such cases are known except for Arad, Radna and later on Vârfulurile, where small strongholds, earth-and-timber fortifications (palankas) were built. The strategic location of the old fortifications, noble residences and ecclesiastic edifices has ensured the perfect infrastructure for the goals of the new Ottoman administration. One can, for the time being, only presume that defensive designs were set in place around such objectives, such as the palisades that delimited them and made them look like palankas. Evlia Çelebi's description of Vărădia de Mureș is a good example.

For all three analyzed cases, Chelmac, Vărădia de Mureș and Tauț, the archaeological discoveries confirm the location on these sites of the garrisons mentioned in documents. Besides the discovered pieces of arms and armor, in each of these spots archaeologists found elements of material culture that reflect various domestic occupations. In the case of the sites of Vărădia de Mureș and Tauț one could note interventions in site redesign according to the new requirements. Thus, around the central edifice that was the old church, the Turks erected houses on wooden soles and boulder postaments, with the walls made of wattle and daub. Heating was ensured by tile stoves, as such elements or even the bases of stoves were discovered in all of the spots under discussion. The analysis of the material culture elements shall be the topic of another study, thus I shall not insist further on such aspects here.

This is a stage of research and in the future it may be completed by new discoveries, naturally corroborated with the documentary sources.

I wish to dedicate this article to the beloved memory of three fellow archaeologist, departed at separate times, their various contributions aiding the progress inherent in the archaeological research of the Arad region, Mircea Zdroba (1941–1989), Mircea Barbu (1944–2004) and P. Hurezan (1949–2016). Their due respect for their several studies conducted on the major sites of Arad county, and the series of discoveries pertaining to the Ottoman period, some of which we mentioned in the present study.

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Abbreviations

Acta Ant et Arch Suppl	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum. Szeged.
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Krakow.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania. Cluj.
ActaArchHung	ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AEM	Archäologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Zaláu.
ATF	Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Făgăraș.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrenses. Sibiu.
Agria	Agria. Annales Musei <i>Agriensis</i> . Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum évkönyve. Eger.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Timișoara.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
ArchJug	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
Arh. Pregled	Arheološki Pregled. Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije. Beograd.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei. Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ASMB	Arheologia Satului Medieval din Banat. Reșița 1996.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
BerRGK	Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, Frankfurt a. Main.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BMB. SH	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița. Seria Historica. Bistrița Năsăud.
BMÉ	Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Békéscsaba.
BMMN	Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național, București.
BThr	Bibliotheca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Carpica	Carpica. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Bacău. Bacău.
CAMNI	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul de Istorie al R. S. România/Muzeul Național de Istorie. București.
CCA	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice (din România)</i> , 1983–1992 <i>sqq.</i> (și în variantă electronică pe http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp).
CRSCRCR	Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins from Romania. Cluj-Napoca.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Danubius	Danubius – Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galati. Galați.
DDME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgCluj	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
DolgSzeg	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
FADDP/GMADP	Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis.

FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
Forsch. u. Ber. z. Vor- u. Frühgesch. BW	Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg.
GPSKV	Gradja za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine. Novi Sad.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva. Beograd.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
HTRTÉ	Hunyadvármegye Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
JahrbuchRGZM	Jahrbuch des RömischGermanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
Lohanul	Lohanul. Revistă culturală științifică. Huși.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MCA-S.N.	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice-Serie Nouă. București.
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis. Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț. Piatra Neamț.
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évkönyve. Szeged.
MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MN	Muzeul Național. București.
Opuscula Hungarica	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
OTÉ	Orvos- Természettudományi Értesítő, a Kolozsvári Orvos-Természettudományi Társulat és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Természettudományi Szakosztálya.
Palaeohistorica	Acta et Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Universitatis Groninganae.
PamArch	Památky Archeologické. Praha.
Past and Present	Past and Present. Oxford.
PIKS/PISC	Die Publikationen des Institutes für klassische Studien/ Publicațiile Institutului de studii clasice. Cluj-Napoca.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde. Berlin.
PMÉ	Acta Musei Papensis – Pápai Múzeumi Értesítő.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Rev. Muz.	Revista Muzeelor, București.
RIR	Revista Istorică Română.
RMM-MIA	Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. seria Monumente istorice și de artă. București.
RMMN	Revista Muzeului Militar Național. București.
Ruralia	Ruralia. Památky Archeologické – Supplementum. Praha.
RVM	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche. București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.
SIA	Studii de Istoria Artei. Cluj Napoca.
SIB	Studii de istorie a Banatului. Timișoara.
SKMÉ	A Szántó Kovács János Múzeum Évkönyve, Orosháza.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. București.
SMMA	Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár. Szolnok.
SMMIM	Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară. București.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut. Beograd.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComBrukenthal	Studii și comunicări. Sibiu.
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica. Budapest.
StudCom	Studia Comitatus. Szentendre.
StudUnivCib	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Sibiu.
StudCom – Vrancea	Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Etnografie Vrancea. Focșani.
StudŽvest	Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Nitra.
Symp. Thrac.	Symposia Thracologica. București.
Tempora Obscura	Tempora Obscura. Békéscsaba 2012.
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Timișoara.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.

VMÉ
Ziridava
ZM
ZSA

A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője
Ziridava. Arad.
A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője
Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.