

**A NEW ITEM RELATING THE CONNECTIONS WITH  
THE EAST IN THE HUNGARIAN COPPER AGE  
(A MAROSDÉCSE-TYPE GRAVE IN CSONGRÁD)\***

ISTVÁN ECESEDY

(Budapest, National Museum)

In 1962 near Csongrád on the N-S-situated loess-ridge called Kettőshalom while excavating in a sand-pit human bones were found, round which reddish discolouration of the sand could be traced. Getting knowledge of the discovery of the grave Katalin Nagy the archeologist of the Tornyai János Museum at Hódmezővásárhely started excavations on this territory next year. It was in the course of these excavations that the burial-place constituting the subject of our article — and left undisturbed while mining in the sand-pit — turned up.<sup>1</sup>

The description of the grave:

There was not any trace of grave discernible in the homogeneous yellow sandy soil. The shape and extension of the grave found in a depth of 178 cm was indicated by an E—W-situated red ochre patch, in the axis of which the skeleton of the buried man placed with his head towards west was lying. The dead was lying supine in a half-sedentary position. The trunk is a little raised upwards from the waist and the head is supported; this way the dead is facing the east. The legs drawn up into a flexed position remained in their original posture. The half-sedentary position of the skeleton is pointedly shown by the fact that the feet are resting under the level of the pelvis in a small separate pit. The arms were placed along the trunk somewhat flexed in the elbow, with the hands on the hip-joint. As mentioned before, in the whole area of the grave as well as on the skeleton there was a considerable amount of red ochre. (Figs. 1 and 2.)

*Furniture:*

1. Between the right upper arm and the ribs there was a 13,2 cm long trapezoid profiled obsidian blade lying. (Fig. 3/1).
2. In the vicinity of the head and the shoulder very small perforated disk-shaped limestone-beads (Fig. 3/4).
3. Small copper-beads made of curved copperplate round the bent knees. (Fig. 3/2).
4. Near the copper-beads cylindrical, pierced beads made of spondylus-shell. (Fig. 3/3)
5. Near the left pelvis there was an ochreknob 15 cm in diameter, which must have been placed on the ochre-layer covering the bottom of the grave in a small pouch made of some organic material (leather or textile).

The burial place described here was first — although only in great lines — appreciated by Gyula Gazdapusztai. Mentioning the Tiszapolgár—Bodrogkeresztur-character of the furniture, he placed the grave in a summary manner among the culture of the pit-grave kurgan (Yamnaya Culture), thus, by means of the furniture he thought the relatively early appearance of the pit-grave kurgans of the Great Hungarian Plain — occurring mostly without any furniture — to be justified.<sup>2</sup> His standing-point seems to be grounded what refers to the characteristic laying of the

\* The manuscript received in 1971.

<sup>1</sup> In this place I express my thanks to Katalin Nagy for letting the material at issue be published by me.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazdapusztai, Gy.*, Die chronologische Fragen der Alfölder Gruppe der Kurgan Kultur. MFMÉ 1966—67/2 99.

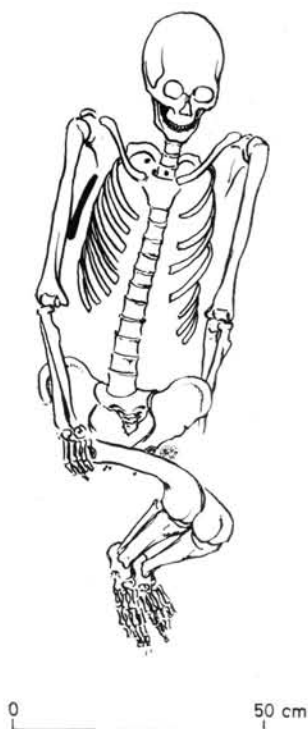


Fig. 1. Csongrád-Kettőshalom.  
Grave 1.



Fig. 2. Csongrád-Kettőshalom.  
Grave 1. from North (Photo: Katalin Nagy)

dead and the existence of ochre. In our opinion, however, these two facts permit only the conclusion that the burial can be connected on the whole to the East-European, more exactly to the Aeneolithic Age of the steppe as regards its ritual. The motives that can be reckoned in order to determine its more exact chronology date the Csongrád grave to an earlier date than the other so far excavated pit-grave kurgans. The complex having the nearest, probably direct relationship with the above described grave considering its geographical and general cultural aspect is the Copper Age cemetery of Marosdécse (Decia Mureşului), the connections of which with the east are known for a long time.<sup>3</sup>

The first evidence that can be adduced concerning the relationship of the two complexes is a negative. Neither in Marosdécse nor in Csongrád there was not any trace of a kurgan on the grave and it is very likely that Csongrád—Kettőshalom as well as Marosdécse had a flat-grave burial place.

In the furniture of the Marosdécse cemetery we can find the exact analogies of the limestone-beads as well as of the copper-beads. All these, of course, can be

<sup>3</sup> Kovács, St., Cimitirul eneolitic dela Decia Mureşului. AISC I. 1928—1932. Cluj 1932. 89—101. *id.*, A marosdécsei rézkori temető. Közlemények. IV. 1—2. Kolozsvár 1944. 3—20. — The cemetery and its connections with the east are thoroughly dealt with by Ida B.—Kutzián. See: Bognár-Kutzián, I., The copper Age Cemetery of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya. Budapest 1963. 442—454. Further literature see there.

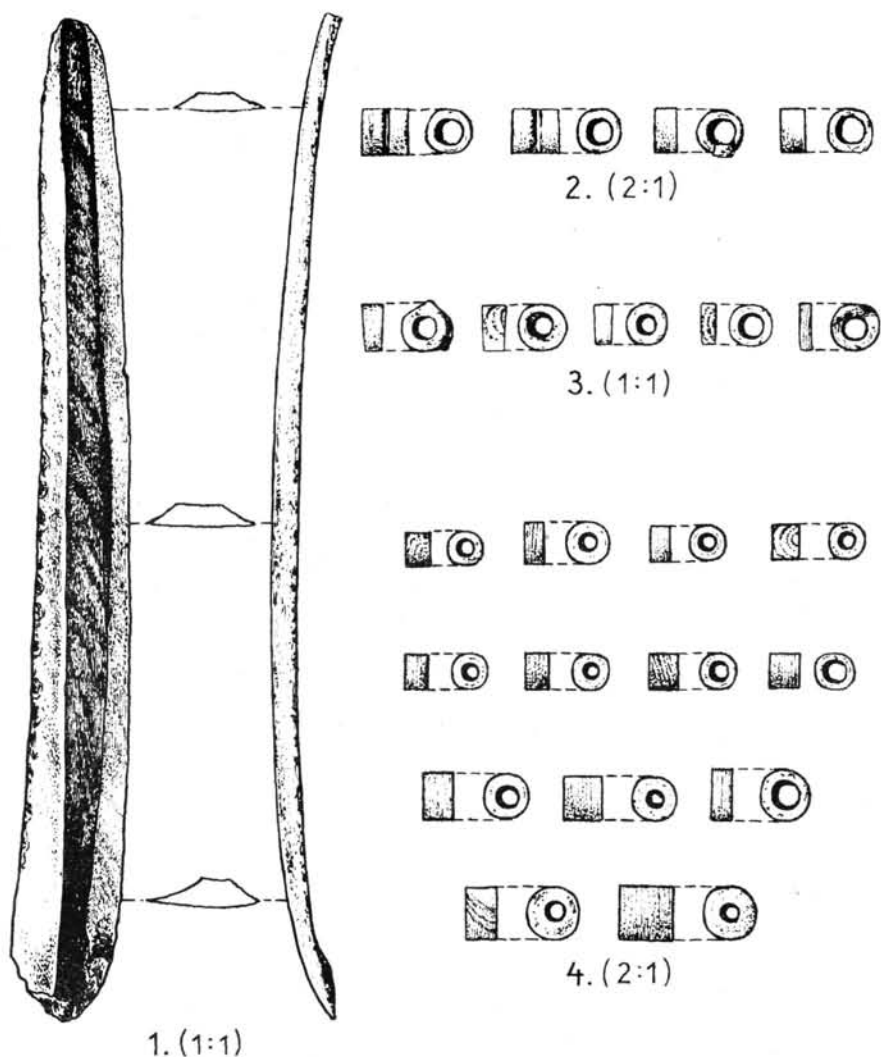


Fig. 3. Csongrád-Kettőshalom.

1 = Obsidian                      3 = Spondylus  
 2 = Copper                        4 = Lime-stone

regarded as the proofs of the cultural affinity in that case if we take them into consideration beside the most important features of the ritual. The facts that play the most important part are the characteristic laying of the dead, the oval-shaped grave and the use of ochre different from the pit-grave kurgans of the Great Hungarian Plain. Both the grave of Csongrád and those of the Marosdéce cemetery contain a considerable quantity of red ochre discernible all over the area of the grave, on the skeleton as well as on the furniture; in addition we can find paint-knobs — as parts of the furniture of the dead — in extra knobs placed very likely in a small bag or pouch as we had already mentioned it above. A further similar feature is the placing

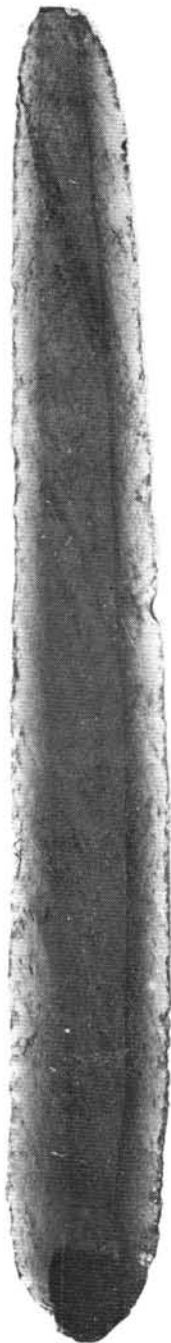


Fig. 4. Csongrád-Kettőshalom. The trapezoid-profiled obsidian blade

of the beads — in Marosdécse strings of beads — at the legs and the pelvis. From the point of view of the cultural homogeneity the presence of long trapezoid-profiled stone-knives in both places — sometimes in the same position — is of great importance. In the case of the cemetery of Marosdécse István Kovács has already pointed out to the special importance played by these in the ritual.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Hungarian Copper Age cultures it is only the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures that can be taken into consideration in connection with the Csongrád—Marosdécse complex. What refers to its furniture the Csongrád grave can be connected to either of these related cultures. Certain forms of pottery of the Marosdécse cemetery and the ornament made up from stamped circles sometimes arranged into triangles point to the culture of Tiszapolgár, while the small copper-awls occurring in several burial-places as well as the copper axe-adze discovered in the area of the cemetery refers rather to the period of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.<sup>5</sup> It seems to be likely that the cemetery of Marosdécse can be realized as the “terminus ante quem” from the point of view of the more exact relative chronology of the Csongrád grave, or perhaps it is exactly of the same age. On the basis of the arguments brought up above we do not think it likely that the Csongrád grave could be posterior to the cemetery of Marosdécse; consequently, by no means can be equal in age with the pit-grave kurgans of the Great Hungarian Plain, the analogies of which in the West-Ukraine are positively posterior to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. We shall later come back to the assumption that the cemetery of Marosdécse — on the basis of the copper torques found in one of the graves — is definitely of a later date than the Bodrogkeresztúr culture of the Trans-Tisza territory, and it represents one of the latest complexes of the people of the pit-grave kurgans in the Carpathian basin.<sup>6</sup>

The most important prehistoric problem to be raised in connection with the grave of Csongrád and Marosdécse cemetery is the relationship of the Eastern part of Hungary with the Moldavian and Ukrainian territories at the time of the Cucuten-

<sup>4</sup> Kovács, I., A marosdécsei... 5. fig. 2. 1., plates 5—7. About the placing of the “ochreknobs” and beads see: *ibid.* 7. (Graves 3 and 4.) and 17—20.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* 20.; B.-Kutzián, I., *ibid.*; Horedt, K., Die Kupferzeit in Transsilvanien. *Apulum*. VII/I. 1968. 110—111. The small-size copper hatchets are general in the graves of Marosdécse, and their occurrence is similarly frequent in certain cemeteries of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, where the proportion of the W—O-orientated graves are of great significance. (The graves of the Marosdécse cemetery are SW-NE-orientated). see Patay, P., A jávarézkor néhány etnikai és időrendi kérdéséről. (Fol. Arch. XXI. 1970. 17. note 32. These copper-pins were discovered in Marosdécse in many cases near the ochreknob placed into the grave. It is easy to imagine that these pins served for tattooing.) cp.: Birket—Smith, K., A kultúra ösvényei Budapest 1969. 178—179.)

<sup>6</sup> This view was represented by Gyula Gazdapusztai (Rézkorkutatásunk problémái). Lecture given at the 5th Archeological Conference at Szeged, April 1968. The text of the lecture was not published.

Tripolye cultures. On the territories of Ukraine, Moldavia and Rumania several complexes of finds have been discovered and numerous issues of researchwork have been born in the course of the recent years that represent partly the outstanding importance of these connections and partly contribute to the elucidation of the phases — divergent both in their period and character — of a process that has been called formerly the “influence of the steppe” as a whole, and so far has not been made clear in details.

The graves and cemeteries showing the direct analogies of our complexes in Hungary discussed above can be dated principally to a period parallel with the 2nd layer of Srednij Stog on the territory of the Soviet Union. This phase is represented by the latest graves of the Dneper-Donec culture as well as by the earliest burial places of the Yamnaya Culture. As for making the cemetery of Marosdécse parallel with Marjupol in this case in our opinion only the last graves (graves XXI and XXIV) of the Marjupol cemetery can be taken into consideration, and it is very likely that only as a „terminus post quem”.<sup>7</sup> The same can be stated about the cemetery excavated near Nyikolkiye (in the district of Dnepropetrovsk) and the cemetery discovered near vasilyevka (in the district of Zhaporozhez) can be ranged with these, too. These also belong to the neolithic period preceding Srednij Stog II.<sup>8</sup>

The near analogies of the whole ritual are shown, however, by the graves 1/a—5/a in the cemetery of Tshapli as well as by the burial-places discovered in Vinográdniy Ostrov being — according to Dobrovolskij — in a very close connection with the former ones. Not only the laying of the dead the characteristic way of use of the ochre and the stone-knives — being of outstanding importance according to Garashanin<sup>9</sup> — and the copper beads show a correspondence, but some specific elements of the costume as well; as the string of beads made of Unio-shells and possibly wound around the waist like a belt — as it was well observed and laid down both in Marosdécse and in Tshapli.<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, in the cemetery of Petro-Svistunovo we can see the outstanding importance of the stone-blades and we can find the above mentioned elements of the costume beside the special features of the ritual. The first grave of the cemetery deserves special attention. It is an interment in an oval pit with the dead lying supine with the legs drawn up and the head orientated towards the west and powdered with ochre with a furniture containing a string of beads composed of 120 pieces similar to the copperbeads of Csongrád, a stone-knife and three stonechisels. There was a furniture of ochre-knob near the left hand.<sup>11</sup> The analogies of the beads,

<sup>7</sup> *Макаренко М.*, Маріупольський могiлник. Всеукраїнська Академія Наук. Київ

<sup>8</sup> *Телегин Д., Я.* Никольський могiлник епохи неоліта — міді в Надпорожжє КСИА АН УССР II. х Київ 1961. 20—26. *Бодянский О. В.*, Лысогорський неолітичний могiлник КСИА АН УССР II. 32—37.

<sup>9</sup> *Garashanin, M. V.*, Elemente der Steppen und der pontischen Einflüsse an der Unteren Donau und auf dem Balkan, an Übergang vom Neolithikum zur frühen Bronzezeit. Glasnik Sarajevo, N. S. XV—XVI. 24. Considering the skeletons of the cemetery of Marosdécse lying with the legs drawn up the author assumes that it is not Maryupol that the cemetery of Marosdécse shows a close relationship with, but the Aeneolithic cemeteries of younger date.

<sup>10</sup> *Добролюцкий А. В.*, Могiлник в с. Чаплі. Археологія. X. Київ 1954. 106—118. The Aeneolithic cemetery of Kapulovka is — the ceramics of which are type Srednij-Stog II., Mihajlovka I. — considering its ritual different but on the ground of its furniture similar to the Tshapli graves 1.a—5.a. *Шапошникова О. Г. Бодянский О. В.*, Капуловський енеолітичний могiлник на нижньому Дніпрі. Археологія. XX., Київ 1970. 11—117.

<sup>11</sup> *Бодянский О. В.*, Энеолітичний могiлник біля с Петро-Свистунове. Археологія. XX. Київ 1968. 117—118.

the bracelet and the “small copper-pipe” bent from two copper-plates found in the grave can be found — among others — in the treasure of Carbuна and in Habasesti.<sup>12</sup> The string of beads made of *Unio*-shells discovered in the 2nd grave points to the above mentioned graves of Tshapli and to Marosdécse.<sup>13</sup>

The burial-place excavated near the Moldavian Kainari and dated by the vessel of Tripolye BI type is of outstanding importance both from the point of view of the relative chronology and the historical connections. Here the man buried in the grave was lying in supine position with the legs drawn up under a small tumulus. The interment contained a large quantity of ochre, the vessel of Tripolje mentioned above, two stoneblades and a nucleus as well as a copper-bracelet and a copper torques. Both the bracelet and the torques have pointed ends and very likely both had the above mentioned beads made of *Unio*-shells known from the graves of Srednij Stog II and from Marosdécse. This burial-place is — according to Movsha — the earliest kurgan burial in the area of the Tripolye culture and it can be connected to the early Yamnaya kurgans dated by the pottery of the type Sredni Stog II.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, we can record the grave as one of the relics of the earliest connections of the Sredni Stog II-early Yamnaya and the Tripolye tribes. These connections became livelier especially in the phase Tripolye B II., C I. It is manifested by the shell-like slimming, stamped and often corded pottery with rough cross-hatched surface occurring in the Tripolye settlements<sup>15</sup>, and by the “C” pottery appearing on the territory of Rumania later in the Cucuten A—B and period B.<sup>16</sup> According to Movsha it is due to these strengthening connections that the burials in supine position with the legs drawn up became widespread in the Tripolye culture.<sup>17</sup>

In connection with these issues and bearing upon the relationship of the Copper Age-Early Bronze Age with the steppe in general the ochregrave of Casimcea is of outstanding importance, and the problem of the stone mace-head shaped like a horse's head found here.<sup>18</sup> What refers to the assumption that the interment represents an earlier phase of the connections with the east the scientists have a more or less similar standing-point. Berciu expresses in several of his works his view that the grave of Casimcea is a burial-place of the Cernavoda culture and he tries to date it by the radiocarbon data of Ceamurlia de Jos's “ochre-grave”.<sup>19</sup> In our

<sup>12</sup> *Сергеев Г. П.*, Раннетрипольский клад у с. Карбуна. СА 1963. 139. 4—6; *Клейн Л. С.*, О дате карбунского клада. Проблемы археологии I. Ленинград 1968. 5—74. (It gives a through analysis of the objects of the Karbuна treasure and the connections of the Copper Age in Hungary.) *Dumitrescu, V.*, Le dépôt d'objets de parure de Hăbășesti et le problème des rapports entre les tribus de la civilisation de Cucuteni et les tribus des steppes pontiques. Dacia N. S. I. 1957. 74—76.

<sup>13</sup> *Богдянский О. В.*, Археология, XX. Киев 1968. 118.

<sup>14</sup> *Мовша Т. В.—Чеботаренко Г. Ф.*, Энеолитическое курганное погребение у ст. Каинары в Молдавии. КСИА 115. Москва 1969. 45—49.

<sup>15</sup> *Мовша Т. Г.*, О связях племен трипольской культуры со степными племенами медного века. СА 1961. 2. 186—199.

<sup>16</sup> *Dumitrescu, V.*, op. cit. 94—95; The Date of Earliest Western Expansion of the Kurgan Tribes. Dacia N. S. VII. 1963. 496. note 5. See also: *Morintz, S.—Roman, P.*, Über die Chronologie der Übergangszeit vom Aeneolithikum zur Bronzezeit in Rumänien. Dacia N. S. XIII. 1969. 67.

<sup>17</sup> *Мовша Т. Г.*, К вопросу о трипольских погребениях с обрядом трупоположения. Материалы и исследования по археологии юго-запада СССР и Румынской Народной Республики. Кишинев. 1960.

<sup>18</sup> *Popescu, D.*, La tombe à ocre de Casimcea (Dobrogea) Dacia 85—91. To the problem of the Casimcea scepter and its analogies: *Berciu, D.*, A Zoomorphic „Sceptre” Discovered in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its cultural and chronological Position. Dacia N. S. VI. 1962. 397—409.

<sup>19</sup> *Berciu, D.*, op. cit., cp. id., Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări. Bukarest 1961. 137. id., Romania before Burebista. London 1967. 74—75.

opinion S. Morintz and P. Roman criticize Berciu's method not without any foundation in this very respect. (The cultural situation of Ceamurlia de Jos's ochre-grave is not exactly determined.)<sup>20</sup> We must remark that the stele of the grave discussed here is according to the analogies discovered between the Dnester and the Danube represent a later period following the Usatovo phase.<sup>21</sup> The furniture of the Casimcea grave in on the other hand, partly an analogy of the flint implements discovered by Bodianski in the already mentioned graves of the cemetery in Petro-Svistunovo<sup>22</sup>, affirming the opinion of Merpert and Vladimir Dumitrescu; that is it supports the dating of the grave to an early period by all means preceding the Usatovo, and most probably to the period Cucuten A—B.<sup>23</sup>

As we have mentioned it above, the nearest analogies of the graves in Marosdécse can be found in the first place among the burial places of the Srednij Stog II, respectively among the graves of its later period being connected to the early Pit-Grave Culture (Yamnaya Culture). Relying upon these findings we can risk the assumption that the ochre-grave of Kainari and Casimcea and the "Sceptrums" as well as the graves of Marosdécse and Csongrád can be connected uniformly to the phase Sredni Stog II—Tripolye BI—II—Cucuten A—B—Bodrogkeresztúr (earliest); perhaps they represent a homogeneous horizon within this.<sup>24</sup> It can be supposed that the complex represented by this cemetery and that of Marosdécse is the result of the earliest steppe influences as well as of the penetration of certain steppe groups. These groups could be people of the steppe population characterized by the material of Sredni Stog II, and flourishing at the period of Tripolye B I—II, who manifested a strong relationship with the Yamnaya culture.<sup>25</sup>

As for the historical circumstances of the penetration it is especially the opinion of Bibikova and Merpert that reserves special attention. It is a positive fact that corresponding partly the climatic and geographical conditions a cultural area was emerging in the East-European steppe in the earliest times definitely deferring from the complex represented by the Gumelnita, Bojan, Tripolye, Tiszapolgár, etc. cultures of the "Danubian Circle". This eastern area is the most sharply represented

<sup>20</sup> Morintz, S.—Roman, P., Über die Übergangsperiode vom Aeneolithikum zur Bronzezeit in Rumänien. Symposium über die Entstehung und Chronologie der Badener Kultur. Nitra 1969. Lithographed text. 31.

<sup>21</sup> Berciu, D., op. cit., Rumania before Burebista 74—75. Шмаглей Н. М.—Черняков И. Т., Курганы степной части между Дуная и Днестра. Материалы по археологии северного Причерноморья. 6. Одесса 1970. 100—102.

<sup>22</sup> Popescu, D., op. cit.; Бодянский О. В., op. cit. Археология. XX. Киев 1968. 118. fig 4., ill. 4 а б.

<sup>23</sup> Dumitrescu, V., op. cit. Dacia N. S. I. 1957. 89—95. Мерперт Н. Я., Древнейшая история населения степной полосы Восточной Европы. Ph. D. thesis. Москва 1968. 75—81. See also: Garašanin op. cit. 25. According to the informations of Marija Gimbutas in West-Ukraine in the region of the South-Bug a sceptrum was discovered with Tripolje B I (!) material. (Gimbutas marks this phase Kurgan I and Kurgan II and places a part of the pit-grave kurgans of Rumania and East-Hungary including the cemetery of Marosdécse with it. Neither the kurgan-stratigraphies nor finds support this assumption, moreover, they contradict it. (ср.: Gimbutas, M., Proto-Indo-European Culture: The Kurgan Culture during the Fifth, Fourth and Third Millenium B. C. Indo European and Indo-Europeans. Philadelphia 1970. 178—179. and 195. note 6. (with further literature.)

<sup>24</sup> On the basis of the torques found in the grave discovered near Kainari — and other above mentioned analogies it appears that the torques of Marosdécse does not justify the dating of the cemetery to a date later than the period of the Bodrogkeresztur culture. By reason of the facts mentioned above we assume that the cemetery was used between the transitional period of Tiszapolgár—Bodrogkeresztur and the final period of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. (see note 5.)

<sup>25</sup> ср. Мерперт. op. cit.; Мовица—Чеботаренко, op. cit. 49. Мерперт op. cit. ibid.

by the Sredni Stog II and the Yamnaya culture. The connections of the two circles as we have seen can be observed in the earliest period of cultures pursuing a primarily nomadic stock-breeding and horse-keeping economy. Because of the mobility moreover the necessity of movement coming from the character of their economy in the case of advantageous climatic conditions or — perhaps simultaneously with these — in consequence of the pressure of other tribes or groups the nomad and mobile way of living can take the form of a definite migration.<sup>26</sup> In the course of this the steppe groups penetrate into the territories suitable for them; — to the plain between the Dnester and the Danube, the Lower Danube, the valley of the rivers Olt and Maros and to the territory east of the river Tisza. Beside the intercourses observed from Tripolje B I the appearance of the horse-headed scepters, the emergence of the Csongrád—Marosdécse complex must be considered as a result of the first movement of this nature directly following the former ones. It seems to be definite that in the course of Tripolye B II—C I this process contributed to the formation of new cultures on the Eastern territories. These cultures are Usatovo, (Foltest I) in the area of the Soviet Union and in Rumania the Cernavoda I culture emerging parallelly with the Cucuten B and the Gumelnița bases.<sup>27</sup>

We must emphasize it repeatedly, that — contrary to the opinion of Marija Gimbutas — among our so far discovered pit-grave kurgans there is none which could be dated to this period.<sup>28</sup> These graves as well as the Bulgarian (Endze, etc.) and the Muntanian (Gurbanești) ones represent within the Yamnaya culture the burial places following directly or at best running parallel with the Usatovo, so in Hungary parallelly either with the Bodrogkeresztur culture or with its final phase we can hardly speak about a nomad penetration on the side of the Yamnaya culture.<sup>29</sup>

The depot-finds dated definitely by the Tiszapolgár—Bodrogkeresztúr-type copper and gold disks, copper-beads and bracelets to the middle period of our Copper Age can be connected possibly to the first steppe penetrations outlined above.<sup>30</sup> The depot finds of Karbuna, Habasesti, Erősd and Hencida can be found on the territories which can be taken into consideration in connection with the movement of the above-mentioned population respectively ethnic groups. Referring to the finds of Hencida Gyula Gazdapusztai hinted at the fact that this treasure had been concealed from an enemy attack in flight.<sup>31</sup> As it is impossible to date

<sup>26</sup> Бибикова В. И., К истории доместикации лошади на юго-востоке Европы Археология XXII. Киев 1969. 67. о.

<sup>27</sup> According to the observations of Шмаглий and Черняков among the kurgan burials between the Dnyeper and Danube the Usatovo graves are older than those of the Yamnaya culture. On the basis of the grave discovered near Kainari the authors suppose that the custom of building of kurgan is a result of the intercourses with the steppe preceding the later Tripolye phase. Relying upon these it can be supposed that the earliest phase of the formation of the Usatovo directly follows the earliest period of the Yamnaya culture in the steppe zone. See: Шмаглий—Черняков, op. cit. 94—95., cop.: Zbenovich V. G., Chronology and cultural relations of the Usatovo Group in the USSR. Symposium über... der Badener Kultur. Nitra 1969. Lithographed text. 5—6.

On the emergence of Cernavoda I and the so called „C” ceramics of Cucuten A—B see: Morintz S.,—Roman, P., Aspekte der Ausgänge des Aeneolithikums und der Übergangsstufe zur Bronzezeit in Raum der Niederdonau. Dacia N. S. XII. 1966. 120.

<sup>28</sup> See note 23.

<sup>29</sup> Мерперт, Н. Й., op. cit. ibid; Шмаглий—Черняков, op. cit. 107—108.; Kalicz, N., Die Frühbronzezeit in Nordostungarn. Arch. Hung. XIV. Budapest 1968. 28—39., 73—88.

<sup>30</sup> Сеппеев, op. cit.; Gazdapusztai, Gy., Ein Goldfund der Kupferzeit in Hencida. Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. XCVI—XCVII. 1967. 290—297.

<sup>31</sup> ibid. 297.

the material of the depot to a period later than the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, it is not likely that the enemy presumed to have penetrated to the area had been the people of the pit-grave kurgans. We can totally exclude this possibility in the case of Karbuna and Habasessti. It can be possibly imagined that the cause of hiding the treasure is to be looked for in the Kainari—Casimcea—Marosdécse wave or in its certain groups respectively. This assumption is, of course, hypothetical, since the concealing of these highly valuable objects could be motivated by local factors and events that were historically insignificant.

The process outlined here can not be conceived as a single penetration of short duration. On the territories indicated above we must count — beside the constant intercourses — with successive movements directed to the west meaning the penetration of several different groups of people in the same direction. The movement resulting in the above mentioned steppe-type complexes could be paralleled with the connections documented partly by the Bodrogkeresztúr-type copper adze the Karbuna-treasure, the Traian gold-pendant that can be found in the Cucuten—Tripolye culture and partly by the obsidian-blade in the Csongrád-grave being definitely of Carpathian basin in its origin.<sup>32</sup> The connections outlined here are first within the intercourses of the two above-mentioned “cultural areas” and the fact that they had begun as early as the emergence of the “nomadic zone” points out the essential characteristics of the steppe way of life. The Carpathian basin constitutes hereafter the marginal territory of all nomadic steppe cultures.<sup>33</sup>

The earliest steppe influences had nowhere been of such a size that they could have caused a breaking in the local development. The above mentioned cultural impacts, too, prevailed beside the strong survival of the local bases. We cannot assert the same about the penetration of the later and more developed Yamnaya culture differing in its size and character from the process assumed by us and represented among others by the burial place of Csongrád.

<sup>32</sup> *Dumitrescu, H.*, Connections between Cucuteni-Tripolje and Near East Cultures in the Light of the Utilization of Golden Pendants. *Dacia*. N. S. V. 1961. 91—93.

<sup>33</sup> *Werner, J.*, Bronzenes Pferdekopszepter der Halstattzeit aus Predmerice bei Hradec Kralové. *Pam. Arch.* LII. 1961. 389.