

What's the Use of a Manuscript? Uncovering Relevant Information from András Lugosi Fodor's Unpublished Book¹

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Abstract: András Lugosi Fodor was the medical superintendent of Hunyad (Ro: Hunedoara) County in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a keen interest in Dacian and Roman sites in the region. Some of his most significant contributions to archaeology are a series of unpublished manuscripts. These contain information about his visits to sites, but most importantly, they also present the collections of antiquities belonging to the Transylvanian nobility. Fodor not only provided detailed descriptions about these items, but also drawings. The locations of most of these items are unknown today, making Fodor's manuscript more important. This paper will try to reconstruct the collection of Roman finds owned by noble families from Hunyad County, based on Fodor's manuscript.

Keywords: research history, antiquarianism, nineteenth century archaeology, manuscripts, Transylvania, Roman Dacia

Rezumat: András Lugosi Fodor a fost superintendentul medical al comitatului Hunedoara (Hunyad) în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea, cu un interes viu pentru siturile dacice și romane din această regiune. Unele dintre contribuțiile sale semnificative în domeniul arheologiei sunt o serie de manuscrise rămase nepublicate. Acestea conțin informații despre vizitele lui la aceste situri, dar și mai important, ele prezintă colecțiile de antichități care au aparținut nobilimii transilvănene. Fodor a oferit descrieri detaliate ale acestor obiecte alături de desene ale acestora. Localizarea acestor obiecte este necunoscută azi, făcând ca manuscrisele lui Fodor să fie și mai

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importante. Această prezentare va încerca să reconstituie colecția de descoperiri romane aflată în posesiunea unor familii nobile din comitatul Hunedoarei, ba baza manuscriselor lui Fodor.

Cuvinte cheie: istoria cercetării, anticarianism, arheologia secolului al XIX-lea, manuscrise, Transilvania, Dacia Romană.

“Transylvania is a rich, but unknown museum.”² László Kőváry’s book about the antiquities of Transylvania begins with this sentence. We can’t help but agree with him, even after so many years spent with the identification and research of ancient sites. However, Kőváry wasn’t the first person to realize the importance of documenting archaeological heritage. He was only a member of a bigger wave that had representatives in Transylvania and Europe. Of course, this paper is too short to present the whole phenomenon adequately, thus it will focus on the contribution of a lesser-known representative: András Lugosi Fodor.

András Lugosi Fodor was born in 1780/1781³, and was the medical superintendent of Hunyad (Ro: Hunedoara) County for several years, during which time he also made numerous trips across the countryside. While his main area of expertise lay in medicine, much like his contemporaries, he passionately collected and studied Dacian and Roman antiquities. He even managed to publish a few newspaper articles and a book⁴ presenting some of his discoveries. Even so, probably his most important work, the one that would have presented the archaeological sites of Transylvania, remained unpublished. It was partially due to Fodor’s lack of funding⁵, but also because of criticism⁶ he received from his peers.

² László Kőváry, *Erdély régiségei és történelmi emlékei* [Transylvanian antiquities and historical monuments] (Cluj-Napoca: Horizont, 2013), p. 13.

³ In a letter to János Kemény, he mentions that he is 70 years old in March of 1851, and 73 in April of 1853. (See: Sándor Ferenczi, ‘Lugosi dr. Fodor András Levelei’ [The letters of András Lugosi Fodor], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* 22 (Budapest: Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat, 1914), pp. 18–59, 58–59).

⁴ András Fodor, *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczeli határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* [A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel] (Cluj-Napoca: Ref. Kollégium, 1844); András Fodor, A váraljai hegytetőn álló rom régisége [The antiquity of the ruin from the hilltop at Subcetate], *Múlt és Jelen* 47 (1845); András Fodor, Utazás nemes Hunyadvármegyében régiségek kinyomozása végett [Travels in Hunedoara County in order to investigate antiquities], *Hon és Külföld*, 87–91 (1847).

⁵ Fodor complains about the high publishing costs to József Kemény on several occasions. (see: Ferenczi, ‘Lugosi dr. Fodor’, pp. 50–57.)

The more well-known title of this series of manuscripts is *Panoráma*. As of now, there are eight bound volumes of his manuscript in the collection of the “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library from Cluj-Napoca. There are five written volumes and three that have the drawings connected to the texts from the previous five. The first five are essentially different versions of the same text, some paragraphs being heavily edited and/or crossed out completely. Volumes I and II were the manuscripts that were written exclusively by Fodor, while volumes IV and V seem to be their German version. There's also another edition, volume III, which is actually a print-ready version of a proposed book he would co-author with Lajos Brúz. Volumes VI to VIII contain the drawings of several finds referenced in the texts.⁷ The numbering of the pages is often crossed out and rewritten, but even so, there are instances when the image numberings referenced in the manuscript do not match.

Unfortunately, we do not know the exact time he started to work on the manuscript, however, by 1844 he was at a stage where he thought it was time to ask for someone's opinion about his progress thus far. This person was none other than József Kemény, who was a renowned historian in Transylvania at that time. Thanks to their partially preserved correspondence, the circumstances of the manuscript's creation can be reconstructed.⁸ The manuscript Fodor sent to Kemény is presumably vol. I, this theory is supported by the fact that when he talks about Nopcsa László, he refers to him as count⁹ (*comes*).¹⁰ This same, albeit slightly modified, passage from vol. II refers to Nopcsa as ex-sheriff of Hunyad County, meaning that at least this part of the manuscript was written after 1848.¹¹ Fodor also mentions in vol. II, that the manor from Zám was destroyed during the revolution of 1848.¹² Thus, it's plausible that the

⁶ László Kőváry for instance. (see: László Kőváry, 'Irodalmi csatározás' [Literary battle], *Hetilap* 7 (1854): 114.

⁷ It should be mentioned that only the sketches were made by Fodor, the higher quality drawings were made by different artists he commissioned to do so. (see: Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 21.)

⁸ Unfortunately, only Fodor's letters were recovered, and were compiled and published by Sándor Ferenczi.

⁹ Nopcsa was the count (*comes*) of Hunyad county for 15 years, until he renounces his title during the Gathering of Balázsfalva in 1848. (see: 'Br. Nopcsa László', *Ellenzék* 14/11 (1884).

¹⁰ Fodor András, *lugosi, kéziratái és rajzai. XIX. sz.* [The manuscripts and drawings of Lugosi Fodor András, XIXth c.], (8 vols, “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Ms 754) vol. 1, p. 30.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 23/2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 47/2

second manuscript he sent to Kemény for review in 1851 is actually vol. II, which is a more refined version of the first volume.¹³

We know that Kemény somewhat supported Fodor's plan of publishing his work however, only by providing his review for it.¹⁴ There are several instances when Fodor asks indirectly for Kemény's financial support or high society connections to help him with raising funds for publishing.¹⁵ Kemény's reluctance to do so proves that even though he had shown his support in his letters, he wasn't keen on doing so publicly. This is somewhat understandable, since the manuscript oftentimes lacked a coherent narrative, as Fodor was sometimes distracted by medieval finds and locations, while talking about Dacian or Roman sites.

Sometime after his last known letter to Kemény in the spring of 1853, Fodor met Brúz Lajos, a fellow historian from Hunyad County. They decided to publish several volumes that would present the natural and antique wonders of Transylvania, titled *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai*. This would combine the works of Fodor and Brúz, a version which was preserved in the form of a manuscript (vol. III), and was published posthumously in the *Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat's* journal.¹⁶ Seemingly, 1854 would have been the publication year for their combined work. Countless statements towards the press were released about an estimated date and number of volumes. *Új Magyar Múzeum* mentions in its 'coming soon' segment that Fodor and Brúz were planning to publish a 3–4 tomes long book called *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai*.¹⁷ Brúz also announced their intent in an article published in *Pesti Napló* the same year.¹⁸

Köváry László wrote a reply to the announcement not long after, publishing it in *Hetilap*, a newspaper based in Kolozsvár (Ro: Cluj-Napoca).¹⁹ In this, he stated that he already published a similar book, making Fodor's and Brúz's tome redundant. He also proclaimed that the envisioned length of their work was too short and the topic they wished to cover was far too vast for only 3–4 volumes. Neither Fodor, nor Brúz reacted publicly to this article, and seemingly they continued with preparations. However, a few months later Brúz, under the alias Kenyérvizy, stated in a

¹³ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 58.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 48–51.

¹⁶ András Fodor – Lajos Brúz, 'Erdély ritkaságai és természeti nevezetességei' [The rarities and natural sights of Transylvania], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* 15 (1905).

¹⁷ 'A Múzeum Tárcája' [Museum Feuilleton], *Új Magyar Múzeum* 1 (1854), p. 302.

¹⁸ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 20.

¹⁹ Köváry, 'Irodalmi csatározás', p. 114.

short article that they would not be able to proceed with publication because Fodor sent his manuscripts to Vienna.²⁰

But can the publishing of this manuscript be considered unnecessary, given Kóváry's already printed work? Upon closer inspection, despite their common theme, they had a quite different structure and content. While Kóváry did write about several Dacian and Roman archaeological sites, his main focus was mostly on medieval or modern castles and churches, or other important buildings from Transylvania. On the other hand, folktales were heavily featured in the Fodor-Brúz version, often even more prominently than the historical data about a certain location. Even so, they made an effort to include relevant information about ancient sites as well. Thus, Kóváry's opinion about *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai* was far too severe, given the fact that it would have a different approach to content and structure than his own work, even if the two had a similar title. After Brúz reported that Fodor's manuscript was sent to Vienna, they seemingly stopped releasing any more information about it.

Despite the fact that Fodor's manuscript was never published, it is an important source about the state of Dacian and Roman archaeological sites in the nineteenth century. They detailed features that were completely or partially destroyed by the end of the century, not to mention those archaeological finds located in private collections that went missing since that time. Thus, Fodor's descriptions can help us with the reconstruction of several collections.

It was quite fashionable for the wealthier or more educated members of society to collect finds from Antiquity. Whether these objects were found on or near their estates (like in the case of most nobles from Transylvania) or sought out on purpose by antiquarians of the time (like Fodor), these people took great care managing their collections. Hunyad County was home to several important archaeological sites; it is understandable that a considerable number of high society members collected ancient artefacts. The Roman finds displayed at baron Nopcsa László's estates from Alsó-Farkadin (Ro: Fărcădin) and Zám (Ro: Zam) and count Gyulay Lajos' estate from Marosnémeti (Ro: Mintia) were probably the most well-known in the region. Several other noble families from the county also collected finds, such as the Várady family at Déva (Ro: Deva) and Kéménd (Ro: Chimindia), the Kendeffy family at Boldogfalva (Ro: Sântămăria-Orlea), the Pogány family at Poklisa (Ro: Păclișa), the Jósika family at Branyicska (Ro: Brănișca), the Csulay family at Nagysztró (Ro:

²⁰ *Pesti Napló* 127 (1854), p. 1.

Ostrov) and the Barcsay's at Alpestes (Ro: Peștișu Mare). Numerous antiquarians had the opportunity to visit these estates and document the archaeological finds, thus helping with the reconstruction of these collections.

Unfortunately, many objects went missing or were destroyed after the Revolution of 1848–1849, or due to the fact that the descendants of the collector decided to split or sell the items. Due to the fragility of private collections, Kőváry states that only a national museum or other national institute could truly help in their preservation.²¹ However, the public had to wait several years before that became true. The following paragraphs will present some of the bigger collections from Hunyad County that were documented by Fodor.

Lajos Gyulay's collection of inscriptions from Marosnémeti was quite famous in its time. Mommsen stated to Géza Kuun that he saw the largest collection of Roman inscriptions in Transylvania at the Gyulay estate.²² This isn't surprising when we consider the fact that *Micia* (Hu: Veczel, Ro: Vețel) was only a couple of kilometres away from the estate, and the peasants often brought the inscriptions and other finds to the Gyulay family. It is worth mentioning that the estate's garden was already full with Roman inscriptions at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Fodor probably visited the Gyulay estate from Marosnémeti sometime around 1844, since the booklet he published about the Roman inscriptions and architectural fragments from there is from the same year. The garden was full of Roman stone finds, some published by Fodor in *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczeli határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* (A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel). However, there are only a handful of objects that were included in his manuscript. Although Fodor stated in his publication that he only included those objects that were noteworthy, there were still some artifacts worth mentioning in his manuscript.

The finds from the Gyulay estate are mainly inscriptions and parts of funerary and votive monuments, there are also some smaller objects like a fibula and a dice.²³ According to Fodor, there were a total of sixteen inscriptions in the estate's garden. One of the more remarkable pieces is the funerary monument of a soldier from a unit stationed at *Micia*, with

²¹ László Kőváry, *Erdélyország statistikája* [The Statistics of Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Tilsch János tulajdona, 1847), p. 14.

²² Géza Kuun, 'Társulatunk előzményei és előjelei' [The Precursors of our Association], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve*, 10 (1899): 110.

²³ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 37; vol. 2, p. 42/2; vol. 6, p. 59.

the deceased depicted on horseback.²⁴ Another notable find is a fragmentary marble relief, depicting the tauroctony, with only Mithras' hands, the bull's head and the torso of Cautopates visible.²⁵ It is worth mentioning, that this relief was not published in Fodor's book about the Gyulay collection.

A surprisingly large number of inscriptions survived till this day from the collection. At least seven inscriptions²⁶ and part of a funerary monument²⁷ became part of the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization's (hereafter MDRC) collection.

Another collection which was known by many for its large number of inscriptions and sculptures was that of László Nopcsa. According to contemporary writers, these were brought here mainly from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Nopcsa was known as someone who was interested in antiques, hence the reason why he was also invited to an expedition led by Fodor, but declined, stating that he would plan and fund one of his own in the future.²⁸

Gábor Téglás writes that the Nopcsa estate from Alsó-Farkadin had several Roman inscriptions and sculptures embedded into the portico's side in front of the main façade.²⁹ (Fig. 1) Vol. VI of the Fodor manuscript has a drawing of the manor and the supposed inscriptions, although the image of the manor here is slightly different from what Téglás' description states. (Fig. 2) Moreover, certain discrepancies can be observed in Fodor's text as well. First of all, although on the manor's drawing, the embedded inscriptions can be seen on the southern façade of the building, in the text, Fodor talks about the eastern façade.³⁰ Since later texts by other authors do not mention that there were any other façades with inscriptions on them, it's certainly plausible that it was only

²⁴ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, eds. Dionisie M. Pippidi, Ioan I. Russu (9 vols., Bucharest, 1975–1999), vol. 3/3, p. 171; András Fodor, *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczei határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* [A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel] (Cluj-Napoca: Ref. Kollégium, 1844), fig. IX; *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 2, p. 41/2.

²⁵ *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 2, p. 42/2, vol. 6, p. 59.

²⁶ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 66–67, 99–100, 108–111, 116–117, 127–128, 158–160.

²⁷ Lucia Teșosu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1982), p. 159.

²⁸ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', pp. 43–44.

²⁹ Gábor Téglás, 'Hunyadmegeye' [Hunyad County], in Mór Jókai et al (eds.), *Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia Irásban és Képből, Magyarország VII. kötete* [The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Writing and Picture, Hungary's VIIth Volume] (Budapest: Magyar Királyi Allamnyomda, 1901), p. 564.

³⁰ *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 30.

an error on Fodor's part. In Téglás' report about the manor we also learn that two stone lions framed the row of inscriptions in front of the building, however there are no signs of these on the drawing in Fodor's manuscript.³¹ Considering the fact that Téglás' text is written at a later date, perhaps these changes weren't made in Fodor's time. A description from a different author states that there were a total of thirteen inscriptions and seven headless statues in front of the manor.³²

There are accounts from other authors about artifacts that Fodor didn't cover. Sándor Farkas describes griffon- and chimera-like creatures, but also a lamb flanked by two lions in 1837.³³ Whether these were already missing by the time Fodor visited or were left out on purpose by him is a mystery.³⁴ Despite the fact that the manor is in really good condition even today, the string of inscriptions in front of the building was removed almost a century ago. The illustration in Fodor's manuscript seems to be the only surviving contemporary depiction of the previous place of the inscriptions from Farkadin,³⁵ although certain postcards from before 1945 still show the embedded monuments in front of the manor. Fodor's writing about the Roman finds housed at the manor from Farkadin was partially published in the *Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat's* journal, as part of his collaboration with Lajos Brúz. However, it seems that this version intended to include only a fragment of the antiques detailed in the manuscripts written exclusively by Fodor.

Fodor presents a total of twelve inscriptions that were taken to Farkadin; most of these were presumably originally from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Interestingly enough, all twelve of the inscriptions shown in the manuscript can be accounted for today, all of them being in the MDRC's collection.³⁶ Another group that should be mentioned are the sculptures that were kept at the Nopcsa estate. The six statues, except for the funerary lion, are all fragmentary and only two of them can be accounted for today. The headless marble statue of a Roman soldier that

³¹ Although, he does mention a funerary lion while talking about the sculptures at the estate, it could be plausible that the lion was later moved to the place Téglás talks about.

³² Kuun, "Társulatunk előzményei", p. 117.

³³ Sándor Farkas, 'Egy utas sétája Fel-Gyógyról Vulkánig' [The Journey of a Traveler from Geoagiú de Sus to Vulcan], *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, 4 (1837): 56.

³⁴ Sándor Farkas for example chose to ignore describing all but one of the inscriptions from Farkadin, stating that the others „didn't stimulate” him enough. But there are several examples of Fodor doing the same, and only compiling a selected few of the items present.

³⁵ To the best of the author's knowledge.

³⁶ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/2, pp. 94–95, 110–111, 114–115, 124–125, 268–269, 313–317, 324–325, 333–335, 365–366, 371–372; vol. 3/3, pp. 231–234.

Fodor also mentions in his manuscript was already in the estate's garden in 1837.³⁷ Both this statue and that of a woman in *La Grande Ercolanese* style are now part of the MDRC's collection.³⁸

Considering the fact that even the built-in inscriptions and statues were removed from the estate at some point in time, the Nopcsa family's collection from Farkadin can be considered well preserved. Only a handful of the items listed by Fodor are missing, and even those are well-documented.

The Zám estate was bought by the county's then count (*comes*), László Nopcsa in the first half of the nineteenth century. Several Roman inscriptions and statues were displayed at the manor he built there. Some of them were embedded into the wall surrounding the estate, as seen on the drawings from Fodor's manuscript. (Fig. 3) The manor was later destroyed by revolutionaries in 1848.³⁹ Some of the artifacts were moved to Farkadin and the estate was auctioned off due to Nopcsa's bankruptcy.⁴⁰ Fodor states that most of the finds came from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* and describes several items.⁴¹ Five out of the almost dozen inscriptions from Zám can now be found in the collection of the MDRC.⁴²

Not all of the sculptures housed at Zám came from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, the marble head of a child was found at Marosportus (Ro: Partoș), which was a Roman *colonia* near Gyulafehérvár (Ro: Alba Iulia) in the Roman period.⁴³ Besides the brief description, it is not mentioned how the object came into Nopcsa's possession. Unfortunately, the sculpture's current location is unknown. The more representative pieces from here are the two Jupiter Verospi sculptures that, according to the drawings in the manuscript were also embedded into the estate's wall. (Fig. 4) Fodor initially believed that they represented Roman magistrates.⁴⁴ Both sculptures are headless and very fragmentary. Only one of these is still preserved, it's now part of the MDRC's collection.⁴⁵

³⁷ Farkas, 'Egy utas sétája', p. 56.

³⁸ Dorin Alicu et al. (eds), *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1979), pp. 127, 137; Alexandru Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary Statues from Roman Dacia', *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 47–48/1 (2012): 181, 190.

³⁹ Ignác Xantus, 'Maros-Illye és környékének nemes családjai' [The Noble Families of Ilia and its Region], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társaság Évkönyve*, 12 (1901):144.

⁴⁰ 'Árverési Hirdetmény' [Auction Notice], *Budapesti Közlöny*, 173 (1876): 5099.

⁴¹ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, p. 47/2.

⁴² *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/2, pp. 46–47, 105–106, 130–131, 248–249; vol. 3/5-2, p. 460.

⁴³ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, p. 48/2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, p. 79.

Another notable group of artifacts from this collection are several funerary monument fragments that Fodor presented in his manuscript. One of the more interesting ones is a tombstone, now in the MDRC's collection, that has three worked faces, the main one bearing the portraits of a husband and wife with their two children.⁴⁶ On the two other sides, a man, respectively a horseman was represented. Another interesting item is an *aedicule* fragment, which has the relief of a woman holding a vessel in her right hand on one side, and a horseman on the other side. This aedicule is also in the MDRC's collection.⁴⁷

János Jósika was also a well-known collector of ancient artifacts. *Micia* was on the opposite bank of the river Maros (Ro: Mureş) where the Jósika estate from Branyicska was situated. The garden surrounding the manor was full of inscriptions and statues from the ancient site. According to the well-known writer and poet, Ferenc Kazinczy, the larger stone fragments were brought over to the manor, while the smaller ones were used as construction material for the modern-day road.⁴⁸ Of course this wasn't an isolated case, since many of the nearby estates had finds from *Micia*.

Fodor's manuscript presents a number of items from the Jósika collection, stating that the estate's garden had several sculptures and inscriptions in it. He mentions the torso of a statue made of sandstone, depicting a toga-wearing man holding a scroll in his raised left hand. The second statue he describes is also a torso of a half-naked person with shoulder length curly hair. Fodor states that going by its bust size, it should be the statue of a woman, but according to the drawing, it rather seems to be a male god, probably Jupiter.⁴⁹ (Fig. 5) The third statue is made of marble and depicts a man's torso wearing a toga. According to specialists, it bears the style of late-Severan sculpture.⁵⁰ (Fig. 5) This is the only sculpture from the Jósika collection that survived and now it can be found at the MDRC.⁵¹ The collection also had two funerary lion statues made of red granite, of which Fodor thought that they were dedicated to Mars, and also a sandstone sculpture depicting two lions lying down back-to-back, with the head of a humanoid figure above them. The locations of only two inscriptions presented by Fodor are known today.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 173–174.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁸ Ferenc Kazinczy, 'Erdélyi levelek' [Letters from Transylvania], *Felső Magyar Országai Művészeti Évkönyve*, 7/3 (1831): 693.

⁴⁹ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary', p. 141.

⁵¹ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, p. 140.

One of them can be seen at the MDRC and another one at the National Museum of Transylvanian History.⁵²

The Pogány family also had an impressive collection of Roman finds at Poklisa. Fodor states that near the road west to the village, remnants of a building's walls and some inscriptions and statues were recovered.⁵³ The building he's talking about is probably the *villa rustica* which was in fact discovered at the northern perimeter of the village.⁵⁴

However, the items that could be found at István Pogány's manor were brought here mainly from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Fodor lists several statues: one of a headless soldier made of marble, the statue of a male from sandstone and the marble statue of a matron. (Fig. 6) Out of all the statues that could be found in the collections presented in this paper, the sculpture depicting a matron might be one of the most representative. The *Le Grande Ercolanese* style statue is completely intact, although with the head, cracked around the neck, looking slightly smaller than the torso; it is possible that it was broken off at some point. There were also theories about the head belonging to a completely different statue however; this was later considered to be unlikely.⁵⁵ The *stola* wearing matron had a hairstyle similar to that of Julia Domna, covered with a *palla*. The soldier's and the matron's statue can now be found in the MDRC's collection.⁵⁶ Fodor also talks about the fragmentary base of probably two separate inscriptions, presumably both found near the village. On the same page of the illustrations book, there's also a funerary lion, presumably belonging to the Pogány collection, but unaccounted for both in the manuscript and today.

According to Fodor's admission, Ádám Várady⁵⁷ was a lover of Roman antiques, and the owner of a considerable collection at Déva and at the family's estate from Kéménd. However, he wasn't the first person in his family to do so, his father, Ignác was also an avid collector of Roman finds and these objects were later inherited by his son.⁵⁸ According to contemporary sources, Várady and Fodor knew each other

⁵² *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 68–69, 101–102.

⁵³ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 1, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Sabin A. Luca (ed.), *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Hunedoara* [The Archaeological Repertory of Hunedoara County] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2005), p. 118.

⁵⁵ Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary', p. 190

⁵⁶ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, pp. 127, 136.

⁵⁷ Fodor consistently uses the "Váradi" form in his writing, but the "Várady" variant is also frequently used by others and is the one used in this paper as well.

⁵⁸ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország Családai* [The Families of Hungary] (13 vols, Budapest: Kiadja Báthmór, 1857–1868), vol. 12, p. 52.

personally and presumably had a friendly relationship.⁵⁹ This also explains the reason why there are so many pieces of his collection included into Fodor's manuscript. Várady made drawings and photographs of his silver items, which were sent to the *Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók Társasága's* annual gathering at Marosvásárhely (Ro: Târgu-Mureş) in 1865.⁶⁰ After his death, several items from his collection were brought abroad and their location is unknown even to this day.⁶¹ However, the reports and drawings about them, provided by Fodor and his contemporaries, help us with retaining some amount of information about these objects.

The Roman sites from which he had finds were mainly discovered at *Micia* and *Ad Aquae*. Just like in the case of the previous collections, most of these items were found by workers tending to their fields. The collection consisted mainly of worked stone items (inscriptions, funerary monument fragments and architectural elements), but there were also small finds, like ceramic lamps, roof tiles, rings or beads.

Probably one of the most significant group of items comes from an andesite sarcophagus found near Veczel in 1840.⁶² (Fig. 7) It was so heavy, that a total of twenty oxen were needed to pull the sleigh with which they transported the sarcophagus to Déva.⁶³ The sarcophagus was completely intact, having the remains of the deceased, Caius Valerius Ursus, and other items inside of it. In Dacia's case, this find is really rare, taking into consideration that it wasn't fragmentary and the name and age of the deceased person was inscribed onto it.⁶⁴ The items that were found inside the sarcophagus were: an iron ring with an oval carnelian in the middle, depicting Victoria, a decorated armor made out of brass, an iron spearhead, an arrowhead and a silver shin guard.⁶⁵ (Fig. 7-10) While taking into consideration the drawings Fodor provides for the items, one can admit that some of them look rather peculiar.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Gábor Téglás, 'A Hunyadmegyei Régészeti Társulat' [The Archaeological Society from Hunedoara County], *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 19/1 (1899): 92.

⁶⁰ József Szabó, *A Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók X. Naggyűlésének Munkálatai* [The Preparations for the Society of Hungarian Physicians and Nature Explorers' 10th Gathering] (Budapest, 1865), p. 82.

⁶¹ Kuun, 'Társulatunk előzményei', p. 109.

⁶² Interestingly enough, the date mentioned by Fodor is completely different from the one that appears in Neugebauer's work about Dacia. Here the date is 1842. (Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 23/2; Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 2, p. 17; J. F. Neugebauer, *Dacien* (Braşov, 1851), p. 60.

⁶³ Kőváry, *Erdély régiségei*, p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Incriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 185-187.

⁶⁵ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 2, pp. 17-18

⁶⁶ I would like to thank my colleagues, Szilamér-Péter Pánczél, Katalin Sidó and Koppány-Bulcsú Ötvös for helping me with the identification of these objects.

The illustration of the arrowhead he mentions doesn't really resemble one; the description Fodor gives about its measurements makes it plausible that it was rather a spearhead socket.

The armor fragment from the collection was probably made out of bronze and not purely of brass; this would also explain the reason why Neigebauer mentioned something about a bronze harness.⁶⁷ Going by Fodor's description, the armor was at least partially gilded, which made the person who found it believe that it was actually made out of solid gold and broke that part off.⁶⁸ Based on analogies, we can presume that this fragment was the lower part of a muscle cuirass (*lorica anatomica*). The fragment has a slightly curved line in relief at the top and a semi-circular part with the lion's head in a relief at the bottom. This line seems to be similar to the one that some armors have around the hip, while the part with the lion head seems to be one of the many decorative lappets, or *pteryges*, that were lined up at the bottom of the cuirass. These lappets usually had the heads of lions and other creatures alternating on them.⁶⁹ However, it should be noted, that these observations are based on a nineteenth century drawing and the armor represented on Roman sculptures.

The item Fodor defined as a shin guard has a different shape to what something of this type might have. Based on the drawing, it is very unlikely that it was really a shin guard. What it might actually be is a cheek-piece belonging to a Roman helmet.⁷⁰

While according to descriptions from the nineteenth century, the fragment was made out of pure silver, it is more probable that it was only silvered. Once again, it should be clarified that these presumptions are based only on a drawing and Roman helmet analogies.

It is worth mentioning, that throughout the years, the different authors who wrote about the items inside the sarcophagus sometimes reported contradicting information about them. First of all, Mommsen writes about two rings with gems; however, all the other contemporary authors mention only one.⁷¹ Also, there are mentions about some ceramic

⁶⁷ Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 1, p. 25/2, Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, p. 18.

⁶⁹ Christie's. 1998, "A Roman Marble Figure of an Emperor in Armor" (<https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1403428>), accessed on 27 January, 2021; John Pollini, 'The Bronze Statue of Germanicus from Ameria' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 121/3 (2017): 430.

⁷⁰ Evgeniia Gencheva (ed.), *The everyday life of the Roman legionary on the lower Danube* (Ruse: National Archaeological Institute with Museum Ruse, 2012), pp. 21–22.

⁷¹ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, p. 186; Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 60.

vessels, particularly an urn⁷² in which the remains of Caius Valerius Ursus were stored, yet neither Fodor, nor Neigebaur mention them. But what we cannot dispute is the fact that the sarcophagus itself and the items from it could be considered an exceptional find, and it is really regrettable that all of them went missing.

With the lack of any historical museum in Transylvania before 1859,⁷³ the only way that could somewhat guarantee the safety of archaeological finds were those who started to collect antiques. Due to the fact that the estates of several nobles were in the vicinity of important Roman sites, they soon amassed a considerable number of artifacts. However, none of them took interest in properly documenting where they were found and what they looked like. The turmoil of time caused several elements of these collections to go missing. It is due to *dilettanti* antiquarians like Fodor, Ackner, Neigebaur and Orbán that we have any information at all about these items. Without their notes, our knowledge about several archaeological sites would be even more fragmentary. For instance, we wouldn't know about Caius Valerius Ursus' sarcophagus and the fairly unusual items it contained. But through their contribution we also had the chance to learn about the different sculptures and monuments that adorned the Roman sites of Dacia. Beyond the archaeological data, Fodor's notes also give information about what some of the nineteenth century manors looked like, with Roman monuments incorporated into their walls. It seems that only he provides a drawing of the manors with the Roman inscriptions and funerary monuments built into the estate's elements. These drawings are important sources, considering the fact that the buildings look different today than they did two centuries ago.

These all underline the importance of antiquarians like Fodor, who despite the fact of being an amateur, still managed to write and partially publish relevant information about archaeological sites and finds.

⁷² *Incriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, p. 186.

⁷³ The Transylvanian Museum Society, founded in 1859, had the collection and conservation of antiques as one of its main purposes.



Fig. 1 Postcard depicting the Nopcsa estate from Farkadin, with the Roman inscriptions at the front. Source: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], Plakát és Kisnyomtatványtár [Collection of Posters and Small Prints], F25.

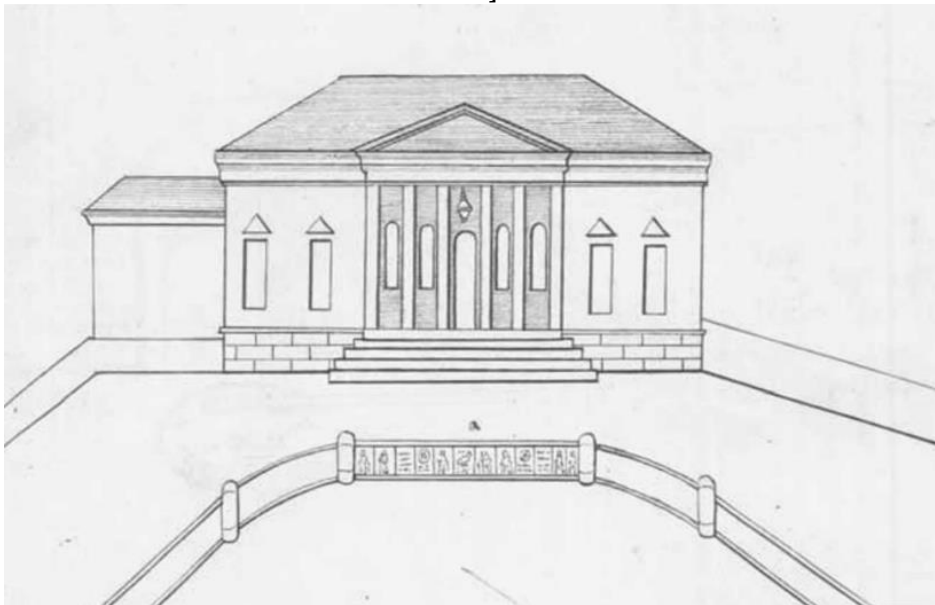


Fig. 2 The Nopcsa estate from Farkadin, with the Roman inscriptions at the front. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 43.

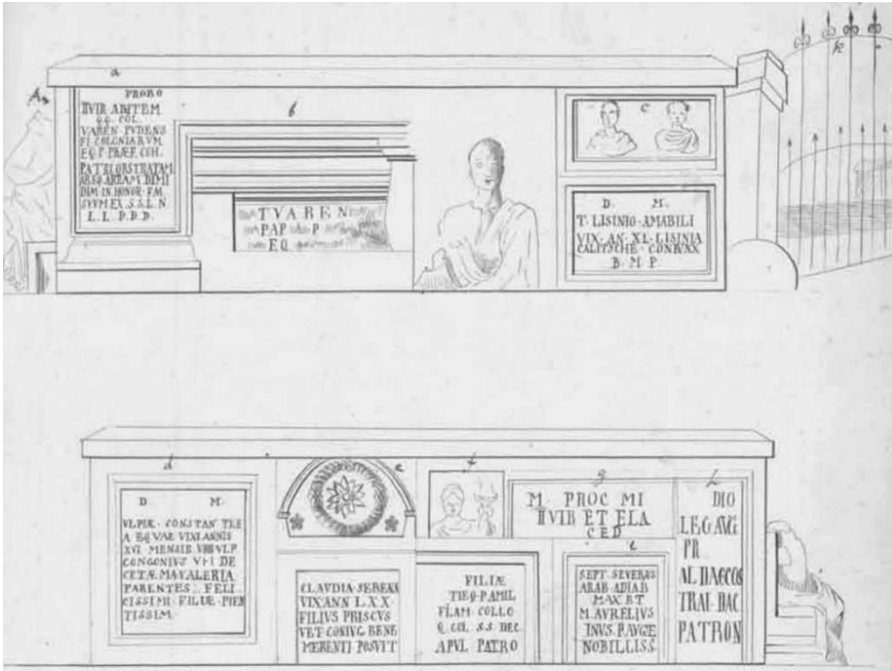


Fig. 3 The wall surrounding the Nopcsa estate from Zám. Source: *Fodor András, Iugosi*, vol. 6, p. 67.



Fig. 4 The two Jupiter sculptures from Zám. Source: *Fodor András, Iugosi*, vol. 6, p. 71.

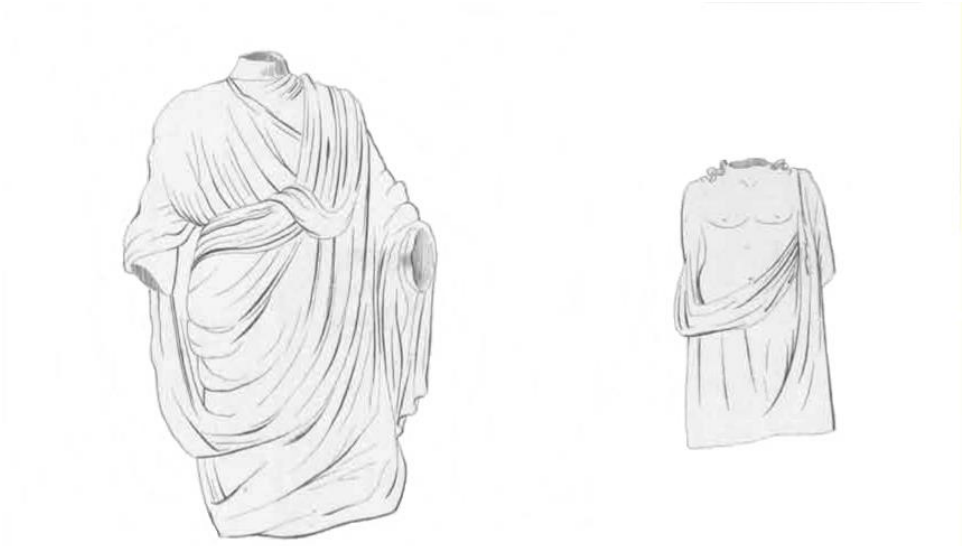


Fig. 5 The torso of a man and the headless statue of Jupiter from Branyicska. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 3.

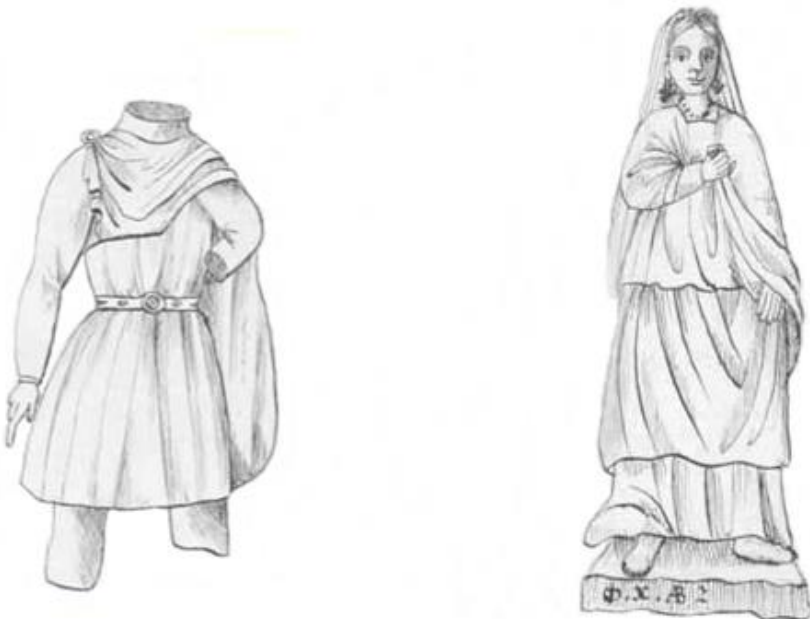


Fig. 6 The headless statue of a soldier and the almost completely intact statue of a matron from Poklisa. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 62.



Fig. 7 The almost completely intact andesite sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 20



Fig. 8 A spear, ring and spear-socket from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33

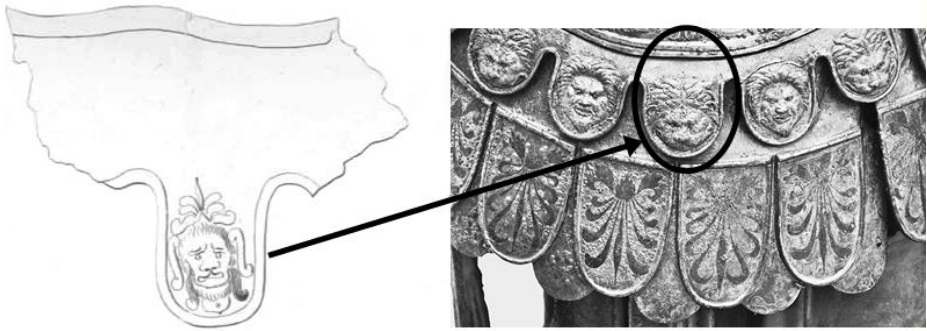


Fig. 9 The muscle cuirass fragment from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus (left), and a detail from Germanicus' bronze statue from Ameria (right). Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33, Pollini, 'The Bronze Statue of Germanicus', p. 431.



Fig. 10 Helmet fragment from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus (left) and helmet cheek-piece fragment exhibited at the Ruse Regional Museum of History. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33; Gencheva (ed.), *The everyday life*, p. 22.

