

# Die Hunnen kommen! Zur Deutung den Brandschuttschichten und Zerstörungshorizonten innerhalb der spätkaiserzeitlichen Fundstellen der Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur (SMCK)

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## **Abstract**

In the collective memory of many European people, the Huns are perceived as one of the most violent gentes west of the Dniester, which might have committed many atrocities, acts of vandalism, and destructions in the territories they crossed. The image of these violent Huns influenced the archaeological research as well. One can often find mentions of a so-called „Hunnish phase“ (Hunnenzeit), associated with levels of violent destruction in the Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov settlements and disruption of their behaviours: periods without burials, a new chronological phase of buried treasures, etc. All these create the image of a so-called „Katastrophenhorizont“ (chronological disaster horizon). The spatial distribution of its traces should indicate the ways and directions the Huns entered the region. This study tries to discuss both the written sources related to the arrival of the Huns in the geographical space west of the Dniester and the archaeological traces associated with the Huns in the area inhabited by the SMCK culture.

Among the main conclusions of the study, one may observe that we cannot speak about an invasion of a large Hunnic army. Rather, we can identify traces of many small-group invasions that led to the decay of the Gothic confederation. From an archaeological standpoint, it must be underlined that the field research shows a high level of significant destruction in the archaeological sites, mainly in the settlements, west of the Dniester. The nature of the archaeological discoveries rather indicates that the local population had already left the settlements before their destruction.

**Keywords:** The migration period, Carpathian-Danube-Dniester area, Huns, Goths, chronology, settlements, graves.

*„Die Hunnen stürzten sich auf die Alanen, die Alanen auf die Goten, die Goten auf die Taifalen und Sarmaten, und die Vertreibung der Goten machte auch uns auf dem Balkan zu Heimatvertriebenen.“*  
(Ambrosius von Mailand<sup>1</sup>)

## **Einführung**

Das ausgeführte Zitat aus dem Werk von Ambrosius präsentiert das berühmte Billardkugel-Modell der Hunnenwanderung nach Europa<sup>2</sup>. Diese

<sup>1</sup> Klaus Rosen, *Attila. Der Schrecken Der Welt* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2016), 16.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe dazu Peter Heather, *Invasion Der Barbaren. Die Entstehung Europas Im Ersten Jahrtausend Nach Christus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2011), 30.



Narration ist für das allgemeine Rezeptionsbild des Altertums zum Ankommen der Hunnen und der darauffolgenden Kettenreaktionen repräsentativ. Dadurch sind die Hunnen in das kollektive Gedächtnis Europas bekanntlich als eine der gewaltbereiten Volksgruppen der Spätantike eingegangen. Dementsprechend wird die sog. Hunnenzeit<sup>3</sup> sowohl in der Öffentlichkeit als auch in der Fachwissenschaft, als Epoche der Gewalt wahrgenommen<sup>4</sup>. Dieses Geschichtsbild hat sich erst im Verlauf der Zeit herausgebildet und steht in einer engen Verbindung vor allem mit der Figur des bekanntesten Hunnenanführers, König Attila. Dieser gilt mindestens seit dem 12. Jh. als „*flagellum dei*“ und allgemein als „*Inbegriff von Sex, Gewalt und Barbarentum*“ rezipiert wird<sup>5</sup>. In diesem Beitrag möchte ich das Thema der Assoziation dieser geschichtlich motivierten Informationen über die Hunnen mit den archäologischen Daten ansprechen bzw. überprüfen.

## Quellen

Die schriftlichen Quellen, die über die Zeit des Hunnen-Ankommens vor den Grenzen des Römischen Reiches berichten, sind relativ bescheiden. Infolge sind unsere Kenntnisse über die Hunnen genauso wie unsere Quellen darüber: nicht besonders zahlreich und nicht besonders glaubhaft. Markant ist die dazu passende „forschungsgeschichtliche“ Aussage von Ammianus Marcellinus, dass „*das Volk der Hunnen ... den alten Schriften nur wenig bekannt*“ ist (Amm. Marcellinus XXXI 2,1)<sup>6</sup>. Dazu kommt die Tatsache, dass eine hunnische Geschichtsschreibung nicht existierte und die im Römischen Reich schreibende Autoren in ihren Erzählungen stark einseitig waren<sup>7</sup>. Grundlegend für das

<sup>3</sup> Dieser Begriff scheint „*eher von der historischen Interpretation des archäologischen Fundmaterials inspiriert zu sein*“ – vgl. die Kommentare bei Jaroslav Tejral, *Einheimische Und Fremde : Das Nord-danubische Gebiet Zur Zeit Der Völkerwanderung*, Spisy Archeologického Ústavu Av Cr Brno (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2011), 275. Für die rumänisch-sprachigen Literatur siehe die Beschreibung bei Ioan Stanciu, „Hunii,“ in *Istoria Românilor. Vol. II. Daco-Romani, Romanici, Alogeni. Ediția II-a, Revăzută Și Adăugată*, ed. Dumitru Protase and Alexandru Suceveanu (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2010), 817.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Schmauder, *Die Hunnen. Ein Reitervolk in Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2009), 8.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas Goltz, „Der Inbegriff Von Sex, Gewalt Und Barbarentum - Attila Im Comic,“ in *Caesar, Attila Und Co. Comics Und Die Antike*, ed. Filippo Carlà (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Zitiert nach Hans-Werner Goetz, Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, and Steffen Patzold, *Die Germanen in Der Völkerwanderung. Auszüge Aus Den Antiken Quellen Über Die Germanen Von Der Mitte Des 3. Jahrhunderts Bis Zum Jahre 453 N. Chr. 2*, Ausgewählte Quellen Zur Deutschen Geschichte Des Mittelalters (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), 75.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. die kommentierte Autorenauflistung zu Ethnographie der Hunnen bei Schmauder, *Die Hunnen. Ein Reitervolk in Europa*, 28-32.

allgemeine Verständnis der Hunnenproblematik ist die bereits erwähnte Erzählung von *Ammianus Marcellinus* mit der Beschreibung zum Dnjestr-Übergang der Hunnen<sup>8</sup>. Ein Bild der Hunnen findet sich auch in *Getica* von Jordanes, der kurz zu den Todesumständen sowie zu den Begräbniszeremonien des Hunnen-König Attila Auskunft gibt<sup>9</sup>. Eine weitere Quelle zur Geschichte der Hunnen stellt der Bericht von Priscus. Als Mitglied einer byzantinischen Gesandtschaft konnte er den hunnischen Herrscher Attila selbst kennenlernen. Seine Geschichte gilt daher als die am wenigsten von der antihunnischen Propaganda in der römischen Gesellschaft betroffen<sup>10</sup>.

### Zur Methode

In dem vorgestellten quellen-historischen Zusammenhang ist unsere erste Forschungsfrage inwieweit das schriftlich geschilderte Bild der Hunneninvasion auch von den archäologischen Quellen getragen wird. Die in der bisherigen Forschung zu diesem Zweck angewendete Methode basiert auf der imaginären Assoziation einiger archäologischen Fundzusammensetzungen/Komplexen mit den historisch überlieferten Texten. Eggers sprach seinerzeit über absolute Chronologie „auf Grund fest datierter Plätze“<sup>11</sup> – also von einer Situation, bei der historische Orte mit bestimmten chronologischen Fixpunkten markiert sind. Das Prinzip der archäologisch-historischen Datierung<sup>12</sup> wird hier für zwei unterschiedliche (schriftliche und archäologische) Quellengattungen angewendet<sup>13</sup> und ist deswegen nur mit besonderer Vorsicht einzusetzen<sup>14</sup>. Für die Hunnenzeitforschungen in der Untersuchungsregion sind solche fest-

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. dazu Wolfgang Seyfarth, ed. *Ammianus Marcellinus. Römische Geschichte*, vol. 21,3, Schriften Und Wuellen Der Alten Welt (Berlin: 1970).

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. dazu z.B. die Kommentare bei Rosen, *Attila. Der Schrecken Der Welt*, 20-21.

<sup>10</sup> Ernst Doblhofer, *Byzantinische Diplomaten Und Östliche Barbaren. Aus Den Excerpta De Legationibus Des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos Ausgewählte Abschnitte Des Priskos Und Menander Prorektor*, vol. 4, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber (Graz: Styria, 1955), 13-82.

<sup>11</sup> H. J. Eggers, „Zur Absoluten Chronologie Der Römischen Kaiserzeit Im Freien Germanien,“ *Jahrbuch des Römisch Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 2 (1955): 208-21. Er warnte jedoch noch damals dass „eine zu frühe Verbindung von archäologischen Denkmälern mit bestimmten historischen Ereignissen die Forschung auf Irrwege geleitet [hat] - *ibid.*, 208.

<sup>12</sup> Siehe dazu Manfred K. H. Eggert and Stefanie Samida, *Ur- Und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie*, 2., überarb. und aktualisierte Aufl. ed., Utb Basics (Tübingen [u.a.]: Francke, 2013), 76-80.

<sup>13</sup> Zur aktuellen Diskussion über die Zusammenarbeit der historischen und archäologischen Disziplinen in Altertumswissenschaft siehe Nils Müller-Scheeßel and Stefan Burmeister, „Getrennt Marschieren, Vereint Schlagen? Zur Zusammenarbeit Von Archäologie Und Geschichtswissenschaft,“ in *Fluchtpunkt Geschichte. Archäologie Und Geschichtswissenschaft Im Dialog*, ed. Stefan Burmeister and Nils Müller-Scheeßel (Münster, New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. die Analyse der Auswertungsmöglichkeiten zum Ende der SMCK bei Tejral, *Einheimische Und Fremde : Das Norddanubische Gebiet Zur Zeit Der Völkerwanderung*, 25-47.



datierte Plätze bislang nicht bekannt. Rikman verwies ständig auf die Rolle des Niederganges der antiken Stadt Tyras im Prozess des Ausklingens des vorhunnenischen kulturellen Milieus in unserem Untersuchungsgebiet<sup>15</sup>; es sind jedoch keine eindeutige Daten für die chronologische Gliederung der Hunnenzeit in Tyras<sup>16</sup>. Die Forschung verhilft sich in dieser Situation mit Brandschutt- bzw. Zerstörungsschichten in den Siedlungen sowie mit Deponierungen von Wertsachen und Münzen, die mit bestimmten datierten Ereignissen wie Militär- und Strafkampagnen, Invasionen, Migrationen oder Einfällen ins Reich seitens der Barbaren usw. assoziiert werden könnten. Anders ausgedrückt, sind die Zerstörungsspuren und Einstellen der Gräberfelder bzw. Unterbrechungen in der Besiedlung im vorhunnenzeitliche kulturellen Milieu als Form des archäologischen Niederschlages des 375/376 n. Chr. datierten Hunnensturmes zu deuten. Mehrere Punkte mit Zerstörungsschichten, Besiedlungsabbrüchen oder auch Münzhorten werden zusammen als ein sog Katastrophenhorizont betrachtet. Die Kartierungen dieser Funde lässt die Möglichkeit zu, anhand der räumlichen Verbreitung der archäologischen Artefakte nicht nur Machtzentren der Hunnenzeit in der Region zu postulieren<sup>17</sup>, sondern auch einige schriftlich nicht belegte historische Ereignisse<sup>18</sup>.

### Zur historischen Chronologie des Hunnensturmes

Orosius berichtet in seiner „*Historiae adversum paganos*“, dass „das Volk der Hunnen, das lange abgeschnitten in unzugänglichen Gebirgen lebte, setzte sich in plötzlicher Wildheit gegen die Goten in Bewegung, brachte diese völlig durcheinander und vertrieb sie von den alten Wohnsitzen“<sup>19</sup>. Diese Narration kann mit einem Text von Zosimos quasi erweitert werden: „Wohl aber richteten sie durch Umzingelungen,

<sup>15</sup> E.A. Rikman, „Sarmaty I Plemena Černjachovskoj Kul'tury“, in *Drevnjaja Kul'tura Moldavii* (Kišinev: 1974), 80; „O Vlijanii Pozdneantičnoj Kul'tury Na Černjachovskuju V Dnestrovsko-Prutskom Meždureč'e“, *Kratkie Soobščeniija Instituta Arheologii/Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury (Moskva)* 124 (1970).

<sup>16</sup> N.A. Son, „K Istorii Pozdneantičnoj Tiry“, in *Antičnaja Kul'tura Severnogo Pričernomor'ja V Pervye Veka Našej Ery*, ed. V.A. Anochin, V.M. Zubar', and A.S. Rusjaeva (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1986). Für eine Gesamtbibliographie der Forschungen in Tyras siehe – Victor Cojocar, „Eine Bibliographie Der Antiken Stadt Tyras“, *Arheologia Moldovei* 31 (2009).

<sup>17</sup> Bogdan Ciupercă and Andrei Măgureanu, „Huns and Other Peoples – Archaeological Evidence in Present-Day Romania“, in *Hunnen Zwischen Asien Und Europa. Aktuelle Forschungen Zur Archäologie Und Kultur Der Hunnen* (Langenweissbach: 2008), 122 fig. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Für eine Kritik im Bezug auf die Münzhorte siehe z.B. Florin Curta, „Invasion or Inflation? Sixth- to Seventh-Century Byzantine Coin Hoards in Eastern Southeastern Europe“, *Instituto Italiano di Numismatica, Annali* 43 (1996).

<sup>19</sup> Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 7, 33, 10 – zitiert nach Goetz, Welwei, and Patzold, *Die Germanen in Der Völkerwanderung. Auszüge Aus Den Antiken Quellen Über Die Germanen Von Der Mitte Des 3. Jahrhunderts Bis Zum Jahre 453 N. Chr.* 2, 55.

plötzliches Vorpreschen und rechtzeitige Rückzugsbewegungen, wobei sie von den Pferden aus schossen, unter den Skythen (Goten) ein gewaltiges Blutbad an. Indem sie fortwährend diese Taktik anwandten, brachten sie die Skythen (Goten) in eine derart schwierige Lage, dass die Überlebenden die Wohnsitze, die sie besaßen, aufgaben und den Hunnen zur Besiedlung überließen und auf das andere Ufer flüchteten“<sup>20</sup>. Ammianus Marcellinus bringt weitere Details, die unsere Kenntnisse mit dem bereits erwähnten Billardkugel-Model der Hunnischen Westabwanderung erweitern. Die Frage, die wir uns dabei stellen, ist „Welche Zeitliche Räume deckt diese Hunnenbewegung?“<sup>21</sup>. In der Forschung hat sich die Meinung verfestigt, dass sie 375/376 Dnjestr überquert haben<sup>22</sup>. Für die Zeit unmittelbar danach sind uns allerdings keine schriftlichen Hinweise zur Anwesenheit der Hunnen in den Gebieten westlich vom Dnjestr bekannt<sup>23</sup>. Es scheint so zu sein, dass die Hunnen sich bis etwa 400 n.Chr. erstmal in den Gebieten östlich und zum Teil nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres aufhielten. Die Untersuchungen von Heather haben gezeigt, dass westlich der Karpaten die Hunnen erst ab 410 n.Chr. zu vermuten sind<sup>24</sup>. Diese zwei Daten (375/376 n.Chr. und 410 n.Chr.) definieren laut Heather zwei „Hauptphasen des Hunnenzugs nach Europa“<sup>25</sup> mit einem quasi Hiatus dazwischen. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es dabei um zwei verschiedene „Hunnen“-Gruppen handelt. In der ersten Phase sind es kleine Gruppen, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht zu einen einzelnen „Volk“ zusammengesgeschlossen waren, so wie dies von Heather angenommen wird<sup>26</sup>. Diese frühen hunnischen Gruppen könnten in unserem Untersuchungsgebiet mit dem Begriff von Maenchen-Helfen „Huns before the Huns“ parallelisiert werden<sup>27</sup>. Erst in der nächsten Phase kann man eine Wanderung großer gemischter Gruppen vermuten<sup>28</sup>. Infolge lässt sich der Logik nach erwarten, dass dieses historische Ereignis eine Reihe von deutlichen archäologischen Spuren hinterlassen sollte. Die ältere Forschung betrachtete die Hunneninvasion als eine

<sup>20</sup> Zosimos, *Historia nova* 4, 20,4-5. Zitiert nach *ibid.*, 27-29.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Heather, *Invasion Der Barbaren. Die Entstehung Europas Im Ersten Jahrtausend Nach Christus*, 156-57.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel Stanciu, „Hunii.“

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. dazu Michael Kulikowski, *Die Goten Vor Rom* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), 127-31.

<sup>24</sup> Heather, *Invasion Der Barbaren. Die Entstehung Europas Im Ersten Jahrtausend Nach Christus*, 169.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 205.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, 164.

<sup>27</sup> J. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns. Studies in Their History and Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1973), 23. Vgl. auch R. Harhoiu, „Das Kurzschwert Von Micia,“ *Dacia*, N.S. 32 (1988): 87.

<sup>28</sup> Heather, *Invasion Der Barbaren. Die Entstehung Europas Im Ersten Jahrtausend Nach Christus*, 168-69. Vgl. auch Kulikowski, *Die Goten Vor Rom*, 156.



sich westwärt kontinuierlich bewegend Menschenlawine, die 376 n. Chr. am Dnjestr (oder noch früher am Don) startete und erst mit Nedao endete<sup>29</sup>. Auch in der neueren Forschung wird diese „Kontinuität“ der Hunnischen Eingriffen mit Nachdruck unterstrichen<sup>30</sup>. Interessant ist diesbezüglich die Hypothese von Madgearu. Er hält die Hunnen dieser Zeit für eine „Konföderation der Stämme“ mit einer zweitrangigen Machtrolle an der unteren Donau und erwähnt trotzdem deren ständige Raubzüge ins Land der Goten<sup>31</sup>. Es geht m.E. also nicht um eine großräumige, durch alle Regionen rollende Invasion einer Großarmee, sondern um mehrere relativ kleinen Gruppen, deren Raubzüge zum Kollaps der Gotia geführt haben sollen.

### Zur Archäologie des Hunnensturmes

Von den Schriftquellen „inspiriert“, war die archäologische Forschung seit ihren Anfängen bereit, mit dem Ankommen der Hunnen solche Phänomene wie Unterbrechungen der Besiedlung oder in der Belegung der Gräberfelder sowie mit der Entstehung mancher Münzhorten zu verknüpfen<sup>32</sup>.

### Siedlungsfunde

Es wird in der Fachliteratur berichtet, dass viele vorhunnenzeitliche Siedlungen durch Großbrände zerstört wurden. Diese Aussage wird durch zum Teil massiven Brandspuren in Lucașăuca/Lukaševka, Zăicana/Zagajkany, Sobari, Comrat, Delacău, Rusăni/Rusjany u.a. Siedlungsplätze aus der heutigen Republik Moldova belegt<sup>33</sup>. Rikman stellte seinerzeit jedoch fest, dass kein einmaliger Zerstörungshorizont in allen untersuchten spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen festzustellen sei<sup>34</sup>. Seit den frühesten Grabungen in Lucașăuca und Solonceni<sup>35</sup>, kam er immer und immer wieder zum Schluss, dass in den Siedlungen der

<sup>29</sup> C. Daicoviciu, ed. *Istoria României*, vol. 1 (București: 1960), 694-702. Für die post-sowjetische, russischsprachige Forschung vgl. I.P. Zaseckaja, *Kul'tura Kočevnikov Južnorusskich Stepej V Gunnskuju Epochu (Konec Iv-V Vv.)* (Sankt-Peterburg 1994), 132-61.

<sup>30</sup> Stanciu, «Hunii,» 820-21.

<sup>31</sup> Alexandru Madgearu, *Istoria Militara a Daciei Post-Romane*, 275-376 (Târgoviste: Cetatea de Scaun, 2008), 99-100.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe zum Beispiel Ion Nestor, „Zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens Im Iv. Jh. U.Z.,“ *Dacia*, N.S. 19 (1975).

<sup>33</sup> E.A. Rikman, *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery* (Moskva 1975), 121. E. A. Rikman, „Žilišče Plemen Černjachovskoj Kultury Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo Meždureč'ja,“ in *Drevnee Žilišče Narodov Vostočnoj Evropy* (Moskva: 1975), 56.

<sup>34</sup> E. A. Rikman, I.A. Rafalovič, and I.G. Hynku, *Očerki Istorii Kul'tury Moldavii (It-Xiv Vv.)* (Kišinev: Štiinca, 1971), 58-59.

<sup>35</sup> E.A. Rikman, „Raskopki Selišč Pervyh Vekov Našej Ery V Podnestrov'e,“ *Kratkie Soobščeniija Instituta Arheologii/Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kultury (Moskva)* 68 (1957).

SMCK zufällig entstandene Sachdeponierungen und sowie Massengräber und massakrierte Skeletten als Anzeichen für plötzlichen kriegerischen Eingriffen und Gewaltanwendung, fehlen<sup>36</sup>. Die in den Hausbefunden entdeckte archäologische Artefakte lassen die Annahme zu, dass sie dort eher (bewusst oder zufällig) zurückgelassen als infolge einer Invasion bzw. Zerstörung dort niedergelegt wurden<sup>37</sup>. Die Bewohner hatten ihr wichtiges Hab und Gut mitgenommen und die Siedlungen scheinen eher aufgelassen als zerstört zu sein. Rikman kommt zum Schluss, dass die Träger der SMCK aus deren Siedlungen eher vertrieben als vernichtet wurden<sup>38</sup>.

Ein interessantes Beispiel bietet die Siedlung von Kobuska Veke (heute Cobusca Veche), wo die entdeckten Befunde durch einen Brand zerstört waren. Die Spuren des Brandes zeichnen sich als eine Schicht aus verkohlten Eichenholz ab. Auch die geborgenen Artefakte waren stark verbrannt. Darunter waren ein Mahlstein (Abb. 2), eine eiserne Viehlocke, eine Speerspitze (Abb. 3) sowie zahlreiche Keramikfragmente, darunter zweirekonstruierbare Gefäße (Abb. 4)<sup>39</sup>. Bemerkenswert ist der Fund einer eisernen dreiflügeligen Pfeilspitze (Abb. 3. B)<sup>40</sup>, die von einigen Fachkollegen als „hunnische“ Pfeilspitze identifiziert bzw. als Hinweis auf ein Hunnensturm dieser Siedlung gedeutet wurden<sup>41</sup>.

Eindeutige Identifikationsmerkmale der Hunnen(-zeit) brachten auch die Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung von Iași-„Nicolina“ zu Tage, die mehrere Elemente der Hunnenzeit bzw. der Reiternomadischen Kultur aufwiesen. Darunter zählen Waffenfunde (Abb. 5), vor allem der Fund eines eisernen Kurzschwertes mit je einem Einschnitt am Griffangelansatz auf beiden Seiten der Klinge, der in der Literatur als Typ Micia bekannt ist<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Zăicana – „Selišča Pervych Vekov Našej Ery U Sel Zagajkany I Delakeu (Moldavija),“ *Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii/Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kultury (Moskva)* 90 (1962): 60-63. Delacău – „Černjachovskoe Selišče Delakeu (Moldavija),“ in *Istorija I Archeologija Jugozapadnyh Oblastej Sssr, Materialy I Issledovanija Po Arheologii Sssr (Moskva: 1967)*. Budești - Pamjatnik Epohi Velikogo Pereselenija Narodov (Kišinev 1967), 42. Sobari – „Poselenie Pervyh Stoletij Našej Ery Sobar' V Moldavii,“ *Sovetskaja archeologija* 2 (1970).; vgl. auch E. A. Rikman, „Raskopki Selišča Sobar,“ in *Archeologičeskie Otkrytija 1971 Goda (Moskva: 1972)*.

<sup>37</sup> Rikman, „Sarmaty I Plemena Černjachovskoj Kul'tury,“ 80.

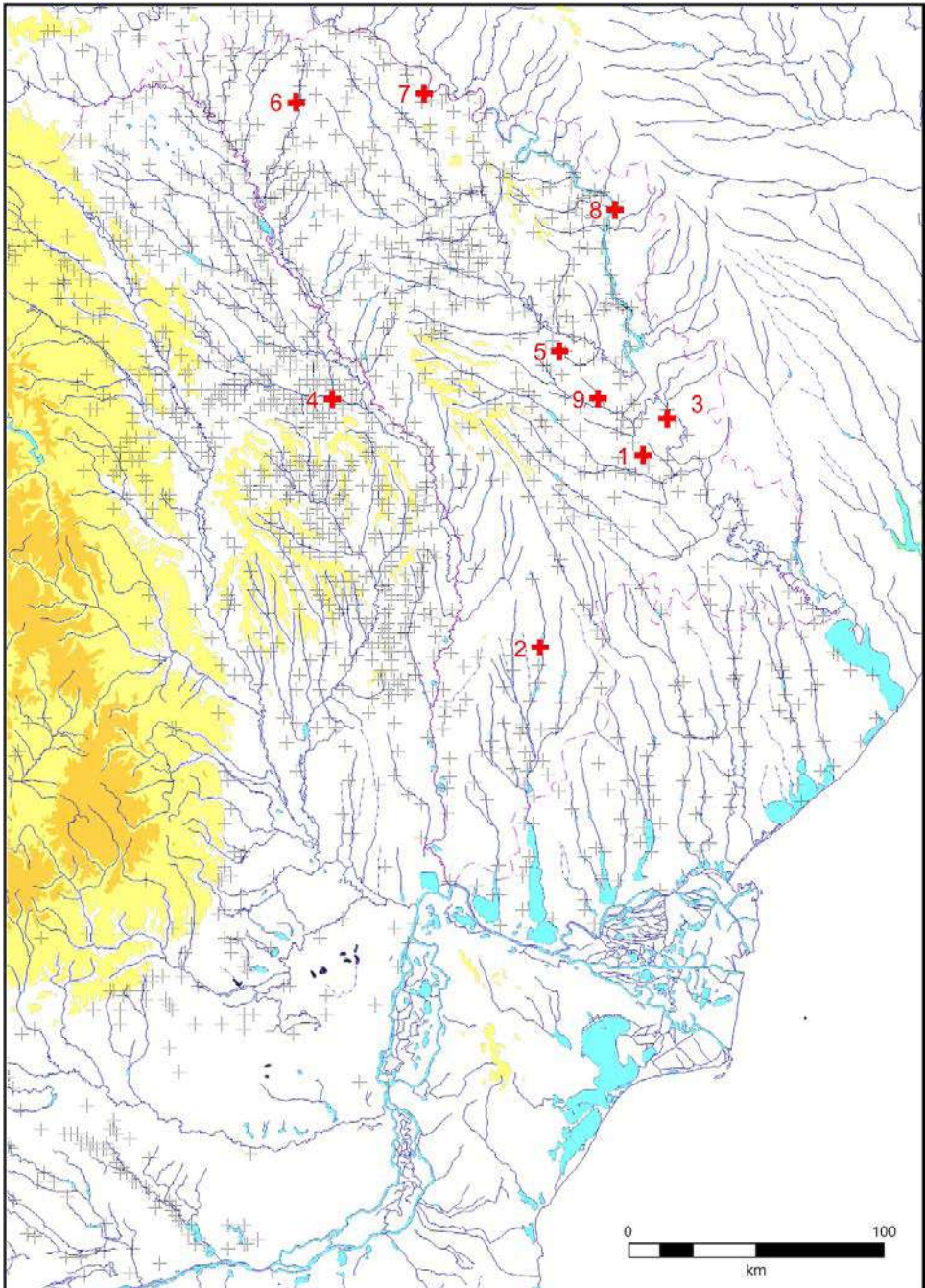
<sup>38</sup> *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery*, 121-22, 29, 207.

<sup>39</sup> E.A. Rikman and G. P. Sergeev, „Selišče Pervych Vekov Našej Ery U Sela Kobuska Veke (Moldavija),“ in *Materialy I Issledovanija Po Archeologii I Etnografii Moldavskoj Ssr (Kišinev: 1964)*, 229-32.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 233 Ris. 3. 4.

<sup>41</sup> M.B. Ščukin, Michel Kazanski, and Oleg Sharov, *Des Les Goths Aux Huns: Le Nord De La Mer Noire Au Bas -Empire Et a L'epoque Des Grandes Migrations*, vol. 1535, *British Archaeological Reports, Internat. Ser.* (Oxford: Hedges, 2006), 109.

<sup>42</sup> I. Ioniță, „Eine Siedlung Der Jüngerer Kaiserzeit Und Der Völkerwanderungszeit in Iași-Nicolina (Rumänien),“ in *Palast Und Hütte : Beiträge Zum Bauen Und Wohnen Im Altertum Von Archäologen, Vor- Und Frühgeschichtlern ; Tagungsbeiträge Eines Symposiums Der Alexander Von*

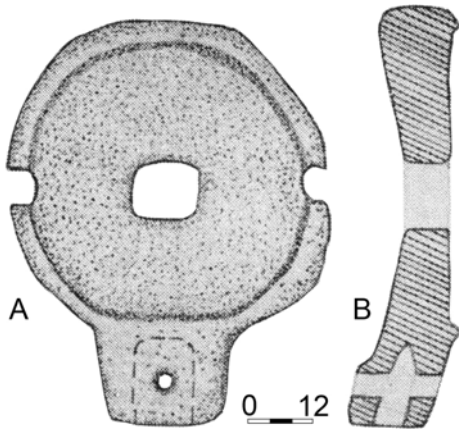


**Abb. 1.** Die in dem Beitrag erwähnten repräsentative Fundstellen der SMCK. 1. Cobusca Veche. 2. Comrat. 3. Delacău. 4. Iași-Nicolina. 5. Lucașăuca. 6. Rusăni. 7. Sobari. 8. Solonceni. 9. Zăicana.

**Fig. 1.** Localizarea siturilor arheologice reprezentative de tip SMCK, amintite în studiu

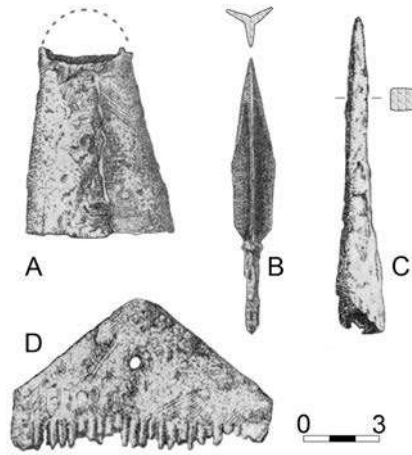
1. Cobusca Veche. 2. Comrat. 3. Delacău. 4. Iași-Nicolina. 5. Lucașăuca. 6. Rusăni. 7. Sobari. 8. Solonceni. 9. Zăicana.





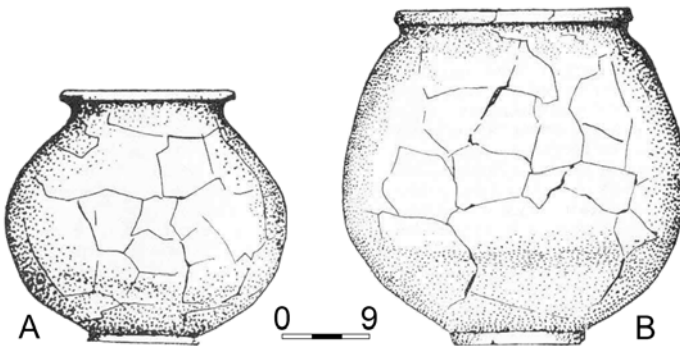
**Abb. 2.** Mahlstein aus Cobusca Veche (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

**Fig. 2.** Râşniţa de la Cobusca Veche (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)



**Abb. 3.** Cobusca Veche. Repräsentative Eisenfunde (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

**Fig. 3.** Cobusca Veche. Descoperiri reprezentative din fier (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)



**Abb. 4.** Cobusca Veche. Keramikfunde (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

**Fig. 4.** Cobusca Veche. Vase ceramice reconstruite (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

## Die Siedlung von Sobari

Eine Fundstelle, wo eine etwa durchgehende Brandschicht festgestellt wurde, befindet sich in der Nähe der Ortschaft Sobari am mittleren Dnjestr, etwa 180 km Luftlinie nördlich von Cobusca Veche (Kobuska Veke)<sup>43</sup>. Es handelt sich

*Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg Veranstaltet Vom 25. - 30. November 1979 in Berlin, ed. Dietrich Papenfuß and Volker Michael Strocka (Mainz: 1982), 568. sowie „Importante Descoperiri Arheologice Din Perioada De Formare a Poporului Român În Aşezarea De La Iaşi-Nicolina,“ Arheologia Moldovei 10 (1985): 47 fig. 12. 2. Zu den Schwertern vom Typ Micia siehe Harhoiu, „Das Kurzschwert Von Micia.“ sowie Erwin Gáll, „Două Spade Scurte Descoperite În Sud-Estul Transilvaniei,“ Marisia 8, no. 1 (2005).*

<sup>43</sup> Rikman, „Poselenie Pervyh Stoletij Našej Ery Sobar' V Moldavii.“ Al. Popa, „Die Siedlung Sobari, Kr. Soroca (Republik Moldau),“ Germania 73, no. 1 (1997).



um eine für die Spätkaiserzeit außergewöhnlich große Siedlung von über 30 Ha Ausdehnung. Die zeitgleichen Siedlungen der Späten Römischen Kaiserzeit erreichen im gesamten Barbaricum so eine Größe nur selten<sup>44</sup>. Darüber hinaus ist die Fundstelle dadurch auffallend, dass innerhalb der Siedlung eine steinerne Umfassungsmauer entdeckt wurde, die eine etwa 4000 qm große Fläche am Rande der Siedlung einschließt. Eine weitere Besonderheit dieser Fundstelle stellt ein Steingebäude dar, das im inneren Areal der dreiseitigen Mauer zu Tage kam. Diese Steinstruktur ist für die Spätkaiserzeit in diesem Teil Barbaricums genauso atypisch wie die bereits beschriebene steinerne Umwehrung selbst. Es handelt sich um eine rechteckige, Ost-West orientierte Steinkonstruktion, von der zum Teil das Fundament, zum Teil die Fundamentengrübchen dokumentiert wurden (Abb. 6). Das Gebäude dürfte etwa 18 x 10 m groß sein und in zwei ungleich große Räume unterteilt<sup>45</sup>. In der inneren Wand wurde eine 1,6 m breite Türöffnung dokumentiert. Die Fundamente des gesamten Gebäudes, einschließlich von der Trennwand, waren bis ca. 1 m in die Erde eingelassen, was viel über die Statik und Höhe des Gebäudes aussagen kann. Das Mauerwerk wurde aus Kalkstein, gebrannten Ziegeln und Kalkmörtel errichtet. Das Dach lag auf einem Holzunterbau, der mit Hilfe von Eisennägeln zusammengehalten wurde. Als Abdeckung wurden *tegulae* und *imbrices* benutzt. Beim Bau des Gebäudes hat man zylindergeblasenes Glas in den Fenstern eingesetzt. Rund um das Gebäude kamen 16 Säulenbasen aus massiven Kalkplatten zu Tage. Der Abstand von den Wänden sowie zwischen den Säulen betrug etwa 2 m. Es handelt sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um Resten eines Säulenumganges. Neben dieses Komplexes wurden in der Siedlung weitere acht Wohn- und Nebengebäude sowie eine Töpferwerkstatt freigelegt<sup>46</sup>. Es handelt sich um Hausgrundrisse mit Pfostenstruktur und Flechtwänden (Abb. 7.2), die für die Siedlungen der spätkaiserzeitlichen Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov Kultur in der Region typisch seien (Abb. 7.1)<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Siehe dazu die Übersichtstabellen bei Ruslan Šiškin, „Zur Siedlungsarchäologie Der Černjachov-Kultur,“ in *Die Sântana De Mureș-Cernjachov-Kultur. Akten Des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh*, ed. G. Gomolka-Fuchs, Kolloquien Zur Vor- Und Frühgeschichte (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1999), 87-88., wonach der Anteil der Siedlungen mit einer ähnlichen Größenordnung – etwa 2,7 % darstellt. Vgl. auch Rikman, *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery*, 80-83.

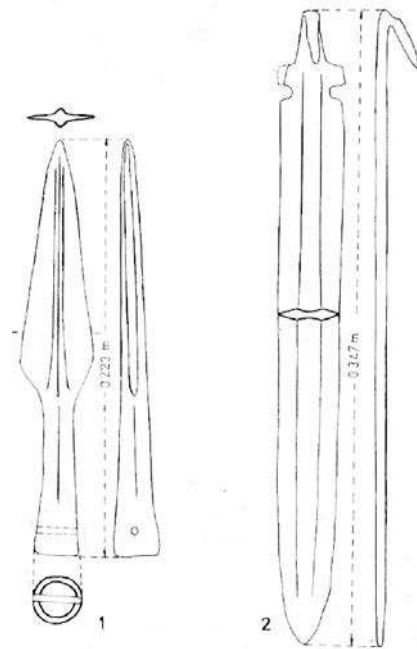
<sup>45</sup> Für eine ausführliche Beschreibung dieses Gebäudes siehe Popa, „Die Siedlung Sobari, Kr. Soroca (Republik Moldau).“ Vgl. auch Rikman, *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery*, 205-14.

<sup>46</sup> „Poselenie Pervyh Stoletij Našej Ery Sobar' V Moldavii.“; *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery*.

<sup>47</sup> Sergiu Matveev and Lilian Guțu, „Problema Originii Locuințelor Černjhoviene Pe Teritoriul Dintre Nistru Și Prut,“ *Analele ANTIM 1* (1999). Vgl. auch B.V. Magomedov, *Černjachovskaja Kultura. Problema Etnosa* (Lublin2001), 19-24.

Für unsere Fragestellung ist diese Fundstelle vor allem deswegen relevant, weil in den meisten ausgegrabenen Objekten eine „dünne lehmige Schicht mit Holzkohle“ nachgewiesen wurde, die sich über die Lafoberfläche befand<sup>48</sup>. Innerhalb des Steingebäudes befand sich diese Schicht zwischen dem Boden und den darauf gefallenen abgebrannten Holzresten der Dachkonstruktion, sowie Bauschuttschichten aus dem Mauerwerk – Mörtel, Ziegeln und Bruchsteine<sup>49</sup> (Abb. 8). Aber nicht nur im Steingebäudekomplex wurden massiven Spuren eines flächendeckenden Brandes entdeckt. Auch andere Baubefunde der Siedlung haben bei diesem vermuteten Großbrand gelitten: so das Haus 1<sup>50</sup>, wo neben abgebrannten Resten der Hausstruktur aus Holz und Lehm, auch einige sekundär verbrannten Keramikfunde entdeckt wurden<sup>51</sup>. Weiterhin wurde das Nebengebäude 1, ein leichter 6-Pfostenbau, durch einen starken Brand zerstört. Innerhalb der Umfassungsmauer befand sich ein weiterer Hausbefund mit Pfostenstruktur und Flechtwänden (Haus 2), der sich bei der Ausgrabung als eine relativ massive Schicht aus gebrannten Lehm, verschlackten Keramikfragmenten, sowie zahlreichen Kalksteinbruchstücken darstellte<sup>52</sup>. Darunter befand sich die oben erwähnte, relativ dünne, Holzkohleschicht (vom abgebrannten hölzernen Dachstuhl) und einige Fundstücke aus Eisen, ein Glasbecherfragment sowie zahlreiche sekundär verbrannte Keramikfragmente<sup>53</sup>. Alles deutet darauf hin, dass auch dieses Haus aus der Siedlung von Sobari durch ein Feuer zerstört wurde.

Was die Grabungen in Sobari uns bislang nicht verraten haben, ist die Antwort auf die Frage des Schicksals der Bewohner dieser Siedlung. Wie im



**Abb. 5.** Iași-Nicolina. Waffenfunde (cf. Ioniță 1985)

**Fig. 5.** Iași-Nicolina. Descoperiri de arme (cf. Ioniță 1985)

<sup>48</sup> Rikman, *Etničeskaja Istorija Naselenija Podnestrov'ja I Prilegajuščego Podunav'ja V Pervyh Vekah Našej Ery*, 207.

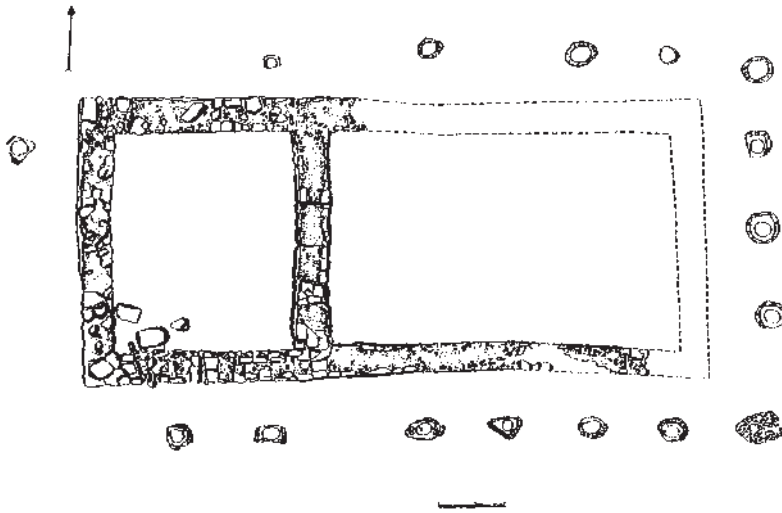
<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Al. Popa, „Frühhunnenzeitliche Besiedlung Zwischen Ostkarpaten Und Dnestr,“ in *Attila Und Die Hunnen* (Speyer: 2007), 170.

<sup>50</sup> Rikman, „Poselenie Pervyh Stoletij Našej Ery Sobar' V Moldavii,“ 180-83.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. *Ibid.*, 182 ris. 2. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, 184.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, 187.



**Abb. 6.** Sobari. Rekonstruierter Plan der Steingebäude von Sobari (cf. Popa 1997)

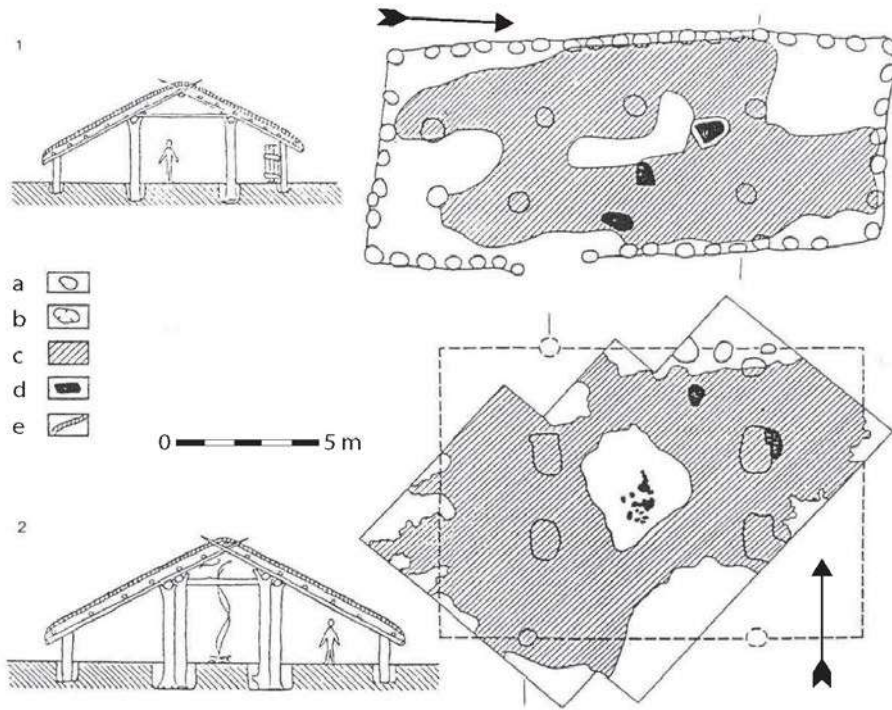
**Fig. 6.** Sobari. Planul reconstituire al construcției de piatră (cf. Popa 1997)

Fälle anderer bereits erwähnten Siedlungsplätzen wurden in Sobari relativ wenige Funde gemacht, sowohl innerhalb der steinernen Umfassungsmauer als auch außerhalb. Es ist nicht eindeutig, ob die Siedlung mit Gewalt zerstört wurde oder nur aufgelassen wurde (und erst dann abgebrannt). Anhand der kleinen Anzahl der archäologisch entdeckten Artefakte (andere als Baumaterial aus Lehm und Stein), können wir die Vermutung aufstellen, dass die Siedlung von Sobari bereits vor der Zerstörung von dem Großteil der Bewohner verlassen wurde. Eine besondere Gewichtung in dieser Frage nimmt der Fund einiger reiternomadischen Sattelteilen an, die bei der Ausgrabung des Steingebäudes zu Tage kamen. Es handelt sich um Fragmente eines goldenen Blechbeschlages mit Schuppenmusterverzierung sowie eines Bronzestreifens, der als Saumleiste diente und mithilfe von drei Bronzenägeln am Sattel befestigt war<sup>54</sup>. Diese Sattelbeschlagfragmente stehen sowohl kulturinhaltlich als auch chronologisch in Verbindung mit der Hunnenzeit und mit der Reiternomadischen Kultur.

### Grabfunde

Die Analyse der Grabbefunde zeigt anhand von mehreren Beispielen, dass die Gräberfelder der untersuchten Region einen klaren Hinweis auf die kulturellen Veränderungen aufbringen, die am Anfang und während der Hunnenzeit stattfinden. Es lassen sich heutzutage zahlreiche Gräber bzw. Gräberfelder der SMCK nennen, wo eine Überlappung der letzten chronologischen Phase der SMCK mit der frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Übergangsphase D1 gegeben

<sup>54</sup> Popa, „Die Siedlung Sobari, Kr. Soroca (Republik Moldau),“ 124-25 Abb. 7.



**Abb. 7.** Plan und Rekonstruktionszeichnungen der SMCK-Häusern, 1. Budești. 2. Sobari (cf. Rikman 1975)

**Fig. 7.** Plan și reconstituire de locuițe ale SMCK. 1. Budești. 2. Sobari (cf. Rikman 1975)

hat<sup>55</sup>. Diese überlappende Phase wird von einigen Fundkategorien/Leittypen bestimmt, die in mehreren Regionen der SMCK zum Vorschein gekommen sind<sup>56</sup>. Es geht um die Geweihkämme mit gewölbten oder halbkreisförmigem Griff<sup>57</sup>, um die sog. Blechfibel aus Silber oder Bronze<sup>58</sup>, um verschiedene Typen der kegelstumpfförmigen oder konischen Glasbecher<sup>59</sup>. Aus unserem Untersuchungsgebiet können zahlreiche Grabkomplexe aufgeführt, wo Funde

<sup>55</sup> Tejral, *Einheimische Und Fremde : Das Norddanubische Gebiet Zur Zeit Der Völkerwanderung*, 39.

<sup>56</sup> Für die Regionen östlich des Dnjestr siehe Oleg V. Petrauskas, „Die Černjachov-Kultur Im Schwarzmeergebiet Nach Dem Hunnischen Einfall,“ in *Attila Und Die Hunnen* (Speyer: Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer, 2007), 162-64.

<sup>57</sup> Sigrid Thomas, „Studien Zu Den Germanischen Kämmen Der Römischen Kaserzeit,“ *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 8 (1960): 104-14.

<sup>58</sup> Siehe dazu die zusammenfassende Arbeit von Florian Gauß, *Völkerwanderungszeitliche „Blechfibeln“*. *Typologie, Chronologie, Interpretation*, Ergänzungsbände Zum Reallexikon Der Germanischen Altertumskunde (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. G. Gomolka-Fuchs, „Gläser Der Sintana De Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur Aus Rumänien Und Der Republik Moldova,“ in *Die Sântana De Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur. Akten Des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh Vom 20. Bis 24 Oktober 1995*, ed. G. Gomolka-Fuchs, *Kolloquien Zur Vor- Und Frühgeschichte* (Bonn: 1999).



**Abb. 8.** Sobari. Grabungsplan der Steingebäude (cf. Niculiță, Popa 2000)

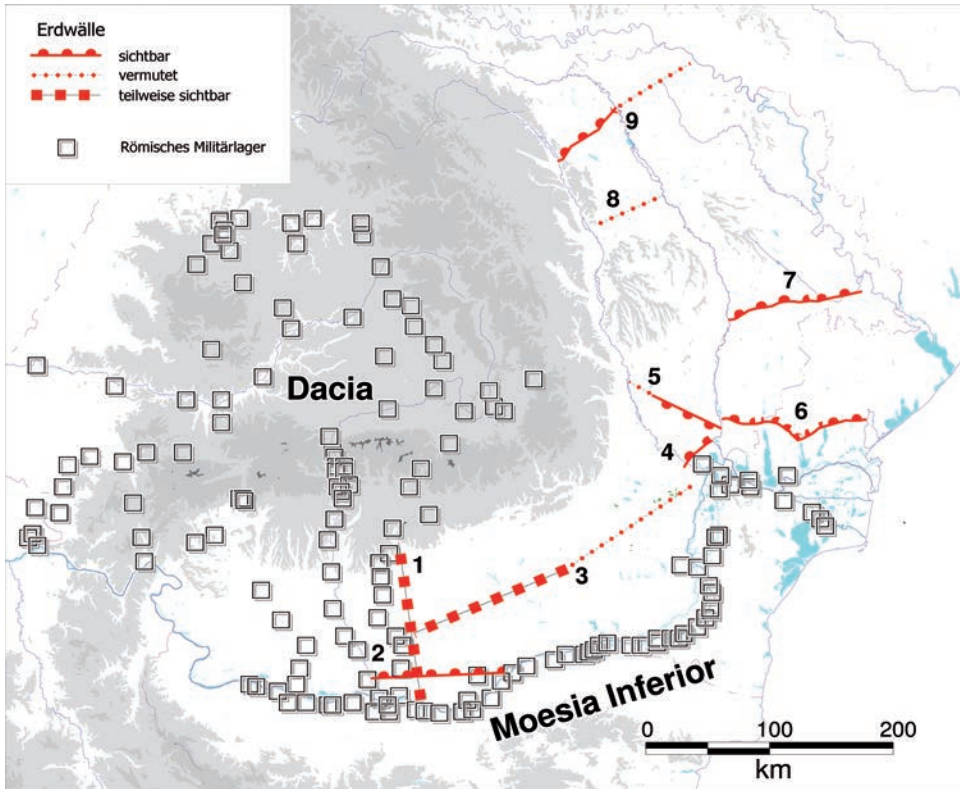
**Fig. 8.** Sobari. Planul săpăturii construcției de piatră (cf. Niculiță, Popa 2000)

dieser Typen, mit zahlreichen Entsprechungen in Mitteleuropa, Kaukasus und auf der Krim, auf eine Fortdauer der SMCK während der frühvölkerwanderzeitlichen Phase D1 hinweisen<sup>60</sup>. Die Frage, wie man diese „Überlappungsphase“ zwischen der Spätkaizerzeit und Frühvölkerwanderungszeit in der Fachliteratur benennen soll, wurde breit diskutiert<sup>61</sup>, das größte Forschungsproblem stellt jedoch nicht der Name sondern vor allem die absolute Datierung der kulturellen Veränderungen, die zum Auftreten dieser Funde geführt haben sollten. Auch eine Synchronisation dieser Kulturveränderungen mit den historischen Narrationen der Antike bleibt ein Desiderat der Forschungen<sup>62</sup>. Ob wir uns dabei etwa in einer Spät-, End- oder Finalphase der SMCK (aus Sicht der relativen Chronologie) befinden oder bereits in einer „Nach-SMCK-Phase“, ist in diesem Zusammenhang weniger

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. etwa Mihălășeni - O.L. Șovan, *Necropola De Tip Sântana De Mureș-Černjachov De La Mihălășeni, Județul Botoșani* (Târgoviște 2005).; Bârlad - „Valea Seacă“ – Vasile Palade, *Așezarea Și Necropola De La Bârlad - Valea Seacă: (Sfârșitul Sec. Al Iii-Lea - a Doua Jumătate a Sec. Al V-Lea)* (București: Ed. ARC 2000, 2004).; Budești - Vlad Vornic, *Așezarea Și Necropola De Tip Sântana De Mureș-Černjachov De La Budești*, ed. Sergiu Musteață and Al. Popa, vol. 3, Asociația Națională a Tinerilor Istorici Din Moldova-Antim. Monografii (Chișinău 2006).; Dănceni - M.B. Ščukin and T.A. Ščerbakova, eds., *I.A. Rafalovič. Dančeny - Mogil'nik Černjachovskoj Kul'tury* (Kišinev: 1986).; Lazo/Chișcăreni - Alexandru Levinschi, „Gräberfelder Der Späten Sintana De Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur,“ in *Die Sintana De Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur. Akten Des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh Vom 20. Bis 24 Oktober 1995*, ed. G. Gomolka-Fuchs, Kva (Bonn: 1999). usw.

<sup>61</sup> Popa, „Frühhunnenzeitliche Besiedlung Zwischen Ostkarpaten Und Dnestr,“ 169-70.

<sup>62</sup> Tejral, *Einheimische Und Fremde : Das Norddanubische Gebiet Zur Zeit Der Völkerwanderung*, 39., 39.



**Abb. 9.** Archäologisch belegte Erdwerke im Limeshinterland der römischen Provinzen Dacia und Untermösien (cf. Popa 2015)

**Fig. 9.** Valuri atestate arheologic din hinterlandul provinciilor romane Dacia și Moesia Inferior (cf. Popa 2015)

wichtig. Deutlich mehr Gewicht gewinnt in dieser Situation die Antwort auf die Frage in welchen Zeitraum genau sich die o.g. Phase entwickelt. Beim heutigen Forschungsstand steht eine eindeutige Antwort auf diese Frage noch aus.

### Lineare Erdwerke östlich der Karpaten und die Hunnen

In unserem Untersuchungsgebiet sind mehrere sog. lineare Erdwerke bzw. Erdwerkanlagen bekannt<sup>63</sup>, die in der Volksüberlieferung (meist, aber nicht ausschließlich) als Bauten des Kaisers Trajan gelten (Abb. 9). In der Fachliteratur werden diese auch mit bestimmten kaiserzeitlichen und frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Geschichtsereignissen assoziiert. Zahlreiche Altertumsforscher und Gelehrte haben sich im Laufe der Zeit mit diesen Anlagen

<sup>63</sup> Costin Croitoru, *Fortificații Liniare Romane În Stânga Dunării De Jos (Secolele 1.-4. P.Chr.)*, vol. 1 (Galați2004). Vgl. auch Al. Popa, *Untersuchungen Zu Den Römisch-Barbarischen Kontakten Östlich Der Römischen Provinz Dacia*, vol. 47, *Antiquitas Iii* (Bonn2015), 8-10.



befasst, aber die zwei wichtigsten Fragen zu ihrer Geschichte sind immer noch offen: Wann und zu welchen Zwecken wurden diese Wälle errichtet? Mit konventionellen „archäologischen“ Untersuchungen lassen sich diese Fragen nicht beantworten, denn es gibt bislang für keine Wallanlage aus unserem Untersuchungsgebiet eindeutige archäologische Argumente, die zur Diskussion über die Ursprünge und Chronologie dieser Erdwerke konstruktiv beitragen könnten. Für die unzähligen Interpretationshypothesen, die in der Forschung im Laufe der Zeit entstanden sind und auf nicht nachprüfbaren Argumenten basieren, sei hier auf die Arbeit von Costin Croitoru verwiesen, der diesen Problemkreis behandelt hat<sup>64</sup>.

Dabei scheint die Hypothese, dass einige Erdwerke am unteren Dnjestr<sup>65</sup> bzw. in der Budschak-Steppe in Zusammenhang mit dem Ankommen der Hunnen gebaut seien<sup>66</sup>, nur bedingt akzeptierbar<sup>67</sup>.

### Ausblick

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass viele der bislang bekannten Siedlungen der SCMK aus unserem Untersuchungsgebiet irgendwann in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts abbrechen. Sie enden fast alle in je einem großen Feuer. Wir können über einen Brandhorizont am Ende der SMCK in unserer Untersuchungsregion sprechen, der aus historischer Sicht mit dem Ankommen der Hunnen assoziiert werden kann. Es zeichnet sich jedoch das Bild ab, bei dem diese Siedlungen zur Zeit der Brandkatastrophen von den Bewohnern bereits verlassen waren. Bis auf eine einzige Ausnahme („hunnische“ Pfeilspitze von Cobusca Veche) fehlen eindeutige Indizien auf Kämpfe und Gewaltanwendung an Menschen. Aufgrund der schwierigen Forschungslage im Bereich der Siedlungsarchäologie, bei der in nur wenigen Fundstellen Ausgrabungen

<sup>64</sup> Croitoru, *Fortificații Liniare Romane În Stânga Dunării De Jos (Secolele 1.-4. P.Chr.)*, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Für Puhăceni siehe Al. Popa, «Stațiunea Fortificată De Lîngă Satul Pugăceni, Raionul Anenii Noi,» in *Procesele Etnoculturale Și Etnosociale La Finele Mileniului I Î. E. N.-Prima Jumătate a Mileniului I. E. N. În S-V U.R.S.S. Și Teritoriile Limitrofe* (Chișinău: 1991). Zu den Strukturen bei Palanca und Copanca siehe I. Niculiță and Al. Popa, *Prezență Romană În Zona Nord-Vest Pontică* (Chișinău 2000), 63-64.

<sup>66</sup> C. Uhlig, „Die Wälle in Bessarabien, Besonders Die Sogenannten Traianswälle. Ein Historisch-Geographischer Versuch,“ *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 19 (1928). Gh.I. Năstase, „Bugeacul În Antichitate.“ *Valurile Lui Traian» Din Basarabia După C. Uhlig,» Buletinul Societății Regale Române de Geografie* 55 (1937). R. Vulpe, «Despre Valul Din Moldova De Jos Și «Zidul» Lui Atanarih,» *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 1, no. 2 (1950). Vgl. auch Croitoru, *Fortificații Liniare Romane În Stânga Dunării De Jos (Secolele 1.-4. P.Chr.)*, 1. sowie Popa, *Untersuchungen Zu Den Römisch-Barbarischen Kontakten Östlich Der Römischen Provinz Dacia*, 47, 8-10.

<sup>67</sup> Siehe E.A. Rikman, *Pamjatniki Sarmatov I Plemen Černjahovskoj Kul'tury*, vol. 5, *Arheologičeskaja Karta Moldavii* (Kišinev 1975), 116-17. sowie I. Ioniță, *Din Istoria Și Civilizația Dacilor Liberi* (Iași 1982), 53-59, 114-15.



durchgeführt wurden (und wenn ja, dann nur in geringen Flächen), sind diese Aussagen jedoch kritisch zu betrachten.

Die Grabfunde zeugen eine Weiterbelegung der spätkaiserzeitlichen Nekropolen auch nach 375 n.Chr. und definieren dabei eine Übergangsphase von der SMCK zur Reiternomadischen Kultur der Attila-Zeit. Wie man diese Phase benennt, ist meines Erachtens weniger relevant für unsere Fragestellung. Deutlich wichtiger erscheint die Tatsache, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. einige klaren Veränderungen in der Besiedlungsintensität der SMCK zu beobachten sind. Die Interpretation dieser Kulturveränderungen als Folgen der Hunnischen Eingriffen über den Dnjestr basiert jedoch im Großen und Ganzen nur auf Interpretation der schriftlichen Quellen und weniger der archäologischen Funde und Befunde.

### Abbildungen / Lista ilustrațiilor

Abb. 1. Die in dem Beitrag erwähnten repräsentative Fundstellen der SMCK.  
1. Cobusca Veche. 2. Comrat. 3. Delacău. 4. Iași-Nicolina. 5. Lucașăuca.  
6. Rusăni. 7. Sobari. 8. Solonceni. 9. Zăicana.

Fig. 1. Localizarea siturilor arheologice reprezentative de tip SMCK,  
amintite în studiu

1. Cobusca Veche. 2. Comrat. 3. Delacău. 4. Iași-Nicolina. 5. Lucașăuca. 6.  
Rusăni. 7. Sobari. 8. Solonceni. 9. Zăicana.

Abb. 2. Mahlstein aus Cobusca Veche (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

Fig. 2. Râșnița de la Cobusca Veche (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

Abb. 3. Cobusca Veche. Repräsentative Eisenfunde (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

Fig. 3. Cobusca Veche. Descoperiri reprezentative din fier (cf. Rikman,  
Sergeev 1964)

Abb. 4. Cobusca Veche. Keramikfunde (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

Fig. 4. Cobusca Veche. Vase ceramice reconstruite (cf. Rikman, Sergeev 1964)

Abb. 5. Iași-Nicolina. Waffenfunde (cf. Ioniță 1985)

Fig. 5. Iași-Nicolina. Descoperiri de arme (cf. Ioniță 1985)

Abb. 6. Sobari. Rekonstruierter Plan der Steingebäude von Sobari (cf. Popa 1997)

Fig. 6. Sobari. Planul reconstituire al construcției de piatră (cf. Popa 1997)

Abb. 7. Plan und Rekonstruktionszeichnungen der SMCK-Häusern, 1. Budești.  
2. Sobari (cf. Rikman 1975)

Fig. 7. Plan și reconstituire de locuițe ale SMCK. 1. Budești. 2. Sobari (cf.  
Rikman 1975)

Abb. 8. Sobari. Grabungsplan der Steingebäude (cf. Niculiță, Popa 2000)

Fig. 8. Sobari. Planul săpăturii construcției de piatră (cf. Niculiță, Popa 2000)

Abb. 9. Archäologisch belegte Erdwerke im Limeshinterland der römischen  
Provinzen Dacia und Untermösien (cf. Popa 2015)

Fig. 9. Valuri atestate arheologic din hinterlandul provinciilor romane  
Dacia și Moesia Inferior (cf. Popa 2015)



## Rezumat

Apariția hunilor la vest de Nistru este asociată în memoria colectivă a mai multor popoare europene drept unul dintre cele mai violente grupuri de populații, grup de care se leagă numeroase atrocități, acte de vandalism și distrugerii în teritoriile traversate. Imaginea hunilor plini de violență a fost preluat și în arheologie, în literatura de specialitate fiind definită o așa-zisă „Hunnenzeit” (fază hunică), asociată cu niveluri de distrugerii violente în așezările culturii Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov (SMCK), întreruperi de înmormântări în necropolele acestei culturi, constituirea unor orizonturi de tezaure îngropate etc. Toate împreună creează imaginea unui așa-numit „Katastrophenhorizont” (orizont cronologic de catastrofă), distribuția spațială a urmelor căruia ar trebui să indice căile și direcțiile de pătrundere a Hunilor. În studiul de față s-a încercat discutarea atât a surselor scrise despre venirea hunilor în spațiul geografic de la vest de Nistru, cât și a urmelor arheologice asociate cu hunii din arealul de răspândire a SMCK.

Dintre principalele concluzii ale studiului, remarcăm faptul că după toate probabilitățile nu putem vorbi despre o invazie a unei armate numeroase ale hunilor, ci mai degrabă a mai multe grupări mai mici, ce au condus la decăderea confederației gotice. Din punct de vedere arheologic, trebuie subliniat faptul că cercetările de teren atestă un nivel ridicat de distrugerii semnificative în siturile arheologice (în principal în așezări) din zona de la vest de Nistru. Dar natura descoperirilor arheologice făcute, indică mai degrabă faptul că după toate probabilitățile populația era deja plecată la momentul distrugerii așezării.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Epoca migrațiilor, Spațiul Carpați-Dunăre-Nistru, Huni, Goți, cronologie, așezări, morminte.

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# PIERIT-AU AVARII? O PRIVIRE DINSPRE EUROPA DE RĂSĂRIT

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## **Abstract**

The presence of the Avars in Eastern Europe, particularly in the lands between the Carpathian Mountains and the river Dnieper, has so far been a matter of concern for historians. Archaeologists are skeptical: with the exception of a couple of finds from Budureasca, there are no Early Avar belt fittings anywhere to the north, east, and south from the Carpathian Mountains. In Poland, Avar-age finds cluster in the south (Silesia and Lesser Poland) and are dated after AD 700. The vast majority of those finds, however, are from the very end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or even the early decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The sudden interest in things Avar in the lands north of the Sudeten and Carpathian Mountains may signal a desire of local elites to employ the modes of status (and, supposedly, power) representation inside the Avar qaganate. It is however truly surprising that such an interest coincides in time with what historians believe to be a period of decline of the Avar polity. The symbolism of the Avar belt fittings was also harnessed by members of communities who buried their dead in cemeteries excavated in southern Romania. By contrast, there are no Avar-age belt fittings anywhere in the lands to the east from the Carpathian Mountains. During the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, this region experienced something of a demographic boom, as indicated by the large number of settlement sites. There are also hillforts, but a true concern with marking social status in the material culture cannot be dated before the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. When such markers of social prominence became necessary, the language of representation was completely different from that employed earlier by elites in southern Poland who wanted to emulate the Avars. In Eastern Europe, after 850, elites emulated the Khazars, not the Avars.

**Keywords:** Avars, Khazars, belt fittings, social elites, hillforts.

Luând de bună informația din *Scurta Cronică* a patriarhului Nichifor, istoricul austriac Walter Pohl susținea de curând că dominația avară asupra teritoriilor aflate la est de Munții Carpați până dincolo de fluviul Nipru ar fi luat sfârșit în urma răscoalei lui Kuvrat, nepotul lui Organa și căpetenia onogundurilor, care i-a izgonit din țara sa pe toți cei de neam avar<sup>1</sup>. Și alți istorici, înaintea lui Pohl,

<sup>1</sup> Walter Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567-822* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 325, pe baza Nicephorus, *Short History* 22, text editat și tradus în limba engleză de către Cyril Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 70. Pohl neagă posibilitatea ca lupta dintre onogunduri și avari să fi avut loc la est de Nipru și e convins că informația a ajuns la patriarhul Nichifor dintr-un izvor scris având la bază povestirile ostaticilor romani reînțorși de la avari cu prilejul negocierilor dintre Maria, sora împăratului Heracliu, și chaganul avarilor, cu scopul eliberării fiului ei Stephanos (care a fost ostatic la avari între 623 și 630 sau 635).



susținuseră ideea potrivit căreia puterea avară s-ar fi extins la est de Carpați în decursul primei treimi a secolului al VII-lea<sup>2</sup>. Arheologii au fost, însă, mult mai circumspecți. Pe de o parte, potrivit unora, un grup de necropole și morminte izolate din Ungaria de răsărit ar trebui puse pe seama unor imigranți din stepele nord-pontice. Concluzia a fost trasă pe baza analogiilor cu morminte ale așa-zisului grup Sivașâvka din regiunea țărmului de est al Mării de Azov<sup>3</sup>. Pe de altă parte, din regiunea amintită, ca și, de altfel, din întreg spațiul stepelor est-europene lipsesc cu desăvârșire mărturiile unor contacte sau influențe culturale dinspre bazinul carpatic, acolo unde avarii se stabiliseră deja la începutul secolului al VII-lea. O aplică și o limbă de curea, amândouă descoperite la Budureasca (lângă Vadul Săpat, com. Fântânele, jud. Prahova) sunt datate în prima jumătate a secolului al VII-lea pe baza analogiilor din complexe funerare din Ungaria<sup>4</sup>. Astfel

<sup>2</sup> Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, „Über die Wandlungen der Ostgrenze der awarischen Machtsphäre”, *Research in Altaic Languages*, în redacția lui Lajos Ligeti (Budapesta: Akadémiai kiadó 1975), 267-74; Florin Curta, *Apariția slavilor. Istorie și arheologie la Dunărea de Jos în veacurile VI-VII* (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2006), 182. Vezi și harta publicată de către Ádám Bollók, *A Century of Gold. The Rise and Glory of the Avar Khaganate in the Carpathian Basin* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Archaeology, 2021), 67, fig. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Gábor Lőrinczy, „Kelet-európai steppei népesség a 6-7. századi Kárpát-medencében”, *A Kárpát-medence és a steppe*, în redacția lui Alfréd Márton, *Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtar*, 14 (Budapesta: Balassi, 2001), 41-47; Bence Gulyás, „Újabb adatok a kora avar kori Tiszántúl kelet-európai Kapcsolataihoz”, *Hadak útján XXIV. A népvándorlások fiatal kutatóinak XXIV. konferenciája. Esztergom, 2014. november 4-6.*, în redacția lui Csilla Balogh și a lui Balázs Major, vol. 1 (Budapesta/Esztergom: Archaeolingua, 2015), 499-512; Bence Gulyás, „Gondolatok a Tiszántúli kora avar kori népesség eredetéről”, *Hadak útján. Népvándorlás kor fiatal kutatóinak XXIII. Konferenciakötete* în redacția lui Ágota S. Perémi (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2016), 106-22; Bence Gulyás, „A Szegvár-Sápoldali 1. sír keleti kapcsolata az újabb és ukrán kutatás Fényében”, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 143 (2018), 105-15; Bence Gulyás, Gábor Lőrinczy și A. A. Stokov, „Kurdiuk ovcy kak zaupokoinaia pishcha v zakhoroneniakh VI-VII vv. Karpatskogo basseina i Vostochnoi Evropy”, în *Arkheologhia kak jizni. Pamiati Evgenia Pavlovicia Myskova*, în redacția lui Evgenii V. Kruglov, a lui A. S. Lapshin și a lui I. Iu. Lapshina (Volgograd: Sfera, 2019), 117-28; Bence Gulyás, Gábor Lőrinczy și A. A. Stokov, „Pogrebeniia s celymi skeletami konei v Zatis'e i stepiakh Vostochnoi Evropy VI-VII vv. n. e.”, *Stratum+* (2021), nr. 5, 281-94. Pentru grupul Sivașâvka, vezi Rasho Rashev, „O vozmozhnosti vydeleniia samykh rannikh arkheologicheskikh pamiatnikov prabolgar v stepakh Vostochnoi Evropy”, *Tatarskaia arkheologhia* 3 (1998), 65-72; Oleksyi V. Komar, Anatolii I. Kubyshev și Ruslan S. Orlov, „Pogrebeniia kochevnikov VI-VII vv. iz severo-zapadnogo Priazov'ia”, *Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia*, în redacția lui A.V. Evgelevski, vol. 5 (Donetsk: Izdatel'stvo Donetskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2006), 245-374; Oleksyi V. Komar, „Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy VI-IX vv.”, în *Euraziidaghy turk murasy VI-VIII gh.gh.*, în redacția lui Aiman Dosymbaeva (Astana: Kul Tegin, 2008), 192-216, în special 197-212.

<sup>4</sup> Andrei Măgureanu, „O aplică avară descoperită la Budureasca (județul Prahova)”, *Argesis* 14 (2005), 189-202, în special 189, 191, 196, fig. 1; Andrei Măgureanu, „Considerații privind o piesă de bronz descoperită la Budureasca”, în *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 63 (2012), nr. 3-4, 313-20, în special 313, 314 și 317; 315, fig. 1/2.

de descoperiri nu apar nicăieri altundeva pe vasta întindere dintre Munții Carpați și fluviul Volga<sup>5</sup>.

Piese databile în perioada avară timpurie sau mijlocie (cca 570-680) sunt rare și la nord de Munții Carpați. Dintre cele 26 de descoperiri de epocă avară din Polonia cunoscute până la sfârșitul secolului trecut, numai două se pot data înainte de 700.<sup>6</sup> Numai una dintre aceste descoperiri este legată de simbolismul tipic avar al centurii cu curele laterale<sup>7</sup>. În ciuda creșterii numărului de descoperiri din ultimii ani, proporția pieselor databile în epoca avară timpurie rămâne în continuare neînsemnată<sup>8</sup>. Această constatare este valabilă și pentru primele două faze ale epocii avară târzii. Limbile de curea de la Damice, lângă Cracovia și de la Pełczyska, în apropiere de Pinczów, în aceeași regiune a Poloniei Mici, sunt singurele piese ce pot fi datate în prima fază a epocii avară târzii (680-720)<sup>9</sup>. Cele

<sup>5</sup> István Erdélyi, „Zur Frage der frühen awarisch-slawischen Beziehungen“, *Das Altertum* 27 (1981), 54-58. La p. 58, autorul notează că fiind avară vârfulurile de săgeată cu câte trei muchii descoperite în așezările datate în secolul al VII-lea și descoperite pe teritoriul actual al Republicii Moldova. Dincolo de problema atribuirii etnice, piesele cu pricina nu atestă neapărat legături cu bazinul carpatic, întrucât asemenea vârfuluri de săgeată apar pe un spațiu foarte mare în cadrul Europei Răsăritene.

<sup>6</sup> Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, „Zur Chronologie der awarenzeitlichen Funde aus Polen“, *Probleme der relativen und absoluten Chronologie ab Latènezeit bis zum Frühmittelalter. Materialien des III internationalen Symposiums: Grundprobleme der frugeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteleldonaugebiet. Kraków-Karniowice 3.-7. Dezember 1990*, în redacția lui Kazimierz Godłowski și a Renatei Madyda-Legutko (Cracovia: Secesja, 1992), 297-315, în special 303-307.

<sup>7</sup> Este vorba de un model de bronz pentru plăci de curea descoperit la Jakuszowice, lângă Kazimierza Wielka, în voievodatul Świętokrzyskie (Zoll-Adamikowa, „Zur Chronologie”, 303; 299, fig. 1d). Modelul a fost datat în epoca avară mijlocie (cca 630-680). Datarea vârfului de lance de la Gródek, lângă Gorlice (Polonia Mică) în epoca avară timpurie a fost, însă, contestată. Vezi Ewa Kokowska și Andrzej Kokowski, „Wczesnośredniowieczny grot z Gródką nad Bugiem w woj. Zamojskim”, *Lubelskie Materiały Archeologiczne* 3 (1990), 49-54; Wojciech Szymański, „Stan wiedzy o zabytkach awarskich z obszarów położonych na północ od terytorium kaganatu”, *Archeologia Polski* 40 (1995), nr. 1-2, 125-45, în special 137.

<sup>8</sup> Jacek Poleski, „Awarische Funde in Polen. Zur Frage der Gestaltung von Kulturzonen bei den Westslawen in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs.-Anfang des 10. Jhs.“, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 44 (2009), 1-40, în special 3. Printre piesele demne de luat în seamă se numără și pandantivul circular ajurat de la Kielary, lângă Olsztyn (voievodatul Warmia-Mazuria), pentru care vezi Mirosław Rudnicki, „Ażurowa tarczka z Kielar. Przyczynek do badań nad dalekosięznymi powiązaniem grupy olsztyńskiej”, *Swiatowit* 8 (2009-2010), 119-32. Pentru zăbale de fier cu psalii de os considerate avară vezi și Bartosz Kontny, Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn și Mirosław Pietrzak, „Horse graves in the Elbląg group. The case of the cemetery at the Nowinka, Tolmicko commune”, *Archaeologia Baltica* 11 (2009), 164-84, mai ales 181 și 181, fig. 12e.

<sup>9</sup> Poleski, „Awarische Funde”, p. 28; Mirosław Rudnicki, „New Avar finds from the western part of Lesser Poland”, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 44 (2009), 234-49, mai ales 242 și fig. 11. De la Pełczyska mai provine și un fragment de cataramă cu placă dreptunghiulară cu decor ajurat în forma de volute (Rudnicki, „New Avar finds”, 244 și fig. 12). Pentru tipul 8 de limbă de curea,



două piese sunt exemplare ale tipului 8 din clasificarea lui Jozef Zábójník. Alte trei piese – două limbi de curea de tip 47 după Zábójník de la Swaryczów, în apropiere de Lublin (Polonia de răsărit), și un fragment de placă de curea cu balama de tip 240 după Zábójník descoperit la Chorula, în apropiere de Opole (în voievodatul Silezia) – se încadrează cronologic în faza a II-a a epocii avară târzie, adică între 720 și 760<sup>10</sup>.

Majoritatea descoperirilor de epocă avară de la nord și de la sud de Munții Carpați sunt, însă, reperate cronologic în ultimele două faze ale acestei epoci, adică în ultima treime a secolului al VIII-lea și în primele două decenii ale secolului al IX-lea (tabelul 1). Placa de curea în formă de elice de tip 156 după Zábójník, care a fost descoperită la Cracovia, este o piesă tipică pentru faza a III-a a epocii avară târzie<sup>11</sup>. Același lucru se poate spune și despre limbile de curea de tip 113 după Zábójník descoperite la Dobrzeń Mały, în apropiere de Opole și Gilów, lângă Wrocław, despre cea de tip 116 după Zábójník, de la Nowa Huta, precum și despre plăcile de curea de tip 170 și 171 după Zábójník de la Naszacowice, lângă Nowy Sącz și, respectiv, Trepcza, lângă Sanok<sup>12</sup>. În faza a III-a a epocii avară târzie sunt reperate și descoperirile din sudul României, anume catarama de tip 132

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vezi Jozef Zábójník, "Seriation von Gürtelbeschlaggarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs", în *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včiasnom stredoveku*, în redacția lui Zlatei Čilinská (Nitra: Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1991), 219-321, mai ales 282, pl. 3. Pentru cronologia epocii avară, vezi Peter Stadler, "Avar chronology revisited, and the question of ethnicity in the Avar qaganate", în *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, în redacția lui Florin Curta, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 2 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 47-82, mai ales 59.

<sup>10</sup> Poleski, „Awarische Funde”, p. 29; Jerzy Szydłowski, „Sprawozdanie z badań w Choruli, pow. Strzelce Opolskie, i Żychcicach, pow. Będzin w 1955 r.” în *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 6 (1959), 47-55, mai ales 53 și 57, pl. VIII/2. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábójník, „Seriation”, 293, pl. 14 și 318, pl. 39. Poleski, „Awarische Funde”, la p. 5 datează în mod greșit piesele de la Dobrzeń Mały și Gilów în faza a II-a a epocii avară târzie. În realitate, ele aparțin fazei următoare, datată după 760, așa cum corect observase deja Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, „W sprawie chronologii i sposobu publikacji okucia awarskiego z Dobrzeń Małego”, *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 42 (1990), 361-64.

<sup>11</sup> Rudolf Jamka, „Wyniki badań wykopaliskowych na Kopcu Krakusa w Krakowie”, *Slavia Antiqua* 12 (1965), 183-230, mai ales 217 și fig. 20; Zoll-Adamikowa, „Zur Chronologie”, 302 și 299 fig. 1e. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábójník, „Seriation”, 309, pl. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Renée Hachulska-Ledwos, „Ozdoba typu awarskiego z Nowej Huty, stan. 55”, *Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty* 5 (1976), 201-02; Teresa Kosmala și Eugeniusz Tomczak, „Okucie typu awarskiego z Dobrzeń Małego, woj. Opolskie”, *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 38 (1987), 223-26; Jacek Poleski, „Brązowe okucie awarskie z grodziska w Naszacowicach, woj. Nowosądeckie”, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 30 (1991), 243-47, mai ales p. 244 și fig. 1; Zoll-Adamikowa, „Zur Chronologie”, 303 și 290, fig. 1g; Krzysztof Jaworski, *Grody w Sudetach (VIII-X w.)* (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Archeologii, 2005), 81-82 și fig. 26c; Poleski, „Awarische Funde”, 29. Vezi de asemenea Zábójník, „Seriation”, 303 pl. 24, 311 pl. 32 și 312 pl. 33.

după Zábójník de la Târgșor, limbile de curea de tip 113 și 62 din mormintele 61 și, respectiv, 104 de la Sultana, limba de curea de tip 54 dintr-o localitate necunoscută din Muntenia, precum și placa de curea de tip 170 din mormântul 304 de la Izvoru<sup>13</sup>. Singura descoperire de la est de Nipru – limba de curea de tip 87 după Zábójník descoperită la Velyka Krucha, în provincia Poltava din Ucraina – aparține aceleiași faze a epocii avare târzii<sup>14</sup>. În schimb, limba de curea de tip 51 după Zábójník descoperită la Ripniv, lângă Lviv, în Ucraina de vest, este o piesă caracteristică celei din urmă faze databile cu puțin înainte sau după anul 800<sup>15</sup>. În aceeași fază sunt încadrate și o seamă de descoperiri din diverse alte puncte de pe teritoriul Poloniei: limbile de curea de tip 51 și 357 după Zábójník din împrejurimile Varșoviei și, respectiv, de la Nowa Huta; plăcile de curea de tip 172 de la Biskupin, lângă Znin și Naszacowice, lângă Nowy Sącz, precum și cea de tip 337 de la Wyciąże<sup>16</sup>. Alte două plăci de curea de tip 172 și 337 au fost descoperite în mormintele 7 de la Izvoru și, respectiv, 52 de la Obârșia Nouă, amândouă în sudul României<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Vasile Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei* (București: Cultura Națională, 1926), 28 și fig. 18; Gheorghe Diaconu și Petre Diaconu, „Un mormânt și călăreț din secolul VII descoperit la Târgșor”, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 13 (1962), nr. 1, 165-71 cu fig. 2/2; Bucur Mitrea, „La nécropole birituelle de Sultana. Résultats et problèmes”, *Dacia* 32 (1988), 91-139, mai ales 115, 117-118, 130 pl. 7/T61.3 și 134 pl. 13/T104.4; Bucur Mitrea, „Das Gräberfeld aus dem VIII. Jahrhundert von Izvoru, jud. Giurgiu (I)”, *Dacia* 33 (1989), 145-219, mai ales 207 și 208 fig. 48/304.1. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábójník, „Seriation”, 296, pl. 17, 298, pl. 19, 303, pl. 24, 306, pl. 27 și 312, pl. 32.

<sup>14</sup> I. V. Golovko, „Avars'kyy nakonechnykh remenia z s. Velykoi Krusi na r. Udai”, *Arkheologija i davnja istorija Ukrainy* 7 (2010), 175-77, mai ales 175 și 176 fig. 1; I. V. Golovko, „Znakhidky VI-VII st. v serednyj techii r. Udai”, *Starozhytnosti livoberezhnogo Podniprov'ia* (2012), 102-10, mai ales 104-7 și 105, fig. 2/5. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábójník, „Seriation”, 301, pl. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Vitol'd V. Aulikh, „Slavianskoe poselenie u s. Ripneva (Ripnev I), Lvovskoi oblasti”, în *Slaviane nakanune obrazovaniia Kievskoi Rusi*, în redacția lui Boris A. Rybakov, *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkhologii SSSR*, 108 (Moscova: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), 366-81, mai ales 366-67 și 377, fig. 9/16; Zábójník, „Seriation”, 294, pl. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Zdisław Adam Rajewski, „Zabytki 'awarskie' z Biskupina w pow. Żnińskim”, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 16 (1939), 341-47, mai ales 343 și pl. LXV/2; Wojciech Szymański, „Uwagi w kwestii zabytków awarskich znalezionych na terenie Polski”, *Archeologia Polski* 7 (1962), 283-314, mai ales 304-305 și 306, fig. 14; Renée Hachulska-Ledwos, „Materiały wczesnośredniowieczne ze stanowisk 17, 18 i 20 w Krakowie-Nowej Hucie (Pleszów)”, *Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty* 10 (1986), 107-47, mai ales 119, fig. 15; Jacek Poleski, „Odkrycie nowych zabytków awarskich i tzw. staromadziarskich na terenie Małopolskiej”, în *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej*, în redacția Zofiei Kurnatowska, vol. 1 (Wrocław: Werk, 1996), 257-62, mai ales 257 și fig. 1a; Jacek Poleski, „Kolejne zabytki awarskie i wielkomoravskie z grodziska w Naszacowicach”, în *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*, în redacția lui Marek Dulicz (Lublin/Varșovia: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003), 215-22, mai ales 215-216 și 216, fig. 1a. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábójník, „Seriation”, 294, pl. 15 și 312, pl. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Bucur Mitrea, „Unele probleme în legatură cu necropola prefeudală de la Izvorul-Giurgiu”, *Studii*



Deși piesele din regiunea meridională a României au analogii clare în complexe avarare târzii din bazinul carpatic, ele sunt, mai nou, privite ca reprezentative mai degrabă pentru elitele din Bulgaria, care, în a doua jumătate a secolului al VIII-lea, se aflau într-o înclăștare pe viață și pe moarte cu armatele bizantine sub comanda împăratului Constantin al V-lea<sup>18</sup>. Este demnă de remarcat poziția aparte pe care piesele din sudul României o ocupă în ansamblul descoperirilor din afara arcului carpatic, având în vedere faptul că au fost descoperite în complexe funerare. În unele cazuri, pare dificil de respins ideea unei funcții practice, chiar dacă nu există nicio dovadă a utilizării centurii cu curele laterale atât de caracteristică pentru complexe funerare din mediul avar. De exemplu, catarama din mormântul de la Târgșor se afla pe osul iliac al scheletului de bărbat decedat la o vârstă de 30-40 de ani. Nicio limbă de curea nu întovărășea catarama și nici plăci de curea nu au fost găsite în acest mormânt, în care se mai afla, însă, o altă cataramă, găsită

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și cercetări de istorie veche 18 (1967), nr. 3, 443-61, cu fig. 8; Octavian Toropu și Octavian Stoica, „La nécropole préféodale d'Obârșia-Olt”, *Dacia* 16 (1972), 163-88, mai ales 181 și 185; fig. 8/1; Mitrea, „Das Gräberfeld”, 148 and 147 fig. 4/7.3. Vezi, de asemenea, Zábajník, „Seriation”, 312, pl. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Dan Gh. Teodor, „Elemente nomade din secolele VI-VIII în regiunile de la est și sud de Carpați”, *Mousaios* 5 (1999), 71-90 [retipărit în *Spațiul carpato-dunăreano-pontic în mileniul marilor migrații*, Biblioteca Mousaios, 4 (Buzău: Alpha, 2003), 495-509], mai ales 75-76 atribuie avarilor nu numai mormântul de la Târgșor (pe care îl datează greșit la sfârșitul secolului al VII-lea, așadar, cu aproape un veac mai devreme), dar și o seamă de piese de centură care nu au nici un fel de analogii în complexe arheologice ale epocii avarare, precum aplica de bronz de la Șirna. Dimpotrivă, potrivit lui Stanislav Stanilov, „Kăm identifikaciata na groba ot Târgșor”, în *Lauria. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova*, în redacția lui Boni Petrunova, Andrei Aladzhev și Elena Vasileva, vol. 1 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 2007), 145-149, mai ales p. 147, catarama de la Târgșor ar avea analogii clare la Gledachevo, Divdiadovo și Kabiuk, trebuind, prin urmare, să fie atribuită culturii bulgare timpurii, nu celei avarare. Numărul descoperirilor de piese de centură cu analogii clare în mediul avar a crescut în ultima vreme, iar unii cercetători bulgari nu ezită să le pună pe seama unei influențe culturale dinspre bazinul carpatic. Vezi Stanislav Stanilov, Stanislav și Georgi Atanasov, „Srebărni ukrasi za kolan ot Shumenskiia muzei”, *Arkheologiiia* 25 (1993), nr. 1, 43-53; Valentin Pletn'ov, „Matrica za kolanni aplikacii ot Severoiztochna Bălgariia”, *Epokhi* 3-4 (1995), 133-36; Uwe Fiedler, „Die spätawarenzeitlichen Gürtelbestandteile von Typ Vrap-Erseke aus Velino (Bez. Varna, Bulgarien)”, *Germania* 74 (1996), 248-64; Mariela Inkova, „Bronzova aplikacia s izobrazhenie na grifon ot Nacionalniia istoricheski muzei”, *Problemi na prabălgarskata istoriia i kultura* 3 (1997), 256-64; P. Ivanov, „Avarski nakhodki ot Severozapadna Bălgariia”, *Problemi na prabălgarskata istoriia i kultura* 3 (1997), 272-82; Mariela Inkova, „Avarski inovacii v starobălgarskata kultura?”, în *Prof. d.i.n. Stancho Vaklinov i srednovkovnata bălgarska kultura*, în redacția lui Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Boris Borisov și Rosina Kostova (Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii”, 2005), 99-112. Vezi, de asemenea, Gergely Szenthe, „Contributions to the connections of the Vrap-Velino horizon and the Late Avar Material”, *Avars, Bulgars, and Magyars on the Middle and Lower Danube*, în redacția Ludmilei Doncheva-Petkova, Csilla Balogh și Attila Türk (Sofia/Pilicsaba: Archaeolingua, 2014), 61-76.



pe bazin, ceea ce indică depunerea a două centuri<sup>19</sup>. O situație similară apare în mormântul 104 de la Sultana, unde o limbă de curea de tip 62 a fost găsită pe bazinul scheletului de adult în vârstă de vreo 50 de ani, dimpreună cu o altă piesă de centură (interpretată drept „pseudo-cataramă”)<sup>20</sup>. Cu toate acestea, în alte cazuri funcția practică este mai mult decât îndoielnică. Deși a fost descoperită în regiunea pântecelui unui nou-născut, placa de curea de tip 170 din mormântul 304 de la Izvoru nu era însoțită nici de alte plăci, nici de vreo cataramă sau limbă de curea<sup>21</sup>. O situație identică apare și în mormântul 7 al aceleiași necropole: placa de curea de tip 172 găsită pe bazinul scheletului de bărbat (în vârstă de 50 de ani) nu era însoțită de nicio altă piesă de centură. Ambele situații duc cu gândul la o depunere simbolică a plăcii de curea, fiind lipsită de o funcție practică în raport cu hainele în care copilul și bărbatul se presupune că au fost înmormântați. O depunere simbolică rezultă și din poziția limbii de curea din mormântul 61 de la Sultana – în peretele de nord al gropii, departe de trupul bărbatului în vârstă de 35 de ani ce a fost îngropat în acel mormânt<sup>22</sup>.

Spre deosebire de descoperirile din sudul României, cele din Polonia sunt fie întâmplătoare, fie din interiorul unor așezări fortificate medievale timpurii<sup>23</sup>. Unele dintre aceste fortificații au fost cu certitudine locuite în decursul secolului al IX-lea, după cum rezultă, de exemplu, din piesele de podoabă sau depozitul de unelte și arme de fier descoperit la Trepca, și unele, și celălalt având analogii în Moravia<sup>24</sup>. Prezența pieselor de centură avare târzii în inventarul „horodiștilor”

<sup>19</sup> Diaconu și Diaconu, „Un mormânt”. Pentru sexul și vârsta scheletului, vezi Dardu Nicolaescu-Plopșor și Alexandra Paul-Bolomey, „Date antropologice asupra osemintelor din mormântul de călăreț de la Târgșor”, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 13 (1962), nr. 1, 173-75.

<sup>20</sup> Mitrea, „La nécropole”, 117.

<sup>21</sup> Mitrea, „Das Gräberfeld», 207.

<sup>22</sup> Mitrea, «La nécropole», 115.

<sup>23</sup> Poleski, „Awarische Funde», 9.

<sup>24</sup> Jerzy Ginalska, „Wczesnośredniowieczne kultury przedmiotów żelaznych z grodziska ‘Fajka’ w Trepczy koło Sanoka”, *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 49 (1997), 221-41; Kryzsytof Jaworski, „Znaleziska wielkomorawskie w Gilowie, Niemczy i Starym Książu na Dolnym Śląsku” în *Śląsk i Czechy a kultura wielkomorawska*, în redacția lui Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych, 1997), 113-25; Kryzsytof Jaworski, „Nowe wielkomorawiana z grodziska z końca IX i początku X wieku w Gilowie na Dolnym Śląsku”, în *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem. Pavlu Kouřilovi k sedesátým narozeninám přátel, kolegů a žáci*, în redacția lui Jiří Doležel și a lui Martin Wihoda (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, Brno, v.v.i., 2012), 209-34; Piotr N. Kotowicz, Marcin Glinianowicz și Arkadiusz Michalak, „Elements of weaponry from 9th- and 10th-century Trepca complex near Sanok, south-eastern Poland”, *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa. Waffenform und Waffenbeigaben bei den mährischen Slawen und in den Nachbarländern*, în redacția lui Lumír Poláček și a lui Pavel Kouřil, *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice*, 9 (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2019), 403-20. Pentru depozitele de unelte și arme din Moravia, care sunt datate în secolul al IX-lea, vezi Florin Curta, „New remarks on early medieval hoards of iron



din Polonia alături de alte materiale de epocă carolingiană amintește de situația perfect simetrică de printr-alte părți aflate dincolo de bazinul carpatic. Atât în Slovenia, cât și în Cehia, bunăoară, majoritatea pieselor de centură avare au fost descoperite pe teritoriul unor așezări fortificate<sup>25</sup>. Naďa Profantová, cel dintâi arheolog care a avut ideea unui demers comparativ cu privire la descoperirile de epocă avacică de la nord, nord-vest și nord-est de Munții Carpați, nu a sesizat totuși

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implements and weapons“, în *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa. Internationale Konferenz und Kolleg der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung zum 50. Jahrestag des Beginns archäologischer Ausgrabungen in Pohansko bei Břeclav, 5.-9.10.2009, Břeclav, Tschechische Republik*, în redacția lui Jiří Macháček și a lui Šimon Ungerman (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2011), 251-76; Pavel Kouřil, „Der dritte Hortfund von Eisengegenständen aus dem slawischen Burgwall Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň“, în *Z badań nad kulturą społeczeństw pradziejowych i wczesnośredniowiecznych. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Bogusławowi Gedidze, w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin przez przyjaciół, kolegów i uczniów*, în redacția Justynei Kolenda, a lui Andrzej Mierzwiński, a lui Sławomir Moździoch și a lui Leszek Żygadło (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2013), 599-615; Mária Müllerová, „New synthesis of early medieval iron hoards from Slovakia“, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 104 (2020), 283-301. De la Trepcza provin și alte descoperiri ce sugerează o fază de locuire cu o datare încă și mai târzie (sec. XI-XII). Vezi Jerzy Ginalski, „Enkolpiony z grodziska Horodyszczce w Trepczy koło Sanoka” în *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 35 (1999-2000), 211-62; Jerzy Ginalski, „Para srebrnych ozdób kobiecego nakrycia głowy, tzw. kotłów, z grodziska ‘Horodyszczce’ w Trepczy, gmina Sanok, stanowisko 2”, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 36 (2001), 133-48; Jerzy Ginalski, „Fragmenty dwóch stilusów z grodziska ‘Horodyszczce’ w Trepczy koło Sanoka”, *Polonia minor medii aevi. Studia ofiarowane Panu Profesorowi Andrzejowi Zakiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, în redacția lui Zenon Woźniak și a lui Jan Garncarski (Cracovia/Krosno: Mitel, 2003), 369-82; Jerzy Ginalski, „Ein frühmittelalterlicher Sakralkomplex auf dem Burgwall ‘Horodyszczce’ in Trepcza bei Sanok”, în *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, în redacția lui Maciej Salamon, a lui Marcin Wołoszyn, a lui Aleksandr E. Musin și a lui Perica Špehar, vol. 2 (Cracovia/Leipzig/Rzeszów/Varşovia: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN/Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2012), 303-30. Pentru o altă așezare întărită datată în secolul al IX-lea, din care provin, de asemenea, piese de centură avare, vezi Jerzy Szydłowski și Werner Pierzyna, *Lubomia: gród plemienny Gołyszczów* (Bytom: Muzeum Górnośląskie w Bytomiu, 1970).

<sup>25</sup> Špela Karo, Timotej Knific și Marija Lubšina-Tušek, „Predmeti avarskega izvora z arheoloških najdišč v Sloveniji”, *Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu* 44 (2011), 131-59, mai ales 132-136 și 155, pl. 1/1, 3-5, 8. Pentru Cehia, vezi Josef Bubeník, „Zlomek avarsko-slovanského kování z hradiště ‘Na Šancích’ mezi Dojetřicemi a Sázavou”, *Archeologické rozhledy* 20 (1968), 516-17; Jarmila Justová, „Kontakty zlické Libice s avarsko-slovanským, karolinským a velkomoravským kulturním okruhem”, *Sborník Národního musea v Praze. Historie* 39 (1985), 23-31; Ivana Boháčová, Naďa Profantová și Jaroslav Špaček, „Kování avarského původu ze Staré Boleslavi”, *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 2 (1998), 341-48; Naďa Profantová, „Ozdoby koňského postroje doby avarské ze severozápadních Čech v souvislosti s nálezem ze Žerotína, okr. Louny”, în *Krajinou archeologie, krajinou skla. Studie věnované PhDr. Evě Černé*, în redacția Kateřinei Tomkové și a Nataliei Venclová (Praga/Most: Archeologický ústav AVČR/Ústav archeologické památkové péče severozápadních Čech, 2020), 23-36; Naďa Profantová, „Hill-forts with collections of Avar Khaganat Period finds in Bohemia. Some interpretation models“, în *Der Ostalpenraum im Frühmittelalter. Herrschaftsstrukturen, Raumorganisation und archäologisch-historischer Vergleich*, în redacția lui Maximilian Diesenberger, a lui Stefan Eichert și a Katharinei Winckler (Viena: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020), 163-70.

deosebirea fundamentală dintre Cehia și Moravia, pe de o parte, și Polonia, pe de altă parte<sup>26</sup>. Cea mai mare cantitate de piese avare târzii de pe teritoriul Republicii Cehe provine din fortificația de la Tismice, de unde „cu ajutorul” detectorului de metale au fost strânse componente din cel puțin 13 sau 14 centuri cu curele laterale, aproape toate datate în cea de-a III-a fază a epocii avare târzii<sup>27</sup>. În afara numărului foarte mare de piese, fără pereche în Polonia, așezarea fortificată de la Tismice a mai dat la iveală și rebuturi de la turnare, creuzete și fragmente de metal în mod limpede menite a sluji drept materie primă, toate indicând fără nicio putință de tăgadă o producție locală a pieselor de centură avare<sup>28</sup>. Nu poate fi exclusă posibilitatea ca în viitor și în Polonia să fie descoperite urmele unei producții locale. Cu toate acestea, este mai prudent să operăm cu datele existente în momentul de față, trăgând pe această bază concluzia potrivit căreia piesele de centură din Polonia provin din bazinul carpatic. O privire atentă asupra răspândirii pieselor de centură avare la nord, est și sud de Munții Carpați (fig. 1) confirmă această concluzie. În Polonia, descoperirile de epocă avară se concentrează în două regiuni anume, ambele aflate în sudul țării, în imediata apropiere a Munților Carpați – Silezia și Polonia Mică<sup>29</sup>. În ambele regiuni, piesele de centură vor fi fost folosite de către elitele locale, cel puțin cele ce foloseau așezările fortificate drept centre de putere<sup>30</sup>. Din cauza concentrării descoperirilor de epocă avară târzii

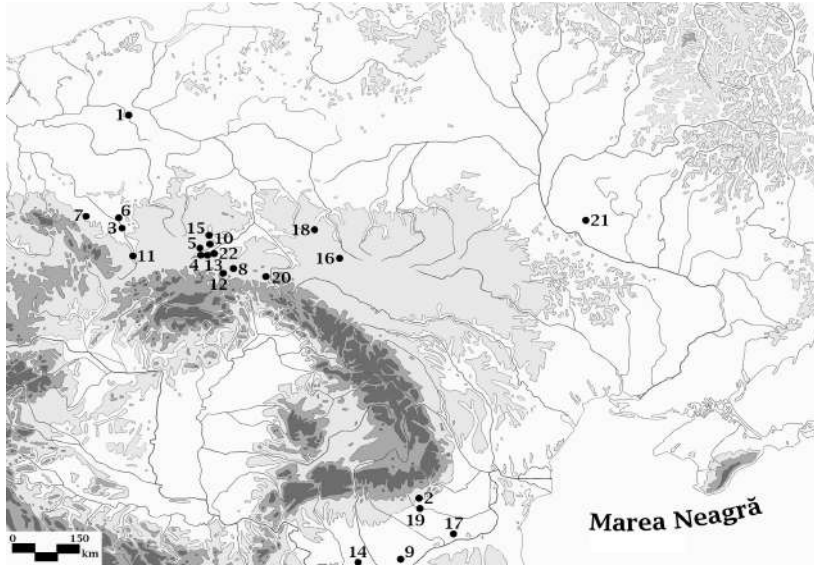
<sup>26</sup> Nada Profantová, „Awarische Funde aus den Gebieten nördlich der awarischen Siedlungsgrenzen“, *Awarenforschungen*, în redacția lui Falko Daim, vol. 2 (Viena: Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien, 1992), 605-801.

<sup>27</sup> Nad'a Profantová, Roman Křivánek, Marek Fikrlé și Jan Zavřel, „Tismice jako produkční a nadregionální centrum Čech 8. a 9. století“, *Památky Archeologické* 111 (2020), 193-271, mai ales 164-165.

<sup>28</sup> Un alt centru de producție a pieselor de centură avare târzii a fost recent descoperit în Moravia. Vezi Jiří Macháček, Stefan Eichert, Adéla Balcárková, Petr Dresler, Radek Měchura, Peter Milo și Mathias Mehofer, „Lány – ein Produktionsort gegossener Bronzen der Spätawarenzeit in der awarischen-slavischen Kontaktzone des unteren Thayatals“, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72 (2021), 365-416.

<sup>29</sup> Poleski, „Awarische Funde“, 5: din 26 de descoperiri de epocă avară din Polonia 17 sunt de pe teritoriul Poloniei Mici. Pentru descoperirile din Silezia, vezi Jerzy Szydłowski, „Zabytki awarskie ze Śląska“, în *Z przeszłości Śląska*, Popularnonaukowa biblioteka archeologiczna, 5 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960), 43. Pentru răspândirea descoperirilor de epocă avară din Polonia, vezi și hărțile publicate de Wojciech Szymański, „Rzech o Awarach” în *Z otchłani wieków* 29 (1963), 36-45, mai ales 42, fig. 5 și de Zoll-Adamikowa, „Zur Chronologie”, 306, fig. 6. Cataloge de descoperiri au fost publicate de către Wojciech Szymański, „Ziemie na północ od Karpat a kaganat awarski”, *Prace i materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łódzi* 29 (1982), 239-57, mai ales 254-25 și de către Poleski, „Awarische Funde”, 27-30.

<sup>30</sup> Interpretarea social-politică a numeroaselor așezări fortificate de pe teritoriul Poloniei datate în secolele VIII-IX este o problemă spinoasă a arheologiei medievale din acea țară. Cu toate acestea, toți autorii care s-au ocupat pe îndelete de această problemă sunt de acord în privința asocierii acestor așezări cu elitele locale, indiferent ce funcție specifică va fi îndeplinit fiecare



**Fig. 1.** Principalele situri arheologice menționate în text: 1 – Biskupin; 2 – Budureasca; 3 – Chorula; 4 – Cracovia; 5 – Damice; 6 – Dobrzeń Mały; 7 – Gilów; 8 – Gródek; 9 – Izvoru; 10 – Jakuszowice; 11 – Lubomia; 12 – Naszacowice; 13 – Nowa Huta; 14 – Obârșia Nouă; 15 – Pełczyska; 16 – Ripniv; 17 – Sultana; 18 – Swaryczów; 19 – Târgșor; 20 – Trecpza; 21 – Velyka Krucha; 22 – Wyciąże. Siturile din interiorul arcului carpatic nu au fost cartate.

**Fig. 1.** The main sites mentioned in the text: 1 – Biskupin; 2 – Budureasca; 3 – Chorula; 4 – Cracovia; 5 – Damice; 6 – Dobrzeń Mały; 7 – Gilów; 8 – Gródek; 9 – Izvoru; 10 – Jakuszowice; 11 – Lubomia; 12 – Naszacowice; 13 – Nowa Huta; 14 – Obârșia Nouă; 15 – Pełczyska; 16 – Ripniv; 17 – Sultana; 18 – Swaryczów; 19 – Târgșor; 20 – Trecpza; 21 – Velyka Krucha; 22 – Wyciąże. Sites inside the Carpathian Basin have not been plotted on the map.

în cele două regiuni amintite, precum și a prezenței lor în așezări fortificate, unii au mers până la a stabili o legătură între influențele culturale din bazinul carpatic și apariția statului polonez<sup>31</sup>. Alții, mai îngrijorați de atribuirea etnică a acestor descoperiri, erau dispuși să accepte influențele culturale dinspre bazinul carpatic, fără a accepta însă vreo prezență avară pe teritoriul Poloniei<sup>32</sup>. Ambele poziții

dintre ele. Vezi Jacek Poleski, „Grody plemienne i wczesnopaństwowe w Małopolsce”, în *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji, Rzeszów, 9-11 V 1995*, în redacția lui Michał Parczewski și a lui Sylwester Czopek (Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe, 1996), pp. 109-19; Zofia Kurnatowska, „Grody wczesnośredniowieczne u Słowian”, în *Łąd nad Wartą. Dziedzictwo kultury Słowiańskiej i cysterskiej*, în redacția lui Michał Brzostowicz, a Henrykai Mizerska și a lui Jacek Wrzesiński (Poznań/Łąd: Muzeum Archeologiczne/Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich/Urząd Gminy, 2005), 27-46; Michał Parczewski, „Zu den frühmittelalterlichen Stammesburgen im Sudetengebiet nach der Auffassung von Krzysztof Jaworski (2005)”, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 41 (2006), 187-204. Pentru o sinteză a discuțiilor din jurul anului 2000 cu privire la întreaga Polonie, vezi Andrzej Buko, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Poland. Discoveries, Hypotheses, Interpretations, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450*, 1 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 84-99.

<sup>31</sup> Jerzy Szydłowski, „Awarowie a początki państwa Polskiego”, *Z otchłani wieków* 26 (1960), 11-14.

<sup>32</sup> Zdzisław Adam Rajewski, „Problem awarów na północ od łuku karpacko-sudeckiego”, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 39 (1974), 481-85.

sunt astăzi depășite. Rămâne totuși neschimbată impresia unui subit interes în modelele elitare avar ce s-a făcut simțit mai ales în regiunile din sudul Poloniei de astăzi (Silezia și Polonia Mică). De ce anume vor fi fost însemnele de rang folosite în societatea avară târzie împrumutate pentru a semnala, pasămite, poziția socială elevată a unora dintre membrii societăților din teritoriile de la nord de Munții Sudeți și Carpați? Este o întrebare încă fără răspuns. Această întrebare este cu atât mai tulburătoare cu cât un astfel de împrumut cultural a avut loc, judecând după cronologia descoperirilor de piese de centură, în ultimii ani ai istoriei chaganatului avar, adică tocmai în perioada în care această formațiune politică se presupune că se afla în plin declin politic, pe punctul de a se destrăma<sup>33</sup>. Dincolo de vădita nevoie de a revizui unele stereotipuri ale istoriografiei contemporane privitoare la avari, asemenea observații sunt cu atât mai pertinente cu cât vin în întâmpinarea celor ce se referă la alte regiuni aflate dincolo de bazinul carpatic, ca, de exemplu, Dalmația sau Moravia<sup>34</sup>. Și acolo, ca și în Polonia, dorința elitelor de a etala piese de centură aidoma celor din chaganatul avar se afirmă brusc pe parcursul celei de-a doua jumătăți sau chiar a ultimei treimi a secolului al VIII-lea. Ea coincide, cel puțin în cazul Dalmației, cu începuturile expansiunii france în Europa de sud-est. Legătura dintre aceste fenomene politice și culturale rămâne încă de studiat, după cum tot un deziderat al cercetărilor viitoare este și lămurirea raporturilor dintre Bulgaria și chaganatul avar pe parcursul secolului al VIII-lea. Pentru moment, este suficient să observăm că niciuna dintre piesele de centură descoperite în complexe funerare din sudul României nu are analogii în Transilvania, semn că originea lor trebuie căutată fie în alte părți ale bazinului carpatic, fie local.

Ceea ce surprinde la o privire sumară aruncată asupra hărții de răspândire a pieselor de centură de epocă avară e absența lor din regiunile de la est de Munții Carpați. Spre deosebire de partea de sud a României, nicio piesă de centură de epocă avară nu este cunoscută din Moldova, nici de la est, nici de la vest de râul Prut. Mai mult, asemenea piese nu apar nici în teritoriile aflate între Nistru și Nipru<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Dacă ar fi să ne luăm după Pohl, *The Avars*, 401, declinul economic și politic al chaganatului avar ar fi început la mijlocul secolului al VIII-lea. Ideea potrivit căreia epoca avară târzie ar fi fost o perioadă de declin a fost recent combătută cu fermitate de către Gergely Szenthe, „A késő avar kor mint régészeti korszak és történeti problematika (kr. u. 650/700-840/850)”, *Magyar Tudomány* 182 (2021), nr. 1, 90-100.

<sup>34</sup> Florin Curta, „Avars in Croatia: new wine in old bottles”, *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 30 (2024), în curs de apariție.

<sup>35</sup> În condițiile absenței unor astfel de descoperiri, Gábor Vékony, în „Spätawarenzeitliche Messer mit Volutengriff”, din *Urzeitliche und frühhistorische Besiedlung der Ostslowakei in Bezug zu den Nachbargebieten*, în redacția lui Bohuslav Chropovský (Nitra: Archäologisches Institut der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 267-74, pune descoperirile de cuțite așa-zis „sacrificiale” (adică cu volute la mâner) din Moldova pe seama influențelor avară târzii dinspre bazinul carpatic. În realitate, larga răspândire a acestor artefacte pe teritoriul Europei cen-



Cu excepția limbii de curea de la Velika Krucia, nici din Ucraina de la est de Nipru nu sunt cunoscute piese de centură de epocă avară. Exemplare ce pot fi comparate cu piesele de centură avară târzii au fost descoperite, însă, în complexele funerare din regiunea Volga-Don, care sunt datate cu monede din secolul al VIII-lea<sup>36</sup>. Nici astfel de complexe funerare, nici urmele culturii materiale asociate cu ele nu au

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tral-răsăritene și de est pune sub semnul întrebării interpretarea lui Vékony. În loc de o influență dinspre bazinul carpatic, cuțitele „sacrificiale” par a fi mai degrabă o mărturie a influențelor est-europene asupra culturii avară târzii. Vezi, mai recent, Wojciech Szymański, „Noże z rekojęściami zakonczonymi wolutami – zagadkowe komponenty kultury słowiańskiej i awarskiej”, *Studia nad etnogenezą Słowian i kulturą Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej. Praca zbiorowa*, în redacția lui Gerard Labuda și a lui Stanisław Tabaczyński (Wrocław/Varșovia/Cracovia/Gdańsk/Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987), 141-59; A.V. Korol'kova, „Voprosy interpretacii nozhei s voliutoobraznym navershiem,” *Tverskoi Arkheologicheskii Sbornik 1* (1996), 234-38; V.N. Kovalevski, „Eshche raz o nozhakh s voliutoobraznym navershiem,” în *Voprosy istorii slavian. Arkheologiiia. Etnografiia*, în redacția lui Anatolii Z. Vinnikov (Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1998), 9-24; Roman A. Rabinovich, „Nozhi s voliutoobraznym rukoiatkami na territorii Moldovy i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskikh kontekst,” *Revista Arheologică 1* (2005), nr. 2, 351-59; Iuliia V. Mys'ko și Sergii V. Pyvovarov, „Nakhodki nozhei s voliutoobraznymi navershiiami v Verkhnem Poprut'e i Srednem Podnestrov'e”, *Stratum+* (2010), nr. 5, 309-15.

<sup>36</sup> Igor O. Gavritukhin, “Archaeological heritage of the Avar Khaganate and the southern part of Eastern Europe. Periodisation, dating and synchronization”, *Antaeus* 29-30 (2008), 63-125, mai ales 81-82 și 85-86. Întrucât aceste complexe funerare sunt databile în perioada în care chaganatul chazar se afla în război cu arabii, interpretarea lor ca monumente „compensatorii” pentru sprijinirea revendicărilor elitelor locale în disperata lor încercare de a-și păstra proeminența socială și politică ar putea explica și folosirea unor simboluri de cultură materială de factură exotică, provenind din culturi aflate la mare depărtare, fie monede și vase de metal de origine bizantină, fie piese de centură avară târzii. Vezi, de exemplu, L.S. Il'iukov și V.M. Kosianenko, „Rannesrednevekovyi kompleks iz Bol'shoi Orlovki, *Srednevekovye drevnosti Dona*, în redacția lui Iurii K. Guguev, *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii Dona*, 2 (Moscow/Ierusalim: Mosty kul'tury/Gesharim, 2007), 85-113. Pentru vase de metal bizantine, vezi Svetlana A. Naumenko și Sergei I. Bezuglov, „Új bizánci és iráni importleletek a Don-vidék szteppéiről”, *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Evkönyve. Studia Archaeologica* 2 (1996), 247-57. Tumuliu cu șanțuri pătrate, o altă categorie de complexe funerare din regiunea Volga-Don, pot fi, de asemenea, interpretați drept monumente comemorative ridicate anume într-o perioadă de mari convulsii politice și sociale cauzate de războaiele cu arabii, ce s-au terminat cu dezastrul militar din 737. Vezi, de exemplu, Viktor S. Aksenov, „Novye pominal'nye komplekсы voinov-vsadnikov saltovskogo vremeni s territorii Verkhnego Podonech'ia”, în *Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia. Khazarskoe vremia*, în redacția lui A.V. Evgelevskii, vol. 4 (Donetsk: Izdatel'stvo Donetskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2005), 357-68. Pentru războaiele cu arabii, vezi Igor G. Semenov, „K utochneniiu khronologii i obstoiatel'stv arabo-khazarskoi voiny 708-737 godov”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 16 (2008-2009), 223-62; Gerald Makó, „The possible reasons for the Arab-Khazar wars”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 17 (2010), 45-58. Pentru dezastrul militar din 737, Anatolii P. Novosel'cev, *Khazarskoe gosudarstvo i ego rol' v istorii Vostochnoi Evropy i Kavkaza* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 184-86.

fost până acum descoperite în teritoriile dintre Munții Carpați și Nipru. Cel puțin pentru secolul al VIII-lea este deci greșită ideea potrivit căreia în aceste teritorii ar fi domnit *pax Chazarica*, căci acel secol nu a fost unul de pace pentru chazari, a căror putere nu avea cum să ajungă la vremea aceea până în ținuturile aflate la vest de Nipru<sup>37</sup>. Este, însă, tot atât de greșit să vorbim de o extindere a puterii avarilor la est de Munții Carpați<sup>38</sup>. În absența pieselor de centură, nu se poate vorbi nici de vreo influență culturală și/sau politică.

În regiunea dintre Carpați și Nipru sunt foarte multe așezări care au fost datate în secolele VIII-IX.<sup>39</sup> Sunt, de asemenea, și așezări fortificate, cu aceeași datare<sup>40</sup>. Ce-i drept, sprijinindu-se în principal pe datarea ceramicii, nici aceasta încă neverificată prin datări independente (de exemplu, cu radiocarbon), datarea așezărilor deschise și întărite din Europa de est trebuie privită cu multă circumspecție<sup>41</sup>. Nu există totuși niciun motiv de îndoială cu privire la datarea cel puțin a unora dintre aceste așezări în cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al VIII-lea și la începutul secolului al IX-lea. Cu toate acestea, lipsesc orice elemente de cultură materială care să semnaleze fie diferențieri sociale, fie prezența elitelor. Lipsa atestării celor din urmă a fost remarcată atât în așezări, cât și în necropole<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Ion Tentiuc, „Pax Chazarica i regiony k vostoku ot Karpat v VIII-X vekakh”, în *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo Moria v drevnosti i srednie veka. Materialy VIII Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferencii*, în redacția lui V.P. Kopylov (Rostov-na-Donu: Izdatelstvo Rostovskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta, 1999), 225-231, mai ales 226; Sergiu Musteață, *Nomads and Natives Beyond the Danube and the Black Sea, 700-900 CE* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018), 230.

<sup>38</sup> Teodor, „Elemente nomade”, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Musteață, *Nomads...*, 23 și harta 3, cu mai multe aglomerări de situri în diferite regiuni aflate între Carpați și Nistru. Vezi, de asemenea, Sergiu Musteață, *Populația spațiului pruto-nistrian în secolele VIII-IX* (Chișinău: Pontos, 2005); Liubomyr P. Mykhaylyna, *Slov'iani VIII-X st. mizh Dniptom i Karpatami* (Kiev: Instytut arheologii NAN Ukrainy, 2007), 45-57. Tentiuc, în „Pax Chazarica”, 225, remarcă faptul că în teritoriile dintre Prut și Nistru, secolul al VIII-lea a fost o perioadă de creștere demografică și de oarecare prosperitate economică, căci numărul așezărilor sare de la 240 pentru secolele V-VII la 600 pentru secolele VIII-IX.

<sup>40</sup> Dan Gh. Teodor, „Așezări întărite din regiunile est-carpătice ale României în secolele VIII-XI”, *Hierarasus* 1 (1978), 197-216; Musteață, *Populația...*, 37-42 și 319 harta 3; Musteață, *Nomads...*, 40-41.

<sup>41</sup> Roman A. Rabinovich și Svetlana S. Riabceva, „O sootnoshenii drevnostei Luka-Raikoveckoi kul'tury i pamiatnikov tipa Ekimaucy-Alchedar v Pruto-Dnestrovskom regione”, în *Od Bachórza do Światowida ze Zbrucza. Tworzenie się słowiańskiej Europy w ujęciu źródłoznawczym. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Michała Parczewskiego*, în redacția Barbarei Chudzińska, a lui Michał Wojenka și a lui Marcin Wołoszyn (Cracovia/Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2016), 323-42. Autorii ridică problema diferențelor cronologice dintre așezările deschise și cele întărite, cele din urmă fiind mai târzii decât cele dintâi (cel puțin cele atribuite, pe baza ceramicii, culturii Luka-Raikovețkaia).

<sup>42</sup> Gheorghe Postică, „Evoluția așezărilor din spațiul pruto-nistrian în epoca migrațiilor (sec. V-XI)”, *Thraco-Dacica* 20 (1999), 329-64, mai ales 336-37; Musteață, *Populația...*, 131-36, folosește informația arheologică pentru a sprijini ideea organizării societății în obști sătești, dar despre „conducătorii locali” nu amintește decât la timpul viitor (adică după secolul al IX-lea).



Absența pieselor de centură de epocă avară târzie trebuie deci explicată prin absența oamenilor ce vor fi fost interesați în a și le procura în vederea etalării unor pretenții de superioritate culturală. La mijloc nu e o preferință culturală, pentru că lipsesc nu numai piesele de centură de epocă avară, dar și orice alte elemente echivalente ce ar fi putut proveni, la rigoare, din alte culturi<sup>43</sup>.

Ion Tentiuc a pus pe seama alanilor ceramica lucrată la roata cu turații rezezi, cu decor lustruit, precum cea descoperită în așezarea de secolele VIII-IX de la Durlăști-Valea Babei<sup>44</sup>. Dincolo de atribuirea etnică a acestei categorii ceramice, rămâne de discutat funcția ei și posibilitatea ca aceasta să fi servit unor scopuri ceremoniale. În acest caz, ceramica cu pricina ar fi singurul indiciu al unui consum preferențial, probabil, de băuturi sau bucate speciale și deci al unor elite preocupate de însemnarea diferențelor sociale prin mijloace ritualice. Contextul în care au fost descoperite unele dintre fragmentele ceramice lucrate la roata cu turații rapide pare să vină în sprijinul unei asemenea interpretări. Alături de ceramica lucrată la roata rapidă, din locuința 14/25 de la Durlăști provin și 5 fragmente de amfore, din păcate, prea mici pentru a sluji vreunei încadrări tipologice<sup>45</sup>. Amfore globulare erau produse în secolele VIII-IX în Crimeea, pentru transportul vinului ieftin, adesea dres cu mirodenii<sup>46</sup>. Cele două categorii ceramice ar putea, prin urmare, să fie interpretate drept urmele unor ospețe organizate de unii membri ai comunității locale cu veleități de *big men*. Un astfel de scenariu ar putea explica lipsa oricărui interes pentru piesele de centură avară, ce semnalau o aristocrație deja constituită, pe o scară socială diferită de cea a acestor *big men*-i de la Durlăști. Pentru a fi acceptată, însă, această interpretare ar trebui mai întâi confirmată temeinic prin analiza altor complexe de locuit în care ceramica lucrată la roata

<sup>43</sup> Amuletele în formă de călăreți pe care unii, atribuindu-le alanilor, le datau în secolele VIII-IX s-au dovedit a fi mult mai târzii (secolele X-XI, ba chiar XI-XII). Vezi Gheorghe Postică și Ion Tentiuc, „Amulete-călăreți de bronz din perioada medievală timpurie în spațiul carpato-nistrean”, *Tyragetia* 8 (2014), nr. 1, 45-72; Ioto Valeriev, „Srednovkovni bronzovi amuleti konnici na Dolnia Dunav (XI-XII v.)”, *Dobrudzha* 30 (2015), 375-400; Evgenia Komatarova-Balinoва, „The ‘Pechenegs’ from Pliska and Odartsi and their ‘amulet’-riders”, *Mikheev’ski chytannia* (2019), nr. 1, 66-78. Unii se încăpățânează, însă, a data aceste amulete în secolele VIII-IX; vezi George Bilavski și Alexandru Berzovan, „O amuletă-pandantiv antropo-zoomorfă din bronz descoperită în județul Iași”, *Arheologia medievală* 43 (2020), 267-75.

<sup>44</sup> Ion Tentiuc, *Contribuții la istoria și arheologia spațiului pruto-nistrean. Siturile de la Durlăști și Molești* (Chișinău: Muzeul Național de Arheologie și Istorie a Moldovei, 2012), 92.

<sup>45</sup> Tentiuc, *Contribuții...*, 49 și 93.

<sup>46</sup> Andrei V. Sazanov, „Globuliarnye amfory prichernomorskogo tipa (Crimean Globular Amphorae) i problemy khronologii kompleksov VIII-IX vv.”, în *Trudy VI (XXII) Vserossiiskogo arheologicheskogo sãezda v Samare*, în redacția lui A.P. Derevianko, a lui Nikolai A. Makarov și a lui O.D. Mochalov, vol. 2 (Samara: Samarski gosudarstvenii socialno-pedagoghiceskii universitet, 2020), 266-68. Astfel, de amfore au apărut mai nou și pe coasta de vest a Mării Negre, în Bulgaria. Vezi Evelina Todorova, “Byzantine amphorae from present-day Bulgaria (7th-14th century AD)” Ph.D. dissertation, “St. Kliment Ohridski” University (Sofia, 2012), 13-14 și 28.



rapidă și-a făcut apariția. Amforele apar și în alte așezări de pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova, dar în aceste contexte – cel mai devreme în secolul al IX-lea<sup>47</sup>. Cu alte cuvinte, datarea contextului arheologic din locuința 14/25 de la Durlești se află ea însăși în discuție.

Dintre cele patru locuințe de la Durlești-Valea Babei în care a fost descoperită ceramica lucrată la roata cu turație rapidă, trei se remarcă prin numărul relativ mare de figurine miniaturale de lut reprezentând tauri, câini, cai, păsări, mistreți sau șei<sup>48</sup>. Tentiuc a pus figurinele miniaturale zoomorfe de lut pe seama unei influențe nomade răsăritene<sup>49</sup>. Într-adevăr, astfel de figurine apar și în așezări ale culturii Saltovo-Maiak, fiind interpretate ca mărturie ale unor reprezentări magico-religioase<sup>50</sup>. Interpretarea rituală a depunerilor de figurine miniaturale de lut este confirmată și de descoperirile din Moldova: majoritatea pieselor au fost găsite în gropi speciale săpate sub cuptoarele locuințelor sau au fost chiar zidite în pereții cuptoarelor<sup>51</sup>. Nu toate locuințele erau însă înzestrate cu asemenea depuneri rituale, ceea ce ridică din nou problema unor diferențieri sociale, de data aceasta, pe baza unor funcții religioase. În orice caz, structura socială a comunităților din Europa de Est, așa cum este ea oglindită în materialul arheologic, exclude posibilitatea unei ierarhii bine stabilite și, prin urmare, a etalării simbolurilor de rang precum piesele de centură.

Primele semne ale apariției în regiunea de la est de Carpați a unor lideri politici cu poziție socială întemeiată pe privilegiile economice nu pot fi datate înainte de a doua jumătate a secolului al IX-lea. Colanul de argint, inelul cu „piatră”, catarama și plăcile de curea din argint aurit descoperite în tezaurul de la Răducăneni sunt tot atâtea însemne ale unui statut social ridicat, ce se sprijinea pe avere, după cum sugerează monedele și lingourile de argint împreună cu care au fost găsite<sup>52</sup>. Niciunul dintre aceste simboluri de rang social nu are vreo legătură

<sup>47</sup> Musteață, *Populația...*, 83.

<sup>48</sup> Tentiuc, *Contribuții...*, 38-41 și 48; 65, fig. 29/1, 3, 5, 6, 8; 66, fig. 30/1, 2, 4, 5, 8; 67, fig. 31/9, 11, 15, 17, 18; 68, fig. 32/3-7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16-18, 20; 69, fig. 33/6, 7, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Tentiuc, *Contribuții...*, 66. Cele mai vechi figurine miniaturale zoomorfe din Europa de Est sunt cele din complexe ale culturii Imenkovo, descoperite în regiunea Volgăi mijlocii. Vezi Konstantin A. Rudenko, „Miniatiurnye izdeliia iz gliny imen'kovskoi kul'tury VI-VII vv. n. e.”, *Teoriia i praktika arkhologicheskikh issledovaniï* 33 (2021), nr. 4, 81-106, mai ales 99-100.

<sup>50</sup> V.K. Grib, „O nakhodke gliniannykh figurok na rannesrednevekovom poselenii v severo-vostochnom Priazov'e”, *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki Orenburga* 14 (2019), 160-69.

<sup>51</sup> Ion Tentiuc, „Plastica miniaturală de lut din perioada evului mediu timpuriu din Moldova”, *Tyragetia* 6-7 (1996), 115-28.

<sup>52</sup> Dan Gh. Teodor, „Tezaurul de la Răducăneni-Iași”, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 31 (1980), nr. 3, 403-23 [retipărit în *Spațiul carpato-dunăreano-pontic* (vezi nr. 18), 176-95], mai ales 403-417 și fig. 4/4-13, 5/4-13, 6/1, 7/3-11, 8/3-11. Ultimele monede din tezaur au fost emise în numele califului abbasid Abu Djafar Harun al-Rașid ibn al-Mahdi (786-806), dar două dintre ele sunt perforate. Este simptomatic faptul că Svetlana S. Riabceva, în „Tezaurul de la Răducăneni (România) și cetățile circulare din spațiul carpato-nistrean”, *Tyragetia* 11 (2002), 271-76, lega tezaurul de la Răducăneni de apariția așezărilor fortificate din Moldova.



cu lumea avară, iar unele dintre ele au analogii clare în teritoriile care în secolul al IX-lea făceau parte din chaganatul chazar<sup>53</sup>. Unii le atribuie chiar maghiarilor<sup>54</sup>. Indiferent de atribuirea etnică, colane simple, precum cel din tezaurul de la Răducăneni, apar în secolul al IX-lea și în complexe funerare, precum mormintele tumulare de incinerare de la Alcedar<sup>55</sup>. În vremea la care aceste simboluri erau etalate, modelele sociale din bazinul carpatic dispăruseră deja. În Europa de Est, avarii au fost dați uitării înainte de a pieri<sup>56</sup>.

### Ilustrații / Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Principalele situri arheologice menționate în text: 1 – Biskupin; 2 – Budureasca; 3 – Chorula; 4 – Cracovia; 5 – Damice; 6 – Dobrzeń Mały; 7 – Gilów; 8 – Gródek; 9 – Izvoru; 10 – Jakuszowice; 11 – Lubomia; 12 – Naszacowice; 13 – Nowa Huta; 14 – Obârșia Nouă; 15 – Pelczyska; 16 – Ripniv; 17 – Sultana; 18 – Swaryczów; 19 – Târgșor; 20 – Trepca; 21 – Velyka Krucha; 22 – Wyciąże. Siturile din interiorul arcului carpatic nu au fost cartate.

**Fig. 1.** The main sites mentioned in the text: 1 – Biskupin; 2 – Budureasca; 3 – Chorula; 4 – Cracovia; 5 – Damice; 6 – Dobrzeń Mały; 7 – Gilów; 8 – Gródek; 9 – Izvoru; 10 – Jakuszowice; 11 – Lubomia; 12 – Naszacowice; 13 – Nowa Huta; 14 – Obârșia Nouă; 15 – Pelczyska; 16 – Ripniv; 17 – Sultana; 18 – Swaryczów; 19 – Târgșor; 20 – Trepca; 21 – Velyka Krucha; 22 – Wyciąże. Sites inside the Carpathian Basin have not been plotted on the map.

<sup>53</sup> Analogiile inelului cu „piatră” sunt mai ales în complexe ale culturii Saltovo-Maiățk. Vezi Andrei G. Shpilev, „Metallicheskie predmety kruga ‘khazarskikh drevnostei’ VIII-X vv. iz Kurskoi oblasti (Rossiia)”, în *Estestvennonauchnye metody v izuchenii i sokhranении pamiatnikov Kostenkovsko-Borshchevskogo arkeologicheskogo raiona. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferencii (Voronezh, 15-17 sentiabria 2016 g.)* (Voronezh: Izdatel'skii dom VGU, 2017), 168-98, mai ales 177-79; Vladimir V. Koloda, „Siuzhetni zobrazhennia na saltivs'kykh perstniakh (za materialam lisostepu)”, *Mikheev's'ki chytannia* (2021), nr. 2, 51-64.

<sup>54</sup> Svetlana S. Riabceva și Roman A. Rabinovich, „Drevnosti vengerskogo kruga IX-X vv. Pruto-Dnestrovskogo regiona (predmety torevtiki i iuelirnye ukrasheniia)”, 3. *nemzetközi korai magyar történeti és régészeti konferencia. Budapest, 2016. június 6-10.*, în redacția lui Attila Türk și a lui Aleksandr S. Zelenkov (Budapesta: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2018), 429-64, mai ales 432 și 453.

<sup>55</sup> Riabceva și Rabinovich, „Drevnosti”, 441 și 443, fig. 3/5.

<sup>56</sup> Potrivit *Cronicii vremurilor trecute*, „mai există și azi o vorbă în Rusia: 'Au pierit precum avarii', nu a rămas nimeni din neamul lor, s-au stins cu toții”, în *Cronica lui Nestor*, traducere de Marina Vraciu (Iași: Doxologia, 2013, 29). Proverbul cu pricina va fi fost împrumutat dintr-o scrisoare a patriarhului Nicolae I Mystikos, care, la începutul secolului al X-lea, îi scria țarului Simion al Bulgariei, amintindu-i că și avarii au pierit fără urmă (Nicholas Mystikos, *Letters*, text editat și tradus de Romilly J.H. Jenkins și Leert G. Westerink [Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1973, 70]).

## Rezumat

Prezența avarilor în partea de răsărit a Europei, în special în teritoriile dintre Carpați și Nipru, este o problemă de care s-au ocupat mai cu seamă istoricii. Arheologii și-au declarat scepticismul: cu excepția a două exemplare de la Budureasca, nicăieri în teritoriile de la nord, est și sud de Carpați nu au fost descoperite piese de centură avare timpurii. În Polonia, descoperirile de epocă avară se concentrează în sudul țării (Silezia și Polonia Mică), fiind datate după anul 700. Marea majoritate a acestor descoperiri aparține totuși sfârșitului secolului al VIII-lea și începutului secolului al IX-lea. Preocuparea subită cu materialul avare ce s-a manifestat în ținuturile de la nord de Munții Sudeți și Carpați poate fi un semn al dorinței elitelor locale de a folosi moduri de reprezentare a statutului social (și, probabil, a puterii) aflate la vremea aceea în curs în interiorul chaganatului avare. Surprinde cu toate acestea faptul că o astfel de preocupare apare tocmai în cursul a ceea ce, potrivit istoricilor, va fi fost o perioadă de declin a formațiunii politice avare. Simbolismul pieselor de centură avare nu va fi scăpat nici membrilor comunităților ce și-au îngropat morții în necropolele din sudul României. Dimpotrivă, asemenea piese de centură nu sunt cunoscute în ținuturile de la est de Munții Carpați. În decursul celei de a doua jumătăți a secolului al VIII-lea și la începutul celui următor, în aceste ținuturi a avut loc o considerabilă creștere demografică, după cum indică marele număr de așezări, atât deschise, cât și întărite. Cu toate acestea, o preocupare cu marcarea statutului social nu apare în cultura materială înainte de mijlocul secolului al IX-lea. Când a fost nevoie de însemne de rang social, limbajul de reprezentare ales n-a fost cel folosit de elitele din sudul Poloniei care doreau să-i imite pe avari. În Europa de răsărit, elitele care s-au erijat după anul 850 i-au imitat pe chazari, nu pe avari.

**Cuvinte cheie:** avari, chazari, piese de centură, elite sociale, așezări fortificate

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	Timpuriu	Mijlociu	Târziu I	Târziu II	Târziu III	Târziu IV
Budureasca	x					
Budureasca		x				
Jakuszowice		x				
Damice			x			
Pelczyska			x			
Chorula				x		
Swaryczów				x		
Cracovia					x	
D. Mały					x	
Gilów					x	
Muntenia					x	
Izvoru 304					x	
Naszacowice					x	
N. Huta 55					x	
Sultana 61					x	
Sultana 104					x	
Târgșor					x	
Trepcza					x	
V. Krucha					x	
Biskupin						x
Izvoru 7						x
Naszacowice						x
N. Huta 17						x
O. Nouă 52						x
Ripniv						x
Varșovia						x
Wyciąże						x

**Tabel 1.** Cronologia pieselor de centură de epocă avară din regiunile de la nord, sud și est de Munții Carpați

## DESPRE PROBLEMA DATĂRII MORMÂNTULUI CX. 20A DE LA PECICA-DUVENBECK ȘI A SEMNELOR DE CRUCE PE VASELE CERAMICE DIN BĂZINUL DUNĂRII MIJLOCII

Erwin GÁLL, Florin MĂRGINEAN, Sarah PETER

### *Abstract*

Rescue excavation from Pecica-Duvenbeck from the year 2018 unearthed 582 complexes related to various periods, among them two groups of graves datable in the 7/8-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. In a grave, complex no. 20A, there has been identified a pot, which has under the throat an incised cross sign. The skeleton, partially disturbed at the time of its robbery, seems to have been a woman adultus/maturus, with an estimated age of over 30 years. Besides presenting this interesting discovery, we also proposed a debate on the problem of the radiocarbon dating of the grave, because the same samples of the skeleton were analysed in two laboratories getting antagonistic results. However, in the light of typo chronology and the results of the other 8 samples from other graves in this funerary site, we can conclude that the grave can be dated at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

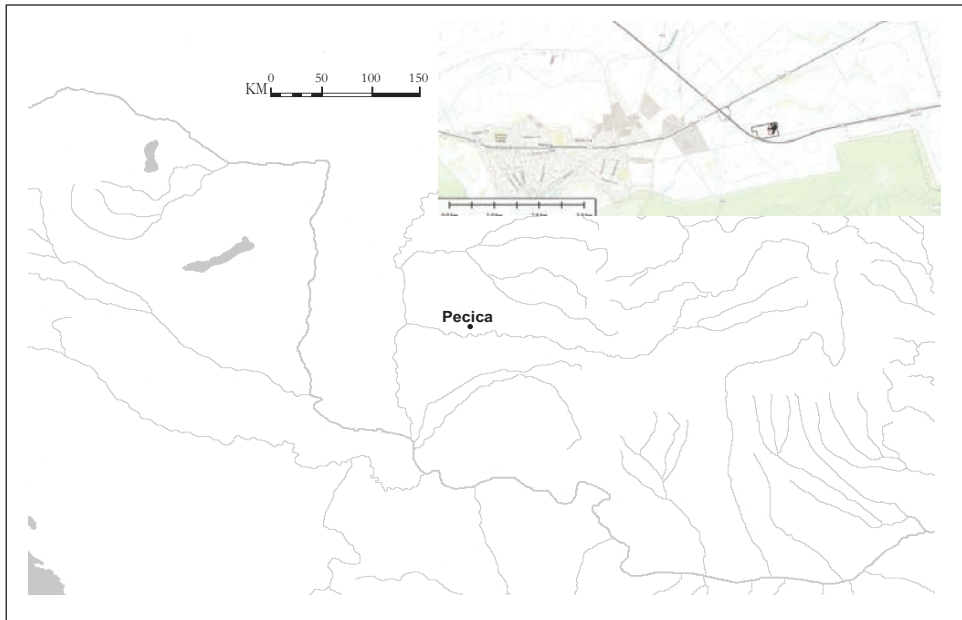
Out of the ceramic pot of the grave from Pecica, in only two cases we have been able to document cross-shaped marks on the wall of vessels in the Avar funerary environment (7–8<sup>th</sup> centuries); even cross-shaped marks were found in such non-Christian funerary contexts.

Therefore, we think that the cross-shaped mark on the Pecica pot – in an environment dominated by a cultural *habitus* entirely different from the Christian world – was not a Christian symbol, but an interpretation as an *apotropaic*, i.e. as a symbol adopted and transformed according to the pagan mentalities of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, is a more plausible explanation.

**Keywords:** Late Avar Age, material culture, funeral *inventory*, pot, cross sign, 14C-analysis.

În cursul săpăturilor de salvare de la est de Pecica (Fig. 1), în zona numită după numele investitorului, *Duvenbeck*<sup>1</sup>, printre cele 582 de complexe identificate (Pl. 1), au fost cercetate două grupuri de morminte, care în faza aceasta a cercetării par să fie databile în secolele VIII–IX. Planimetria spațiului funerar ne arată foarte clar că avem două zone organizate pentru înmormântări (Pl. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Prezentarea primelor rezultate ale săpăturilor din 2018: Florin Mărginean, Mihály Huba K. Högyes, Sarah Peter, și Erwin Gáll. ““The Outskirts of the Khagans”. An Overview of the Avar Age Burial Sites near Pecica.” *Avars and Slavs. To sides of a belt strap end–Avars on the north and the south of the Khaganate*, ed. Anita Rapan Papeša, Anita Dugonjić. Musei Archeologici Zagabienensis Collectanea archaeologica 5 (Zagreb: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb/Municipal Museum Vinkovci 2022): 243, 251: Fig. 4–5, Table 1.



**Fig. 1.** Localizarea macro- și microregională a sitului de la Pecica-Duvenbeck

**Fig. 1.** The macro- and micro-topographic position of Pecica-Duvenbeck

Mormintele din zona „A” pe baza tipocronologiei sunt sigur databile în secolele VIII–IX, pe care analizele de radiocarbon au confirmat la rândul lor. În schimb, mormintele din zona „B”, cu inventar sărăcăcios, pot fi datate mai greu, deși mărgelele în formă de sâmbure de pepene, respectiv orientarea mormintelor la rândul lor au susținut datarea în epoca avară târzie. Analizele de radiocarbon în două morminte au confirmat datările arheologice<sup>2</sup>. Situații asemănătoare sunt cunoscute și în alte cazuri din epoca avară târzie, cum ar fi cel de la Székkutas-Kápolnadülő<sup>3</sup>, la cca. 47 de km în direcția NV. Mormintele din zona funerară denumită convențional „A” se concentrează în trei grupuri, având o oarecare ordine de înmormântare a defuncților. Probabil în cazul în care nu ar fi fost abandonat spațiul funerar, prin săparea altor gropi de morminte, acestea s-ar fi unit în șiruri (Pl. 2).

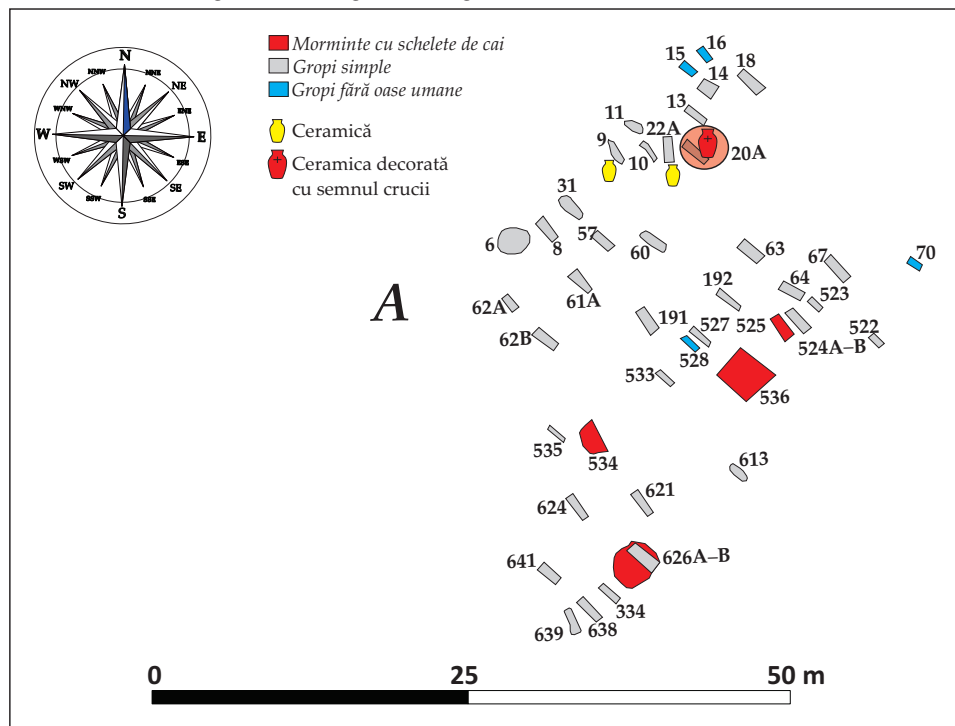
Cele 47 de schelete umane (în 46 de morminte) cercetate la Pecica-Duvenbeck s-au dovedit a fi în 19 cazuri înmormântări masculine, în 15 cazuri înmormântări feminine, iar în 12 cazuri înmormântări de minori (*infans* I-II). Într-un singur caz (Ftr. 525), a fost înmormântat separat un cal. În două cazuri gropile funerare nu conțineau oase umane sau alte elemente. Pe baza analizei antropologice, majoritatea bărbaților, cât și femeilor erau de talie înaltă și înaltă-mediană<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cercetările nepublicate sunt în curs de desfășurare.

<sup>3</sup> Katalin B. Nagy. „A Székkutas – kápolnadülői avar temető.” A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve - Monographia Archaeologica (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum 2003): 1. térkép.

<sup>4</sup> Mărginean, Hógyes, Peter, și Gáll. „The Outskirts of the Khagans”, 251: Fig. 4.

În acest moment nu putem răspunde la întrebarea dacă indivizii din situl funerar au avut legături biologice și ce grad de rudenie a existat între ei.



**Fig. 2.** Zona funerară „A” și poziția mormântului Cx. 20A

**Fig. 2.** Cemetery zone „A” and the location of Grave no. Ftr. 20A

Puține observații pot fi făcute în ceea ce privește forma gropilor funerare. Nu am putut documenta așa-numitele *morminte de nișă tip catacombă*, în timp ce într-un caz a fost documentată o mică nișă pentru depunerea unui vas. Majoritatea gropilor de înmormântare au fost de formă dreptunghiulară, dar într-un caz a fost înregistrată o groapă mare, pătrată. Cu excepția înmormântărilor cu cai, planul gropilor a fost dreptunghiular cu colțuri rotunjite. O parte semnificativă a mormintelor a fost deranjată încă din vechime (mormintele Cx. 11, 13, 20A, 60, 191, 522, 527, 534, 536, 613, 626A, 626B [zona funerară „A”] și Cx. 150, 152, 155A, 168, 170, 176 [zona funerară „B”]), care constituie 39,13% din mormintele umane.

De obicei, orientarea inhumărilor este atribuită concepției lor despre lume sau, mai degrabă, imaginii lor despre viața de apoi<sup>5</sup>. Fără a lua o poziție în acest sens, putem constata că orientările sub acest aspect prezintă o atitudine omogenă a microcomunității din Duvenbeck: fiecare groapă a fost săpată cu orientare NV–SE, atât în zona funerară „A”, cât și în zona funerară „B”.

<sup>5</sup> László K. Kovács. „A Kolozsvár-hóstátiak temetkezése.” (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum 1944): 418–420.



În cazul sitului funerar de la Duvenbeck, putem separa 2 tipuri de înmormântări cu cai, pe baza clasificării lui Attila Kiss<sup>6</sup>:

Tipul I: schelet de cal în partea dreaptă a scheletului uman, cu orientare opusă față de om. Din acest grup face parte mormântul Cx. 536.

Tipul VII: mormânt individual de cal (Cx. 525), care a fost descoperit alături de înmormântările duble (Cx. 524A-B) în direcția vestică.

Scheletele parțiale de animale identificate în mormintele din situl funerar aparțin unor bovine și ovine, iar în cazul unui mormânt (Ftr. 64), probabil unui câine (?). Atât înmormântările feminine și masculine, cât și mormintele de copii, prezintă astfel de resturi. Ceramica din mormintele Ftr. 9, 20A și 22A sunt catalogate ca având ofrande de mâncare și/sau băutură. În unele cazuri am documentat urme de sicrie (Cx. 524 A-B, 626A).

### **Descrierea mormântului Cx. 20A (Pl. 3)**

Mormânt de înhumăție. Orientare: NV-SE. Forma gropii sepulcrale: la conturare pare să fi fost dreptunghiulară cu colțurile rotunjite. S-a putut observa încă de la început, că este vorba de complexe suprapuse, groapa mormântul secționând alte complexe. Astfel în partea NV a gropii sepulcrale a fost secționată o groapă circulară notată Cx. 20. Fundul gropii astfel delimitate a fost săpat la - 0,25 cm față de nivelul de conturare. S-a putut observa, că latura NV a gropii sepulcrale era mai adâncă, dar s-a putut observa o diferență de culoare a pământului de umplere față de latura SE. Pe latura SE, groapa sepulcrală a mai atins doar parțial un alt complex notat Cx. 21, foarte probabil din același orizont cronologic cu Cx. 20. Săparea gropii sepulcrale s-a realizat din partea NV spre SE. Diferențele de culoare sesizate încă de la început s-au datorat, așa cum de altfel și bănuiam, unei intervenții ulterioare înhumării defunctului. Spre fundul gropii au apărut și osemintele, puternic deranjate de la bazin în sus. Nu s-au păstrat decât oase ale brațelor, o claviculă, coaste și părți de bazin, fără nici o parte din craniu. Păstrate *in situ*, membrele inferioare, dispuse drept dar ușor oblic față de forma gropii, ne sugerează depunerea defunctului în groapa sepulcrală în decubit dorsal. Chiar dacă urmele intervenției de jefuire au fost vizibile doar în partea NV, se pare că bulversarea părții superioare a pământului de umplere s-a realizat pe toată suprafața gropii. Spunem aceasta, datorită faptului că un os al bazinului a fost dislocat și a ajuns peste tibia membrului inferior drept.

Lungime groapă: ± 1,70 m. Adâncime: cca 0,70 m.

Lungimea scheletului: 159.20 – 161.98 cm.

Sex: feminin. Vârsta: *adultus/maturus*, peste 30 ani.

Depuneri de ofrandă: un vas cu corp amforoidal, gât alungit și gura largă, a fost depus probabil pe partea dreaptă a craniului, descoperit de noi cu gura spre latura SE și fundul spre NE al gropii sepulcrale.

<sup>6</sup> Attila Kiss. "Az avarkori lovastemetkezés szokásának vizsgálata." *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* (1962): 153–154, Fig. 1–2.



### **Descrierea vasului (Fig. 3; Pl. 4)**

Dimensiuni: h=22.4 cm, Øgură=9.3 cm, Øfund=9.3 cm, gr. perete=0.7 cm, Gr.=1602 g.

*Tehnologie.* Vasul a fost realizat la mână, arderea fiind oxidantă incomplet. Pe mai multe părți din vas s-au păstrat pete negre, pe gât sau sub pânțele, rezultate foarte probabil datorită poziției vasului în timpul arderii. Merită menționat faptul că, probabil datorită grabei cu care a fost făcut, încă din timpul arderii a apărut o crăpătură, care pornește de pe buză și merge până sub pânțele. În pastă s-a folosit degresant constând din nisip cu pietricele de cuarțit, vizibile inclusiv pe pereții vasului.

*Formă.* Vas de formă amforoidală, cu gâtul ușor evazat și alungit, buza simplă și dreaptă.

*Decor.* Cel mai important element a constat într-o cruce incizată înainte de ardere, cu brațe aproape egale. Aceasta a fost realizată imediat sub gât pe pânțele vasului. Un alt detaliu care merită amintit în acest context este faptul că, tot înainte de ardere, meșterul a încercat să finiseze partea inferioară a vasului cu o ustensilă mai dură. Urmele intervenției sunt vizibile și constau în mici striuri verticale realizate imediat de sub pânțec până spre fundul vasului.



**Fig. 3.** Vasul din Cx 20A (foto: Florin Mărginean)

**Fig. 3.** The pot from Grave no. Ftr. 20A (photo by Florin Mărginean)

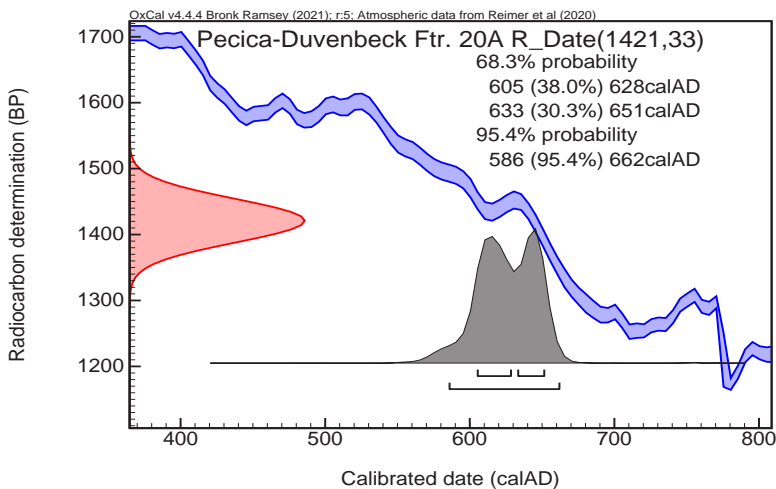
### **Problema datării mormântului Cx. 20**

De la început datarea mormântului deranjat, ca entitate parte a necropolei, trebuie să fie realizată ținând seamă de contextul întregii sit funerar. Celelalte morminte având inventare mult mai variate pe baza de tipocronologie subliniază posibilitatea datării lor în epoca avară târzie, în special în secolul VIII.



Fiind jefuit, mormântul a avut ca inventar un vas ceramic. Ceramica din mormânt, realizată cu mâna, se încadrează în tipul IIIA<sub>1/b1</sub><sup>7</sup>, databilă mai ales în secolul al VII-lea, dar având reminiscențe și în secolul al VIII-lea. Tivadar Vida a integrat în acest tip (IIIA<sub>1/b1</sub>) exemplarele de la Deszk-situl P M. 6, Kiszombor-situl B M. 4, Nyíregyháza-Városi kertgazdaság M. 3, Szarvas-Fo. 68 M. 48, Tiszadada-Kálvinháza I și III, Tiszavasvári-Petőfi u. 49 M. 9 și 38<sup>8</sup>, din care primele trei morminte sunt databile în a doua treime al secolului VII, iar ultimele în general în epoca avară târzie (sf. secolului VII – prima jumătate al secolului VIII).

Din acest motiv am efectuat analiză de radiocarbon la Institutul de Fizică Atomică Măgurele, atât despre acest mormânt, cât și despre alte 5 (Cx. 9, 525, 534, 536, 626B). Rezultatul a fost unul contradictoriu, deoarece dacă prin context (orientarea) nu prezenta diferențe față de celelalte morminte, investigația de <sup>14</sup>C a indicat secolele VI-VII, mult mai timpuriu decât celelalte 5 morminte, care au fost date în secolul VIII:



**Fig. 4.** „Datarea individuală” a mormântului Ftr. 20A făcută prin <sup>14</sup>C (pe baza analizei realizată la Institutul de Fizică Atomică Măgurele)

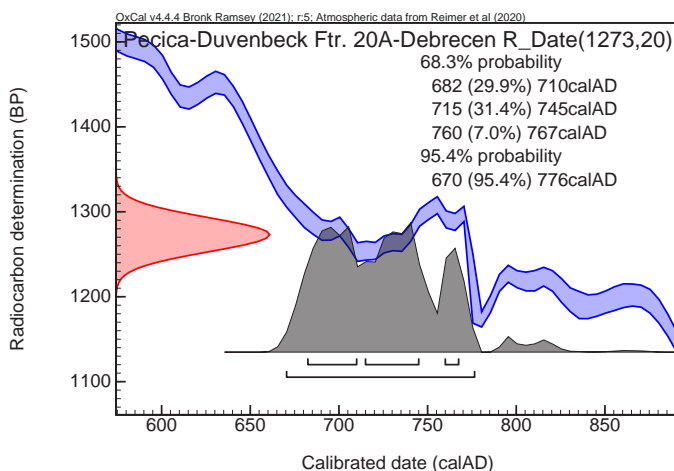
**Fig. 4.** The “individual dating” of the grave no. Ftr. 20A made through <sup>14</sup>C (Institute of Atomic Physics, Măgurele, Bucharest)

Această contradicție între datele de radiocarbon și contextul sitului funerar, nu putea fi rezolvată doar prin repetarea tuturor probelor într-un alt laborator. Astfel la Institutul Fizică Atomică de la Debrecen datele de <sup>14</sup>C obținute din mormântul Cx. 20A prezintă pe de o parte diferențe majore din punct de vedere cronologic față de cele IFA, totodată se integrează contextului cronologic, pe care prezintă

<sup>7</sup> Tivadar Vida. “Die awarenzeitliche Keramik I.” *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 8 (Berlin - Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézet 1999): 119, Abb. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Vida. “Die awarenzeitliche Keramik I.” 252–255, 257–259.

probele de  $^{14}\text{C}$  din celelalte morminte, în strânsă conexiune până la urmă cu tipocronologia culturii materiale al sitului funerar:



**Fig. 5.** „Datarea individuală” a mormântului Cx. 20A făcută prin  $^{14}\text{C}$  (pe baza analizei realizată la Institutul de Fizică Atomică Debrecen, Ungaria)

**Fig. 5.** The “individual dating” of the grave no. Ftr. 20A made through  $^{14}\text{C}$  (HUN-REN, Institute for Nuclear Research, Debrecen, Hungary)

Evident la această problemă, și anume de ce majoritatea probelor se prezintă aproape identic în cele două laboratoare și doar probele mormântului cx. 20A prezintă contradicții așa de mari, autorii acestor rânduri nu pot răspunde! În orice caz contextul mormântului datat – așa cum am dezbătut la început – subliniază datarea mormântului la sfârșitul secolului VII – primele decenii al secolului VIII, în strânsă legătură atât cu datele de  $^{14}\text{C}$  din celelalte morminte (realizate în ambele laboratoare!), cât și tipocronologia culturii materiale înregistrate în cele 46 de morminte.

### *Ceramica din cx. 20A cu semnul semnul crucii*

Din cauza faptului că a fost jefuit, în cazul mormântului cx. 20A doar o secvență cronologică poate fi documentată cu precizie: actul de așezare al recipientului, probabil cu băutură sau mâncare fără carne, pe lângă capul defunctului. Din păcate reconstituirea mai precisă a actului funerar în totalitate este compromisă de jefuirea din vechime a mormântului. Articulațiile defunctului ar fi aflat în soluție atunci când mormântul a fost deranjat, ceea ce înseamnă că actul s-a întâmplat la cel puțin 5 ani după înmormântare<sup>9</sup>.

Într-un alt articol am dezbătut pe larg problema semnelor crucii, astfel aici ne rezumăm la rezultatele cercetării, respectiv relația dintre simbolul crucii: ce

<sup>9</sup> Kornél Bakay. „Az avarok időrendjéről. Újabb avar temetők a Balaton környékén.” *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleménye* 1 (1973): 78.



reprezintă aceasta și legătura/conexiunea sau lipsa acesteia cu forma cruciformă<sup>10</sup> de pe vas. Forma cruciformă de pe vas cu brațe inegale a fost superficial executată pe vasul de la Pecica, ceea ce sugerează un grad înalt de incertitudine și lipsă de cunoaștere ale executantului. În strânsă legătură cu aceste observații Csanád Bálint a putut să observe că acele forme de cruci, care nu se încadrează printre cele folosite uzual în lumea creștină, sugerează faptul că reprezentările de acest gen în zonele „avare” nu erau generalizate, apariția acestora fiind legată de anumite evenimente speciale, întâmplătoare<sup>11</sup>.

În lucrările mai vechi, dar și în cele actuale<sup>12</sup>, semnul cruciform a fost abordat adesea ca un semn clar al identității creștine a individului, a microcomunității și în general a populației pe un anumit teritoriu.

Așa cum am prezentat în lucrările anterior citate, atât teoretic, cât și prin exemple empirice, semnificația simbolului de cruce, respectiv crucea (ca piesă), depinde de contextul socio-cultural în care este folosită. Contextualizând semnul crucii de pe vasul din cx. 20a, ajungem la ceea ce a numit antropologul cultural Roger M. Keesing, „*deep interpretation*”. Bazându-se pe de o parte pe cercetările lui Fredrik Barth, Roger M. Keesing a putut să observe că la un anumit ritual participanții nu înțeleg și nu împart semnificațiile simbolurilor în egală măsură. Cea mai mare parte din ei au o interpretare superficială a acestora. Deoarece semnificațiile depind puternic de cunoștințele individului, secvențele ritualurilor pot evoca pentru membrii aceleiași comunități sensuri foarte diverse, însemnătatea putând fi de la una superficială, „mondenă”, până la cele „adânci” și globale. Astfel semnificația diferitelor simboluri se manifestă în diferite modalități, practic de la individ la individ<sup>13</sup>.

Preluarea unui simbol, la un prim contact vizual înseamnă în primul rând posibilitatea cel mult de a înțelege straturile exterioare ale semnificației acestuia

<sup>10</sup> Semnul crucii este unul din semnele de bază din istoria umanității: Adrian Frutiger. „*Signs and Symbols: Their Design and Meaning*.” (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold 1989): 43. Privind evoluția formei crucii în primul mileniu d. Chr., vezi: Katalin Dávid. „*A kereszt teológiai és ikonográfiai értelmezése az első évezredben*.” (Budapest: Szent István Társulat 2012).

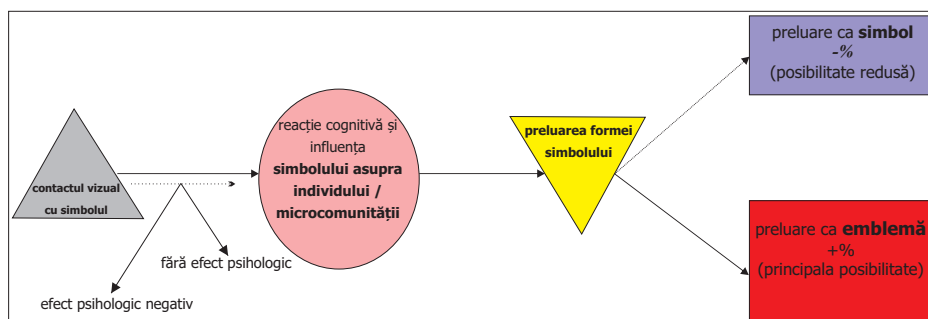
<sup>11</sup> Csanád Bálint. „*A nagyszentmiklósi kincs*.” *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 16a. (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó 2004): 483.

<sup>12</sup> O analiză critică a literaturii arheologice privind această problemă, vezi la Andrei Măgureanu. „Identitate religioasă la nord de Dunăre. Creștinismul.” *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 68/1–4 (2017): 31–70. O ultimă abordare a problemei: Ioan Stanciu. „*Cross-shaped signs on 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries pottery*.” *Studia Romana et Mediævalia Europænsia Miscellanea in Honorem Annos LXXXV Peragentis Professoris Emeriti Dan Gh. Teodor Oblata*, ed. Dan Aparaschivei, George Bilavsch (București-Brăila: Editura Academiei Române/Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I” Editura Istros 2018): 321–324.

<sup>13</sup> Roger M. Keesing. „On not understanding symbols. Toward an anthropology of incomprehension.” *HAA: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 2/2 (2012): 406–407.

(*outer layers of symbolic meaning*)<sup>14</sup>, mesajul adânc, miezul semnificației simbolului, rămânând doar pentru inițiați: un cerc restrâns, care are privilegiul de a înțelege<sup>15</sup>. Din aceasta rezultă și o următoarea observație a noastră: credem că simbolurile din afara *habitusului*<sup>16</sup> cultural al individului sau al microcomunității de cele mai multe ori pot deveni, în lipsa cunoștințelor profunde al codurilor semnificațiilor inițiale, doar embleme totemice (de grup sau personal) sau un semn *apotropaic*.

În concluzie, procesul inconștient cognitiv privind preluarea simbolului crucii, în urma căreia semnul crucii a ajuns pe vasul de la Pecica, l-am ilustrat printr-un model schematizat<sup>17</sup>:



**Fig. 6.** Diagrama raționalistă privind procesul psihologic al transferului și/sau preluării simbolurilor  
**Fig. 6.** The transfer of symbols and the interpretation of the associated psychological process

Astfel, se pot formula mai multe întrebări, cum putem interpreta semnul crucii incizat pe suprafața vasului din mormântul descoperit la Pecica-Duvenbeck: simbol, decor, ori emblemă?

1. Așa cum putem vedea pe diagramă, timpul evolutiv al situației din perspectiva individului poate însuma inconștient cognitiv 4 faze. Credem că cele două exemple anterior prezentate ne arată clar nu numai etapele preluării simbolurilor. În urma acestui proces social psihologic nu numai sensul, semnificația originală a simbolurilor se modifică contextual, ci și faptul, că sunt puține șanse, ca semnificația originală și adâncă a oricărui simbol prin schimbare socio-culturală și geografică să nu se transforme, să nu se modifice!

<sup>14</sup> Vezi în acest sens analiza empirică făcută de Keesing. "On not understanding symbols." 422, pe baza observațiilor lui Fredrik Barth "Ritual and Knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea." (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1975): 177-178.

<sup>15</sup> Barth "Ritual and Knowledge.." 177-178. Keesing; "On not understanding symbols.." 426 crede că aceste observații sunt universal valabile.

<sup>16</sup> Privind *habitusul* cultural, vezi: Pierre Bourdieu. "Habitus." *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, eds. Jean Hillier, Emma Rooksby (Burlington: Ashgate 2002): 27-34. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315253701>.

<sup>17</sup> În alcătuirea acestei diagrame ne-am folosit de observațiile privind interacționismul simbolic dezbătute de Lazăr Vlăsceanu, „Introducere în metodologia cercetării sociologice.” (București: Universitatea din București 2008): 65-66 și Frutiger "Signs and Symbols.." 236-237.



2. Pentru cine a avut/a putut să aibe semnificație? Pentru defunct a putut să însemne (ceva) în acest sens, ori pentru familia sau pentru întreaga microcomunitatea și/sau pentru toți care au putut să participe la înmormântare? Preluând teoria lui Keesing, pentru participații la înhumare, nu putea să aibă o semnificație identică, ci una polisemantică!

În acest sens, contextul arheologic intern al spațiului funerar, respectiv al mormântului ne mărește scepticismul: mormintele cu cai și înmormântări cu cai, ofrande de băutură și de mâncare, inventarul funerar al indivizilor microcomunității care imita și urma fastuozitatea elitei chaganatului. Însăși obiceiul depunerii vasului cu mâncare sau băutură în cx. 20A, ca act funerar este legată de un obicei binecunoscut și din mediul avar. Totodată, *habitus*-ul cultural funerar atât micro- (Mureșul Inferior), cât și macroregional (*Siedlungsbereich*-ul chaganatului avar târziu din Bazinul Carpatic) se prezintă foarte apropiat celui de la Pecica-Duvenbeck.

### ***Despre problema semnelor cruciforme pe vasele ceramice din mediul funerar avar și unele observații privind alte regiuni***

Așa cum putem vedea de pe Fig. 7-8 în afară de vasul de la Pecica, doar în două cazuri cunoaștem semne cruciforme de pe peretele vaselor pe care le-am identificat până acum în mediul funerar avar, databile în secolele VII-VIII, provenind din necropole tipice păgâne: Deszk-situl T M. 63<sup>18</sup>, respectiv Vác-Kavicsbánya M. 302<sup>19</sup>. În cazul mormântului de la Deszk probabil avem de-a face cu un mormânt din prima jumătate al secolului VII<sup>20</sup>, în schimb în cazul mormântului de la Vác-Kavicsbánya datarea propusă este a doua parte ai epocii avare mijlocii<sup>21</sup>, adică în termen absolut sfârșitul secolului VII. Dacă în cazul mormântului de la Deszk – din lipsa publicării – nu avem la dispoziție inventarul aferent (doar ceramica lucrată cu mâna fiind publicată), la Vác-Kavicsbánya M. 302 inventarul mormântului de

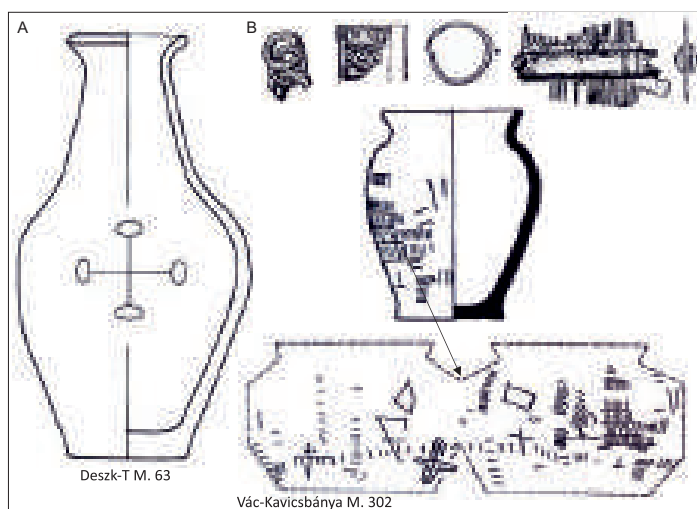
<sup>18</sup> Vida. "Die awarenzeitliche Keramik I." 296: nr. 880. Taf. 62/2, taf. 146/2.

<sup>19</sup> Sarolta Tettamanti. "Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld in Vác-Kavicsbánya." Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 4 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum/MTA Régészeti Intézet 2000): 70, Taf. 16/302: 7. Analiza necropolei: Gergely Szenthe. "Kulturális összeolvadás a „középvár korban". A Vác-kavicsbányai temető." *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 139 (2014): 99-125.

<sup>20</sup> Din 71 de morminte din epoca avară de la Deszk nu cunoaștem numărul celor care aparțin epocii avare timpurii. La ora actuală pare foarte sigur în jur de 10. Mormintele – așa se pare – sunt orientate în direcția E-V, NE-SV, fiind înregistrate înmormântări cu resturile calului (fără harnașament?), respectiv o înmormântare cu cal întreg. Dezső Csallány, "Neue Ergebnisse der awarenzeitlichen Forschungen in Ostungarn." *Studijné zvesti* 16 (1968): Abb. 4-5, 7-9; "Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa." ed. József Szentpéteri. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 13 (Budapest: Archäologisches Institut der DAW 2002): Vol. I: 112-113.

<sup>21</sup> Szenthe. "Kulturális összeolvadás a „középvár korban". 118.

orientare V-E este destul de variat (fragmente dintr-un lăncșor de fier, inele de buclă (?), aplică de bronz, cuțitaș, pieptene de os alături de ceramica lucrată cu mâna).



**Fig. 7. A.** Vasul din M. 63 de la Deszk-T (după Vida 1999, Taf. 62/2); **B.** Inventarul mormântului 302 de la Vác-Kavicsbánya (după Tettamanti 2000, 70, Taf. 16/302)

**Fig. 7. A.** The pot from Grave no. 63 from Deszk-T (după Vida 1999, Taf. 62/2); **B.** The inventories of the grave no. 302 from Vác-Kavicsbánya (after Tettamanti 2000, 70, Taf. 16/302)

Toate aceste date sunt prea puține ca să putem să aborda problema mult mai profund. Fără analize adiacente, nu putem răspunde la întrebarea până la urmă logică, dacă aceste trei cazuri pur și simplu sunt rodul întâmplării sau avem de-a face de migrații personale din alte regiuni cu habitusuri culturale diferite. Totodată, nu este de prisos de menționat, că piesele care pot fi legate de ideea de creștinism, adică crucile de diferite forme și material, provin pe de o parte într-o proporție importantă din necropolele cu caracteristici păgâne<sup>22</sup>, respectiv pot fi urmărite în tot cursul epocii avar.

Cum putem vedea de pe *Fig. 8* situația se prezintă antagonic față de alte regiuni (mai ales Moldova și Muntenia), deși – cel puțin pe baza literaturii de specialitate – marea majoritate al semnelor cruciforme incizate pe peretele vaselor din aceste regiuni provin din secolele VI–VII, adică ar fi un orizont cronologic mai timpuriu. Astfel, dacă luăm în considerare cunoștințele actuale începând din secolul VIII la fel de puține cazuri cunoaștem și în alte regiuni, cum în mediul avar!

<sup>22</sup> Csilla Balogh. „Eltűntek, mint azavarok...”. *Avar kori temető Zamárdi-Rétiföldeken* (Budapest–Zamárdi: Martin Opitz Kiadó 2018 [2019]): 17.

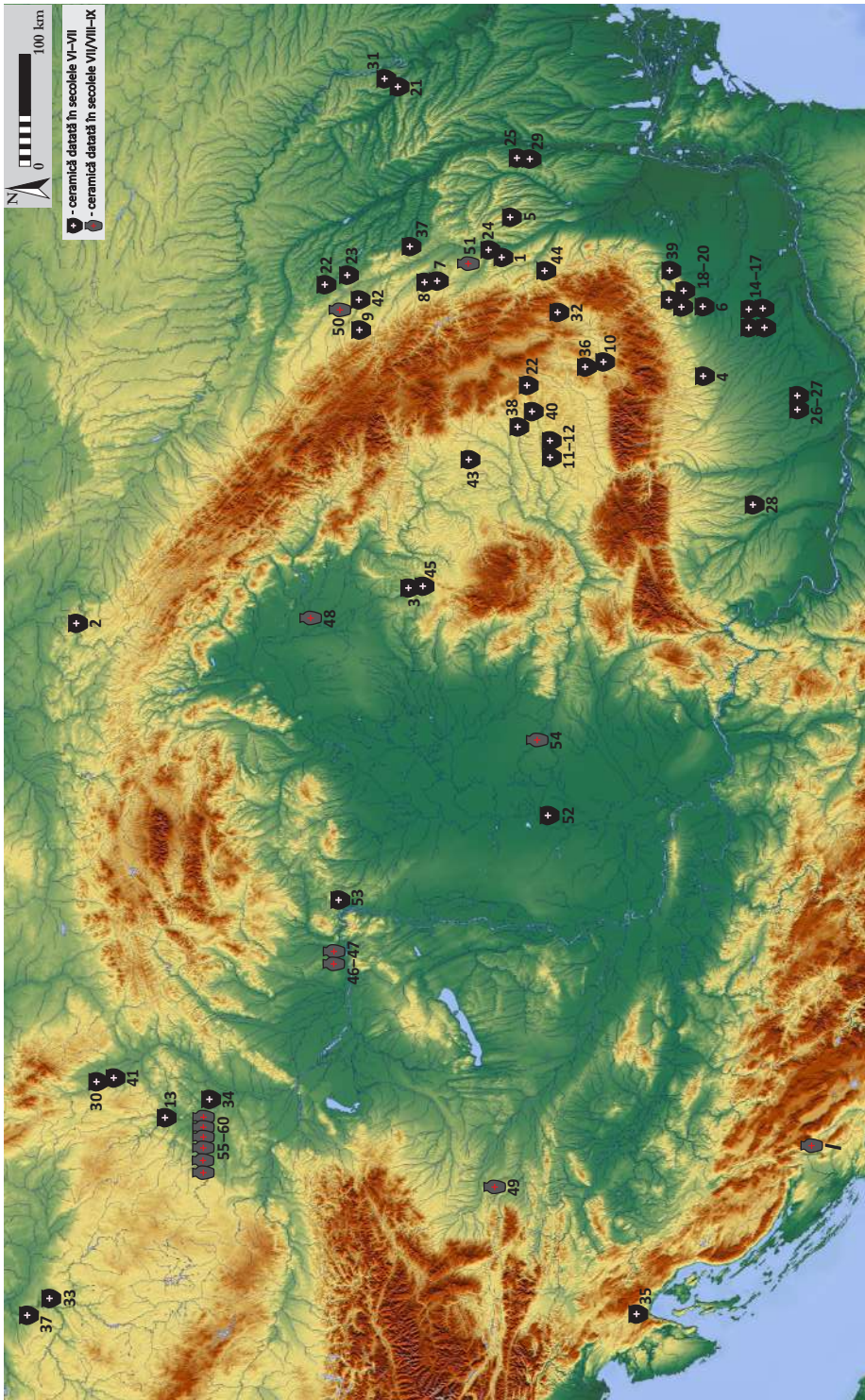


Fig. 8. Distribuția semnelor în formă de cruce pe ceramica datată în secolele VI-VIII/IX



**Fig. 8.** The distribution of cross-shaped signs on pottery dated to the 6th–8th/9th centuries

1. Bacău-Curtea Domnească; 2. Bachórz 16; 3. Badon-Doaște; 4. Băleni-Români; 5. Bărboasa; 6. Belciug; 7. Borniș; 8. Borșeni-Neamț; 9. Botoșana; 10. Brașov; 11. Brateiu 3; 12. Brateiu 4; 13. Brno-Pisárky; 14. București-Soldat Ghivan; 15. București-Dămăroaia; 16. București-Străulești-Măicănești; 17. București-Cățelu Nou; 18. Budureasca IV/Puțul tătarului; 19. Budureasca; 20. Budureasca V; 21. Butuceni-Orheiul Vechi; 22. Corlăteni; 23. Cucorăni; 24. Davideni; 25. Dodești; 26. Dulceanca II; 27. Dulceanca IV; 28. Gropșani-Gura Gurgotei; 29. Horga; 30. Náměšť na Haně; 31. Orheiul Vechi; 32. Poian; 33. Praha-Veleslavin; 34. Příkladky; 35. Pul Vele crikve; 36. Rotbav; 37. Roztoky; 38. Sălașuri; 39. Sărata Monteoru; 40. Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor; 41. Slatinky; 42. Suceava-Șipot; 43. Șopteriu-La Romoșni; 44. Ștefan cel Mare-Gutinaș; 45. Zalău-Bulevardul Mihai Viteazul 104-106; 46-47. Mužla-Čenkov I; 48. Lazuri-Lubi tag; 49. Močna pri Lenartu; 50. Poiana-Zvoriște; 51. Izvoare-Bahna; 52. Deszk-situl T M. 63; 53. Vác-Kavicsbánya M. 302; 54. Pecica-Duvenbeck Cx. 20A; 55-60. Dolní Věstonice M. 310/48, 125/54, 564/55, 753/57, 759/58, ID1471 (hartă alcătuită pe baza datelor lui Stanciu 2018, Fig. 1a, fig. 12; Vida 1999, Taf. 62/2; Tettamanti 2000, Taf. 16/302; Ungerman 2023, "Raně středověké pohřebiště v Dolních Věstonicích – Na pískách Díl II – Katalog" (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Brno – Masarykova univerzita 2023): Tab. 66/310/48/4, tab. 125/54/92, tab. 172/564/55/4, tab. 188/753/57/1, tab. 189/759/58/1, tab. 196/ID1471).

### *Câteva observații finale*

1. Ceramică cu decor de cruce incizată, cu brațe aproape egale, realizată în grabă probabil înainte de înmormântare, este un caz unic până acum în mediul avar ai epocii avarie târzii (dacă acceptăm datarea în prima jumătate al secolului VIII). Totodată, semnul crucii este cunoscută și pe alte piese în perioada avară, avem un număr important de cruciulițe cunoscute din morminte.

2. Contextul arheologic intern al spațiului funerar (mormintele cu cai și înmormântări cu cai, ofrande de băutură și de mâncare, inventarul funerar al indivizilor microcomunității care imita și urma fastuoșitatea elitei chaganatului), respectiv al mormântului cx. 20A (obiceiul depunerii vasului cu mâncare sau băutură) ca act funerar este legată de un obicei binecunoscut și din mediul avar. Fără îndoială, *habitus*-ul cultural funerar atât micro- (Mureșul Inferior), cât și macroregional (*Siedlungsbereich*-ul chaganatului avar târziu din Bazinul Carpatic) se prezintă foarte apropiat celui de la Pecica-Duvenbeck.

3. La aceste date se adaugă altele. După cunoștințele actuale, pe teritoriul *Machtbereich*-ul avar nu putem vorbi de o rețea ecleziastică la nivelul secolelor VII/VIII–IX<sup>23</sup>. Inexistența rețelelor ecleziastice determina ca biserica din Imperiu să nu recunoască drept *creștin* în sensul teologic al cuvântului pe indivizii din afara imperiului, chiar dacă erau botezați<sup>24</sup>. Totodată, nu ne-am pronunța în privința

<sup>23</sup> Privind problema creștinismului în secolele antemergătoare: F. Curta. "New remarks on Christianity beyond the 6th and early 7th century frontier of the Roman Empire." *Keszthely-Fenekpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, ed. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska. Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense, Bd. 2 (Budapest–Leipzig–Keszthely–Rahden Westf.: Marie Leidorf GmbH): 303–321.

<sup>24</sup> În acest sens, vezi: Karl Heussi. "Az egyháztörténet kézikönyve [*The encyclopaedia of church histo-*



existenței, respectiv numărului indivizilor creștinați în cadrul comunităților de păgâni „avari” din secolele VIII-IX, aceasta rămânând o problemă deschisă și foarte interesantă pentru cercetările viitoare.

4. Observațiile noastre sunt mai degrabă negative, lămurirea pedepplină – dacă este posibilă – a originii femeii din mormântul cx. 20A poate fi realizată în viitor cu ajutorul cercetărilor interdisciplinare, care eventual (nu sigur) poate să ne ofere indicii (și) în acest sens!

### *Raport antropologic*

Starea de conservare a scheletului este precară: din craniu nu s-a păstrat nimic, iar scheletul postcranial nu este întreg, periostul fiind deteriorat. În afara oaselor brațului stâng (humerus, radius), diafizele oaselor lungi s-au păstrat relativ bine, însă măsurarea lungimii s-a putut realiza doar în cazul femurelor (429 mm, 428 mm) și tibiei drepte (340 mm). Fragmente din coaste, omoplatul drept, clavicula, 10 vertebre (lombare și toracice), fragmente de oase tarsiene și metatarsiene, respectiv și a pelvisului (sacrum, illium-ischiium) reprezintă inventarul scheletal.

După caracteristicile bazinului respectiv ale femurului, individul foarte probabil era de sex feminin (-1,75).

După mărimea femurului și a tibiei, statura estimată este 159.20 – 161.98 cm, care după clasificarea lui Martin este considerat ca fiind înalt.

După clasificarea lui Olivier, femurul cu indexul pilaster-femoral (6:7) de 100.00, aflăm, că este pilastru slab<sup>25</sup>; iar după clasificarea lui Martin-Saller cu indexul platymer-femoral (10:9) de 72,41 este foarte plat (*hyperplatymer*)<sup>26</sup>.

Indexul clavicular 26,77 (6:1) ne arată, că este vârtos (*platyhier*).

Din lipsa mai multor puncte de referință, vârsta mai precisă nu s-a putut estima, individul era în grupa de vârstă *Adultus/Maturus*, având peste 30 ani.

Pe două vertebre lombare s-a identificat “Schmorl’s node” (nodul Schmorl) timpurie, cu un diametru aproximativ de 1 cm. Totodată, pe vertebre se pot vedea osteophytes.

Pe corpul primei vertebre sacralis (S1) se vede o posibilă urmă de rană/ leziune perimortem cu o lungime de 7 mm.

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ry].”(Budapest: Osiris 2000): 53, 56, 63, 72, 79.

<sup>25</sup> Georges Olivier. “*Pratique anthropologique*.” (Paris: Vigot Freres 1960).

<sup>26</sup> Rudolf Martin și Karl Saller. “*Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. In systematischer Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anthropologischen Methoden.*” Vol. 1. (Stuttgart: Fischer 1957).

## Rezumat

În urma săpăturilor de salvare de la Pecica-Duvenbeck din anul 2018 au fost descoperite 582 de complexe din diferite perioade, printre care două grupuri de morminte databile în secolele VII/VIII–IX. Într-un mormânt, notat complexul 20A, a fost identificat un vas ceramic. Sub gâtul vasului a fost înregistrată o cruce incizată înainte de ardere. Scheletul, deranjat parțial în momentul jefuirii acestuia a fost al unei femei adultus/maturus, cu o vârstă estimată de peste 30 ani. În afară de prezentarea acestei interesante descoperiri, am propus și o dezbatere pe marginea problemei datării cu radiocarbon a mormântului, deoarece aceleași probe din scheletul uman au fost analizate în două laboratoare, obținându-se rezultate antagonice. Având în vedere tipocronologia și rezultatele altor 8 probe din alte morminte (analizate în ambele laboratoare) din acest sit funerar, putem concluziona că mormântul poate fi datat la sfârșitul secolului al VII-lea și/sau mai degrabă în prima jumătate a secolului al VIII-lea. În afară de vasul ceramic din mormântul de la Pecica, în mediul funerar avar (secolele VII-VIII) doar în două cazuri am reușit să documentăm urme în formă de cruce pe peretele acestora, totodată este important de menționat aceste reprezentări au fost găsite înregistrate tot în contexte funerare necreștine. Prin urmare, considerăm că semnul în formă de cruce de pe vasul de la Pecica - într-un mediu dominat de un habitus cultural cu totul diferit de lumea creștină – mai degrabă nu a fost un simbol creștin, ci o explicație mai plauzibilă ar fi de apotropaion, adică un simbol adoptat și transformat în funcție de mentalitățile păgâne din secolul al VIII-lea.

**Cuvinte cheie:** epoca avară târzie, cultură materială / inventar funerar, vas, semnul crucii, analize <sup>14</sup>C.

## Mulțumiri!

Articolul a fost scris în cadrul proiectului nr. TKP2021-NKTA-24, implementat cu sprijinul oferit de Ministerul Inovării și Tehnologiei din Ungaria, din Fondul Național de Cercetare, Dezvoltare și Inovare, finanțat prin schema de finanțare TKP2021 (The article has been written in the frame of the project no. TKP2021-NKTA-24, implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary, from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the TKP2021 funding scheme).

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Plate 3. Grave no. Ftr. 20A

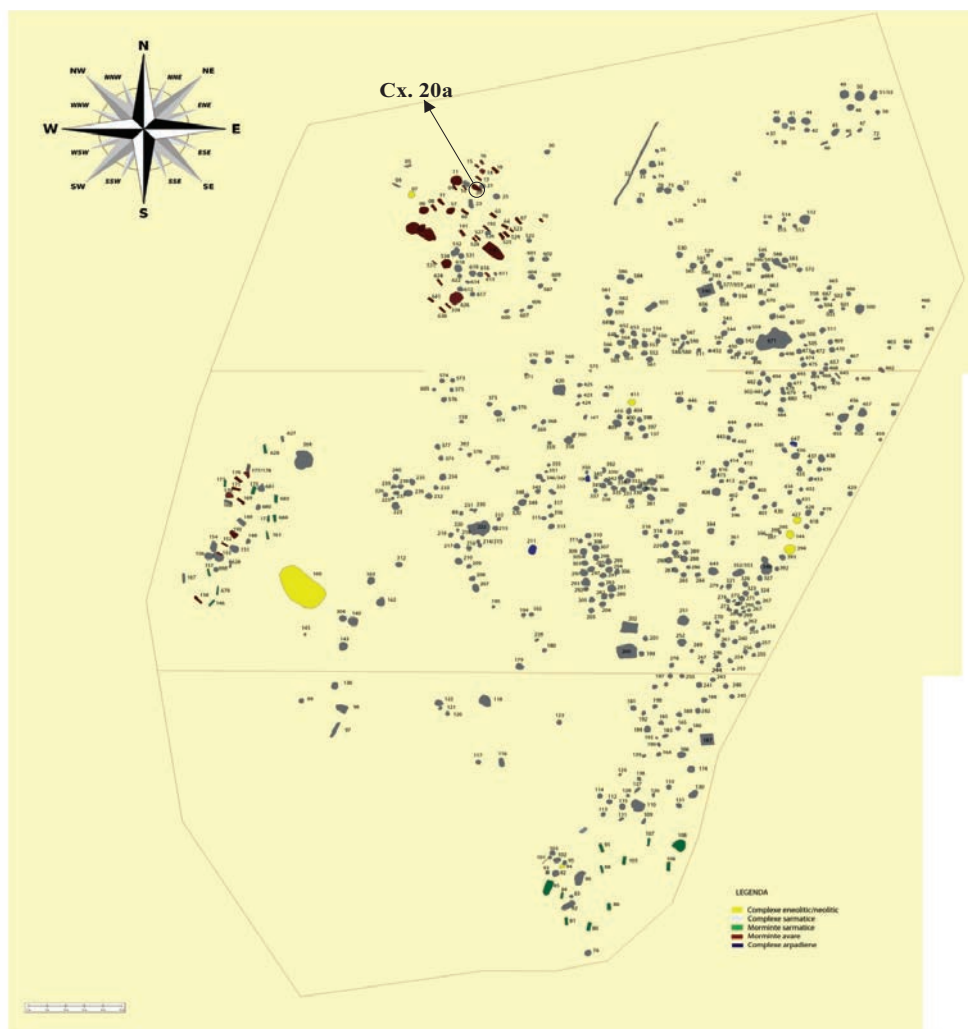
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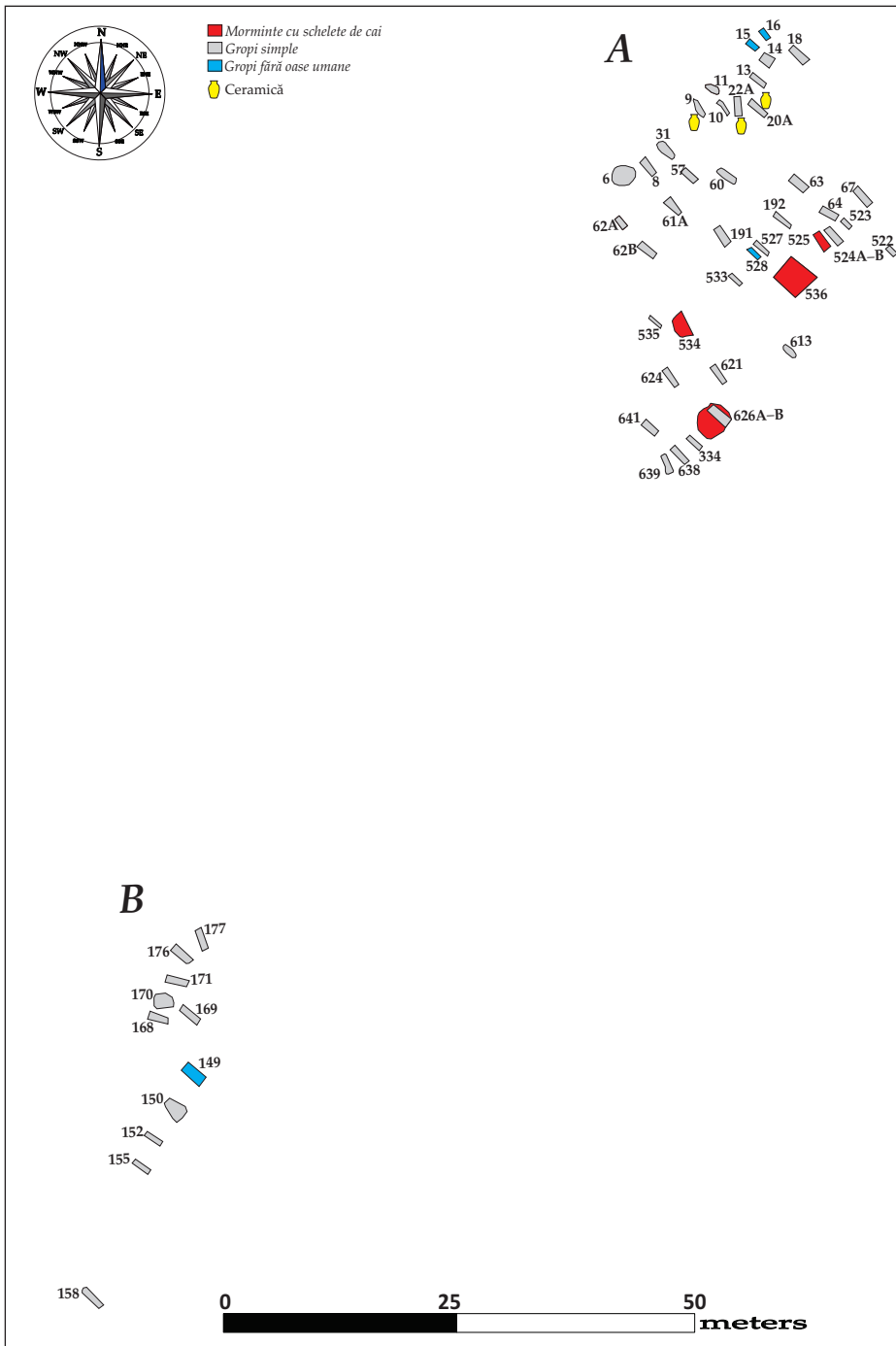
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E-mail: peter\_saraa@yahoo.com



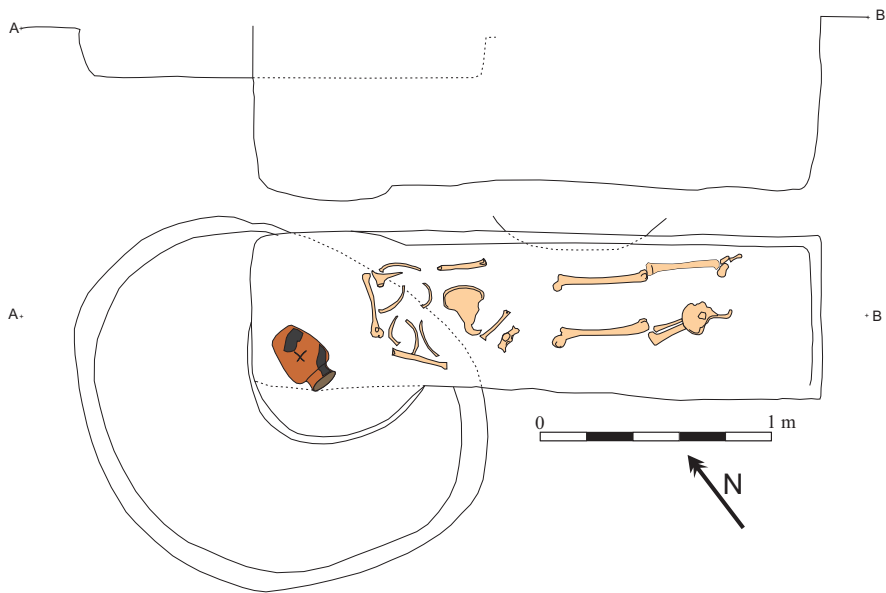
**Planșa 1.** Planul general al săpăturilor de la Pecica-Duvenbeck (realizat: Adrian Ursuțiu, Gelu Copos)

**Plate 1.** A comprehensive map of the excavations at Pecica-Duvenbeck (by Adrian Ursuțiu, Gelu Copos)



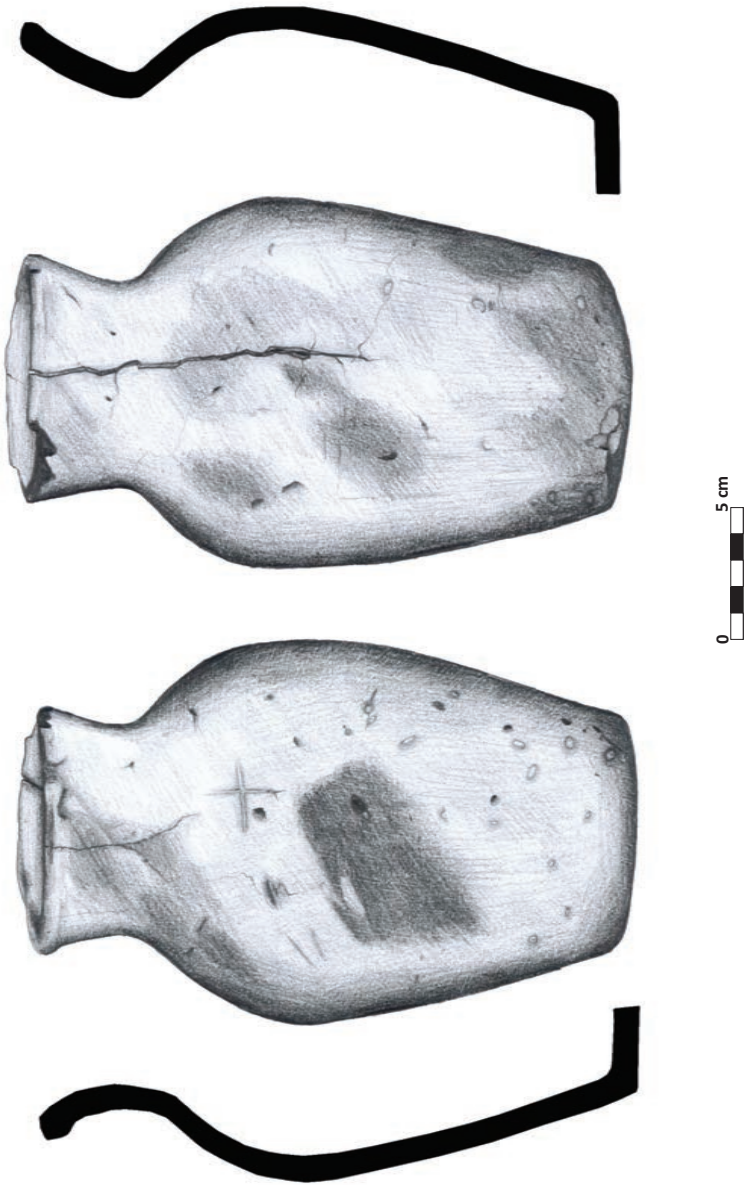
**Planșa 2.** Cele două grupuri de morminte databile (zonele funerare „A” și „B”) și poziția mormântului Cx. 20A

**Plate 2.** Cemetery zones “A” and “B” and the location of Grave no. Ftr. 20A



**Planșa 3.** Mormântul Cx. 20A

**Plate 3.** Grave no. Ftr. 20A



**Planșa 4.** Vasul din Cx 20A (desen: Alexandra Sighete)

**Planșa 4.** The pot from Grave no. Ftr. 20A (drawing by Alexandra Sighete)



# RADIOCARBON DATING OF CREMATED BONE SAMPLES FROM THE SITE OF THE HUNGARIAN CHURCH AT PĂUCA, SIBIU COUNTY<sup>1</sup>

**Ioan Marian ȚIPLIC, Corina Anca SIMION,  
Oana GÂZA, Tiberiu Bogdan SAVA,  
Cristian MANAILESCU, Maria Valentina ILIE**

## *Abstract*

Archaeological research in the site of Păuca - Hungarian Church started in 2010, and between 2012-2023 has uncovered over 116 graves, some being simple cremation graves with a deposit of remains in the urn, others being double graves (with two urns) and one being a mixed double grave (incineration and inhumation). The dating of the five samples from the cemetery would suggest that the beginnings of the Păuca cemetery is contemporary with the late Germanic period (Gepids) and the early Avar period. Admitting that it is more accurate to date closer to the upper limit of the range (7<sup>th</sup> century), the cemetery at Păuca could be connected with historical events that occurred between 567 and 630, i.e. the establishment and consolidation of Avar power in the Pannonian-Transylvanian space. The C<sup>14</sup> dating of the cremated bones from the Păuca cemetery (Sibiu county) reopens the discussion on the need for more samples of C<sup>14</sup> data from the cremation cemeteries attributed cemetery to the so-called *Mediaș group* and simultaneously may represent a turning point in the evaluation of the chronology of the period between 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.

**Keywords:** C<sup>14</sup> data, cremation cemetery, Romania, Mediaș Group, migration period

## **Introduction**

The village of Păuca is the centre of the commune of the same name and is located 50 km north-west of the city of Sibiu, on the border of Sibiu and Alba counties (fig. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> A reduced form of this text was published in Romanian in *Argesis. Studii și Comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom XXIX (2020): 37-52.



**Fig. 1.** Păuca - location on Central and South East Europe map

The settlement was first documented during the reign of King Ladislaus IV (1272 - 1290), who donated the *Pokafolua* estate to the parish priest of Apoldu de Sus, Paulus and his brother Poka<sup>2</sup>. After Poka's death, the property was passed on to his descendants, so that in 1299 his possessions were mentioned and divided among his heirs, with the words '*Distinctio autem terre Keretruk facta cum terra filiorum Pouka habente ecclesiam [...] presentibus ipsis filiis Luanka*'<sup>3</sup>.

The earliest archaeological finding from the area dates back to 1884, when a bronze<sup>4</sup>, Scythian mirror was found in an unspecified location. Over the years, both Eneolithic ceramic fragments belonging to the Coțofeni culture as well as Roman remains of what appeared to be a vicus (a rural settlement of the second and third centuries during the Roman period<sup>5</sup> have also been discovered by chance near the locality). On the north-western limit of the settlement, at the *Homm* point, a settlement belonging to the Petrești Eneolithic culture<sup>6</sup> was investigated during 1965 and 1966 by Iuliu Paul. Together with the archaeological discoveries, the ecclesiastical heritage of Păuca, containing three churches, is worth mentioning:

<sup>2</sup> Maria Crîngaci Tiplic, *Oaspeții germani în sudul Transilvaniei*, (Editura Academiei Române: București, 2011), 258.

<sup>3</sup> Jakó Zsigmond (ed.), *Erdélyi okmánytár: Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdélyi történetéhez I. 1023 – 1300*, Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai. 2. Forráskiadványok (26), (Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest, 1997), 333

<sup>4</sup> Valentin Vasiliev, *Scitii agatirsi pe teritoriul Romaniei*, (Editura Dacia: Cluj-Napoca, 1980), 113, 121, 130, 148, 181, 183.

<sup>5</sup> Dumitru Popa, *Viata rurală în Transilvania romană*, (Editura Alma Mater: Sibiu, 2001), 175, 191.

<sup>6</sup> Iuliu Paul, "În legătură cu problema locuințelor de suprafață cu platformă din așezările culturilor Petrești și Cucuteni-Tripolie". *SCIV*, 18 (1967): 3-24.

- the church located on one of the north-west hills and built, according to the historiography, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, is dedicated to St. Mary; most probably initially built as a Romanesque basilica, with two towers on the western façade and later remodeled Gothic in the 15<sup>th</sup> century;

- from the Saxon church towards South-East, on the hill, there is another church, originally built in the Gothic style, which was initially part of a monastery complex of the Pauline Order<sup>7</sup> but later abandoned just to ultimately became the parish church of the Hungarian Calvinist community. The church functioned until the early 1990s, when it was abandoned once again and left in ruins. This area is the main focus of the present archaeological research;

- to the east of the Hungarian church, on a third hill, the Orthodox church, a brick construction dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century is placed.

\* \* \*

Archaeological research in the site of the Păuca - *Hungarian Church* began in 2010, with the aim of clarifying its belonging to a monastery complex owned by the order of St. Paul of Thebes (Paulin)<sup>8</sup>. In the archaeological unit at the Northern side of the church, in front of the Renaissance portal, a cremation urn (U1), decorated with bands of straight and wavy lines, belonging to a cremation cemetery was discovered (fig. 2).



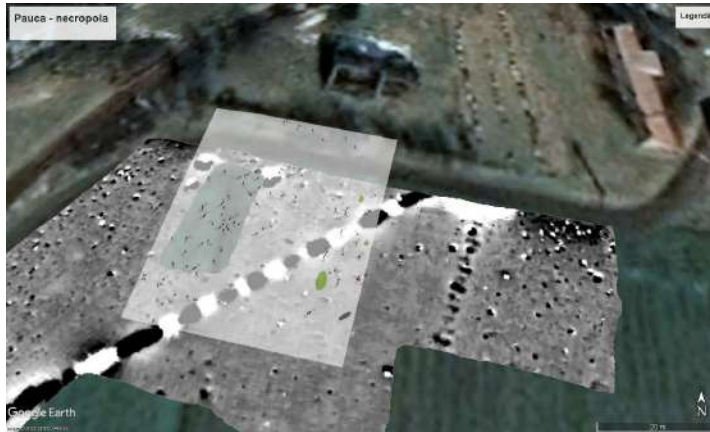
**Fig. 2.** Păuca - S13: location of U1

7 Beatrix Romhány, "New results on the Medicant Economy in Medieval Hungary: Spatial Distribution, Urban (?) Context". *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Historia*, 60 no. 1 (2015): 15-38; Corina Hopârtean, "Ordinul Sfântului Paul Eremitul, în interiorul granițelor Regatului maghiar". *Transilvania*, 3-4 (2015): 66-72; Corina Hopârtean, "Despre ordinul Paulin în textele scrise (secolele XV-XVI)". *Alt-Schaessburg*, 10 (2017): 71-80.

8 Corina Hopârtean, "Ordinul Sfântului Paul Eremitul...", 66-72.



This discovery came as a surprise considering that there was no information about the existence of a cremation cemetery in the area of Păuca village. Thus, as a result of archaeological research conducted between 2012-2023, 116 cremation graves were discovered in the cemetery of Păuca (fig. 3), some of them being simple cremation graves with the deposition of remains in urns, others being double or multiple graves (with two or more urns) and one mixed double grave (cremation and burial) (fig. 4).



**Fig. 3.** Păuca - Geophysical survey (by Alexandru Popa) with cemetery plan overlay



**Fig. 4.** Păuca - multiple graves (U103-U106) and double grave (inhumation and cremation)

All the research effort - to date and in the future- channeled towards analysis, interpretation, conservation, restoration, museum and scientific valorization, would not have been and will not be possible without the involvement of all

the members of the research team composed of CȘ I Dr. Maria Emilia Țiplic (Institute for Socio-Human Research in Sibiu), Dr. George Tomegea (National Museum Complex "Astra"), Dr. Adrian Șovrea (University "Lucian Blaga" of Sibiu), together with various students from the Department of History, Heritage and Protestant Theology of the University "Lucian Blaga" of Sibiu.

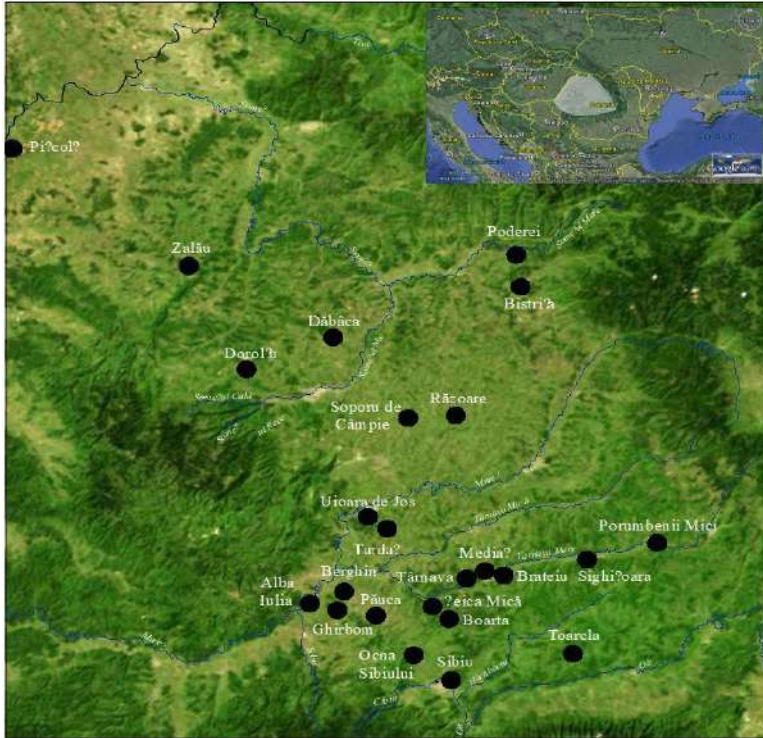
The tombs investigated so far have been discovered at quite shallow depths, between -0.40m and -0.80m, factor that has led to the destruction of the urns due to agricultural works carried out over the years. Most of the urns have been found in a fragmentary state, with many of the vessels missing the lip or other parts of the vessel body. Unfortunately, the nature of the soil does not allow the pits to be analyzed, but it is strongly believed that they were circular or ovoid, as in other similar cemeteries. The urns were deposited upright but later tilted in different directions under the weight of the earth. They had no lids and their contents consisted of earth, charred bones, charcoal, and ashes. In some of the cases, several pieces of charcoal or even charred bones were also observed outside the urns.

The most numerous archaeological material consists of ceramic vessels in which the cremated remains of the deceased were deposited. The urns were made by slow wheel-working, using a finer or coarser paste, the clay being mixed with fine or coarser-grained sand. Apart from the pottery, very few other inventory items were found inside the urns), namely: a leaf-shaped arrowhead, an iron ring, a buckle pin, an iron fragment (possibly from a fire steel) and an S-shaped earring (to be the subject of another study). In general, the cemeteries in this horizon are characterized by a small number of funerary inventory objects, although a series of ornaments even made of gold and silver are known to have been discovered in some cemeteries in Transylvania<sup>9</sup>.

Given the very close resemblance of the urns with others from similar cemeteries, the cemetery at Păuca is considered a part of what Kurt Horedt called the *Mediaș group*<sup>10</sup> (see fig. 5), whose reconstructed chronology model, proposed since the late 1960', is limited to the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.

<sup>9</sup> George Tomegea, "Accesorii vestimentare și podoabe în necropolele birituale din Transilvania (sec. VII-IX)". *Analele Banatului*, S.N. Arheologie-Istorie, XIX (2011): 209-220.

<sup>10</sup> Kurt Horedt, "Un cimitir din sec. IX-X e. n. la Mediaș". *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, serie Historia, II (1965): 7-25; Kurt Horedt, "Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediașgruppe aus dem 7.-9. Jh. in Siebenbürgen". *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 10 (1976): 35-57; Kurt Horedt, "Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediașgruppe aus dem 7.-9. Jh. in Siebenbürgen". *Rapports du IIIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave*, tom I, Bratislava (1979): 385-393; Ioan Marian Țiplic, "Necropolele de tip Mediaș din Transilvania". *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 39-40, no. II (2002-2003): 9-24; George Tomegea, "The analysis of the cremation graves of the biritual necropolises of Transylvania (7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries)". *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, VII, no. 1 (2012): 101-115; Ioan Marian Țiplic, George Tomegea, *Păuca. Necropola de incinerare (secolele VIII-IX). Catalog de expoziție*, (Editura Astra Museum: Sibiu, 2017).



**Fig. 5.** The cremation cemeteries belonging to the so-called type Mediaș in Transylvania.

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The history of Transylvania during the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century period is quite controversial, given the fact that the process of ethno-genesis is considered to have happened during the aforementioned period. Both the low number of systematic archaeological research and the lack of publication of the results contribute to the poor knowledge about this period, yet these are considered typical problems of Romanian archaeology.

For the history of Central and South-Eastern Europe in the second half of the 1st millennium AD, archaeological research on burial sites plays a special role, representing the largest percentage of sites investigated to date. Transylvania as both a geographical and cultural-historical area was and continues to be almost organically connected to Central Europe<sup>11</sup>. However, it has often been a territory of convergence of cultural and political influences coming from the western part of the continent, as well as from the Southern Danube areas or the Northern Pontic steppes.

<sup>11</sup> Ioan Marian Țiplic, Maria Emilia Țiplic, "The Christianization of the Funeral Rite in the Early Middle Ages". *Transylvania Review*, XXIV, no. 2 (2015): 264-278; Ioan Marian Țiplic, "Theoretical premises of christening of funeral rite in early Middle Age". *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, XXI (2022): 83-105; Ioan Marian Țiplic, "De la incinerare la inhumare în spațiul transilvan. Un fenomen care marchează creștinarea ritualului funerar la sfârșitul secolului al X-lea?" *Varia Archeologica. III: Situri și peisaje arheologice din spațiul românesc*, (Editura Mega: Cluj-Napoca, 2023): 317-332.

One of the elements which, from this perspective, have identified the Transylvanian space is represented by the horizon of the burial and/or burial cemeteries, which came to the attention of Romanian archaeologists especially from 1950 to 1970 when political pressure led to the development of lines of research on the ethnogenesis of the populations of the Southern and Northern Danube areas from the perspective of the role played by Slavic migration. The subject was, to a certain extent, abandoned in the 1980s and 2000s, being revived in Romanian historiography with the appearance of the work *Apariția slavilor. Istorie și arheologie la Dunărea de Jos în veacurile VI-VII* (the first edition was published in English under the title *The Making of the Slavs*) by Florin Curta<sup>12</sup>.

The cemeteries attributed to the *Mediaș group* are part of the first burial sites investigated by systematic archaeological excavations starting in Mediaș (1969) and continuing with subsequent research in similar cemeteries at Sibiu-Gușterița, Bratei, Dăbâca, Boarta, Târnava, Berghin and more recently, Păuca (see Tabel A).

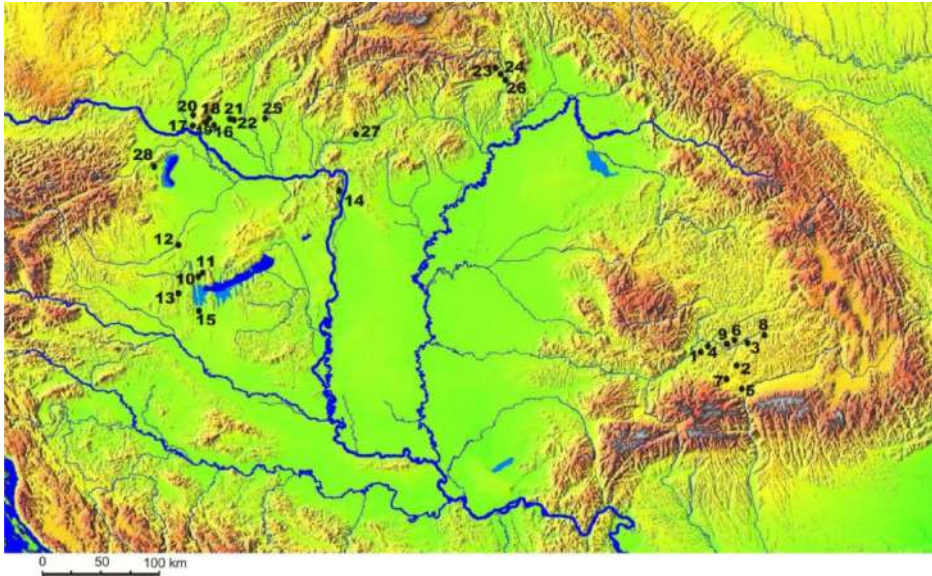
Nr.crt.	Localizare	Datare	Morminte de incinerare	Morminte de inhumare
1	Alba Iulia Stația de salvare	VIII-IX	4	0
2	Berghin În Peri	VII-IX	360	0
3	Bistrița	?	2	0
4	Bratei Cimitirul 2	VII-VIII	210	34
5	Boarta Șoivani	VIII-IX	33	2
6	Dăbâca	VIII-IX	16	0
7	Dorolțu Dâmbu Mic	VI-VII	2	0
8	Ghirbom Gruitul Fierului	IX-X	11	9
9	Mediaș	VII-VIII (IX)	14	3
10	Păuca (2022)	VII-VIII	106	1
11	Pișcolț Nisipărie	VII	7	0
12	Porumbenii Mici Galath	VII-VIII	?	?
13	Ocna Sibiului Lab	VIII-IX	120	15
14	Sibiu - Gușterița Fântâna Rece	VIII-IX	79	1
15	Sighișoara	VI-VIII	13	1
16	Soporu de Câmpie Poderei și Sânișoara	IX și VIII-IX	13(14)	2
17	Șeica Mică	?	1	0
18	Târnava	VIII-IX	31	5
19	Toarcla	VIII-IX	1	0
20	Turdaș (jud. Alba)	VIII	18	0
21	Uioara de Jos	VIII-IX	42	0
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1083(1084)?</b>	<b>73?</b>

**Tabel A.** List of Mediaș type cemeteries in Transylvania and the number of graves

<sup>12</sup> Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c.500-700*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001); Florin Curta, *Apariția slavilor. Istorie și arheologie la Dunărea de Jos în veacurile VI-VII*, (Editura Cetatea de Scaun: Târgoviște, 2006).



These cemeteries are part of a horizon of cremation cemeteries placed chronologically in the interval between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, in a geographical area that includes Central Europe (see Fig. 6) and the Northern and Southern Lower Danube areas. The chronology of this horizon is based on comparative analysis and the typological series carried out mainly during the 1970s and 1990s, without the use of a chart based on C<sup>14</sup> dating for any of the cemeteries. This method, based in particular on funerary pottery typology, has led to the broad chronological placement of the horizon between the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries.



**Fig. 6.** Distribution of cremation cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin (after G. Tomegea, PhD Thesis)

With all the limitations that come with the impossibility to extract collagen from charred bones and in an attempt to place the funerary horizon in the absolute chronology of Central Europe, it is significant to observe what dating can be obtained through C<sup>14</sup> radiocarbon dating. For this reason, the collaboration of ULBS with IFIN-HH is one that begins a pioneering action in Romanian archaeological research that, through the obtained results can provide a chronological diagram that will allow greater accuracy in the dating of the cremation cemeteries belonging to the *Mediaș* group.

The dating of bones from cremation graves is a method developed in the late 1990s (Lanting t al. 2001, 249-54), that has already generated a number of debates on the absolute chronological corrections that should be made for the post-Roman and early medieval period due to some inconsistencies between the relative dating used and the C<sup>14</sup> dating results.

In the case of the cremation cemetery at Păuca, 5 graves were selected in the first step of C<sup>14</sup> dating process (see Fig.7):



**U2:** burial urn discovered in S6/ 2013

Dimensions: H: 20.6 cm; DF: 9.4 cm; D max.: 20.8 cm

Description: domed body pot, with very thick walls, flared lip and straight cut. Worked on a slow wheel; the paste used contains medium grain sand as degreaser. The decoration starts from the shoulder with a band of straight lines, followed by two bands of wavy lines and another band of straight lines. The vessel is unevenly burned and grey in color. Significant pieces are missing from the top.

**U6:** funerary urn discovered in S12/ 2014

Dimensions: H: 22 cm; DG: 15.5 cm; DF: 9.8 cm; D max.: 21.2 cm

Description: slender pot of scarlet and grey (upper side) coloration. Decorated with horizontal lines over most of its surface. The lip is missing. The pot is worked on a slow wheel, with oxidative firing. The bottom is slightly recessed inwards. The clay has been mixed with fine sand.

**U8:** funerary urn discovered in S12/ 2014

Dimensions: H: 26.4 cm; DG: 18.2 cm; DF: 8.7 cm; D max.: 24 cm

Description: slender pot, with a very pronounced neck, and flared opening and straight cut lip. Wheel-worked from a homogeneous paste mixed with small pebbles and sand degreaser. The decoration, consisting of parallel horizontal lines, extends from the neck down, covering almost the entire surface of the pot. The firing is oxide-reducing, resulting in a scarlet color with grey spots on the area of the maximum diameter. Parts of the lip are missing.

**U10:** funerary urn discovered in S14/ 2014

Dimensions: H: 14 cm; DG: 7 cm; DF: 6.3 cm

Description: flared mouth pot, with a lip turned slightly towards the body. The urn is wheel-worked from homogeneous paste mixed with fine sand. It is ornamented on two thirds of the body surface; the decoration begins below the neck and consists of bands of two lines each forming the motif of the eye. The vessel is uniformly burnt and is scarlet in color.

**U18:** funerary urn discovered in S19/ 2015

Dimensions: H: 20,4 cm; DF: 9,8 cm; D max.: 23,3

Description: ovoid pot of which only the lower part (up to the area of maximum diameter) is preserved. The vessel has been wheel-worked from a coarse paste mixed with large-grained sand. Decorated on the upper part with horizontal parallel lines. The firing was uneven, thus the vessel is light grey in color, with patches of scarlet.



**Fig. 7.** Păuca - urns after restoration

Sampling of the urns was carried out in the ceramic restoration laboratory of the CNM Astra Sibiu and consisted in collecting the soil, charred bones and charcoal from inside the urns belonging to the mentioned tombs. The contents of the urns selected for  $C^{14}$  dating were transferred to IFIN-HH.

### **Radiocarbon dating of cremated bone samples**

The rites of passage through life (birth, marriage, burial - assimilated through the counterpart notions from our current thinking) have varied with the evolution of human society. So have the “traces” left by them over time. Of all of them, the burial ritual is most related to the types of analyses that can be applied to the osteological material that survived the moment. Basically, we will be referring to cases where the deceased has been deliberately subjected to a cognitive, “artificial”

process, beyond situations where the body naturally enters the post-depositional phase by the time of excavation, and which represent the majority of cases over a good segment of the history of the existence of the human race, but no older than 65,000 years - the lower limit of AMS radiocarbon dating by the Libby Half-life of carbon-14,  $T_{1/2} = 5568$  years<sup>13</sup>.

In terms of archaeological material recovered from excavations, the discoveries from Romania are, in most cases, relatively rather well preserved or poorly preserved due to the specific climate of our country that is not very favorable for the preservation of the archaeological context. This is obviously true primarily for the organic support material. Bones, in particular, are a mixture of “inorganic” and “organic”, as opposed to wood, fabrics, food, etc. That is why the inorganic component is preserved first, to the detriment of the organic one – which is the most sought after component in archaeometry, especially in ancient DNA analysis and radiocarbon dating.

The fact that for a long time burial rites consisted of burning/incineration/cremation of bodies presents two important yet contradictory traits: on one hand it preserves much better the inorganic structure of the osteological material due to the use of heat treatments, on the other hand it almost completely destroys the organic component, considered the most reliable in radiocarbon dating.

However, this archaeometric technique of absolute dating has a clear advantage over ancient DNA analysis; in the latter case, the long period during which heat treatments were used on corpses becomes ‘forbidden territory’ for obtaining certain data.

Radiocarbon dating is also not free from “pitfalls”, the most important being the “Hallstatt-plateau” where carbon dioxide fluctuations in the earth’s atmosphere do not allow a reliable interdependence of the C<sup>14</sup> decay curve on the time variable. Thus, for the approximate representation of the range, for a reasonable combined standard measurement of uncertainty distribution corresponding to at most  $\pm 20$  years BP, the range of values will extend to a range several times larger, which reduces the AMS measurement performance efforts of single samples to “modest” sizes, according to the latest integrations of the radiocarbon calibration curve, IntCal 20 (see Fig. 8) provided online by the Oxford Radiocarbon Unit, UK<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Nicolae Stoia, *Datări de ordinul 10<sup>2</sup> ani prin metoda <sup>14</sup>C*, *Lucrare absolvire CUIR* (1970): 401-419; László Attila, *Datarea prin radiocarbon în arheologie*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Biblioteca Muzeului Național II, (București, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Paula J. Reimer, Edouard Bard, Alex Bayliss, J. Warren Beck, Paul G. Blackwell, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Caitlin E. Buck, Hai Cheng, R. Lawrence Edwards, Michael Friedrich, Pieter M. Grootes, Thomas P. Guilderson, Haflidi Haflidason, Irka Hajdas, Christine Hatté, Timothy J. Heaton, Dirk L. Hoffmann, Alan G. Hogg, Konrad A. Hughen, K. Felix Kaiser, Bernd Kromer, Sturt W. Manning, Mu Niu, Ron W. Reimer, David A. Richards, E. Marian Scott, John R. Southon, Richard A. Staff, Christian S. M. Turney, Johannes van der Plicht, “IntCal13 and Marine13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0–50,000 Years cal BP”. *Radiocarbon*, 55, no. 4 (2013): 1869-1887.

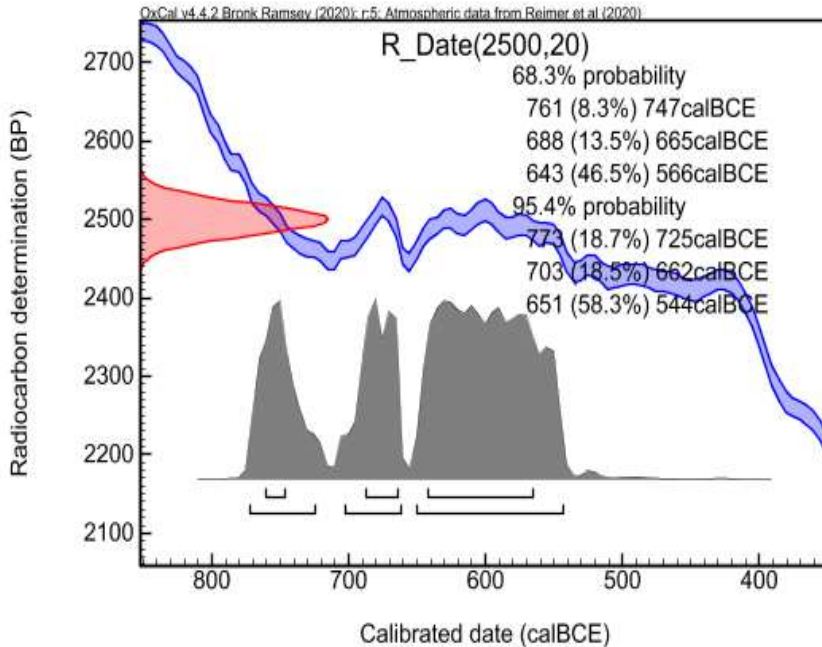


Fig. 8 „Hallstatt plateau” in carbon dating.

In other words, the possibility of restricting the results obtained to a representative and meaningful interval often “throws” them into several sub-stage “buckets” that are different from each other in terms of relative or contact chronology, thus significantly diminishing the relevance of the method itself for archaeologists.

At the other “end” of the significance of absolute dating is the “Stradivarius threshold” (after the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century), which imposes a limitation on the performance of the radiocarbon method, mainly due to the impact of human activities, most notably the industrial revolution (Jull 1997) and not due to the conditions of natural evolution of atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration. In fact, these, together with the onset of the nuclear age after the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, led to the “final threshold” of the radiocarbon method being reached, from a historical and archaeological viewpoint. After 1950, the “rules of the game” were completely rewritten by calibration curves taking into account the “Bomb Pulse Effect”<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Dai Kaimei, Qian Youneng, C. V. Fan, “Bomb-Produced 14C in Tree Rings”. *Radiocarbon*, 34, no. 3 (1992): 753-756; Mebus A. Geyh, “Bomb Radiocarbon Dating Of Animal Tissues And Hair”. *Radiocarbon*, 43, no. 2B (2001): 723-730. Proceedings of the 17th International 14C Conference, edited by I. Carmi and E. Boaretto; Quan Hua, Mike Barbetti, “Review of tropospheric bomb 14C data for carbon cycle modeling and age calibration purposes”. *Radiocarbon*, 46, no. 3 (2004): 1273-1298; Paula J. Reimer, Thomas A. Brown, Ron W. Reimer, “Discussion: Reporting and Calibration of Post-Bomb 14C Data”. *Radiocarbon*, 46, no. 3 (2004): 1299-1304.

We could consider that the range ca. 450 BCE - 1650 CE would be conducive to such determinations, helping to refine conclusions from relative chronology (where it can be established) or to provide information where there is no archaeological context. This is mostly true due to the continuous improvement of AMS techniques, but there are some limitations in achieving high-performance results due to the specific characteristics of the calibration curve over short or very short time intervals for the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, partly the 11<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, whereas the data for the 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are more “high-performance” in terms of radiocarbon data. In contrast, the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, for reasons also related to the production of cosmogenic C<sup>14</sup> (Little Ice Age, ca. 1300-1870) or to anomalies determined by particular cosmic phenomena (produced on several occasions, as shown in Table B below), also become “deficient”<sup>16</sup>.

<b>Moments of Earth contact with cosmic „Superwave” phenomena (Original prediction, in AD/CE or BC/CE years)</b>	<b>Energy events from the geological record, expressed in calendar years AD/EC or BC/ECB, determined by various techniques</b>
1289 ± 104 AD	1250 – 1350 AD (Dome Fuji Be-10) 1265 – 1267 AD (GISP 2 ECM)
1020 ± 144 AD	1017 ± 10 AD (Dome Fuji Be-10)
993 ± 148 AD	993 – 994 AD (tree rings C-14) 1000 ± 10 AD (Dome Fuji Be-10)
943 ± 155 AD	900 ± 10 AD (Dome Fuji Be-10) 950 AD (GISP 2 ECM)
828 ± 173 AD	800 ± 10 AD (Dome Fuji Be-10)
746 ± 185 AD	774 – 775 AD (tree rings C-14) 754 & 761 AD (GISP 2 ECM)
651 ± 199 AD	695 AD (GISP 2 ECM)
253 ± 259 AD	
6 ± 296 AD	
487 ± 370 BC	
610 ± 388 BC	
1042 ± 453 BC	
3200 ± 777 BC	3230 - 3330 BC (tree rings C-14) 3266 BC (GRIP NO-3 peak) 3320 – 3335 BC (GISP 2 hiatus) 3250 BC (Quelccaya Cap blizzard)

**Table B.** Radiocarbon anomalies influencing the calibration curve for the medieval period.

Although they affect the territory of Romania to a lesser extent than the Mediterranean Sea basin, other anomalies must also be taken into account when

<sup>16</sup> Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, “Las dataciones radiocarbónicas de yacimientos de época histórica. Problemas y experiencias de análisis en contextos de época medieval”. *MUNI-BE (Antropología-Arkeología)*, 60 (2009): 313-324; Paul LaViolette, *Independent Confirmation of the Arrival of 8 Minor Superwave Events in the past 1300 years*, 25 August 2013; Accessed on June 1<sup>st</sup> 2015.



estimating the chances of success of a sustainable and high quality radiocarbon dating, beyond reaching the highest level of performance of the physical and chemical methods involved at the time of analysis<sup>17</sup>.

### Absolute chronology data obtained for the Păuca - Hungarian Church site

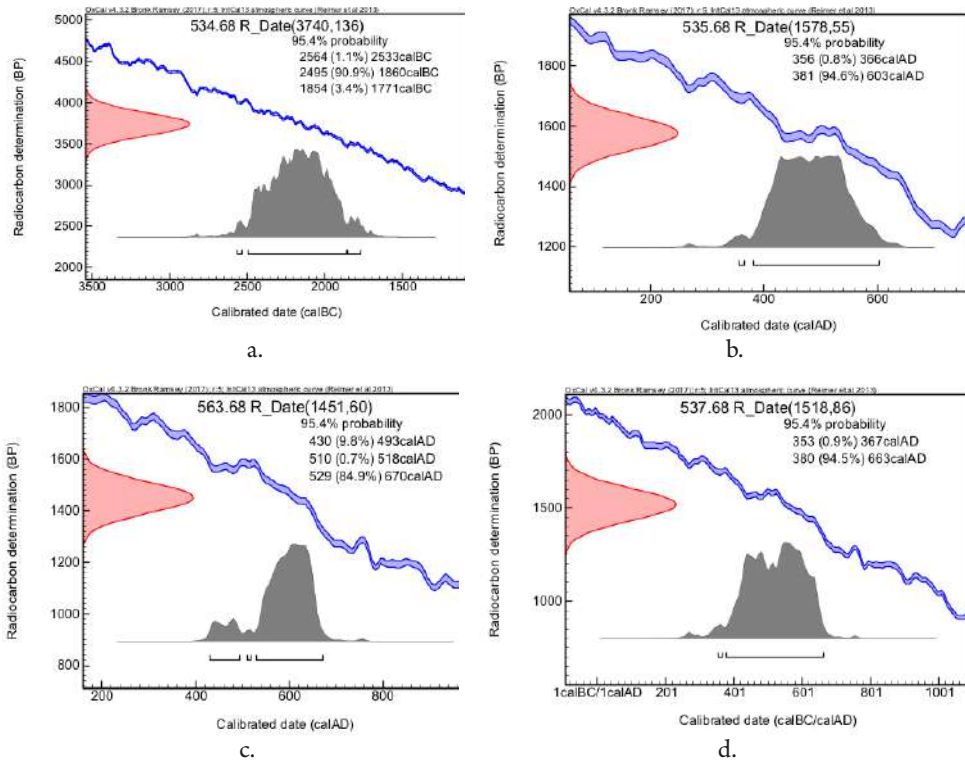
Regarding the expectations for the 5 selected cremated bone samples from the Păuca - Hungarian Church site, in conformity with the information previously presented by the archaeologist, the estimates were convergent towards dating them in the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, a period corresponding to the Middle Ages, i.e. in the wide range of 600-900 CE.

By the criterion of the chances of obtaining a reliable radiocarbon result and on a narrow range, as observed above in the archaeometry section, the risks ranges would include 8<sup>th</sup> century intervals, more precisely precise dating around the years: 695, 754, 761, 774-775, 800, 900.

Physicochemical processing of the bone samples, with destruction of exogenous and endogenous organic carbon, subsequent graphitization of trapped carbon dioxide in the inorganic matrix at the CHS - AGE 3 system (IonPlus, CH) and obtaining radiocarbon data at the 1 MV Walton Crockcroft Tandatron accelerator (HVEE, NL) provided the following intervals at the RoAMS Laboratory at IFIN-HH<sup>18</sup> (see Table C and Fig.10).

<sup>17</sup> Johannes van der Plicht, Hendrik J. Bruins, Albert J. Nijboer, "The Iron Age Around the Mediterranean: A High Chronology Perspective from the Groningen Radiocarbon Database". *Radiocarbon*, 51, no. 1 (2009): 213-242; Bernd Kromer, Sturt W. Manning, Michael Friedrich, Sahra Talamo, Nicole Trano, "<sup>14</sup>C calibration in the 2nd and 1st Millennia BC-Eastern Mediterranean radiocarbon comparison project (EMRCP)". *Radiocarbon*, 52, no. 2-3 (2010): 875-886 (*Proceedings of the 20th International Radiocarbon Conference*, edited by A.J.T. Jull); Douglas J. Keenan, "Why early-historical radiocarbon dates downwind from the Mediterranean are too early". *RadioCarbon*, 44, no. 1 (2002): 225-237; Malcolm H. Wiener, "Problems in the measurement, calibration, analysis, and communication of radiocarbon dates (with special reference to the Prehistory of the Aegean world)". *Radiocarbon*, 54, no. 3-4 (2012): 423-434 (*Proceedings of the 6th International Radiocarbon and Archaeology Symposium*, edited by E. Boaretto and N.R. Rebollo Franco).

<sup>18</sup> R.E.M. Hedges, G.J. Van Klinken, "A review of current approaches in the pretreatment of bone for radiocarbon dating by AMS". *Radiocarbon*, 34, no. 3 (1992): 279-291; Richard Gillespie, "Burnt and unburnt carbon: dating charcoal and burnt bone from the Willandra Lakes, Australia". *Radiocarbon*, 39, no. 3 (1997): 239-250; JN Lanting, AT Aerts-Bijma, Jvan der Plicht, "Dating of cremated bones". *Radiocarbon*, 43(2A) (2001): 249-254; Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Thomas Higham, Angela Bowles, Robert Hedges, "Improvements to the pretreatment of bone at Oxford". *Radiocarbon*, 46, no. 1 (2004): 155-163; Philip Naysmith, E. Marian Scott, Gordon T. Cook, Jan Heinemeier, Johannes van der Plicht, Mark Van Strydonck, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Pieter M Grootes, Stewart P.H.T. Freeman, "A cremated bone intercomparison study". *Radiocarbon*, 49, no. 2, (2007): 403-408; Mark Van Strydonck, Mathieu Boudin, Guy De Mulder, "<sup>14</sup>C dating of cremated bones: the issue of sample contamination". *Radiocarbon*, 51, no. 2 (2009): 553-568; Guy De Mulder, Mark Van Strydonck, Mathieu Boudin, "The impact of cremated bone dating on the archaeological chronology of the Low Countries". *Radiocarbon*, 51, no. 2 (2009): 579-600; A. Zaz-



**Fig.9.** Păuca - calibration curves:a. U6; b. U8; c. U10; d. U18

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Archaeologist code	Laboratory code	Intervals and sub-intervals for $\square$
„Păuca – Hungarian Church U6”	534.68	2564 (1.1%) 2533 calBCE 2495 (90.9%) 1860 calBCE 1854 (3.4%) 1771 calBCE
„Păuca – Hungarian Church U8”	535.68	cal CE 356 (0.8%) 366 cal CE 381 (94.6%) 603
„Păuca – Hungarian Church U10”	536.68	cal CE 430 (9.8%) 493 cal CE 510 (0.7%) 518 cal CE 529 (84.9%) 670
„Păuca – Hungarian Church U18”	537.68	cal CE 353 (0.9%) 367 cal CE 380 (94.5%) 663

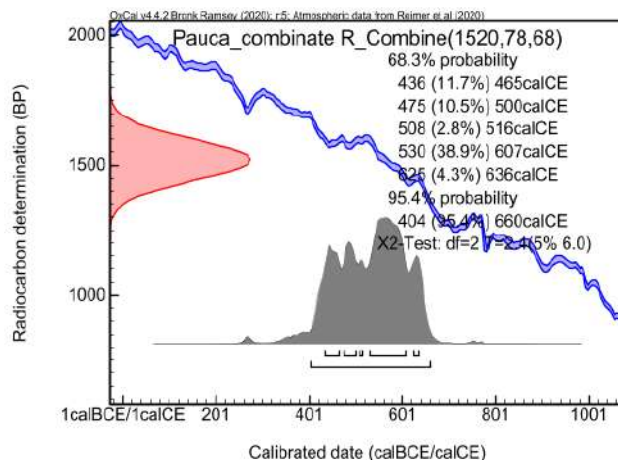
**Table C.** Calibrated radiocarbon data obtained for the cremated bone samples excavated from the Păuca - Hungarian Church site, Sibiu County

The sample “Păuca - Hungarian Church U2” (code 533.68) did not provide datable material. Apart from sample 534.68 (U6) which clearly belongs to an otherwise reliable radiocarbon dating horizon of the Eneolithic period, reported near the archaeological site under investigation, the other three calibrated dates are all outside the segments of the calibration curve that raise problems. However, the results are partly contained in centuries with a poorer performance regarding the sub-intervals component for the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Therefore, if the laboratory processing and measurements are correct, the deaths and cremations occurred somewhere between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, representing an earlier time horizon and cultural phase than the archaeologist’s initial expectations.

The technical arguments underlying the reliability of the results obtained by absolute chronology are:

1. The combination of radiocarbon data through the OxCal program (see Fig.10 and Table D):



**Fig. 10.** Combining radiocarbon data for samples 535.68 - 537.68



Show all Show structure		Unmodelled (BCE/CE)						Select	Page break
		from	to	%	from	to	%	All Visible	
R_Combine Păuca_combine		436	636	68.3	404	660	95.4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2

**Table D.** Convergence of combination criteria using OxCal R\_Combine function; IntCal 2020

The result given by combining the single values confirms the accuracy of the results obtained for each sample and shows that the three values belong to a very close/contemporaneous time horizon. Secondly it improves the representation statistics on the calibrated curve by restricting the intervals to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century up until the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Even more precisely, for the most restrictive interval given by  $\sigma = 1$ , with probability of 68.3%, to calCE 530 (38.9%) 607. In principle, beyond the less favorable characteristics of the calibration curve that “throws” the results “all over the place” for the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in our case, the value is considered “modest” for current dating performances, especially due to the fact that the measurements were given from an inorganic substrate that trapped endogenous carbon dioxide, and not from collagen, formed during the lifetime of the individual. Last but not least, it is very unlikely to be wrong in every case analyzed in the same manner. The quality of the RoAMS results is reinforced by the inclusion of RoAMS on the Radiocarbon laboratories page, and by the publication of scientific articles in refereed international journals<sup>19</sup>.

### Integration of archaeometric results and interpretation of radiocarbon data.

C<sup>14</sup> dating has resulted in a lowering of the lower limits of the chronological intervals for the European continent and for most pre- and proto-historic periods compared to the known relative chronology based on type-chronological analysis. The analysis of the evidence from the five cremation graves at Păuca (with two exceptions) is part of this trend.

If for U2 the situation is clear - dating cannot be made - the situation for U6 (534.68), which is typologically a typical urn for the horizon of cremation cemeteries belonging to the *Mediaș group*, is rather strange, because the C<sup>14</sup> dating indicates a

<sup>19</sup> <https://radiocarbon.webhost.uits.arizona.edu/node/11>; C. Stan-Sion, M. Enăchescu, A.R. Petre, C.A. Simion, C.I. Calinescu, D.G. Ghita, ”A new and compact system at the AMS laboratory in Bucharest”. *Nuclear Instruments & Methods in Physics Research Section B-Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms*, 361 (2015): 105-109; Tiberiu B. Sava, Corina A. Simion, Oana Gâza, Iuliana M. Stanciu, Doru G. Păceșilă, Gabriela O. Sava, Lukas Wacker, Bianca Ștefan, Vasile D. Moșu, Dan G. Ghiță, Alexandru Vasiliu, ”Status Report on the Sample Preparation Laboratory for Radiocarbon Dating at the New Bucharest RoAMS Center”. *Radiocarbon*, 61, no. 2 (2019): 649 – 648.



much earlier period (Eneolithic). This can be explained by the contamination of the sample, which could be explained by the discovery of sporadic Eneolithic and Bronze Age ceramic materials all over the surface of the cremation cemetery. The contamination could have occurred at the same time as the cremation ceremony, at a later moment or a much later time than the funeral ceremony. Given that the entire cemetery area was intensively used for agricultural activities and that most of the urns were 'touched' by the plough iron and destroyed or even scattered, it is not excluded that organic material/charcoal belonging to an Eneolithic complex may have ended up in the urn.

As for the results for the other three samples (535.68, 536.68, 537.68), they raise some questions about the chronology of the migration period because the lower and upper limits that are set are somewhat outside the accepted chronological range for the existence of cremation cemeteries. Also they initiate new discussions on the origin of the communities responsible for the appearance of these cremation cemeteries. At present we attribute these cemeteries to a chronological interval placed broadly between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and we correlate them with the presence of Slavic communities. The dating of the three samples would suggest that the cemetery at Păuca is contemporary with the final phase of the late Germanic period (Gepids) and with the early Avar period (these are placed between 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 8<sup>th</sup> century). If we accept that dating the cemetery at Păuca at an upper limit of the interval (7<sup>th</sup> century) is possible, this could connect it with the events of the period between 567-630, i.e. the establishment and consolidation of the Avar power in the Panonic-Transylvanian area.

The situation could be clarified by continuing the process of dating other samples from the site and also by carrying out dating for other similar cemeteries and comparing these results with dating carried out on samples from contemporary settlements of the Mediaș-type cemetery horizon.

### Conclusions

The study of cremation cemeteries dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries is a necessity from the perspective of analyzing the process of Christianization of the funerary ritual and therefore of clearly establishing the moment of the massive Christianization of the populations of the Central European area. In this context, the cremation cemetery at Păuca-Hungarian Church represents the most recent research of such a cemetery belonging to the so-called *Mediaș group* and the only one that has provided absolute chronological data obtained by dating with C<sup>14</sup> within this group, thus making it possible to reopen discussions on the chronology and, subsequently, on the ethnic origin of the communities that used the cemeteries.

Based on the 5 samples analyzed, we can say that the cemetery at Păuca - Hungarian Church belonged to a community that most probably used it during the middle part of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. However, the results may change as other

samples are being analyzed at IFIN-HH and the independent verification of some of them has already been taken into consideration.

### Rezumat

Cercetările arheologice în situl de la Păuca - Biserica Ungurească au început în 2010, iar între 2010 și 2019 au fost descoperite peste 70 de morminte, unele fiind simple morminte de incinerare cu depunerea de rămășițe în urnă, altele fiind morminte duble (cu două urne) și unul fiind un mormânt dublu mixt (incinerare și înmormântare). Datarea cu  $C^{14}$  a celor cinci mostre prelevate din cimitir sugerează că începuturile cimitirului de la Păuca coincid cu perioada târzie germanică (gepizi) și perioada timpurie avară. Admițând că este mai precis să se stabilească o dată mai aproape de limita superioară a intervalului de date furnizat de  $C^{14}$  (secolul al VII-lea), cimitirul de la Păuca ar putea fi legat de evenimente istorice au avut loc care între anii 567 și 630, adică stabilirea și consolidarea puterii avarilor în spațiul Panono-Transilvănean. Datarea  $C^{14}$  a mormintelor de incinerare de la Păuca (județul Sibiu) redeschide discuția cu privire la necesitatea unui număr mai mare de mostre de date  $C^{14}$  din cimitirele de incinerare atribuite așa-numitei grupe Mediaș și în același timp poate reprezenta un punct de cotitură în evaluarea cronologiei perioadei cuprinse între secolele al VI-lea și al VIII-lea d.Hr.

**Cuvinte cheie:** datări  $C^{14}$ , cimitir de incinerare, grupul Mediaș, perioada migrațiilor, România

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# THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN CARANSEBES AND THE OBSERVANCE OF THE “HISTORICAL TRUTH” IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SECURITY<sup>1</sup>

Marian COSAC

## Abstract

The research hereafter intends to establish how complex the Department of State Security (also known as *Securitatea* (DSS)) was involved with the archaeological research in Romania during the eighties; this topic has been rather absent within recent historiographic studies. Having made this statement, it should be considered that some approaches have tackled the interferences of the official ideology in the interpretation of the archaeological data.

The orthodoxy of some archaeologists can be justified by the continuous pressure from the DSS, or because of their status as collaborators of this institution of repression. The archaeological research from Caransebeș provides a relevant tool for understanding the mechanisms used by DSS to intervene in the middle of scientific debates, as a neutral judge; on the other hand, a series of documents from *Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității* (ACNSAS) reveals further details that had been somewhat predicted by those archaeologists living within the respective period. The outcome of our research nevertheless overcomes all predictions the contemporary historians.

The actual controversy regarding chronological and confessional ascriptions of Caransebeș disclosures was brutally altered by DSS, following its empirical principles of so-called historical truth. Those archaeologists refusing to obey and follow the principles established by DSS and of the official ideological framework had to face certain repercussions, from interdiction to proceed further archaeological prospecting to secret police surveillance, refusals to travel abroad, and close censorship for every study intended to be published in international magazines and other publications.

**Keywords:** archaeology, Orthodox Church, Caransebeș, Department of State Security

## Introduction

The interference of DSS in archaeological research during the communist period is unexpectedly neglected by the present-day historiography in Romania.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on early published Romanian version: Marian Cosac, ”De la cercetarea arheologică la interpretare istorică – biserica medievală din Caransebeș și respectarea „adevărului istoric” în documentele fostei Securități”, *ARHEOVEST. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie*, X<sub>2</sub> (2022): 537-561.

Instead, the scrutiny has been focused on the ideological interposition applied to the interpretation of archaeological data<sup>2</sup> and on repercussions suffered by archaeologists during the initial stages of the communist instalment in Romania<sup>3</sup>. As an example, the known archaeologists Ion Nestor (1905-1974), Vladimir Dumitrescu (1902-1991), C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor (1900-1968), Grigore Florescu (1892-1960) and Radu Vulpe (1899-1982) were among the ones directly affected by the purging of the superior education and museum institutions in Romania. The new regime established purging committees within the Direction of Superior Education of the Ministry of Education<sup>4</sup>. For example, the Purging Committee established in 1945 at the „CuzaVodă” University of Iași decided to remove 30 faculty members from the institution, including archaeologist Radu Vulpe<sup>5</sup>. At the „Ferdinand I,” University of Cluj, the committee took full advantage of the rivalries between faculty members as some of them did not hesitate to nominate colleagues as suitable for purging<sup>6</sup>. The accusations formulated against them did not refer to the results of their research, to the ideological or non-ideological interpretation of archaeological data according to the vision of the Soviet regime, but referred to their involvement in the social and political life of the interwar period. The collaboration of some – such as Vladimir Dumitrescu or Radu Vulpe, with the Legionnaire Movement or with Antonescu’s regime was regarded as a capital sin, as well.

There were exceptions, nonetheless, such as Constantin Daicoviciu (1898-1973), who was extremely active both scientifically and socially during the interwar period but fully adhered to the new regime, maintaining the status of a dignitary for the rest of his life, a position which later allowed him to intervene and protect archaeologists such as C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor or MartonRoska when facing various political accusations<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Mircea Anghelinu, *Evoluția gândirii teoretice în arheologia românească. Concepte și modele aplicate în preistorie*, (Cetea de Scaun: Târgoviște, 2004); Radu-Alexandru Dragoman, Sorin Oanță-Marghitu, *Arheologie și politică în România* (Eurothip: Baia Mare, 2013); Florin Curta, „Marxism în opera Mariei Comșa”, *Arheologia Moldovei*, XLIII (2020): 285-296.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Opreș, *Istoricii și Securitatea* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); Ioan Opreș, *Istoricii și Securitatea*, vol. II, (Editura Enciclopedică: București, 2006); Mădălin-Cornel Văleanu, „Urmărirea de către Securitate a arheologului Neculai Zaharia”, *Archiva Moldaviae IX* (2017): 339-372.

<sup>4</sup> Liviu Pleșa, *Istoriografia clujeană sub supravegherea Securității 1945-1965*, (Cetea de Scaun: Târgoviște, 2017): 52.

<sup>5</sup> Dănuț Doboș, „Dosarul epurărilor de la Universitatea „Cuza Vodă” din Iași: cazul Radu Vulpe (1945)”, *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* (SCIVA), tom 45, nr. 4 (1994): 357.

<sup>6</sup> Pleșa, *Istoriografia clujeană sub supravegherea Securității...*, 51

<sup>7</sup> Opreș, *Istoricii și Securitatea...*, 229-288; Ioan Opreș, „Constantin Daicoviciu – omul datoriei”, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 41-44-II (2004-2007): 212



This actual exile from the academic and scientific life to which some archaeologists were subjected began to fade after 1955 when Mihail Roller (1908-1958) was removed from his position as controller of the historical research in Communist Romania and various other well-established archaeologists from the interwar period were re-evaluated by the new regime and appointed in the Romanian Academy. It was the case with Constantin Daicoviciu, for example, who became a full member of the Academy, or Ion Nestor, who became a corresponding member<sup>8</sup>. In this context, the role of archaeological research gained a new purpose for the regime, namely that of providing scientific arguments to demonstrate the millennial continuity of the autochthonous populations and to mitigate the role of the allogenic populations or migrators in the formation of the Romanian people.

During the initial phases of the regime, research related to the Slavs had become the primary focus of archaeological research in Romania, but later, after 1955 especially, their importance was minimized. Archaeologists whose research focused on allogenic populations were closely monitored by the Securitate, such as Ion Nestor, but also archaeologists who benefited from Humboldt scholarships in West Germany<sup>9</sup>. The Securitate was interested in why such archaeologists from the „Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest had gone to West Germany to study the „formation of the Romanian people” and later demonstrated preoccupations with the study of various Germanic tribes<sup>10</sup>.

The 1970s were generally characterized by a large process of ideological imposition of historical research. The Communist Party Program, adopted by the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress of 1974, institutionalized the ideological backlash towards nationalism in a sense directly related to various approaches from interwar historical research. As Florin Constantiniu noticed, there was a mixture between the Soviet model of socialism and the principles of Romania’s policy of independence in the Communist bloc<sup>11</sup>. This reorientation affected the museums’ activity directly since these institutions were required to consider the presentation and popularization of „the great conquests” of the Romanian people in their exhibitions. Also, archaeological research was once again called upon to focus almost exclusively on demonstrating the continuity and persistence of the autochthonous population over centuries.<sup>12</sup> During this period, archaeologists

<sup>8</sup> Opreș, *Istoricii și Securitatea...*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 21-149.

<sup>10</sup> *Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (ACNSAS), Referitor la Învățământul Superior, Institutul de Arheologie*, Dosar nr. 10948, Vol. 13, f. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Florin Constantiniu, *De la Răutu și Roller la Mușat și Ardeleanu* (Editura Enciclopedică: București, 2007): 339.

<sup>12</sup> Marian Cosac, „Obiective ale supravegherii Securității în cercetarea arheologică din România comunistă în anii ‚80 ai secolului trecut”, *Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Arheologie – Istorie*, vol. XXIX (2022): 310-323

specialized in research related to the Slavic populations were marginalized and carefully monitored. A relevant example is Maria Comșa (1928-2002) who, after a study trip to Bulgaria at the end of 1988<sup>13</sup>, was accused by an informant of the *Securitate* of having „convincingly defended the Slavic orientation of our historiography” in the past<sup>14</sup>. Such accusations and the surveillance to which archaeologists were subjected help explain the professional environment within the „Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology and the disreputability and isolation that dominated the later part of her life<sup>15</sup>.

The reluctance manifested by Romanian archaeologists in working with archaeologists from Western countries has a plausible explanation when considering the surveillance to which their work was subjected. For example, archaeologist Florea Mogoșanu (1929-1986), who specialized in Palaeolithic archaeology, used to constantly refuse to travel abroad and was probed by the *Securitate* repeatedly in 1971, 1976, 1978, and 1983. When he was in high school, Mogoșanu was a member of a Legionnaire organization exactly when the Communist regime was assuming power<sup>16</sup>.

Some archaeologists chose to accept collaboration with the DSS and benefited substantially both scientifically and materially. A relevant example in this sense is that the main source of the information obtained by the political police regarding the activity of archaeologist Ion Nestor was a certain *Ion Drăgan*. His informative notes are loaded with details that reveal Nestor’s reluctance to publish the results of his archaeological research at the Slavic necropolis of Sărata Monteoru, but also percolate in his private life as well. As Ioan Opriș noted, *Ion Drăgan* was a very hubristic person who received numerous official duties and responsibilities, but a professional nonetheless<sup>17</sup>. His dossier of collaboration contained notes referring to most of the archaeologists active during this period<sup>18</sup>. Among others, he also paid special attention to C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, the founder of the Romanian school of Palaeolithic research, and accused him of dilettantism and incorrect management of the Palaeolithic archaeological material.

### DSS and archaeological research

The entire archaeological research activity in Communist Romania was under direct supervision and coordination of the Council for Culture and

<sup>13</sup> ACNSAS, *Referitor la Învățământul Superior, Institutul de Arheologie*, Dosar nr. 10948, vol. 13, f. 166-168

<sup>14</sup> ACNSAS, vol. 13, f. 171.

<sup>15</sup> Curta, „Marxism în opera Mariei Comșa”..., 292.

<sup>16</sup> Marian Cosac, „Un aspect puțin cunoscut din viața arheologului Florea Mogoșanu”, *Permanențele istoriei Profesorul Corneliu Mihai Lungu la 70 de ani*, (Cetatea de Scaun: Târgoviște, 2013): 655.

<sup>17</sup> Opriș, *Istoricii și Securitatea...*, 34.

<sup>18</sup> ACNSAS, *Fond Rețea, Berciu Dumitru*, Dosar nr. 297820, vol. 1, 2.



Socialist Education (*Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste*), established in 1971; commencing 1977, this institution got supplementary responsibilities, such as the coordination of the entire cultural and educational enterprises that were organized in the Socialist Republic of Romania<sup>19</sup>.

Beyond this oversight, further surveillance actions were performed by intelligence officers belonging to regional DSS structures<sup>20</sup>, and by unofficial intelligence networks that had been active within history museums; this situation became known now due to disclosing documents of the ACNSAS, and other reports regarding surveyance of patrimony and museums sectors<sup>21</sup>.

These documents confirm previous assumptions that had been made by archaeologists of the respective period, which is the effective interference of the DSS structures in the formation of archaeological research teams, particularly when the respective research dealt with a demonstration of Romanian people's continuity and exclusion from the teams of those archaeologists who refused to obey the principles of *historic truth* in conformity with the ideological line.

Unfortunately, most of the informative reports regarding those dissident archaeologists were operated by other archaeologists who had been recruited by *Securitate*. Therefore, DSS became an adjudicator of initially scientific debates which gradually would be brought to basic ideological issues. The case of Florin Medeleț, a well-known Banat-born archaeologist whose story has recently been studied<sup>22</sup> provides a relevant example of how deep and complex the *Securitate* officers could perturb the specific archaeological activity.

### **The case of the medieval church from Caransebeș<sup>23</sup>**

A relevant example, to emphasize the intervention of the DSS in archaeological research, is represented by a discovery made at the beginning of 1988, on 30th December Street, in Caransebeș, in the nearby of the Roman Catholic church, during the excavations established the systematization plan of the city when they noticed the presence of a foundation belonging to a place of worship. The discovery would come to the attention of the DSS of Caraș Severin County, due to its important contribution to demonstrating the continuity of Romanians in this

<sup>19</sup> Ilie Constantin, *Regimul comunist și muzeele de istorie din România*, (Editura Dobrogea: Constanța, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> Marian Cosac, „O radiografie asupra prezenței Securității în muzeele de istorie din România anilor ,80 ai secolului trecut”, *Musaios*, XXIV (2021): 173-193.

<sup>21</sup> ACNSAS, *Fond Documentar, Referitor la Muzeu, Corespondență județe*, Dosar nr. 13367, Vol. 6, f. 399.

<sup>22</sup> Marian Cosac, „Despre arheologi și orientarea în cercetarea arheologică în cadrul Muzeului Banatului în anii 70 - 80 ai secolului trecut”, *Arheovest*, VXi2 (2021): 829-846.

<sup>23</sup> The document was published in the following paper: Cosac, „De la cercetarea arheologică la interpretare istorică...”, 537-561.



place, but also as a result of the involvement of an extensive team of archaeologists, from various institutions in the country.

In 1988, the DSS had an active information network in the network of museums in Caraş Severin County, *"composed of three sources of information, respectively one source in Reşita, one informant in Caransebeş, and one collaborator in Anina"*<sup>24</sup>. The situation of the network was known to us on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1987, as a result of the transmission of an address from the Caraş-Severin County Inspectorate, to the First Department - Bucharest. The informant *Petreanu* offered information regarding *"the preservation and storage of material values from the Reşita museum, as well as the improper way in which the new headquarters of the county museum was built"*<sup>25</sup>.

At the beginning of 1988, two sources, *Mirela*<sup>26</sup> and *Viorel*<sup>27</sup>, drew attention to an unprecedented archaeological discovery *"from the historical area of the city of Caransebeş - vestiges from the 13th-14th centuries, the testimony of the town's urban beginnings"*.<sup>28</sup> As a result, Tamara Dobrin, in her authority as vice-president of the Socialist Culture and Education Council, addressed, on 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1988, the People's Council of Caraş-Severin County to ensure *"the conditions for carrying out the integral and complex archaeological research of the vestiges in the mentioned area until 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1988, by a specialized team, formed by Ph.D. Petru Bona (lead researcher), the director of the local museum, Petru Rogozea - from the local museum, Dumitru Ţeicu - the Reşita County Museum of History, and teacher Zeno Pinter from The Pioneer's House from Oţelul Roşu with the participation of Ph.D. Radu Popa from the Institute of Archaeology Bucharest, depending on the needs: the provision of labor, equipment, security, as well as the delimitation of the perimeter of the archaeological site, is considered"*<sup>29</sup>. Shortly after, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1988, the informant *Traian Bocşanu* sent a Note, to *Irina's* house, regarding the controversies caused by the archaeological discoveries: *"Following the excavations carried out in Caransebeş, 30<sup>th</sup> of December street, for the realization of the systematization plan of the city, across the Romanian-Catholic church, the walls of a place of worship (church) were discovered, which is otherwise known to all the people in the locality. I don't know exactly what the truth is, but from what I've heard it seems that the discovered walls belong to an Orthodox place of worship, dating back to the 13th century or maybe even earlier. In my opinion, if it were so, it would be good for us and the Romanians. For this purpose,*

<sup>24</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 299.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 300.

<sup>27</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 301.

<sup>28</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 302.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem.



specialists were also consulted, Radu Popa - an archaeologist, from Bucharest, to give his opinion, who apparently, being of the Greek-Catholic denomination (formerly uniate) tilted the scale towards the Roman Catholic, saying that the discovered church wasn't Orthodox, although, according to the specifics, it was found that the altar is oriented towards the East<sup>30</sup>. And the informant Irina offers, in her Note<sup>31</sup>, dated from 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1988, similar information: "A lot of people wonder about this church, since when it has been and to which cult - religious denomination it belongs. The problem received more special emphasis because the Roman Catholic priest affirms that she belonged to his denomination, and the reformed priest, who claims to be a historian, puts the embers on his pie, especially since he is also Hungarian. Archaeologist Radu Popa was also there and at first, he expressed that it was an Orthodox church, then he changed his position, saying that it was Franciscan. Liviu Groza, who is a historian-colonel, is doing assiduous research to prove that it is a Romanian church"<sup>32</sup>.

On this topic, the information note of the informant Dana-Maria is more detailed, given on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1988. It stated that: "Dr RADU POPA, who is a specialist in early feudalism from the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest (a basic researcher, well-rated in Romania in this field), was sent to dig." He showed that it is a Romanesque (cathedral) building, around the mid of 14<sup>th</sup> century, being an architectural monument, unique in Banat. He supported this based on the archaeological inventory (ornaments), the remaining architecture, and the documents that exist about Caransebeș. This theory contradicts those supported by P. BONA, who said that it is a construction of the Orthodox rite. Due to the dissensions created between P. BONA and R. POPA, the latter did not dig anymore"<sup>33</sup>.

As a result, the Caraș-Severin County Inspectorate addressed, on 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1988, the State Security Department, with a report "comprising the conclusions drawn from an analysis carried out in the case of the archaeological discovery in the historical area of Caransebeș"<sup>34</sup>. It is stated that the researcher Radu Popa, "at the first intervention made ... immediately after his arrival, emphasized the historical importance of the discovery, mentioning at the same time that the foundations of the medieval construction belong to an Orthodox church. After he consulted with ZENO PINTER (a history teacher at the Casa Pionierilor in Oțelu Roșu), he returned to the previously given decision, mentioning that the remains belong to the Catholic rite, being a Franciscan church"<sup>35</sup>, and "From the study and verifications undertaken in this case,

<sup>30</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 303.

<sup>31</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 304.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>33</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 305.

<sup>34</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 306.

<sup>35</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 307.

*it emerges that there are some people who polarize ideas from which the thesis can be derived that this archaeological discovery is of the Catholic rite and in no case of the Orthodox rite. Exemplary in this sense: teacher ROGOZEA PETRU - museographer at the Caransebeș Museum; teacher ZENO PINTER from the House of Pioneers from Oțelu Roșu, Catholic priest LOWASZ REINHOLD from Caransebeș, Reformed priest HALASZ ALEXANDRU*<sup>36</sup>.

Source Potoceanu informed, on 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1988, that "(Romanian) intellectuals from the city of Caransebeș are interested in the archaeological discovery, with excavations, in the space in front of the Catholic church. On their side, the Orthodox Romanians claim that the monument is a Romanian church, and a few Germans and Hungarians, guided by their priests, claim that it was made by Catholics or Hungarians. The dispute is quite serious. It is about the continuity of the Romanians in these lands or their denial"<sup>37</sup>.

The First Department, within the Caraș Severin County Inspectorate, drew attention to the fact that "teacher RADU POPA from Bucharest had an inappropriate position ... in discussions concerning the origin of some historical monuments in Transylvania ... on the occasion of some history symposia. Regarding the archaeological discoveries in Caransebeș, Ph.D. RADU POPA made a written summary, specifying his position, which he personally presented to the vice-president of culture [Tamara Dorin, vice-president of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education]. Immediately after that, he verbally informed the same person of his position regarding the monument in Caransebeș, namely the fact that it is of Franciscan origin"<sup>38</sup>. The mentioned note is accompanied by an archaeological excavation report on the Caransebeș research, prepared by the excavation coordinator, Petru Bona<sup>39</sup>. He concludes that it is "a Romanian church - at the current stage of research"<sup>40</sup>, and "the Caransebeș Church is one of the oldest examples of a Romanian wall church built in the urban environment, contemporary or perhaps even older than the princely foundations from Moldova and Wallachia".<sup>41</sup>

Two other informative notes<sup>42</sup>, provided by informants Vinătoru and Viorel, dated the 30<sup>th</sup> of June and 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1988, address the situation of the interpretation of the archaeological data from Caransebeș. Vinătoru states that "although the discovery is on Romanian soil, there are so-called specialists who have

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>37</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 309.

<sup>38</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 310.

<sup>39</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 311-313.

<sup>40</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 312.

<sup>41</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 313.

<sup>42</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 314.



a certification and are Romanian and say about her that it could be “Franciscan”, as that teacher Radu Popa from the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, who has been to Caransebeş twice, here constantly claimed that it is Orthodox-Romanian and finally made information to Bucharest that he is not sure that it is Romanian, but may be Franciscan. Why would this Radu Popa have changed his mind? Wasn't he tempted by the Catholics? Maybe yes, but in addition, he comes from a Greek-Catholic father and a Jewish mother... More recently, he would have given a presentation in front of students from the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest that the discovery from Caransebeş was Franciscan and not Romanian and that Ph.D. Răzvan Teodorescu would have the same opinion”<sup>43</sup>.

The informant Viorel reports a discussion with an active participant in the archaeological research, Liviu Groza, who states that “the Romanians are not united enough in the research carried out, and the statements advanced are downright unpatriotic. Among others, he complains about the archaeologist Radu Popa that he once again stated, in a wider circle, that this church would be Franciscan (Roman Catholic) and that what is serious - he makes these statements being paid by interested foreigners to cultivate Austro-Hungarian chauvinism in our homeland”<sup>44</sup>. The colonel Mihalcea Alexandru noted, at the end of the text, that Radu Popa “acted against the interest of proving the continuity of the Romanian people”<sup>45</sup>.

A series of informative notes sent by the informant Almajan gives us a more complete picture of the concerns of the DSS officers, from Caraş Severin County, in the field of archaeological research. In his first note, dated 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1988, he states: “Regarding teacher PINTER ZENO, I inform you that I have known him for several years and he has friendly relations with the archaeologist RADU POPA from Bucharest and with ROGOZEA PETRU - museographer at the museum from Caransebeş. He supports the hypothesis issued by ROGOZEA PETRU regarding the antiquity of the monument from Caransebeş for subjective reasons, being influenced by ROGOZEA PETRU. And PINTER was included in the research team by RADU POPA, he participated in the excavations, discovering 2 graves crossed and embedded in the walls of the monument, and when RADU POPA arrived, he no longer recognized that the skeletons were in the walls and RADU POPA after made clear that they were built (they were already prepared for conservation) he tore them all and stated that he had never seen anything like this before and that parts of the tombs were built by the builders of the monument. This fact upset the director of the museum, who took a stand and claimed that these are old graves, even older than the monument, and represent elements of continuity, which RADU POPA and PINTER tried to destroy as

<sup>43</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 315.

<sup>44</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 317.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.

evidence of the continuity of the Romanian element in the area... RADU POPA aims to find Franciscan churches, under the guise of studying Romanian churches"<sup>46</sup>. About the archaeologist, Rogozea Petru, a member of the archaeological research team, claims that "From the beginning, he hypothesized that it is a Catholic church and that it dates back to the century. XVII [we consider that it is a mistake in the drafting of the text, it is about the XIV century], being highlighted inside the Caransebeș citadel. Along the way, after consulting with the archaeologist RADU POPA, he insisted on this hypothesis and continues to support it. Moreover, he states in certain circumstances that he will prove that he is right, and ... he says that we, the Hungarians, created the entire Romanian bibliography and history ... The irredentist manifestations appeared against the background of his conceptions regarding the superiority of Hungarian civilization and the multitude of Hungarian historical publications regarding the history of the Romanian people and the tendencies to falsify Romanian history"<sup>47</sup>. The head of the First Service, Major Vasiluță Porfir, notes at the end: "The source was instructed to counter the actions of ROGOZEA PETRU and PINTER ZENO in order to prevent the creation of false assumptions about the antiquity of the monument in Caransebeș"<sup>48</sup>, and the Head of Security Caraș Severin, Colonel Mihalcea Aurel, notes: "director BONA was contacted and put in touch with the director of the State Archives in order to act organized, to collect documents and to be able to combat the false assumptions that the irredentist elements are trying to issue. Working as proposed does not mean not initiating offensive and operative measures to silence those who try to misdirect archaeological research against our national interests. For this purpose, the procurement of documents was undertaken, as you know, on the service line. And a trip abroad, etc."<sup>49</sup>

At the end of the trip, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1988, Almajan submitted an informative Note<sup>50</sup> regarding his activity and the results obtained. "The purpose of the trip was to find and elucidate some problems that arose during the excavations carried out at the church in the center of Caransebeș. Apart from the bibliographic list proposed (together with Colonel L. Groza) to consult, I found numerous other specialized books on specifically medieval church architecture from the West, based on which I sought to find some analogies. Regarding the plan of the church in Caransebeș, I can say with certainty that no monument I have seen dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> - 15<sup>th</sup> centuries has similar elements, neither in Austria nor in other countries (I consulted numerous church albums and I did not find anything identical to the discovery from Caransebeș. It

<sup>46</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 319.

<sup>47</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 320.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>50</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 321-322.



is certain that until the XV century (there is a bibliography in this sense) all the churches, regardless of whether they were Catholic or Orthodox, had the same construction plan... In conclusion, I state that this trip helped me a lot in clarifying some problems of medieval European architecture and strengthened my conviction that I had from the beginning — based on the study of the historical realities of the city of Caransebeș - that the church is from the 13th century and that it belonged to a Romanian Orthodox community in the city of Caransebeș”<sup>51</sup>. At the end, the Head of the First Service, Major Vasiliuță Porfir, noted at the end: “previously I have obtained verified information that the archaeologist RADU POPA from Bucharest, the museographer ROGOZEA PETRU from Caransebeș, worked in the verification map, the history teacher PINTER ZENO from Oțelu Roșu, worked in DUI and the Roman Catholic priest from Caransebeș, who worked in DUI, support by all means a false hypothesis regarding the church discovered in Caransebeș - that it is Franciscan and not Romanian Orthodox, at the level of the leadership of the Caraș-Severin County Inspectorate of M.I. action was taken to send the source to Vienna to study and bring to the country, with the support of the Romanian embassy, the materials and evidence necessary to counter the false hypothesis. In addition to the materials that constituted the purpose of the visit, the source also brought xeroxed historical documents from the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries regarding the Banat, unresearched until now”.<sup>52</sup>

The address of the Caraș Severin County Inspectorate, dated 12th of December 1988, to Directorate I - Bucharest, Service 5, informs us: “On the occasion of carrying out some demolition works in order to build the civic center, in January 1988, a historical monument was discovered, which, in following research, it is concluded to be a Romanian Orthodox church from the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries - eloquent proof of the continuity of the Romanian people in these lands. Since the beginning of the excavation and restoration works, we have obtained information that people with a hostile attitude such as the archaeologist RADU POPA from Bucharest, the museographer ROGOZEA PETRU from the County Museum in Caransebeș, who worked on the verification map [the stage before the opening an Informative Follow-up File and refers to the archiving of documents resulting from the surveillance action], PINTER ZENO from Oțelu Roșu, worked in DUI and the Roman Catholic priest from Caransebeș, also worked in DUI [Informative Follow-up File], all reported with Hungarian nationalist-irredentist manifestations, they launched and continue to support the false hypothesis that the church is Franciscan from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century. Considering the danger of this action, our bodies took control of the case for countermeasures and neutralization. Within the complex of measures, the people involved in the case and flagged for nationalist-irredentist manifestations were placed under surveillance, new

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>52</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 322.

*sources with real information possibilities were recruited, and to obtain new data and evidence in support of the hypothesis issued by the museum management from Caransebeș, it was decided to send a competent person, with thorough knowledge of the subject, abroad. In this sense, the action was taken to be supported by the Embassy of the RSR from Austria, at the level of which steps were taken by the leadership of the county DSS so that during the trip to this country the source "Almăjan Ion" would be helped to achieve the proposed goal. Thus, it was possible for "Almăjan Ion" to xerox historical documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries at the National Library of Vienna and the War Archives, which prove that the church in Caransebeș is not Franciscan, bringing to the country other unique documents of a special historical value, useful for studies and documentation on the origin and continuity of the Romanian people. We will continue the measures of knowledge and neutralization of nationalist-irredentist actions, to promote national interests"<sup>53</sup>.*

On 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1989, the Caraș Severin County Inspectorate informed, on the "Art-culture" line, Directorate I - Bucharest, Service V, on the measures "to neutralize and counteract the irredentist actions of some elements in the sphere of competence that sought to distort the historical truth regarding the result of the archaeological research in the city of Caransebeș and thereby contesting the presence and continuity of the majority Romanian population in 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries in this area of the country. At the beginning of 1988, during the excavation works for the foundation of some blocks of flats in the center of Caransebeș, the county museum in the locality noticed traces of an old cult settlement, a fact that required careful archaeological research by specialists. In the course of the "Tibiscum" action, certain information was obtained regarding the intention of some elements - RADU POPA - archaeologist from Bucharest, ROGOZEA PETRU - museographer from Caransebeș, LOVASZ REINHOLD - a Catholic priest from Caransebeș and PINTER ZENO - history teacher from Otelu Roșu - from destroying a part of the archaeological evidence and launching false hypotheses about the age and origin of the discovered historical monument. In order to protect and support the interests of our state, the archaeologists RADU POPA, ROGOZEA PETRU, and PINTER ZENO were removed from the archaeological research by the competent bodies, all flagged for nationalist-irredentist manifestations. In order to limit the speculations that the monument was a Franciscan church, access to the perimeter of the archaeological site of the Roman Catholic priest LOVASZ REINHOLD, who had become a true "guide" in support of the above-mentioned hypothesis, was forbidden by the museum management... The result of the archaeological research in the first stage was completed with the recently published work: "Valorization of new research in the field of national history". In order to influence and

<sup>53</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 323.



sensitize public opinion, several copies of the work, with rigorous approvals, through combinative measures, were taken by sources or relations operatives in Canada, R.P.G., Switzerland, and Austria, to write articles aimed at supporting the hypotheses and conclusions issued by the specialists of the Caransebeș county museum. The information obtained about the archaeologist RADU POPA was forwarded to Directorate I and S.M.B., and our prosecution office has taken actions, through D.U.I., against Roman Catholic priest LOVASZ REINHOLD and the teacher PINTER ZENO, and the museographer ROGOZEA PETRU during the informative verification”<sup>54</sup>.

The “status notes” attached to this report inform us that the archaeologist Petru Rogozea “was included from the beginning of the archaeological excavations at the medieval monument in Caransebeș in the team formed to prove the origin of this discovery and under the influence of the archaeologist Radu Popa, he supported the position that it would be of Franciscan and not Orthodox origin. Continuing his relations with Radu Popa from Bucharest, he insisted on supporting his hypothesis, a fact that determined his isolation from museographers and archaeologists from the Caransebeș County Museum. In this situation, he requested and was approved for secondment to the County Museum in Resita. Informatively, it was established as a connection of Prof. PINTER ZENO - KARL from Oțelul Roșu, who reported the same concerns. The named ROGOZEA PETRU was also reported with nationalist-irredentist manifestations - against the background of his conceptions regarding the “superiority of Hungarian civilization” and the multitude of Hungarian historical publications (with the obvious tendency to falsify Romanian history). The named ROGOZEA PETRU will be put under surveillance through D.U.I. for neutralizing and counteracting his actions of distorting the historical truth regarding the origin of the historical monument in Caransebeș”<sup>55</sup>. About Zeno Karl Pinter it is stated that “he is targeted under D.U.I. “Marinescu” bearing in mind the fact that he participated in the archaeological excavations at the Caransebeș monument”<sup>56</sup> and claims that “the church discovered in the area would be of Franciscan and not Orthodox origin”<sup>57</sup>, but he is acting for “its positive influence through the information network”<sup>58</sup>.

### The archaeological file

The results of the archaeological research in Caransebeș were published by Petru Bona in the form of a monograph, *The medieval church in Caransebeș* (Caransebeș, 1993), but his text does not refer to the initial controversies within

<sup>54</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 325.

<sup>55</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 326.

<sup>56</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 327.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem.



the group of researchers, regarding the attribution of the monument. The removal from the research team of the archaeologist Radu Popa (1933-1993), as a result of the informative notes drawn up by the *Almajan* source, based on accusations without scientific foundation, only of an ideological nature, does not allow us to reconstruct the archaeological file from the initial phase of the research, and the controversy of confessional attribution is also reflected in recent studies<sup>59</sup>. In fact, it is about two discoveries: the place of worship and the related necropolis. The archaeologists' arguments include elements in favor of the use of this church and its erection by the order of minorities but also doubts<sup>60</sup>. From our point of view, this fact has as its main cause the lack of professionalism of the coordinator of the archaeological excavation, Petru Bona, who had as his argument for the confessional placement the type of the altar, namely semi-circular, but also the presence of crypts to the west of the nave, as well as the existence of another entrance on the south side<sup>61</sup>. As Silviu Oța and Adrian Ardeț pointed out, all the burials and the cult monument were seen as a unitary whole, without taking into account that it is about two necropolises, one of which also had a church, and at this stage of information, the chronological distance between the oldest cemetery and the second is most likely at least 150 years, during which no burials have yet been reported in the researched space<sup>62</sup>.

Lovasz Reinhold, a Catholic priest in Caransebeș at the time of the discovery of the monument, who, to „*limit speculation that the monument was a Franciscan church, was forbidden by the management of the museum access to the perimeter of the archaeological site ... had become a real "guide" in support of the above-mentioned hypothesis*”<sup>63</sup>, informed us that: „*I was then with Mr. Radu Popa in the tower of the current Roman Catholic church, the former Franciscan (now parish). Seeing the foundations from the tower, he took several pictures and expressed his clear conviction that this medieval church belonged to the Franciscan convent in Caransebeș*”. Having become an independent researcher, he supports in his studies the Franciscan affiliation of the church with sacristy, attested as a medieval Franciscan monastery in the documents of the era, revealed during excavations carried out between 1988/1989, in the current center of Caransebeș municipality<sup>64</sup>.

The repercussions on the professional career of archaeologist Radu Popa were

<sup>59</sup> Silviu Oța, Ardeț Adrian, „Câteva observații privind necropola de la Caransebeș-Centru, faza timpurie (secolele XI-XII)”, *Cercetări Arheologice*, XXV (2018): 205-214.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, 205-206.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, 206.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, 206.

<sup>63</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 325.

<sup>64</sup> Lovasz Reinhold, „Conventul franciscan din Caransebeș în lumina unor documente inedite din secolul al XVIII (II)”, *Studii de istorie ecleziastică*, vol. II (2020): 72-73.



brutal and immediate. A document issued by Directorate I, DSS, from March 1989, addressed to the Security of the Municipality of Bucharest, informs us about the steps taken by Radu Popa to open an archaeological excavation in Peșteana, Hunedoara county<sup>65</sup>, but „*the aforementioned participated in the excavations of rescue from Caransebeș and adopted an inappropriate, pro-Hungarian position in the dating of the monument, we consider it inappropriate to entrust the archaeological site to the one in question*”<sup>66</sup>.

Courtesy of Dr. Karl-Zeno Pinter, a direct participant in the initial research of the Caransebeș monument, I came into possession of a document prepared by Petru Bona, sent to Adrian Pleșu, at that time Minister of Culture, at the end of 1990. Bona's position was parliamentary, elected in the first democratic legislature in Romania. The accusations against the archaeologists Radu Popa and Karl-Zeno Pinter are repeated, by referring to the initial speech from the informative notes addressed to DSS: „*From some recent information it appears the intention of certain people to erase the traces of history by launching false hypotheses about the origin of a monument discovered at beginning of 1988 in the center of Caransebeș, which is considered by specialists to be the oldest Orthodox church in Banat and Transylvania, built in the 12th-13th centuries. In this sense, the archaeologist Radu Popa, deputy director of the Historical Monuments Commission (whose mother is of Hungarian nationality), stated in issue 4/1989 of the magazine “Studies and Researches of History and Archaeology” that the cult monument in Caransebeș would be Catholic, therefore Hungarian, something supported in the same publication by the Hungarian teacher Pinter Zeno from Oțelu Roșu. Recently, Popa Radu ordered the suspension of the works on the restoration of the monument, reasoning that it would be more appropriate to build a dome above the walls and set up a museum in that place. Considering the age of the construction, there is a risk of the building being demolished and, implicitly, of erasing the traces that attest to its belonging to the Romanian Orthodox cult in this area*”<sup>67</sup>.

## Conclusions

The scientific dispute was arbitrated by the Department of State Security by *neutralizing and counteracting the irredentist actions of some elements within the sphere of competence that sought to distort the historical truth regarding the result of the archaeological research in the city of Caransebeș and thereby contesting the presence and continuity of the majority Romanian population*<sup>68</sup> measures was taken for the removal from the collective of the archaeological research and the subsequent

<sup>65</sup> ACNSAS, *Referitor la patrimoniul – muzeu*, Dosar nr. 13367, Vol. 3, f. 220.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>67</sup> The document has a registration number 026662/21.X.1990.

<sup>68</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 325.

informative surveillance of the researchers who disputed the Romanian belonging of the monument, along with *offensive and operative measures to silence those who try to lead the archaeological research in an erroneous direction contrary to our national interests*<sup>69</sup>. But the situation in Caransebeș was not singular in the archaeological research of the 1980s but represents the apogee of DSS intervention in the interpretation of archaeological data. The informative network of the Securitate, active in the history museums from the beginning of the 1980s, consisted of 271<sup>70</sup> sources, collaborators, and other sources used with approval from competent party organs, from a total personnel number of „approximately 1600 people of which 1230 having superior education.”<sup>71</sup> To these collaborators, „other 150 sources were added from different work compartments or Militia organs”<sup>72</sup> but also from daily workers or volunteers present at archaeological research sites – as reported by the Report-Note of the County Inspectorate of Botoșani, forwarded to the Department of State Security on 25 February 1982<sup>73</sup>.

The situation of archaeologist Florin Medeleț (1943-2005) from the Museum of Banat in Timișoara, as mentioned above, demonstrated how a scientific dispute with a DSS collaborator, historian Ioan Dimitrie Suciu (1917-1982), was mediated and settled by the DSS. Medeleț was accused of having stopped the publication of „certain studies, unanimously praised by specialists, which demonstrated the autochthonous continuity in the city limits of Timișoara, and also of writing and publishing, under various other signatures, of polemical articles denying Roman traces in the area and the origins of our city, therefore, assuming the position of some irredentist Hungarian historians, allowing for such positions to be exploited in a hostile manner by irredentist historical circles abroad.”<sup>74</sup> The entire matter was triggered by the coincidental discovery of three Roman bricks during the digging of an apartment block foundation, discoveries which Medeleț considered intrusive and lacking archaeological context.<sup>75</sup> Following this episode, Medeleț was removed from his position as director of the Museum and prevented from pursuing a doctoral degree while also being denied approval for publishing scientific studies or for coordinating archaeological research<sup>76</sup>. Historian Mihai Fătu was appointed director in his place. A DSS source accused him of being „an ardent supporter of the Tracoman current within the Institute for the History of

<sup>69</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 320.

<sup>70</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 3, f. 260.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>73</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 277-279.

<sup>74</sup> ACNSAS, *Referitor la patrimoniul – muzeu*, Dosar nr. 13367, Vol. 4, f. 93.

<sup>75</sup> Cosac, *Despre arheologie și orientarea în cercetarea arheologică...*, 829-846.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem.



the Communist Party - Puțuri, Zaharia, Deac, Copoiu<sup>77</sup> and that „he issued orders for the modification of the museum exhibit to reduce to a minimum everything about the Roman civilization and changed all the texts in the museum. Only those elements illustrating the cohabitation between Dacians and Romans were left but in a very limited form”<sup>78</sup>. It remains a future direction of research to identify the measure in which supporters of such a current were deliberately appointed as heads of museums and the impact of such a policy on archaeological research and the organization of exhibitions.

Similar accusations to those raised against Florin Medeleț were also used by *Almăjan*, respectively historian Petru Bona, at that time director of the Museum of Caransebeș, against the archaeologists which attributed the foundation of a church they investigated to the Catholic confession. In Timișoara, at least, the idea of a Roman castrum on the city territory was not accepted by the specialists, the church in Caransebeș was attributed to the Orthodox cult following a monographic study previously mentioned.

In what concerns the archaeological sites, DSS officers had to consider the need „to be previously aware of the places where archaeological researches were going to take place and to recruit informants from the workers in the surrounding villages or from areas nearby”<sup>79</sup>. The situation was also valid for all archaeological sites in Romania particularly those sites where foreign researchers participated as well.

The attention of the informants on archaeological sites was oriented „towards understating the forms in which the results of the researchers would be capitalized in scientific publications or museums” but also the measure in which the archaeological researches „were oriented towards data and documentation aimed to attest the continuity and multi-millennial permanence of the Romanian people”<sup>80</sup>. The officers were also tasked with „controlling the process of archaeological research as well as the forms of correct scientific dissemination and their interpretation in the spirit of the historical truth”<sup>81</sup>.

A synthetic note of Direction I, registered on 10 August 1982, concerning „the informative-operative situation in museums nation-wide”<sup>82</sup> mentions that archaeologists from museums „undertake archaeological researches... and activities which, incorrectly performed may cause grave prejudice to the politics

<sup>77</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 4, f. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>79</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 279.

<sup>80</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 246.

<sup>81</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 6, f. 247.

<sup>82</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 3, f. 271.

of our party and state"<sup>83</sup>. A synthetic presentation also reveals aspects of interest for the political police:

- allowing the access of foreign citizens, without approval from competent organs, to artefacts and documents from the deposits of the museums, to discoveries and other unpublished historical data (such cases occurred at the Museum of Unification in Alba Iulia, Museum of Banat in Timișoara and the Museum of Art in Craiova);
- performing incorrect or unauthorized archaeological research able to compromise historical remnants (three cases - CONSTANTIN SCORPAN from Constanța, BLAJAN MIHAI from Alba Iulia, and MARIS TIBERIU from Hunedoara);
- not registering and not capitalizing operatively the results of archaeological research or historical findings, including those referring to the formation and continuity of the Romanian people in some areas (suspicions of such nature exist regarding eight persons from the counties of Alba, Buzău, Caraș-Severin, Cluj, Maramureș, Timiș, and Satu-Mare);
- incorrectly approaching aspects from our historical past, in such a way as to prejudice Romania's interests, in publications that appeared under the aegis of museums or in exhibitions (there is data or suspicion of such kind involving persons from the counties of Bihor, Cluj, Hunedoara, Satu-Mare, and Timiș)<sup>84</sup>.

A future direction in the research of DSS's involvement in the archaeological research of the late period of Communism in Romania is represented by the measure in which the archaeologists specialized in issues such as the formation of the Romanian people or continuity have benefited from their relation with the DSS in ways such as obtaining favorable financing or travels abroad. At this point, one can only notice the absence of such subjects from the preoccupations of contemporary archaeologists.

### Rezumat

Prezentul studiu discută măsura în care Departamentul Securității Statului (DSS) era prezent în cercetarea arheologică din România anilor 80 ai secolului trecut, un subiect absent din preocupările istoriografice actuale. Doar interferențele ideologiei în interpretarea datelor arheologice a făcut subiectul unor abordări. Conformismul unor arheologi se poate datora și presiunilor venite din partea DSS, fie prin faptul că erau colaboratori ai sistemului represiv. Cercetarea arheologică de la Caransebeș este relevantă în înțelegerea mecanismelor prin care DSS reușea să intervină în disputele științifice

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>84</sup> ACNSAS, Vol. 3, f. 273.



cu rol de arbitru, iar documentele din *Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității* (ACNSAS) permit dezvăluire unor adevăruri intuite de arheologii perioadei. Măsura acestor intervenții depășește chiar presupunerile contemporanilor. Controversa plasării cronologice și atribuirii profesionale a descoperirilor de la Caransebeș a fost tranșată brutal de DSS, în conformitate cu principiul respectării „adevărului istoric”. Repercusiunile asupra arheologilor constau în interzicerea dreptului de a mai efectua săpături arheologice, supravegherea prin deschiderea de Dosare de urmărire informativă (DUI), interzicerea deplasărilor în străinătate și verificare studiilor transmise publicațiilor de specialitate.

**Cuvinte cheie:** arheologie, Biserică ortodoxă, Caransebeș, Departamentul Securității Statului

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# CULTURAL HERITAGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION: EXPLORING STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS OF PREVENTIVE ARCHAEOLOGY IN ROMANIA

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## ***Abstract***

For over two decades, Romania's fast-growing construction industry made an impact on infrastructure, landscape, and urban areas, contributing to an increase in preventive archeology research activities. The current study aims to explore public perceptions of both archaeology and preventive archeology. It was conducted online, on a convenience sample comprising both professionals within the domain of archeology and heritage safeguarding and research, as well as non-professionals. Its main aim is to shed light on the current situation, given the fact that public perceptions change over time and niche topics such as preventive archaeology pose a specific set of challenges when they have to be publicly addressed by various stakeholders.

**Keywords:** public perception, archeology, preventive archeology.

## **Argument**

For more than 20 years now, Romania has experienced a fast development in the construction industry, leading to a significant rise in demand for infrastructure, industrial facilities, offices, and commercial buildings as well as residential complexes and buildings. Recent data underlying this phenomenon indicate that in 2021 the construction industry contributed a little over 7% to the country's GDP, this being one of the highest percentages in Europe<sup>1</sup>. However, this fast-growing pace does not trigger significant economic development when compared to other states from the European bloc (in terms of annual production value, Romania ranks 15<sup>th</sup> amongst European countries, when looking at data from the construction industry<sup>2</sup>). The turnover is also high, at around 50%, coupled with increased investments in 2020. The trend points decisively towards a growing sector for the construction industry, despite the effects of

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<sup>1</sup> Statista, "Value of the construction industry as a share of the gross domestic product (GDP) in Europe in 2021, by selected countries". <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1309425/gdp-share-of-the-construction-industry-in-europe-by-selected-countries/> (accessed January 21, 2023).

<sup>2</sup> Statista, "Annual production value of the construction industry in selected European countries 2020 (in million euros)". <https://www.statista.com/statistics/964804/construction-industry-production-value-by-country/> (accessed January 21, 2023)



the 2008 economic crisis and the slow recovery after COVID-19 disruptions, with investments registering a significant boost of 92% in the real estate sector and 82% in architectural and engineering activities when compared to data from 2010<sup>3</sup>. This situation is linked with the enhanced economic development that allows more investments in all fields, and, as a consequence, it determines increased funding for development projects, as well as for renovation of older structures, and monuments of all sorts. According to the legislation, all construction processes should follow a thorough archaeological survey, part of preventive archaeology aiming to ensure the preservation of valuable heritage.

Preventive/rescue archeology is meant to ensure that any valuable cultural heritage resources are identified, documented, and potentially preserved. before they are destroyed for a broader social and/or economic benefit. While activities pertaining to preventive archeology serve an essential role in preserving our cultural heritage, it can sometimes be viewed as a barrier to development for several reasons. Infrastructure and realty developers could consider preventive archaeology a delay for their project, an unnecessary cost, and eventually a cause for additional (unjustified) expenses if archeological discoveries result in changes of their initial plans. Preventive archeology is often associated with time and cost constraints that may not seem justified considering the perceived benefits for developers (and sometimes even for communities). The negative view on preventive archaeology might be also linked to miscommunication, limited public awareness, or to misunderstandings. Even amongst professionals in the field, there are voices considering that sometimes, archaeology's emphasis on preserving the traces of the past leads us to overlook its main purpose; In addition, a lack of communication with the public may result in losing the social role that archeology might have otherwise<sup>4</sup>. Another aspect to consider is that increased campaigns of preventive archaeology pose difficulties to specialists in terms of effectively managing the heritage and discoveries<sup>5</sup>.

Preventive archaeology (as it is currently understood in Western European countries) is a practice that developed in Romania, as well as in other Eastern European countries, after the fall of communism. The past few decades have

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<sup>3</sup> European Commission, "European Construction Sector Observatory. Country profile Romania. January 2022". [https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/sectors/construction/observatory/country-fact-sheets/romania\\_en](https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/sectors/construction/observatory/country-fact-sheets/romania_en) (accessed February 25, 2023)

<sup>4</sup> Jaime Almansa-Sánchez, "Paper, Perception and... Facts? Exploring Archaeological Heritage Management in the Mediterranean and the Weight of Public Archaeology." *Ex Novo: Journal of Archaeology* 6 (2021): 7-25.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Jobin, "Preventive Archaeology Should not be Reified! The Case of the Swiss Motorway Archaeology," in *Recent Developments in Preventive Archaeology in Europe*, eds. Predrag Novaković et al. (Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, 2016): 109-122.



determined former communist countries to shift from rescue archeology to preventive archaeology. Nevertheless, in these countries, preventive archaeology is tightly related to the idea of rescues and one of the dominant views is that preventive archaeology has strong academic goals<sup>6</sup>. It follows that, in many situations, relevant research and higher education institutions are in charge of this activity, in accordance with their expertise and the public perception mentioned above.

From society's perspective, the significance of large development projects goes beyond the improvements in infrastructure, urbanism, and in living standards they bring. The associated preventive archaeology could unearth valuable artifacts and long-forgotten built heritage. Therefore, preventive archaeology, named rescue archaeology or even development-lead archaeology, brings new knowledge and enriches museums<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes, it contributes to discovering new significant archaeological sites that become later tourist attractions. Also, there are situations in which preventive archaeology is the only available resource for documenting extensive areas, including those containing known heritage sites. If these areas are subjected to infrastructure projects of high relevance (such as dams, for instance), that would lead to the destruction of all remains including the existing heritage. All these situations document complex relationships between archaeology, societal change, and economic development<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, more attention should be given to preventive archaeology not only by the public bodies or archaeologists but also by the general public.

Considering the relevance of preventive archaeology, as well as the mixed feelings that it might generate, the present paper aims to better understand perceptions related to this topic, in Romania. In 2022 we conducted an extensive survey, that gathered the opinions of 379 individuals, laypersons, archaeologists, and other professionals belonging to fields related to archeology and cultural heritage, living in all regions of Romania. The findings are analyzed in this paper, after considering an assessment of the legislation in the field of preventive archaeology, as well as a narrative literature review focused on this topic. The final section includes recommendations for archaeologists and public administration to better promote the concept of preventive archaeology and its relevance.

<sup>6</sup> Predrag Novaković, Milan Horňák, Maria Pia Guermandi, Harald Stäuble, Pascal Depaepe, and Jean-Paul Demoule. *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe*. (Ljubljana University Press, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Paul Demoule, "Rescue archaeology: a European view." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 611-626; Watson, Sadie, and Harald Fredheim. "Value from development-led archaeology in the UK: Advancing the narrative to reflect societal changes." *Sustainability* 14, no. 5 (2022): 3053.

<sup>8</sup> Isto Huvila, Costis Dallas, Marina Toumpouri, and Delia Ní Chíobháin Enqvist. "Archaeological Practices and Societal Challenges." *Open Archaeology* 8, no. 1 (2022): 296-305.



## Preventive archaeology. A synthetic literature review

Guermendi observes that “archaeology has changed profoundly in the space of a few decades and has been transformed, in practice but not in the academic-institutional perception, from a discipline of pure research to a set of activities at the service of the community, performed by professionals and coordinated by public bodies”<sup>9</sup>. She also notices that communication is vital for stakeholders and the wider public to understand the relevance of (preventive) archaeology and to combat a possible distorted public perception.

Another key aspect to consider is how society, including the scientific community, perceives, values, and uses the outcomes related to (preventive) archaeology. Large-scale archaeological surveys focused on substantial development and infrastructural projects have sometimes changed our understanding of the past furthering knowledge and comprehension. New settlements have been discovered, chronologies have been adjusted, and perspectives on life in various times and places have been adjusted. Still, the transfer of knowledge between archaeologists involved in these surveys, and historians has been slow. This might be linked to the relatively slow process of publishing findings, as well as the fact that restoration processes of the artifacts tend to be lengthy and don't enjoy high visibility. In some instances, even the quality of the analysis of these archaeological surveys and the access to them are debated among professionals. An important aspect related to preventive archaeology is the fate of the artifacts discovered during excavations and the associated knowledge. Preventive archaeology tends to be considered a data-driven process, with low attention given to the quality of the interpretation of results<sup>10</sup>.

There are, in fact, two views related to the role and processes associated with preventive archaeology. One, dominant in Western, more liberal countries, considers that rescue archaeology is in fact “developer-led archaeology” - a commercial service offered to developers to assist them as “clients” in the wider framework of a development project<sup>11</sup>. The opposite view, which characterizes also Romanian legislation as signaled before, departs from the assumption

<sup>9</sup> Maria Pia Guermendi. “Twenty years after Malta: taking stock,” in *Twenty years after Malta: preventive archaeology in Europe and in Italy*, eds. Maria Pia Guermendi, and Kai Salas Rossenbach: 3-12.

<sup>10</sup> Predrag Novaković, Milan Horňák, Maria Pia Guermendi, Harald Stäuble, Pascal Depaepe, and Jean-Paul Demoule. *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe* (Ljubljana University Press, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Paul Demoule, “Preventive archaeology: Scientific research or commercial activity.” *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe: Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius*, eds. Predrag Novaković et al. (Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, Lubljana, 2016): 9-19.

that the interests of “developers” are often in contradiction with objectives that communities and society at large are formulating in relation to heritage and heritage preservation. This perspective considers that developers are primarily concerned with quickly obtaining the required permits on the future construction terrain, “freed from archaeological heritage” at minimal cost, rather than seeking the highest quality archaeological research. Therefore, the state has to supervise and make sure that the interests linked with heritage and, consequently, communities are protected before the private interests of certain investors.

In this complex framework, professionals consider some common standards and practices<sup>12</sup>. Nevertheless, gaps between preventive and academic archaeology can be observed, with variations among different countries. Differences arise not only from motivations and reasons behind research but also from objective conditions in which research is conducted. In the case of preventive archaeology, there are more external factors at play. One could consider that academic research benefits from a friendlier environment, while preventive archaeology is marginalized within a large development project. In some countries, there are even two types of professionals in culture/archaeology<sup>13</sup>, while in others the same archaeologists, who are members of relevant research bodies and higher education institutions, are involved in both types of campaigns.

Recently, several studies examining the state of preventive archaeology in Europe have been conducted<sup>14</sup>. They all highlight the diverse landscape of approaches to preventive archaeology across different countries. Especially in the Eastern part of Europe, the dynamics were high, and changes in the way heritage is perceived and protected went in parallel with processes of democratization and introducing capitalist perspectives on the economy and the way markets function.

<sup>12</sup> Predrag Novaković, “Methodological challenges in ‘hostile environments’ of preventive archaeology,” in *Proceedings of the International Conference: Methodology and Archaeometry*, ed. Ina Miloglav (vol. 5, 2019): 9-23.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> J.P. Demoule, “The crisis—economic, ideological, and archaeological,” *Archaeology and the Global Economic Crisis: Multiple Impacts, Possible Solutions*, eds. N. Schlanger, and K. Aitchison (Tervuren: Culture Lab Editions, 2010): 13-17; Maria Pia Guermandi, and Kai Salas Rossenbach, eds., *Twenty years after Malta: preventive archaeology in Europe and in Italy* (Istituto per i beni artistici culturali e naturali Regione Emilia Romagna, 2013); Milan Horňák Novaković, Maria Pia Guermandi, Harald Stäuble, Pascal Depaepe, and Jean-Paul Demoule Predrag, eds., *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe. Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius, 2016* (Ljubljana University Press, 2016); Staša Babić, Raimund Karl, Monika Milosavljević, Koji Mizoguchi, Carsten Paludan-Müller, Tim Murray, John Robb, Nathan Schlanger, and Alessandro Vanzetti, “What is ‘European archaeology’? What should it be?,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (2017): 4-35.



New financial flows, new organizations, and new practices have generated various disruptions and challenging issues related to trust and responsibility.

In the specific case of Romania, preventive archaeology took a boost due to large infrastructure projects implemented in all regions. These efforts might have been facilitated by an accurate database comprising the archaeological sites, but despite the efforts, a comprehensive and dependable mapping process is yet to be established<sup>15</sup>. Also, preventive archaeology could contribute to developing and checking such a database, provided that suitable procedures are formulated and put into practice to this end. Fodorean shows that up to 2019 a new archaeological site has been identified for each 3,5 km. of highway. This figure shows that there is a genuine need for more archaeological excavations. Furthermore, Fodorean underlines the need for a higher number of archaeologists, since Romania reports some of the lowest ratios in the EU in terms of the number of archaeologists in relation to its population, as well as per surface<sup>16</sup>.

In addition, recent studies also reveal that most of the archaeological research in Romania is preventive archaeology<sup>17</sup>. This evolution is linked not only to a rise of investments in constructions (and thus in archaeological research projects) but also to higher standards and funding required in archaeology, in general. In Romania preventive archaeology is aligned with the principle that the “polluter pays”: in this case, the investor is the polluter<sup>18</sup>. Certain political pressures have also been identified, as well as the general exclusion of archaeological sites from landscape planning<sup>19</sup>. The feasibility-study phase of infrastructure projects also tends not to consider properly the archaeological dimension of the project<sup>20</sup>. This results probably not only in a lack of funding but also in a problematic perspective of local decision factors related to the relevance of archaeological

<sup>15</sup> Florin-Gheorghe Fodorean, “How Much Do We Actually Know? A Comparison of the Organization of Preventive Archaeology in Romania and in Europe, 2000–15.” *Public Archaeology* 16, no. 2 (2017): 110-123.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, 115.

<sup>17</sup> Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, Irina, “Preventive Archaeological Research In Romania—Legal Aspects And Results Dissemination,” *European Preventive Archaeology*, ed. Katalin Bozóki-Ernyey (National Office of Cultural Heritage, Hungary – Council of Europe, 2004), 168-180.

<sup>18</sup> Andrei Măgureanu, and Despina Măgureanu. “Preventive Archaeology in Romania Between Negotiation and Myth: some thoughts,” In *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe: Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius*, eds. Predrag Novaković et al. (Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, 2016), 257-272.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, 264.

<sup>20</sup> Mihaela Simion, “Motorways and Archaeology: What does it mean to be a contractual archaeologist in Romania,” *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe: Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius*, eds. Predrag Novaković et al. (Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, 2016): 277.

heritage. This framework offers increasingly more challenges to archaeologists and even developers since the number and variety of (large) development and infrastructure projects are continuously increasing in Romania. Colțeanu observes that the large infrastructure projects in Romania generally avoid archaeological sites listed in the national registry, the extent of archaeological areas where finds are situated on examined construction sites is relatively low, and although the allocated time for archaeological research across construction sites segments varies, it tends to be short<sup>21</sup>. For correct calculation of costs and time necessary for research, he recommends intrusive diagnosis. The last aspect we mention is that Romanian archaeologists seem to consider that preventive archaeology is seen as an obstacle by investors, as well as by the public bodies, and not as an opportunity for knowledge and development.<sup>22</sup>

Increasingly larger infrastructure and development projects lead to additional difficulties for archaeologists and a more flexible approach is needed<sup>23</sup>. One observes a growing commercialization of preventive archaeology, with some negative outcomes including on the archaeologists themselves who, despite this evolution, seem to defend a *status quo*<sup>24</sup>. Watson argues for a more reflexive approach to recording and interpreting the archaeological findings, which would expand the knowledge and access to it, as well as for introducing more theory-driven research agendas even in preventive archaeological projects<sup>25</sup>.

Having in mind the previous framework and processes, several questions arise: what is the public's perception of preventive archaeology, and to what extent this perception might influence this field? Is it a positive perception due to its contribution to protecting and valorizing the cultural heritage, to safeguarding a community's identity and history for future generations? Is it a negative perception where preventive archaeology is seen as an obstacle to development and progress, a perspective derived from valuing the immediate economic benefits of infrastructure and development investments? Or is it an indifferent one, related to a lack of awareness of the concept and its relevance? Large-scale research has been conducted across Europe, in nine countries, under the EU-

<sup>21</sup> Petre Colțeanu, "Grand infrastructural projects and preventive archaeology in Romania," *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 21, no. 1 (2015): 87-97.

<sup>22</sup> Mihaela Simion, "Motorways and Archaeology: What does it mean to be a contractual archaeologist in Romania," *Recent developments in preventive archaeology in Europe: Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius*, eds. Predrag Novaković et al. (Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, 2016), 271-280.

<sup>23</sup> Sadie Watson, "Whither archaeologists? Continuing challenges to field practice." *Antiquity* 93, no. 372 (2019): 1643-1652.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 4-5.



funded NEARCH project to better understand this aspect<sup>26</sup>. This study revealed that most Europeans prioritize researching heritage over continuing constructions when vestiges are uncovered. A quarter of the Europeans responding to the survey consider archaeology a profession, rather than an academic field – which might be linked to a certain visibility of preventive archaeology. The same survey showed that half of the respondents believe that archaeology must not only study but also protect cultural heritage.<sup>27</sup>

A section of the above-mentioned study was dedicated to preventive archaeology. Only 10% of respondents were confident that they understand this concept, while almost two-thirds declared they do not know what preventive archaeology is, with somewhat higher figures for French, Italians, and Poles<sup>28</sup>. Once the concept was explained, 92% of the respondents considered that it was useful. The importance placed on preventive archaeology is probably the factor that determined more than half of the respondents to consider that the state is responsible for this. Also, almost a third of respondents consider that archaeological heritage should be preserved.

### Methodology

The main aim of the current investigation is to map the perceptions of preventive archaeology, both among the general public and the specialists in archaeology and heritage. Understanding these perceptions might contribute to better communication on this topic and spot the sensitive aspects related to organizing preventive archaeology. We developed a cross-sectional survey, allowing us to capture a current snapshot of Romanians' attitudes and behaviors. Given the dynamics of preventive archaeology and its constant development aligned with the pace of infrastructure and building development, the perceptions of the public might vary in the future.

Considering the context of the research and its explorative aims, we opted for a convenience sample. This induced certain biases derived from the sample structure. Also, since the survey has been distributed mainly on social media, it did not reach the entire population. Most respondents probably are more interested

<sup>26</sup> Kornelia Kajda, Amala Marx, Holly Wright, Julian Richards, Arkadiusz Marciniak, Kai Salas Rossenbach, Michal Pawleta et al. "Archaeology, heritage, and social value: Public perspectives on European archaeology." *European Journal of Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (2018): 96-117.

<sup>27</sup> Amala Marx, Federico Nurra, and Kai Salas Rossenbach. "Europeans & Archaeology: A survey on the European perception of archaeology and archaeological heritage," *NE-ARCH* (2017). Retrieved from [https://hal.science/hal-01581864/file/NEARCH\\_Europeans\\_and\\_Archaeology.pdf](https://hal.science/hal-01581864/file/NEARCH_Europeans_and_Archaeology.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 38-42, 55-56.

in the topic than the general public and they might think they are more informed. Results might not be generalizable beyond the sample.

The questionnaire includes two sections. The first one measures the perceptions of archaeology in general, while the second one is focused on preventive archaeology. The two composite scales are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Scales and dimensions measured: Archeology scale and Preventive archeology scale

Dimension	Measurement
Archeology scale*	
Utility	the general usefulness of archeology for contemporary society
Understanding	Archaeology contributes to the understanding of the origins and evolution of humanity, civilizations, etc.
Protection of heritage	Archaeology contributes to the protection of cultural heritage.
Sustainable development	Archaeology contributes to the sustainable development of an area, local or national economy.
Preventive archaeology scale**	
Familiarity	Are you familiar with the phrase „preventive archaeology“?
Investments	Preventive archeology supports economic investment rather than heritage preservation.
Compliance	Many real estate investments do not take into account the correct implementation of preventive archaeological excavations, despite the legal requirements in the field.
Priority	Construction of roads and buildings should be delayed when archaeological remains are found nearby.
Safeguarding	Too few efforts have been made in Romania to save and preserve the archaeological evidence.

\* measured with a Likert scale measuring the attitudes from “not at all” (1) to “to a very large degree” (5)

\*\* measured with a Likert scale measuring the agreement from “total disagreement” (1) to “total agreement” (5)

## Analysis of findings

### Sample

The total valid sample is composed of 379 respondents. Almost 41% are women. This contradicts the usual structure of online convenience sampling which leans towards a predominantly feminine demographic. This suggests that archaeology might be of more interest to men. Two-thirds of the respondents are aged from 35 to 60 years. 85% of the respondents have university degrees with a very good representation of graduates making 55% of the sample. Another sensitive issue of convenience online surveys is the low representation of people with lower education, but the high percentage of graduate students (holding at least a master’s degree) suggests that the interest in archaeology is higher among the most educated. More than 63% of the respondents have no formal studies in



history and/or archaeology. The sample includes respondents from all regions of Romania, but Moldova & Bucovina tend to be less represented while respondents from Bucharest and its metropolitan area compose the largest cluster.

Within the sample, there are two types of respondents. One main cluster comprises “lay” respondents – the general public, while the other one consists of archaeologists, historians, professionals/employees associated with the field of archaeology as well as students in the field – the heritage professionals. The first cluster is comprised of three sub-groups, considering their economic and occupational roles. Group 1 is formed by employees and workers (individuals who are employed by various organizations for wages or salaries that are lower when compared with members of group 2). Group 2 consists of entrepreneurs, self-employed, and other various professionals with more autonomy over their work that may not fit neatly into traditional employee roles (farmers, managers, artists, etc.). Group 3 is formed by unemployed, students, homeworkers, and retired. This occupational stratification will also be retained while analyzing the findings, to determine if there are significant differences among the groups.

Taking into consideration their professional background, we will analyze the two clusters separately and compare them both in terms of perceptions of archaeology and preventive archaeology. Therefore, in Table 2 we present the detailed structure of the two samples.

**Table 2.** Structure\* of the respondent sample

Characteristics		General public	Heritage professionals
Gender	Women	36%	54%
	Men	64%	46%
Age	18-24 years	7%	7%
	25-34 years	19%	18%
	35-44 years	31%	23%
	45-59 years	34%	49%
	60+ years	9%	3%
Studies	Secondary education	1%	-
	Undergraduate studies	35%	13%
	Graduate studies	64%	87%
Training in archaeology	No formal studies	84%	10%
	Formal studies	16%	90%
Residency	Bucharest and the metropolitan area	37%	38%
	Muntenia, Oltenia, Dobrogea	21%	24%
	Moldova, Bucovina	13%	18%
	Ardeal, Maramures, Crisana, Banat	29%	20%

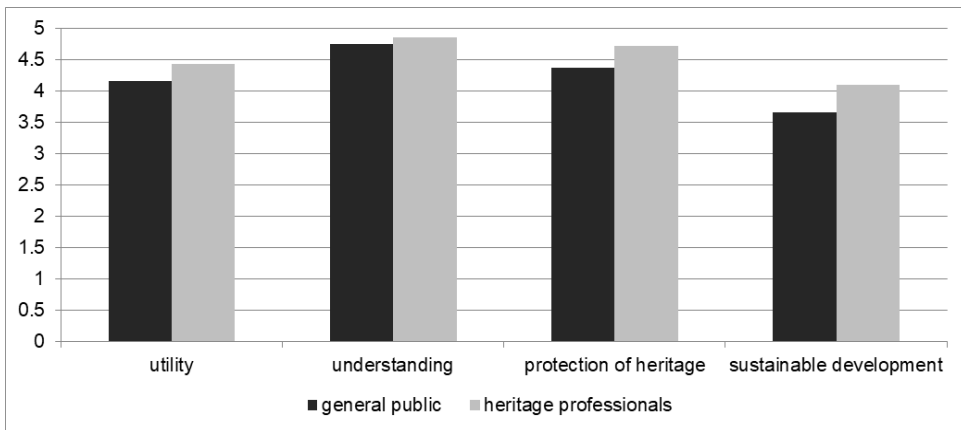
\* The data shows the percentage of respondents in each main cluster



Cluster 1, the general public, consists of 274 respondents, while Cluster 2, the heritage professionals, comprises 105 respondents. Interestingly, the general public is better represented by men, while the heritage professionals who answered the survey are in majority women. We also observe that the survey (i.e. its topic) is not so attractive for the youngest and oldest members of the audience, both among the general public and the professionals in the field. Also, the survey did not reach/catch the attention of persons with no university degree. As it was expected, most professionals in heritage have MA and PhD degrees since probably work in research centers, universities, museums, or archaeological institutes. We also observe that all regions are rather well represented in both clusters. One final remark would be that Bucharest and Transylvania + Banat are somewhat better represented in the general public cluster – this might be related to the higher level of investments in infrastructure and development in these regions. Therefore, in these regions, people could be more exposed to preventive archaeology.

### Findings

The archaeology scale comprises four dimensions. The mean values obtained for the two main clusters are presented below, in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Archaeology scale and its dimensions

All respondents, both lay persons and professionals have a high esteem for archaeology, especially considering its contribution to understanding history. Its practical value, as a contributor to sustainable development, is the least appreciated among the variables considered, but it is still at high values for both clusters. Heritage professionals give higher grades for all dimensions but we need to check if this difference is statistically significant. The overall value of the Archaeology scale is 4.24 for the general public and 4.53 for heritage professionals.

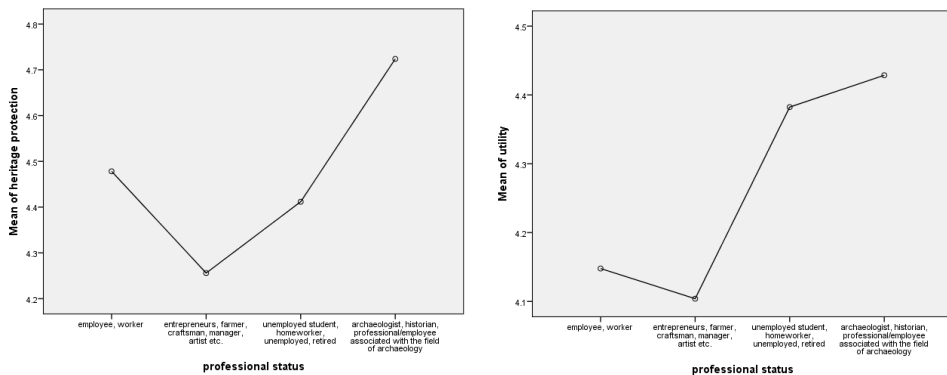
Further, we will present the perspective on archaeology considering all four professional status groups, three associated with the general public and one related to heritage professionals. ANOVA test allows us to see if the differences observed are significant from a statistical point of view (see Table 3).

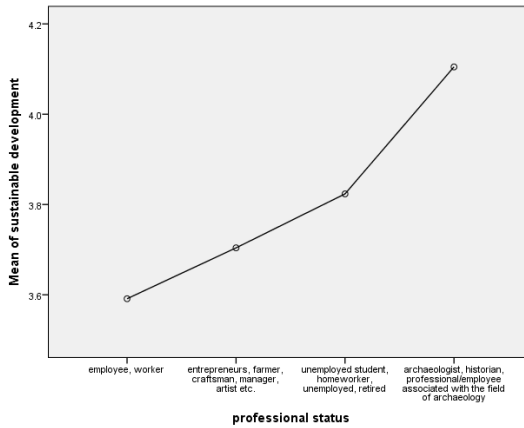
ANOVA Table

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
utility * professional status	Between Groups	(Combined)	7.689	3	2.563	3.043	.029
	Within Groups		315.879	375	.842		
	Total		323.567	378			
understanding * professional status	Between Groups	(Combined)	1.586	3	.529	2.033	.109
	Within Groups		97.527	375	.260		
	Total		99.113	378			
heritage protection * professional status	Between Groups	(Combined)	12.608	3	4.203	5.800	.001
	Within Groups		271.729	375	.725		
	Total		284.338	378			
sustainable development * professional status	Between Groups	(Combined)	15.905	3	5.302	3.833	.010
	Within Groups		518.628	375	1.383		
	Total		534.533	378			

Table 3. ANOVA test

The ANOVA test shows that except for the contribution to the understanding of the origins and evolution of humanity, for all the other three items, there are significant differences between groups. The PostHoc tests indicate what differences are significant – the results are presented in Figure 2.

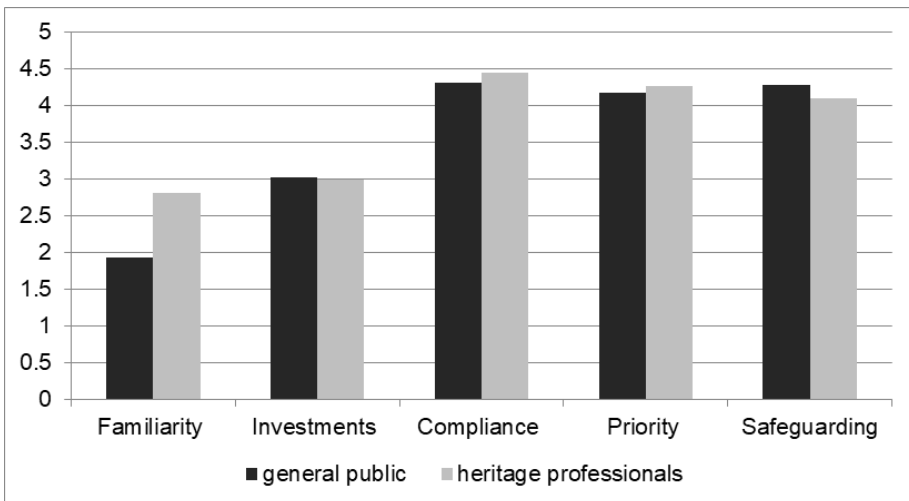




**Figure 2.** Means plots between utility/ protection of heritage/ sustainable development and professional status

In evaluating all three items (the general utility of archaeology, its role in protecting the heritage, and its contribution to sustainable development) statistically significant differences are observed between the heritage professionals and the first two groups. No significant differences have been registered between the group of those with no occupation and the other occupational groups considered. This might be related to the heterogeneity of this group.

The next step is to perform a similar analysis in the case of the preventive archaeology scale that includes five dimensions. The mean values obtained for the two main clusters are presented in Figure 3.

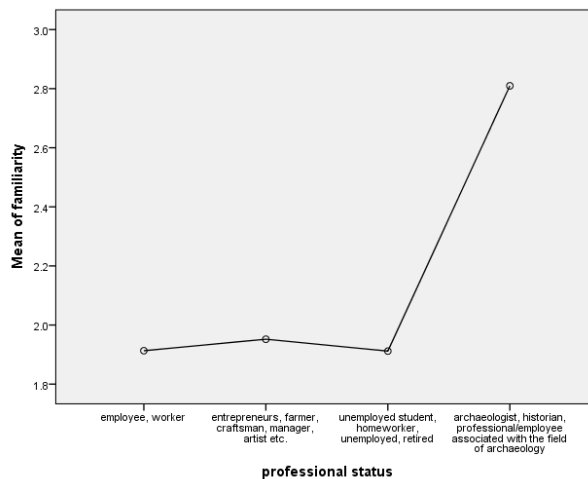


**Figure 3.** Preventive archaeology scale and its dimensions



We observe a higher homogeneity between the two clusters, except for the first item – familiarity. The mean for the degree of familiarity with the concept of preventive archaeology is relatively low for both clusters, with the general public displaying even a lower figure. It does not necessarily follow that archaeologists are not aware of the significance of preventive archaeology – probably the other professionals in the sample (for instance historians, people working in museums, etc.) are not so familiar with this term. Interestingly, the professionals in the field of heritage believe more than the general public that in Romania some efforts to save and preserve the archaeological evidence have been undertaken. The Preventive archaeology scale is 3.36 in the case of the general public and 3.72 for heritage professionals.

Also, for a better understanding of the perspectives of the various occupational groups investigated, we performed ANOVA tests for all four groups. The only statistically significant difference was registered in the case of Familiarity – documented between heritage professionals and all the other three occupational groups, as presented in Figure 4.

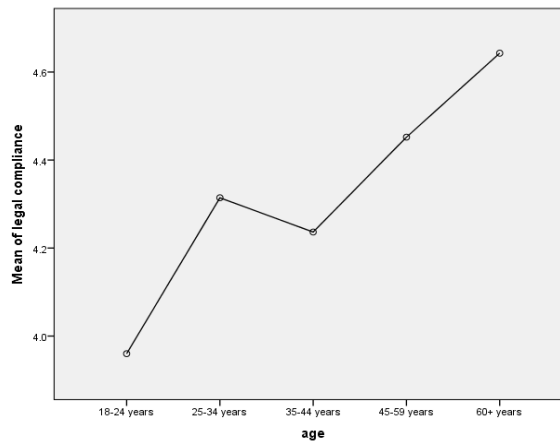


**Figure 4.** Means plot familiarity and professional status

To better understand the situation we also performed a T-test to see if there are statistically significant differences between men and women in evaluating different components of the Preventive archaeology scale. The test shows significant differences in the case of Familiarity and Priority. In the case of Familiarity, gender influences the opinions of respondents considering the priority of archaeology to investments. Women ( $M = 2.05$ ,  $SD = 0.885$ ) are to a lesser degree than men ( $M = 2.26$ ,  $SD = 0.861$ ) familiarized with the concept of preventive archaeology – the T-test score  $t(377) = -2.398$ ,  $p = .017$ . In the case of Priority, women

( $M = 4.42$ ,  $SD = 0.973$ ) consider to a wider degree than men ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.168$ ) that "Construction of roads and buildings should be delayed when archaeological remains are found nearby", with a T-test score  $t(377) = 3.165$ ,  $p = .002$ .

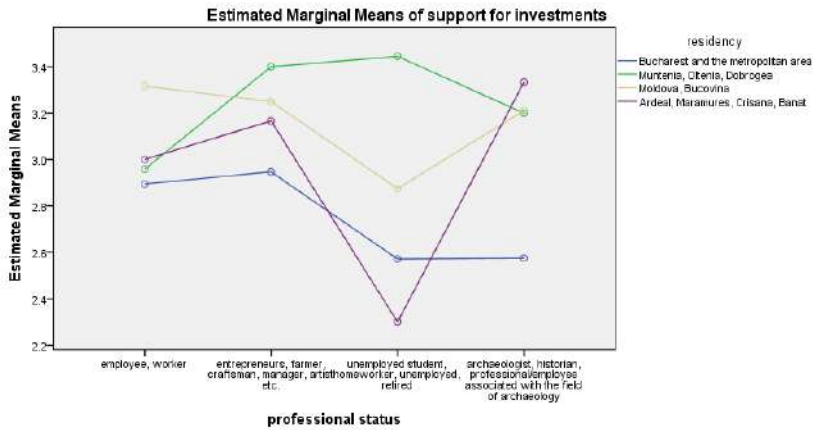
Neither the level of studies nor the previous training in archaeology influences the opinions and perceptions of the respondents. In terms of age, the only statistically significant difference is in the case of Compliance, between the extremes (as visible in Figure 5). The respondents over 45 years tend to consider to a broader degree than the youngest respondents that "Many real estate investments do not take into account the correct implementation of preventive archaeological excavations, despite the legal requirements in the field".



**Figure 5.** Means plot Compliance and Age

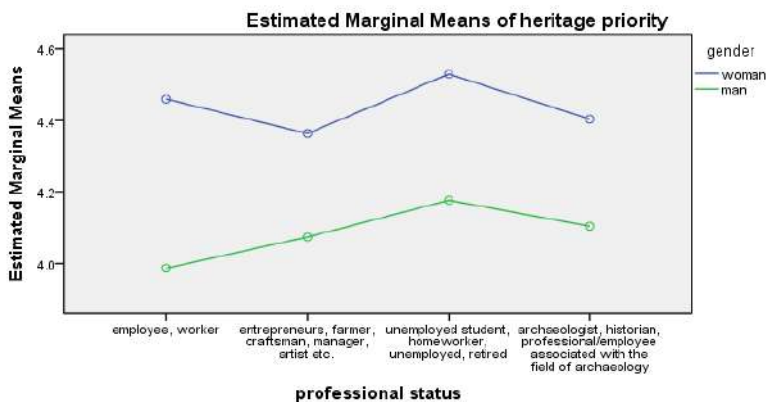
The last check we performed aimed to identify statistically significant differences considering the opinions of respondents residents in various regions of Romania. No significant difference was calculated, although respondents from Ardeal, Maramureş, Crişana, and Banat declare to a wider degree than those from Bucharest and its metropolitan area that they are familiar with the concept of preventive archaeology. Also, people from Bucharest believe to a broader degree than all the other respondents that heritage has Priority before construction. Respondents from South and Eastern Romania believe more than those from Bucharest and its metropolitan area that preventive archaeology supports more economic development than heritage protection. Also, respondents from Transylvania and Banat tend to consider to a wider degree than those from Moldova and Bucovina that many investors do not comply with the legal requirements related to preventive archaeology. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, all these differences are not statistically significant.

For a more refined understanding, we also performed several Univariate Analyses of Variance, in SPSS, for the items associated with the Preventive archaeology scale and considering the Professional status. The results confirm that in the case of Familiarity with the concept of preventive archaeology, Safeguarding, as well as Legal Compliance, age, residency, and gender have no significant relevance inside professional clusters, especially in the case of professionals of heritage which tend to display the greatest homogeneity. In the case of Investment, the statistical results show similar evaluations, but the residency has some influence (not significant) on the opinions of heritage professionals, as shown in Figure 6.



**Figure 6.** Means plot for Investments, residency\*professional status

In the case of Priority, the Univariate Analysis of Variance confirmed that gender is relevant across all professional status clusters, as depicted in Figure 7. Residency and age have no significant relevance inside professional clusters related to Heritage Priority.



**Figure 7.** Means plot for Priority, gender\*professional status

## Conclusions and discussions

Preventive archaeology, as mandated by legislation, serves the purpose of identifying, documenting, and preserving valuable cultural heritage resources before their potential destruction due to development activities. Its primary goal is to strike a balance between development and heritage preservation, being part of the cultural resources management strategies at the national level.

Although it can be restrictive, preventive archaeology is designed to support sustainable development, but it is sometimes viewed with hostility and as an obstacle to development by various segments of the public. Especially developers and investors perceive delays and additional costs which sometimes are unnecessary. Some stakeholders, including professionals in the field, may believe that the emphasis on heritage preservation overlooks the wider societal and economic context.

Nevertheless, preventive archaeology acts as a bridge between heritage preservation and economic progress, highlighting the need for understanding and collaboration among various stakeholders. It should draw more attention not only from public bodies and archaeologists but also from the general public. Awareness and understanding of the importance of preventive archaeology can contribute to a more balanced perspective on its role in development projects. There is a need for effective communication, awareness, and collaboration to address the challenges and maximize the benefits of this practice.

There is a limited body of knowledge on preventive archaeology; therefore the present study is a useful contribution. There is solid evidence indicating that the general European public is not familiar with the concept of preventive archaeology; however, once it becomes acquainted with it, they regard it as very relevant. Nevertheless, the literature explores the nuanced challenges and perspectives surrounding preventive archaeology, ranging from understanding to public support, within the context of heritage preservation and development presenting some difficulties. Especially in Romania, where public bodies and investors seem not to consider archaeological heritage important, dealing with it rather as a legal obligation if it emerges from relatively poorly financed and time-constrained archeological surveys. The literature review also highlights that communication is vital to combat potentially distorted public perception and ensure understanding.

The findings of the research on public perceptions linked to archeology conducted online a convenience sample composed of 379 respondents reveal that participants, including both individuals without specialized knowledge and professionals in the domain of archeology and heritage preservation, hold



archaeology in high regard. Its role in understanding history is particularly valued. At the opposite end, the utilitarian aspect of archaeology, as a contributor to sustainable development, receives the lowest level of appreciation among the evaluated variables. The differences between groups are significant, as shown by the ANOVA test.

When it comes to perceptions of preventive archeology, five dimensions were investigated: familiarity with the concept (familiarity), the relation with investments and infrastructure (investments), the perceived level of compliance with regulations (compliance), the perceived priority when compared to other aims related to infrastructure and realty development (priority), its relevance for safeguarding heritage (safeguarding). Findings point to a high homogeneity between the two clusters (professionals and non-professionals), for all five tested items, except for being familiarized with the concept (that is explained by the group profile). Nevertheless, there are several significant variations when looking into demographic variables, such as gender and age. It results that women are more inclined than men to consider that construction of roads and buildings should be delayed when archaeological remains are found nearby. In terms of age, the only statistically significant difference revolves around perceptions related to the willingness of developers to respect legal provisions when it comes to their obligations towards archeological heritage: people over 45 are to a broader extent inclined to believe that developers don't fulfill their obligations, than younger respondents. Further research correlating the level of trust in businesses and institutions with the above results may provide a broader image.

Assessing the way preventive archaeology is regulated and perceived in Romania helps in formulating messages directed to the general public to shape positive perceptions and to further the understanding of what is at stake when public authorities, research bodies, businesses, and the general audience collaborate toward safeguarding data and heritage items while advancing infrastructure projects. We recommend awareness campaigns, especially among the general public, regarding the utility of archaeology as well as its contribution to sustainable development. All categories of the public should be also more informed on the concept and role of preventive archaeology. It would be also interesting to have a focused investigation on the perception of investors and developers regarding preventive archaeology. This would allow probably for improvements in the regulatory framework, but also tailored communication and training programs for the benefit both of the heritage and local development.



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## Rezumat

În ultimele două decenii industria construcțiilor din România a avut un impact semnificativ asupra lucrărilor de infrastructură mare, a peisajului general și a zonelor urbane, contribuind, ca o consecință secundară și la creșterea activităților de cercetare prin intermediul arheologiei preventive. Studiul de față își propune să exploreze percepțiile publicului atât asupra arheologiei, cât și asupra arheologiei preventive, și a fost realizat online, pe un eșantion de conveniență cuprinzând profesioniști din domeniul arheologiei și domenii conexe, cât și persoane ale căror profesii nu implică astfel de activități. Scopul principal al studiului este de a contribui la o mai bună cunoaștere a situației actuale, având în vedere faptul că percepțiile publicului se schimbă în timp, iar subiectele de nișă, cum este și arheologia preventivă, prezintă un set specific de provocări atunci când devin subiectul comunicării publice.

**Cuvinte cheie:** percepție publică, arheologie, arheologie preventivă

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## REVIEWS / RECENZII

[https://doi.org/10.37710/plural.v11i2\\_7](https://doi.org/10.37710/plural.v11i2_7)



Andrea Popa, *Managementul integrat al patrimoniului cultural mondial în România. Studiu de caz: Frontiera romană în Dacia. Siturile de epocă romană de la Brețcu, Comolău și Boroșneiu Mare* [Integrated Management of World Cultural Heritage in Romania. Case Study: The Roman Frontier in Dacia. The Roman sites of Brețcu, Comolău, and Boroșneiu Mare] (Sibiu: Editura ASTRA Museum, 2023), 279 p. ISBN 978-606-733-361-9

The book titled “Integrated Management of World Cultural Heritage in Romania. Case Study: The Roman Frontier in Dacia. The Roman sites of Brețcu, Comolău, and Boroșneiu Mare” is the result of the effort of Ms. Andrea Popa, carried out within the Doctoral School of the University “Valahia” of Târgoviște, successfully defended in 2023. The monograph is structured in four parts: 1. Introduction; 2. Types of Roman sites. Components of the Roman Limes in Dacia from the UNESCO Tentative List. Case studies from the proposed research area; 3. Management of the Roman frontiers in Europe; 4. World Heritage Stakeholders in Romania, followed by Final Conclusions, Bibliography, Abstract in English, and some appendices, which complement very well the analytical part of it. Each chapter is made up of four to seven paragraphs, which reveal a successful structuring of the work.

1. The **introduction** covers various aspects of the subject, starting from the general framework of World Heritage, and particularly the 1972 UNESCO Convention, which has enabled the creation of a global system for the protection and promotion of cultural and natural heritage. The author of the thesis highlights the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the obligation to ensure a functional management system for each site. The current UNESCO trends in this field are also outlined, focusing on the “five Cs”: credibility, conservation, communication, capacity-building, and communities, which are closely linked to the 17 global sustainable development goals. Thus, from global issues, the author moves to the situation in Romania, presenting the role of the Limes National Commission and the Limes National Programme in the preparation of the nomination of the Roman Limes of Dacia to the World Heritage List, as a component of the transnational serial site - Frontiers of the Roman Empire. At the same time, the author observes several gaps and contradictions in the field, which are impediments to the implementation of effective and sustainable measures for the management of the sites that are part of the Roman

Limes in Dacia. Thus, the research aimed to carry out a multidisciplinary study for sustainable management of the protection and valorisation of the cultural heritage in Romania, starting from the intention of inscribing the Roman Limes of Dacia on the World Heritage List. The work is innovative and topical, especially in the context of the nomination of the Roman Limes of Dacia on the World Heritage List.

2. In the second part, “Types of Roman sites. Components of the Roman Limes in Dacia from the UNESCO Tentative List. Case studies from the proposed research area” the author analyses both the typology of archaeological sites, components of the Roman Limes in Dacia on the World Heritage Tentative List, and their management. Thus, a representative site was selected for each identified category in south-eastern Transylvania: the Roman site of Brețcu, the Roman fortification of Comolău, and the Roman fortress of Boroșneu Mare. Each site was analysed according to criteria and structures based on the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, which allows us to have a detailed picture of their particularities and condition. Supplementing the description of each case study with the results of recent research further increases the value of the study and the justification for inclusion in the list of sites nominated for the World Heritage List. The discussion of the authenticity and integrity of each site is more than welcome in the context of arguing their outstanding universal value. Considering the UNESCO criteria and requirements, the author draws attention to the fact that none of the sites has a management plan, which would include a series of measures for research, conservation, promotion, and combating the factors affecting their condition, i.e. contributing to the deterioration of their integrity and authenticity. The conclusions at the end of the chapter draw attention to the specificities of each site, including issues of ownership, access, etc. The author also highlights the need for management plans and the role of stakeholders in the processes of managing and protecting this type of cultural heritage. Of course, the presentation of other case studies would have completed even better the picture of the Roman Limes in Dacia, but certainly, the main achievement of this chapter is the realization of the three case studies, which become a model for the preparation of site files and dossiers.

3. “The Management of Roman Borders in Europe” is a logical continuation of the first part of the paper, which examines several aspects of managing a cross-border site. This chapter helps us to better understand the complexity of this serial World Heritage property and its management, starting from the British model, later taken up by Germany, the Netherlands, etc. The description of the management system of Hadrian’s Wall, from where the Roman Borders in Europe project originates, demonstrates the effort and the approach to answer the problems of this site which, thanks to its efficient management, has succeeded in becoming an example and a stimulus for other sectors of the Roman limes. The description of the five management plans also demonstrates the continuity of this mechanism which has become a guarantor of effective protection and



management. The author also shows the problems faced by the site managers and stakeholders involved or interested in the Roman heritage in Britain. In this regard, Christopher Young's assertion that "Management plans aim to resolve potential conflicts between competing pressures from different uses..." explains very well the need for consensus in developing effective management strategies. The description of the Management Plans of The Upper Germanic-Rhaetian Limes (in German Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes, or ORL) shows us how Germany developed its management system, as effective as the British one, in some places perhaps even more punctual. The author of the book notes very well the specificity of German management, showing the role of each institution involved or interested in this field - ownership, land use, the role of public administration, research institutions, setting needs and priorities, sustainable development vs. protection of sites, public awareness and involvement, etc. The lessons learned from the British and German experience are a roadmap for Romania in the preparation of the two nominations of the Roman Limes in Dacia and the Danube Limes to the World Heritage List. Thus, the author highlights at the end of this chapter "the need for a paradigm shift in the general approach to the future UNESCO monument in Romania, to create a unitary approach at the national level, but variable (with specific details) at local and/or regional level". I think that this part of the paper is very successful, welcoming, and useful for the Romanian environment, not only by showing the experience of other countries in organizing efficient management of some sectors of the Roman frontiers but also by highlighting some aspects worthy of consideration by people and institutions involved in the preparation of the nomination files of sites to the World Heritage List. More so the state submitting such a dossier is obliged to demonstrate the existence of management not only on paper but also in practice. But the current situation in Romania in this area leaves much to be desired. This is why chapter two is a set of lessons to be learned and taken on board by those involved in research, management, and promotion projects for the Roman borders in Romania.

4. "World Heritage Stakeholders in Romania" is an innovative analysis of the Romanian environment, because the author, starting from a general analysis of World Heritage management in Romania, discusses the important role of stakeholders and local communities in all the processes of management of this type of cultural heritage. At the beginning of the chapter, several theoretical and conceptual issues are discussed, which allow us to better understand the place, role, and importance of stakeholders, who are both individuals and organisations involved in the project/field or whose interests may be positively or negatively affected by the execution or completion of the project. The author then moves on to analyse the role of internal and external stakeholders in the case of the Roman Limes in Dacia in terms of UNESCO criteria, requirements, and trends, such as the five Cs. The author also draws attention to the importance of strengthening the skills of all those involved in the management of World Heritage sites. To be even clearer in this approach, A. Popa analyses in the third part of this chapter

the identification and specificity of the stakeholders of the Roman Limes in Dacia based on the case studies presented in the first part of the book. The presentation of the steps to be followed in this process shows us the path that will ensure a transparent, participatory, and responsible process in the creation and development of an efficient management of cultural heritage in general and of the Roman Limes of Dacia in particular. The author demonstrates that only a multidisciplinary and integrated approach can bring long-lasting positive results and lay the foundations for sustainable management of world heritage in Romania. The illustrative and graphic components of the whole work, but especially of chapter three, complement the analytical part and facilitate a better understanding of the themes and issues addressed.

The **final conclusions** review the main results of the research, starting from the fact that the Management Plan has become a mandatory part of the nomination dossier of any monument for inscription on the World Heritage List, as well as for sites already inscribed. Thus, States Parties to the World Heritage Convention that have properties inscribed on this list must draw up and implement management plans for each site. At the end of the book, the author reinforces her earlier statement that a Management Plan is the result of a collective, participatory, transparent, and accountable approach. Thus, the management plan should become a working tool for both stakeholders and other people and institutions interested in the field of cultural heritage. The three case studies are a model to follow for all the components of the Roman Limes in Dacia. Thus, files and dossiers must be developed for each element that is part of the serial site, so that later their boundaries and protection areas can be delimited and become component elements of the general management plan of the Roman Limes of Dacia, which unfortunately is missing today. At the end of the book, the author outlines the basic components of a management plan, based on the UNESCO manual “Managing Cultural World Heritage” and on the experience of other countries with similar sites, which are part of the transnational serial site Roman Borders of Europe.

The text of the work is supported by a series of figures, which represent information that complements the issues discussed by the author in each chapter. The appendices at the end of the book are very useful for those working in the field and who may find them helpful in the process of preparing the site files, as A. Popa has done for the three case studies.

Finally, I believe that Andrea Popa’s work represents a scientific novelty, both from the perspective of the historical field and of cultural heritage studies. I recommend this work to all people involved in research, management, protection, and promotion of cultural heritage.

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